ABSTRACT

IS THE PUBLIC INVITED? DESIGN, MANAGEMENT AND USE OF PRIVATELY OWNED PUBLIC SPACES IN NEW YORK CITY

by
Te-Sheng Huang

Researchers in urban planning, urban design, landscape architecture and sociology often criticize the increasing privatization of public space in the US for limiting the diversity of uses and users. Privately owned public spaces in New York City have received this critique. However, careful empirical research, with onsite observations of specific spaces and interviews with building managers, architects and city officials, is still largely lacking. Nor have researchers systematically investigated the full range of design features and management regulations and practices that do, or do not, serve to exclude certain kinds of activities and occupants. This study does precisely that as well as examining the influence that city agencies have, or have not, exerted over the original design, redesign and management practices.

In this research 24 fully enclosed, privately owned public spaces in Manhattan were studied. Preliminary field observations indicate that these 24 spaces vary significantly in their inclusiveness when the presence of homeless is used as an indicator of the latter. Subsequently information was collected through onsite observations, interviews with building managers, architects who were involved in the redesign of the spaces, and city officials in the Department of City Planning and archival sources (e.g., reports of City Planning Commission (CPC) and newspaper articles).

The findings indicate that design and management influence the number and diversity of activities and occupants of the 24 indoor privately owned public spaces.

Certain design features enhance the quality of the spaces and likely make the spaces inviting. Compared to design features, management practices seem to play a more critical role in determining the number and diversity of activities and occupants. The attitudes of building managers toward certain uses and how they perceive their bonus space(s) compared to traditional public spaces, such as parks, influence how they enforce the rules of conduct posted in the spaces. Consequently, some spaces possessing better environmental quality may be less inclusive than those whose managers are more tolerant of a diversity of uses. Findings indicate that a particular kind of interior privately owned public space – the cross-block atrium – is a good location for people to meet to pursue common interests, suggesting that this kind of place constitutes a new type of public space approximating a community center.

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A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of
New Jersey Institute of Technology,
And Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey – Newark
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Systems

January 2014

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Huang, T., & Franck, K. A., "Once closed, now open? The case of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts," Annual Convention of American Psychological Association, Washington, DC, August 2011.

Huang, T., & Franck, K. A., "Once closed, now open? The case of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts," Annual Conference of the Environmental Design Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, May 2011.

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Dedicated to my family and friends
who share my happiness and sorrows.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the last five decades, a new type of space has emerged in the United States that is privately owned and/or privately managed but is physically accessible to the public without requiring payment to enter. Examples of this hybrid public space include malls and privately owned public space (or POPS) in New York City. Hybrid public spaces have been reshaping American society as they serve as a new kind of public space or augment traditional public spaces such as sidewalks, squares and parks as the places where people spend their leisure time and socialize. Since the purposes and regulations of hybrid public spaces are ambiguous, uses and users are often easily constrained by their design and by management regulations and practices that make these spaces less inclusive. With what has been called the increasing privatization of public space, researchers and advocates have become understandably concerned about the resulting reduction in the diversity and freedom of forms of public life and the undermining of democracy (Banerjee, 2001; Boddy, 1992; Davis, 1992a; 1992b; Jacobs, 1961).

Research shows that design is one tool used to make hybrid public spaces less inclusive. To discourage people from utilizing the spaces, they are often hidden inside buildings or placed above or below street level to make them physically and visually inaccessible (Flusty, 1997; Miller, 2007; Nemeth, 2009; Oc & Tiesdell, 1999; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008; Smithsimon, 2006; 2008). Similarly, potential users do not normally frequent public spaces that are intentionally left barren of amenities or possess features that suggest, incorrectly, that they are not for the general public but only for certain groups or that one must pay to occupy them (Carr et al., 1992; Kayden et al., 2000; Kayden, 2005).

The choice of unpleasant, uninviting and misleading design features of public spaces are often attributed to architects, designers and planners (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980). Yet the responsibility often lies with the private developers of public spaces (Smithsimon, 2008).

Recently, researchers have documented the redesign of several hybrid public spaces in different cities, concluding that the redesign was intended to exclude unwanted users such as homeless people and skateboarders (Nemeth, 2006; Mitchell, 1995; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008) or to promote commercial merchandise or a corporation's image (Miller, 2007). However making hybrid public space less welcoming has not always been the intention behind the redesign. My preliminary investigation indicates that at least one recently redesigned, privately owned public space in New York City, the Rubenstein Atrium at 61 West 62nd Street, has become both more attractive and more inclusive than it was before (Huang, 2012). Interviews indicate that the manager, Lincoln Center for Performing Arts, genuinely intended to make the atrium more inclusive through new design features and management practices and that the New York City Department of City Planning played a significant role in decisions regarding its redesign. These findings challenge the widely held assumption that public space is only becoming more exclusive. It is important to discover what intentions behind the design of hybrid public spaces were and how such plans resulted in the implementation of exclusive or inclusive design features.

Past research suggests that management is another tool used to make hybrid public spaces less inclusive. The presence of security personnel at entrances, prominent surveillance systems, restricted hours of access, rules of conduct that limit kinds of occupants and activities, and the leasing or selling of publicly owned public spaces are all examples (Davis, 1992a; 1992b; Flusty, 1997; Huang, 2011a; Németh & Schmidt, 2007;

2011; Oc & Tiesde, 1999; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Kayden et al. (2000) demonstrated that some privately owned public spaces in New York are, in fact, completely closed to the public, remaining accessible only to those who work in the building where the space is located or who have special permission to enter. However, much of the research about how management practices make public space exclusive are either very general or are based only on a single case (Kohn, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Mitchell, 1995; Nemeth, 2006; Smithsimon, 2010; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). It is less common for researchers to examine empirically the management of several cases of one particular type of public space. Research that has taken this approach to privately owned public space in New York has demonstrated that posting regulations that govern the use of spaces and their opening hours, the appropriation of these spaces for private interest, and the employment of security guards and surveillance cameras are common management practices that seem to exclude specific types of users such as homeless persons (Kayden et al., 2000; Miller, 2007; Nemeth, 2007; 2009; Smithsimon, 2008). Some of these management practices seem to overlap with design strategies of creating uninviting spaces and restrictive design features (e.g., metal spikes and barriers) (Kayden et al., 2000; Nemeth, 2009). The management practices identified are clearly adopted to exclude, not to include.

My preliminary observations suggested, however, that some privately owned public spaces are inclusive, not exclusive, and that this is part of that management approach. For example, changes to regulations and programmed activities in the redesigned Rubenstein Atrium demonstrate the important role that management practices play in determining how welcoming a public space, particularly a privately owned one, can

be. The fall 2011 occupation of Zuccotti Park by Occupy Wall Street in Lower Manhattan dramatically demonstrates how regulations can shape use. The rules for this privately owned public space, which the private owner had been required to adopt by the New York City Department of City Planning, made the park accessible 24 hours a day and posted no rules to govern its use except for the prohibition of skateboarding and bicycling. Further research is needed about management practices and their rationale to understand how, where, and why quite contrasting approaches are adopted by building owners and managers – making some spaces very inclusive, some moderately inclusive and some exclusive and how design features complement these strategies.

To understand the intended inclusiveness or exclusiveness of privately owned public spaces, the decision-making process that goes into their creation also needs further investigation (Madanipour, 2010). The author's preliminary study of the Rubenstein Atrium revealed that city planning staff insisted upon certain design features and management practices to ensure the public's rights of access and to prevent the space from being overly utilized for private interest and indicated how the private sector responded to these requirements (Huang, 2012). Very little is known about the role that the New York City Department of City Planning plays in design and management choices both in the original creation of bonus spaces and in their subsequent redesign. It has been very interesting to discover the history of decision making behind other cases that resulted in spaces that were similarly inclusive or exclusive.

Past research has not specifically focused on one physically defined type of privately owned public space, such as enclosed ones. The findings of this study not only provide knowledge about the design, management and use of this type of space but also

demonstrate that the design, management and use of these enclosed spaces vary by case. Some spaces tend to invite the public and accommodate their activities whereas other spaces, with the same design features, do not. Because of owners' and building managers' different degree of tolerance toward certain users and uses, the enforcement of rules in some spaces is stricter than in other ones, regardless of the design features, indicating that many management practices shape how these spaces are used, and by whom, and demonstrating that some are, in fact, highly inclusive. That these are all enclosed privately owned public spaces suggests the value of making careful distinctions between different, physically defined types of public space and not treating them as one homogenous entity.

CHAPTER 2

PUBLIC SPACE AND ITS PRIVATIZATION

Parks, plazas, streets, and sidewalks have long been considered traditional public spaces (Carr et al., 1992; Franck & Paxson, 1989; Jackson, 1987). The prominent characteristics of these traditional public spaces are that they are created, owned, and managed by governmental bodies, are located outdoors and are accessible to the public without payment. Creating such public spaces not only improves the quality of living, particularly in urban areas, but also fulfills social, economic, political, cultural and sometimes environmental needs of the public (Carmona et al., 2003; Carr et al., 1992). However, the various types of spaces emerging through social and cultural change have made the definition of public space problematic, particularly when the private sector, with its intention of profit making, creates or manages the spaces. Through the literature review, in this chapter I first define what makes a space public. After that, I describe the use of public space and what should be considered to make a space inclusive. At the end, I address the concerns of the increasing exclusiveness of public space resulting from its privatization.

2.1 Characteristics of Public Space

Urban researchers have long tried to distinguish clearly between public and private space (Carmona, 2010a; 2010b; Kirby, 2008; Madanipour, 2003; Weintraub, 1995). In this study, I define public space as: physically open (or accessible) to the public, and without payment. Requiring a space to be *physical* is to ensure that this space is physically, rather than virtually, created and the public can actually enter and use it (Benn & Gaus, 1983; Carr et al., 1992; Kohn, 2004; Madanipour, 2010; Miller, 2007; Parkinson, 2009; 2012; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). The importance of a physical public space Parkinson (2009;

2012) asserts is significant for meeting various needs of the public, particularly in a democratic society. Not only do democratic activities often require physical spaces to raise the public's awareness but their effects in physical spaces are greater than in virtual space (e.g., the internet or the media). Franck and Huang (2012) also note its importance for political demonstrations, noting that a physical public space not only supports direct communication among demonstrators, supporters, and passersby but also creates worldwide visibility of the demonstration through the media.

Traditionally, ownership of a space is the benchmark for determining whether it is public or not. To be public, a space, however, does not have to be owned by the government (Benn & Gaus, 1983; Carr et al., 1992; Franck & Paxson, 1989; Kohn, 2004; Miller, 2007). With the increasing number of public-private partnerships, relatively new public spaces such as malls and sites of culture and entertainment have gradually emerged as additional kinds of public space. Although the private sector owns them, these spaces, unlike private houses, are intended to be "open to the public" -- largely for purposes of consumption. In addition, places that the government creates, manages and owns are not invariably accessible to the public. Military bases and other governmental institutions, owned by governments, which individuals cannot access without permission or obtaining an invitation, cannot be considered public space (Parkinson, 2009; 2012). Therefore, being open to the public is required for a space to be accessible.

However, a site that is physical and open to the public cannot always be classified as public space if payment is not considered. The importance of "without payment" is because most traditional public spaces do not require a fee for entry or for use. Furthermore, Franck and Paxson (1989) note that imposing payment can exclude some

segments of population and, probably, result in a scenario of homogeneity as well. Spaces such as theme parks, cafes, and restaurants that are physically open to people, therefore, cannot be considered public.

2.2   Uses of Public Space

Although public space is a collective entity that comprises various types of spaces indoors and outdoors such as parks, plazas, streets, playgrounds, libraries, and community centers, the general view of traditional public space tends to focus on those that are outdoors. Traditional outdoor public spaces are intended to satisfy people's social needs (Carr et al., 1992; Dines & Cattell, 2006; Keller, 2009). Through the appropriation of public space with what Francis (1989) calls "symbolic ownership," Franck and Sevens (2007) names "loose space" and Hou (2010) notes as "insurgent space," people make use of these spaces, some uses may not be what spaces are designed for, to meet various needs. People's occupation of public space is often temporary but sometimes it may last longer. When the goal for occupying the space is achieved, these activities eventually end. The uses of public space tend to also be varied by purpose and period of time. For example, Union Square Park and Washington Square Park in New York City could be venues for civic activities at one time and memorials for New Yorkers to express their emotional feelings, especially after the 9/11 terrorist attack at another. Public space can also offer opportunities for the public to have contact with the natural environment and can support a variety of leisure and athletic activities from active ones (e.g., jogging and playing football, baseball and soccer) to passive ones (e.g., people-watching and reading) (Carr et al., 1992; Dines & Cattell, 2006; Elmenghawi, 2010; Keller, 2009).

Public spaces provide opportunities for individuals to meet each other and socialize, especially those who were previously not known each other. When diverse kinds of people, varying in socioeconomic status, gender, race, ethnicity, and religion, use public space, the frequency of their social interactions may increase. People unacquainted with each other can communicate and exchange opinions and that supports the development of the public realm (Lofland, 1998), which is also called the public sphere (Calhoun, 1992; Gulick, 1998; Habermas, 1991). Through direct or indirect contact, not only can individuals learn to accept and tolerate other people's differences, but they can come to understand diverse views.

In addition to serving social needs, public spaces also support business activities. Selling a wide range of products on streets (e.g., food, clothing and souvenirs) is the most common business use of public spaces (Crossa, 2009; Ehrenfeucht & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007; Franck & Stevens, 2007; Franck, 2011; Millar, 2008). Instead of selling products, some vendors offer repair services for shoes and electronic devices (Fernando, 2007) or beauty services like haircuts. Public performances of music, dance and theatre that do not serve marketing purposes is another type of business use observed in public space. By entertaining the public, performers can receive donations (or not) from those who enjoy their performances. The business use of street vending and performances not only attracts people but also potentially creates vibrant urban life (Whyte, 1980). Using public spaces to create community gardens to grow flowers and vegetables (Mares & Peña, 2010) or to create movie settings for filming are other business uses.

Larger scale activities such as carnivals, parades and marches are another way that public spaces are used. In particular the use of public spaces for political demonstrations

and protests that creates discourse regarding domestic and international issues is an important larger scale use of public space. Through people's physical presence, public spaces act as a social medium, encouraging more people to participate. Public space can also support face-to-face communication between participants and passersby who may or may not be familiar with the issues being raised in demonstrations, such as 2012 Arab Spring that spread to several countries. The political uses of public spaces demonstrate that these spaces can be "democratic space" (Carr et al., 1992), and/or a tool in developing dissent (Staeheli, 2010), or "political space" (Pérez-Gómz, 2009).This use of public space Parkinson (2009; 2012) notes is an "informal" political performance as opposed to the "formal" one, mostly occurring inside institutions such as courts and parliaments. In some situations, people, particularly minority groups, appropriate public space to establish their identity and advocate for change. Altman and Chemers (1980) write: "….appropriat[ing] public space as an aspect of collecting behavior: people put their personal stamp on places not only to regulate access to others but simultaneously to present themselves to others, to express what they are and what they believe, and thereby, to establish their distinctiveness uniqueness" (p143). Staeheli & Mitchell (2008) label this type of appropriation of public spaces as "taken space."

Cultural activities are another way that people use public spaces. Public spaces such as parks and memorials are intentionally created to reinforce or represent symbolic meanings for rituals, sacred practices, memorials and specific cultural events. Some memorials are unofficial or spontaneous, often created instantly after accidents have taken place by family, friends, and sometimes strangers (Franck & Paxson, 2007). In this way public spaces possess a significant connection to a certain group of people, ranging from an

individual to the larger society. Also, this connection to a space can be long term, temporary (and fading over the course of time), or newly created (Carr et al., 1992). Some public spaces, over time, help generate particular images of cities (Lynch, 1960) or gradually develop cultural identifications and representations for ethnic groups (Low, 1997). In some cases, public spaces do not possess significant meanings originally but people create connections to the spaces that are located in the neighborhoods where they live. Whether or not these spaces remain in existence, have been changed, or removed, the meaning of these spaces can remain in the minds of the people who shared these experiences, which Norberg-Schulz (1980) calls "genius loci" and Carr et al. (1992) refers as "nurturing spaces." Also specific events can create this kind of special meaning of a space such as battles and speeches.

2.3   What Make Public Space Inclusive

To attract people, physical public spaces may need to possess certain amenities. Based on observations of parks and plazas, Whyte (1980) suggests that certain design features can attract people, such as seating (including both movable and fixed), food vendors, and relationship to adjacent sidewalks. The presence of people may create activities but the frequency and type of activities can be influenced by the quality of the spaces. After observing spaces between buildings, Gehl (1987) concludes that the frequency of optional activities, which differ from necessary activities and are defined as: "if there is a wish to do so and if time and place make it possible," increases when the quality of spaces is good. He also notes that several design features may increase how long people remain outside: location of seating (that allows individuals to do people-watching and observe surrounding activities), and cafes (or food vendors).

Making public spaces *physically* accessible does not assure that these spaces will attract various kinds of users and be used widely – in terms of the variety of activities and users. To make public space inclusive, Carr et al. (1992) suggest that visual and symbolic accessibility of public space is as important as physical accessibility. Without visual and symbolic accessibility a physically accessible public space may be under used or attract only certain types of users and uses rather than a variety of occupants and activities. Visual accessibility not only allows people inside or outside the space to view each other but also ensures that people's awareness of safety before entering and using them. In terms of symbolic accessibility, physical characteristics, directly resulting from design, implicitly or explicitly indicate which groups of people are most likely to be invited and to feel comfortable staying inside, such as types of retail outlets, furnishings and other features. Similarly, what rules that are posted may affect the inclusiveness of the space (Miller, 2007; Németh & Schmidt, 2007; 2011; Paterson, 2006; 2010). Those who are not welcome or do not feel relaxed being inside these spaces might choose to stay briefly or not to enter.

When public spaces are located indoors, people tend to perceive these spaces less public than outdoor spaces (Whyte, 1980). Not only are most traditional public spaces located outdoors but the appearance of their host buildings can undermine (or distract) people's motivation to enter and use the enclosed spaces. The image of the building and its entrances and the presence of security guards at the entrances or inside can have this effect (Huang, 2011a; Whyte, 1980). The interface between indoor spaces and adjacent streets, hence, becomes significant in determining whether or not they appear inviting. Successful examples are: the Gallery at Market Street in Philadelphia, PA (Morton, 1978), the Crystal Court of the IDS Center in Minneapolis, MN (Whyte, 1980), and the enclosed atria at the

Philip Morris Building on 42nd Street and at the IBM Building on Madison Avenue (Whyte, 1988). These all demonstrate the importance of visibility that is achieved through large transparent glass facades. This visibility allows people inside to visually connect to streets and, conversely, pedestrians on sidewalks to notice both the space and activities occurring indoors. The liveliness and vibrancy of streets can be brought inside and these indoor spaces can be part of urban life (Gehl, 2010). Whyte (1980) also suggested that keeping several doors open during rush hour or when weather is good can enhance the in-and-out pedestrian flow and, possibly, make the spaces more inviting.

The attractiveness of indoor public spaces, resulting from particular design features inside the space, also determines their success. Whyte (1980) identified four primary requirements for a successful indoor space: seating (particular movable chairs), food vendors that also offer tables and chairs, retail outlets, and toilets. The provision of toilets, he noted, brings benefits to cities, particular New York City. Conversely, pedestrians may still prefer walking on sidewalks rather than passing through an indoor space that is not attractive (Whyte, 1980). When studying women's use of public spaces, Franck and Paxson (1989) outlined a list of physical design features that may accommodate their needs, particularly those spaces being located indoors, possessing good visual accessibility, and offering amenities for various uses. With such considerations, an indoor space can be symbolically inviting (Whyte, 1980).

2.4   Increasing Exclusivity of Public Space

Traditionally, services that the government provides are for the public regardless what background an individual possesses. For financial or other purposes, the government sometimes either completely transfers (or delegates) services to other parties or shares

responsibility of with them; these parties are primarily private corporations and institutions. Savas (1982) defines this process of transferring government's public service tasks to the private sector or to a partnership of both as "privatization." In some cases, the process of privatization may include the sale of governmental assets to the private sector (Kohn, 2004).

The provision and/or management of public spaces are one task that is increasingly transferred to private corporations and institutions from the government. Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) identified three reasons for privatization of public space in the US: (1) easing governments' fiscal burden through private investments; (2) private corporations' utilization of governments' incentives; and (3) demands of certain groups of people for separating (or isolating) themselves from others whom they perceive as undesirable or threatening. The involvement of the private sector in design and management shifts the objectives of public spaces from apparent "social and communal" to primary "commercial and profit making" (Doherty et al., 2008, p308). Therefore, more regulations and controls are added, making public facilities less accessible (or open) to the public such as gates, barriers and surveillance cameras (Carmona et al., 2003). In this way privatization is expected, and sometimes noted, to increase exclusiveness, which is expected to become more significant, especially with the increasing number of public-private partnerships (Carmona, 2010a). Therefore, researchers have indicated that privatization of public space is possibly a threat to a vibrant urban life and to a democratic society (Boddy, 1992; Davis. 1992a; Jacobs, 1961; Mitchell, 1995).

Three consequences can be expected when the very nature of public space is under threat of privatization: social stratification, a less vibrant and diverse urban life and an

undermined democracy (Boddy, 1992; Davis. 1992a; 1992b; Mitchell, 1995; Sorkin, 1992; Whyte, 1980). The social stratification occurs when many public spaces that are owned and/or managed by the private sector serve as traditional public spaces. Because of fear of the "others" or the objective of increasing profit-making opportunities, the idea of "living with people like us" in gated communities (Low, 2003) that the private sector widely adopts to manage these spaces results in a "divided city" (Davis, 1992a) and "fortified enclaves" (Calderia, 1996). Social stratification has reduced the number of people in some or in specific public spaces who are assumed to be undesirables or "others" such as homeless and poor people such as Security Pacific Plaza in Bunker Hill in Los Angeles (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993), Love Park in Philadelphia (Nemeth, 2006), and Horton Plaza Park in San Diego (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). With the increase in social stratification, possibilities of various social interactions and exchanges between people with different socioeconomic status are also undermined (Kohn, 2004; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008).

In general, the appearance of undesirables (which usually refers to homeless people) illustrates the inequality of a social system and possibly makes a "class-noticed situation" (Peterson, 2010). Excluding the homeless from privately owned public spaces or eliminating other public spaces where the undesirables are most visible hides social problems rather than addressing them. It is undeniable that the quality of public spaces is affected by these undesirable groups, but marginalizing or excluding them all together may reduce people's awareness of social issues such as unemployment and housing shortages. Iris Marion Young (1990) divides "oppression" into five categories: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, culture imperialism, and violence. She argues that marginalization is mostly used in the United States to prevent minority groups from

participating in political activities to improve these problems. As a result, the society, particularly in the United States, may tend to blame the victims who have been stereotyped (Massey and Denton, 1993).

Privatization of public space can reduce the number and kind of users and uses. Both Jane Jacobs (1961) and William H. Whyte (1980; 1988) believed that the diversity of population is one of the key elements for creating a vibrant and dynamic urban life. That population includes elders, teenagers, vendors, beggars, and entertainers. Each individual who either creates activities to attract people or acts as a participant is equally important. For example, X-Games would not have taken place in Philadelphia's Love Park and attracted people domestically and internationally if skateboarding was prohibited in this park (Németh, 2006). Without these various characters to create various activities and make public space interesting, spontaneous and lively, these spaces could simply be empty voids in urban areas.

Due to the increasing number of malls and business improvement districts (BIDs), local businesses and small-scale shops, which sell local products and have limited markets and financial resources, have been gradually replaced with international chain stores. Without these local shops to provide certain products and services, finding specific ingredients for recipes of an ethnic dish becomes difficult because the food provision is controlled by larger corporations that often serve the needs of the major consumers (Mares & Peña, 2010). The entrances of these smaller locally focused shops and other adjacent corner spaces that provide for a socializing function are also eliminated. An example is in Santa Fe Plaza where the business organization highly regulates street vendors to avoid competing with their stores (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Not only does the tension between

formal and informal commerce and global and local businesses increase (Jiménez-Domínguez, 2007), but various types of retail are also reduced which slows the growth of vibrant urban life (Townshend & Madanipour, 2008).

When public space is privatized, people's right to free speech is undermined or even prohibited. To ensure that spaces are orderly and controlled, many private corporations and institutions establish rules to prohibit activities which they consider improper or may lead to chaotic situations such as protests, demonstrations and activities related to politics. For example, a janitors' march was permitted to pass through the privately owned public space called California Plaza in Bunker Hill, but was not allowed to congregate inside it (Paterson, 2006, p362). In 2003, security guards of the Crossgate Mall in Gulderland, NY arrested a lawyer who wore a T-shirt with "Give Peace a Chance" on it because the slogan raised a very sensitive issue prior to the war with Iraq (Kohn, 2004, p1). Such examples demonstrate the reduction of news propagation and how each person can freely disseminate and receive information to or from other individuals, especially for communication shaping reputations of powerful groups (e.g., governments and private corporations). In the case of *United States v. Kokinda* the court ruled that the sidewalk outside post offices does not act as a traditional public forum for political demonstrations and this ruling has been adopted in 24 states. Other cases, such as *Hill V. Colorado* (banning leafleting on streets) and *Lee v. Krishna* (accepting leafleting but not soliciting money) also show how people's use of public space has been increasingly regulated or restricted (Kohn, 2004; Mitchell, 2003). When political activities (e.g., leafleting and soap boxing) are banned in public space, any political or dissenting activity becomes more difficult. Parkinson (2009; 2012) has noted that reducing "physical" public space where

people can exercise their right of creating informal political debates or communications can ultimately weaken the foundation of a democratic society.

Public space, a physical realm that acts as a social medium, is where each individual can be inspired and possibly encouraged to participate and support worthy causes through physical demonstration, such as protests and parades. Their physical presence in public space can create a magnetic effect that draws more individuals who have the same problems (e.g., discrimination, segregation, and inequality of treatment) to fight the mainstream or groups with power and authority. By eliminating areas of public space where people create collective power and enhance their identity, dispersed individuals may be or may remain continuously marginalized or excluded.

CHAPTER 3

HYBRID PUBLIC SPACE

Over the last five decades, a new type of space that results from privatization of public space and is recognized as being neither private nor public has emerged in the United States. This space, which I am calling "hybrid" because it is a mixture of private and public, is intended for the public to use without payment but differs from traditional public space because it is owned and/or managed by private groups or corporations, and not by the public sector. Because they are managed by private corporations or institutions, these spaces may be less accessible to the public generally and the variety of users and uses may also be more limited than in publicly managed public spaces. As a result, possibilities for the public to use these spaces are reduced. Some hybrid public spaces were originally created by private corporations or institutions while others were originally created by governmental entities and were later transferred to private management and/or ownership. Cases of these two types are described in this chapter.

Design and management are two key components for public spaces, which are identified according to the definition discussed in Chapter Two, to be considered hybrid (Davis, 1992a; 1992b; Flusty, 1997; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Németh & Schmidt, 2007; Nemeth, 2007; 2009; Oc & Tiesde, 1999; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008; Smithsimon, 2006; 2008). This chapter also gives a description of the design approaches and management practices private corporations or institutions employ.

3.1 Types of Hybrid Public Space

Private management of publicly or privately owned public spaces is the main feature that defines hybrid public space. Two types of hybrid public space can be identified. The first is "publicly owned public spaces that has become more private" that is public space for which the government transfers its management responsibility to a private entity through sale and lease. The second type is called "privately created and owned public spaces." These are spaces that private corporations or institutions, partnered with or supported by the government, voluntarily create and manage for the public (see Table 3.1).

Cases of the first type consist of traditional public spaces that come to be managed by corporations, even though they are still publicly owned. Parks are one example. Since 1988, New York City has delegated management of Bryant Park to the Bryant Park Corporation (BPC) that is in the private sector. Under the BPC's management, several areas of the park are leased out either for short or long periods of time to generate income. Similarly, several areas of Damrosch Park in New York City and Millennium Park in Chicago are leased out for private events. Consequently, the broader public has reduced access to public space. In Millennium Park, commercial photography is prohibited unless permission is granted (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). In Battery Park City, the presence of security personnel and surveillance cameras purporting to maintain security and safety also make homeless people and scavengers feel less welcome (Kohn, 2004; Smithsimon, 2010). To exclude homeless people, Horton Plaza Park in San Diego underwent a complete redesign by private management (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008).

Plazas are another example. In Santa Fe, New Mexico, nearby businesses took charge of the management of the historic plaza. Although the City of Santa Fe still owns

this property, its redevelopment and management are oriented toward tourists. So juveniles and homeless people are unwelcome; vendors must be licensed and are also excluded from the plaza during major events (e.g., Fiesta and Fiesta Market); and certain activities (skateboarding and hacky-sack playing) are restricted to the southeast corner of the plaza. As a result, the local residents do not feel as comfortable going to the plaza not only because their sense of belonging has been eroded but the area abutting the plaza was gentrified and the local shops have been replaced with national chain stores (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008).

Many districts in cities, which contain several blocks and may include sidewalks, streets, parks, and plazas, are designated as business improvement districts (BIDs). The businesses and shops in these areas are overseen and managed by BID organizations. While surrounding businesses are taxed to contribute funds to the bids, their operating funds are often subsidized by their host cities. The purpose of creating these BIDs is to maintain an aesthetic, sanitized and secure environment to attract customers and tourists and support economic development (Bel & Warner, 2009). Undesirable features of the area that may undermine this objective are removed and people's activities and behaviors are carefully governed (De Magalhães, 2010; Schaller & Modan, 2005).

Differing from the transformation of some existing traditional public spaces, the development of other hybrid public spaces is mostly through private funds. After WWII, governments of many deteriorated inner cities in the United States launched publicly supported private development through urban renewal, paired with slum clearance, and supported by federal funding. These urban renewal projects (privately-owned with public incentives) included festival markets (e.g., South Street Seaport) and office and cultural

complexes such as: the Peachtree Center Complex in Atlanta, Georgia (Judd, 2002), Horton Plaza in San Diego (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008), the Renaissance Center in Detroit (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989), the Gateway Complex in Newark (Huang, 2011a; Tuttle, 2009), Bunker Hill in Los Angeles (Davis, 1992a; 1992b; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998), and Lincoln Center in New York City (Huang, 2011b). Many of these projects were built as fortresses to provide secure and safe environments to attract suburban residents who are mostly white middle-class. As a result, not only do they have less connection to the surrounding urban fabric of the cities where they are located, but also their uses are often oriented exclusively around consumerism or entertainment.

Shopping malls and shopping centers are another type of hybrid public space both created and managed by private entities. These developments are often located in suburban areas. To attract private developers, city governments often offer incentives (including tax abatement, subsidies for utilities and other expenditures, and properties with a lower price), exist this includes Carousel Center in Syracuse (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008) and the Mall of America in Bloomington, Minnesota (Kohn, 2004). Malls that provide facilities and a secure, sanitary, and pleasant environment have gradually served as traditional public owned public spaces where the public gathers and spends their leisure time. Due to management strategies and the goal of profit-making, malls do not entirely act like traditional public spaces since the owners can prohibit particular kinds of activities and impose other restrictions such as a curfew regulating the time teenagers stay inside malls (Kohn, 2004) and less than four of young people in a group (Calder, 2010). What uses and users of malls should be prohibited remains in debate and laws vary across states. The

cases of *Marsh v. Alabama* (1946) and *Pruneyard shopping center v. Robbins* (1980), for example, indicate that malls, unlike private houses, are open to the public so the property owners cannot exercise their property rights to restrict people's right to free speech. However, the cases of *Lloyd Corp. v. Tanner* (1972) and *Hudgins v. National Labor Relations Board* (1976) concluded that the First Amendment right does not apply to spaces on privately owned properties like malls (Kohn, 2004; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008).

Other examples of privately owned and privately managed pubic space have been created by private corporations or institutions in response to the government's intention to increase light and air on streets and improve the quality of urban environment. In 1961, the government of New York City introduced a new policy of bonus incentives as a "trade-off" to encourage private developers to provide public spaces. Several cities in the United States, such as Seattle in Washington and San Francisco and Los Angeles in California, have also adopted this model. The public spaces created under this policy are called "privately owned public spaces" or "bonus spaces," differing from traditional public spaces that are located on publicly owned property. These spaces are located on private land and owned and managed by private corporations or institutions. As a result, researchers and commentators consider these spaces to be less inclusive than traditional public spaces (Kayden et al., 2000; Miller, 2007; Németh, 2007; 2009; Smithsimon, 2008; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998). In general, users and uses that owners or managers of this type of space consider to decrease the quality and value of properties are or may be more likely to be removed. Rules are posted to prevent certain types of uses (Miller, 2007; Németh, 2007; 2009). Design features (e.g., chairs and/or tables) may be taken away or not included at all to reduce the chances that particular

kinds of individuals will use these spaces (Kayden et al., 2000; Smithsimon, 2008). Several of these spaces are hidden inside buildings and are placed above street level to make them less accessible (Kayden et al., 2000; Miller, 2007). Arguably, certain types of users do not feel comfortable using these spaces or do not know about them and that results in less inclusive public spaces (Makris & Kronen, 2011).

In some cases, private corporations or institutions voluntarily create public space in response to urban needs such as the garden courtyard of Lever House (1952) and the plaza of the Seagrams Building (1958), models for bonus spaces in the 1961 New York City zoning resolution. Some people may argue that the part of the rationale for these spaces was to set the building apart from its surrounding to draw attention to its brand as business and the public space was something of an afterthought or a byproduct. Also, private developers thought they were making space for their buildings and inhabitants, not really public space for the broader public (Stern et al., 1995). Nonetheless, these spaces offer a retreat to city inhabitants and visitors. Some other spaces in New York City created in the same way are: Rockefeller Plaza, the College Walk at Columbia University, and the interior garden of the Ford Foundation building at 320 East 43rd Street (1968). Most of these spaces are open to the public daily but may be closed for one day annually to declare or assert the right of the property owners such as the Lever House (Dunlap, 2011).

Recently, the Bank of America and the International Netherlands Group (ING Group) have integrated indoor public spaces into their branches: in the Bank of America Tower in New York City, facing Bryant Park diagonally across Sixth Avenue, and in the ING Direct on Young Street in Toronto. In the Bank of America Tower, signs listing rules have been placed by the entrances and inside the space to forbid littering, running and

skateboarding. Photo-taking is also prohibited but that is not included in the list. Although security personnel often stay in another area of this building where the bank counter is located, they also monitor the interior public space. With the provision of movable chairs and tables (some with built-in chessboards) and other facilities, people often use this space for lunch, playing chess or reading.

Using a different design approach, the ground floor of the ING Direct in Toronto is designed to resemble a living room with living room furniture and bar stools. The provision of several tablet computers for free internet connection and a kitchen with a coffee machine and mugs are also meant to welcome people to use this space. A small fee is charged if users use the kitchen to make coffee. People can use this space for various purposes, such as reading, meeting friends, or simply drinking a cup of coffee. No rules are placed inside to regulate any uses but certain activities may not be acceptable inside it, such as protests or spontaneous art performances. Instead of security personnel, several young ING staff members are available inside to serve people who may have banking questions. Except for two ATM machines in the foyer, the absence of a bank counter makes this privately owned space appear to be a public space. Differing from the space on the ground floor, the second floor that includes two conference rooms, an office section with computers, printers and a photocopy machine, and a classroom also offers space for public use but requires advance reservations and small or minimal fees for using office machines.

Table 3.1 Cases of Hybrid Public Space

			Ownership & Funding		Management strategies		
			Ownership	Funding	Accessibility to the public	Security staff	Allow political or religious activities by individuals or small groups
Hybrid-Public Spaces	Publicly Owned Public Spaces Becoming more Private	Parks / Plazas / Streets / BIDs	Battery Park City, NYC	Government	Private-public partnership	Homeless people and scavengers excluded	Security guards	DK
			Bryant Park, NYC	Government	Private sector	Except leasing out to the private sector	Security guards	DK
			Millennium Park, Chicago	Government	Private-public partnership	1. Except leasing out to the private sector 2. Commercial photographers unless pay for permission	Police	DK
			Love Park, Philadelphia	Government	Government	Redesigned to exclude skateboarders and homeless people	Police	DK
			Horton Plaza Park, San Diego	Government	Private sector	Redesign to exclude homeless people	Security guards	DK
			Santa Fe Plaza, New Mexico	Government	Private-public partnership	Teenagers (restricted and limited); Transient & homeless people (excluded); Vendors (authorized)	Security guards	DK
			BIDs	Government	Private-public partnership	Varies by area	Security guards	DK
	Privately Created and Owned Public Spaces	Privately created public spaces	Office or Cultural complexes	Private	Private-public partnership	Varies by case	Security guards	Varies by case
			Festival markets	Private	Private-public partnership	Varies by case	Security guards	Varies by case
			Shopping malls	Private	Private-public partnership	Varies by cases (but homeless, teenagers and minority groups are often excluded)	Security guards	Varies by state
			Lever House garden courtyard, Rockefeller Plaza, and Seagram plaza, NYC	Private	Private sector	Yes	Security guards	DK
			POPS, NYC	Private	Private-public partnership	Varies by case	Security guards	Varies by case
			Bank of America Branch (42nd Street in NYC)	Private	Private sector	Prohibits some uses, such as skateboarding and running	Security guards	DK
			ING Bank branch, Toronto	Private	Private sector	2nd floor requires reservation in advance	ING Staff	DK

Note: (1) DK: Do not know. (2) Sources: Bel & Warner, 2009; Davis, 1992a; 1992b; De Magalhães, 2010; Dunlap, 2011; Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Judd, 2002; Kayden et al., 2000; Kohn, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Miller, 2007; Makris & Kronen, 2011; Németh, 2006; 2007; 2009; Smithsimon, 2008Schaller & Modan, 2005; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008; Smithsimon, 2008; 2010.

3.2   Design

It is through both design and management features that hybrid public spaces can become exclusive. This exclusiveness can be achieved at the beginning of development when planning and design choices are made, such as how accessible it will be physically and visually and for whom. (Accessibility in this dissertation means whether spaces are available for people to use for various needs rather than the requirement of American with Disabilities Act (ADA).) The choice of location of hybrid public space can also influence both its physical and visual accessibility. The Pyramid Company used location to make Carousel Center in Syracuse, New York less accessible physically to city residents without cars, who were more likely to be of lower income than those with cars. So it placed the mall in an area with no public transportation and a highway system between the mall and the downtown area (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). In a similar way, the Renaissance Center in Detroit is not only located half a mile from downtown but is separated from downtown by a busy thoroughfare of over 10 traffic lanes, which effectively disconnects it from the rest of the city. Traveling by car to the nearby parking garages and then using the skywalks was intended to be the best way of reaching this center (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Whyte, 1980). These examples of environmental barriers make shopping space within these two projects inaccessible to certain groups of users, those without cars.

In some cases, the location of hybrid public spaces is not immediately adjacent to city streets, making it difficult for the public to notice them. Placing two landscaped terraces of privately owned public space on the fourth and fifth floors of the Trump building, far above the street level on East 56th Street in New York City, makes them invisible to pedestrians on the adjacent sidewalks. As a result, fewer users know about

these two spaces. Likewise, the public space on the eighth floor of the Marriott Marquis on Broadway in New York City only serves poeple who know about it (Kayden et al., 2000).

Entrances and the relationship to adjacent sidewalks may also limit access to hybrid public spaces. Limited and unnoticeable entrances make spaces "crusty" (Flusty, 1997) or "a fortress" (Oc & Tiesdell, 1999). Blank walls, few or obscure entrances, and disconnecting the public spaces from adjacent streets are three common design approaches intended to make spaces less accessible (Flusty, 1997; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Whyte, 1988). Three facades of Horton Plaza Shopping Center in San Diego, for example, are composed of blank walls and parking garages. Entrances to this shopping center are limited to certain locations to easily monitor users and to manage circulation within a diagonal passageway across the entire mall (Bergren, 1998; Goldstein, 1988; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). In the Renaissance Center, walls that are two stories high conceal mechanical equipment (heating and ventilation) for aesthetic purposes but also make this center look like a fortress and make the ground-level entrances hard to recognize (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Redstone, 1976). Similarly, without signs that indicate the presence of a public walkway on the second floor of the Gateway Complex in Newark, New Jersey, blank or tinted reflective glass walls along the streets with corporate-like entrances mislead pedestrians into thinking the buildings are only for office workers and discourage the public from using the interior commercial spaces (Huang, 2011a).

Design features of hybrid public spaces can also determine how long people stay and, implicitly and explicitly, suggest who is welcome. Fountain Square in Cincinnati, Ohio was planned to adopt the model of Faneuil Hall in Boston or Harborplace in Baltimore to attract users, but the original design of this square was later changed and

resulted in a lack of amenities. Without any seating or food stands, people tended to use the nearly empty plaza only as a walkway (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Redstone, 1976). The removal of the amenities inside the Crystal Court of the IDS Center in Minneapolis following a change in the building ownership also made the original vibrant space less lively (Whyte, 1988, p211). This type of design approach is what Flusty (1997) calls "prickly space." Other design features and "amenities" can also symbolically indicate who is welcome in a space. For example, the scale of the design features of privately owned public spaces (e.g., furnishings and materials) at the Trump Tower and Marriott Marquis in New York City are clearly seen as more expensive than those typically used in publicly owned public spaces. Some people may not feel comfortable entering and using these spaces because they are unsure whether the spaces are open to the public without cost/fee (Carr et al., 1992).

In addition to physical, visual, and symbolic inaccessibility resulting from large-scale design features, several smaller scale design features also discourage people from using hybrid public spaces. For example, spikes were affixed on the edges of cement planters along Peachtree Street at the Peachtree Plaza in Atlanta to prevent pedestrians from sitting on them (Whyte, 1980). Kayden et al. (2000) identified a similar situation in some privately owned public spaces in New York City and explained that "Ledges that could serve as sittable surfaces may be aggressively detailed with metal spikes and railings…," such as the plazas of Laurence Tower at 200 East 33rd Street and Phoenix at 160 East 65th Street (pp53, 315). They also pointed out that some edges of planters are designed to be narrow or with an awkward slope to discourage people from sitting on them (p53). Landscaping that is employed to offer good quality spaces can also leave very little

or no space for other types of uses (Shepard & Smithsimon, 2011). In some cases, landscape sprinklers are used to exclude homeless people and prevent them from sleeping (Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998, p186).

A public space can also be redesigned to exclude certain types of users. For example, the X-Games, an annual event of extreme action sports, was held at LOVE Park in Philadelphia, which had been a mecca for skateboarders and attracted people domestically and internationally for two consecutive years in 2001 and 2002. The city government, however, did not approve of the congregation of skateboarders in the park for fear of property damage. A redesign of the park was launched to exclude skateboarders from using the park, removing design features that support skateboarding and adding deterrents to make it difficult or impossible (Németh, 2006). A similar approach was adopted in Horton Plaza Park in downtown San Diego. The Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC) implemented several design changes to prevent homeless people from gathering in the park. Amenities such as chairs, an underground public toilet and a bus stop were either entirely removed or moved several blocks away. Also, the CCDC replaced the grassy areas with bushes to make it difficult for homeless people to congregate (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008) (Table 3.2).

3.3   Management

After the creation of hybrid public spaces, management practices, irrespective of their design decision, are yet another way to increase the privatized nature of hybrid public space. To reduce the financial burden on the city budget or to increase their annual revenue, some city governments lease or sell public space(s) to private corporations. For example, when several areas of Millennium Park in Chicago are leased out for private events, no one

can use these sections unless they are invited (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Similarly, when Bryant Park in New York City was closed temporarily for Fashion Week twice a year until 2009, the areas used for this event were not available to the public. Also placing a restaurant - Bryant Park Grill - inside the park behind the New York City Public Library further shrinks the amount of public space in the park. Since 2010 the Damrosch Park in Lincoln Center is annually closed for six months (approximately from September through February of the next year) for the consecutive events of Fashion shows and the Big Apple Circus. During this period of time, the park is not accessible to people unless they have received an invitation or purchased a ticket (Foderaro, 2011b; Huang, 2010b; Pogrebin, 2013).

Leasing public spaces to private corporations or institutions certainly reduces the area of public space that people can use, but this situation is not permanent. People's right to use a public space is regained after a leasing contract is terminated. But if a public space has been sold to private owners, it completely despoils the public's right to use that space. When the city government of Salt Lake City sold a section of a thoroughfare in the downtown area to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormons), local residents' right to use this road for traffic circulation was taken away. Although an easement attached to this sale indicates that the newly built plaza remains available for public use, the Mormons later established a list of rules to prohibit behaviors and activities that are unacceptable in their religion such as blasphemy, alcohol, improper dress, and speeches unrelated to their beliefs (Kohn, 2004). Similar consequences occur with the sale of community gardens. When New York City sold many community gardens to private developers, the rights of residents to use these public spaces was completely taken away.

This created a hardship particularly for minority groups and new immigrant families who depended on community gardens to provide needed vegetables, to reduce food expenses, and to the use as a social space (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008; Mares & Peña, 2010). In all these cases, the benefits that local people gain from public spaces are reduced or removed entirely.

Some management practices are used to limit particular types of users and uses. Annexation of public space for private benefit is one strategy to turn public space into private use. "Café creep" is one example: many sidewalks and plazas are intentionally occupied by their nearby shops, stores, or cafés for private use. Only people who purchase something from these shops and stores can use their tables and chairs. Németh (2009) refers to this kind of approach as "consumption spaces." Kayden et al. (2000) also pointed out that annexing privately owned public spaces in New York City for private uses is one of the main approaches they observed, such as using the space at 712 Fifth Avenue as one part of a department store, using the space at 555 West 57th Street for the automobile showrooms of a BMW dealership, and using spaces at 160 Water Street and Westvaco on 299 Park Avenue for parking. In some situations, public space is invaded through the construction of a building rather than the employment of small features like barriers and furniture, such as a restaurant built on the plaza of Carlton Tower, a residential building, at 200 East 64 East Street (Kayden et al., 2000).

Posting rules to regulate or prohibit certain uses that target certain groups of users (or undesirables) is another strategy to make a public space less inclusive. Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) noted that maintenance, liability and marketability were three main reasons for excluding unwanted people and activities. According to her study,

undesirables, other than criminal elements and dangerous individuals, include "harmless bag-ladies, the homeless, street vendors, musicians and public performers, noisy teenagers and children" and prohibited activities include "noisy activities, drinking of alcoholic beverages, sleeping on the benches or grass, and picnicking" (p154). Rules listed on a small sign and placed on the tables inside Sony Plaza clearly indicate what types of activities and behaviors are prohibited, such as sleeping, loitering, drinking alcoholic beverages, and gambling (Miller, 2007). Some of these rules also apply to the atrium of the former IBM building across East 56th Street. Although no signs are posted to regulate any activities in the outdoor spaces of Lincoln Center in New York City, the security officials at Lincoln Center all understand that certain uses (e.g., panhandling, leafleting, loitering and political activities) are prohibited and will be prevented from occurring according to the manager whom Huang (2011b) interviewed. Advance permission is required for holding group gatherings or services for any religion. In Horton Plaza in San Diego, security personnel would remove people if they entered with their pets or used this plaza to make a speech, to run, to sing, to play ball, or to fly kites (Goldstein, 1988). Oc and Tiesdell (1999) identified this management approach as "the regulatory."

Programming is another management strategy that serves to make a public space inclusive or exclusive (Paterson, 2006; 2010). Programmed activities held in public spaces can directly guide the types of people who are attracted to it. When programmed activities are restricted to certain types, they usually attract certain limited types of welcomed users and, thus, limit the use of that space. For example, Paterson (2010) noted that multi-cultural and ethnic groups gathered in the plaza for free performances directly resulted in the inclusion of various types of performances and a partnership with local

racial and ethnic organizations: the Watts Tower (African American) and self Help Graphics (Latino/a). Through community engagement, a wide range of programmed activities that are held in the ING Direct in Toronto make the use of this public space diverse and attract different groups of people based on the types of activities such as street dancing, book reading, and community education. Similarly, the Rubenstein Atrium, a privately owned public space in New York City, offers free programmed performances to the public every Thursday night. The schedule of these performances is posted on Lincoln Center's website in advance so that people can plan to attend these activities according to their interests. The types of performance offered at this atrium, which primarily relate to culture and the arts, can attract different groups of people but still probably a somewhat limited set of users (Huang, 2012).

The prominence of security personnel and surveillance cameras, the two most common ways of monitoring public space, can also make public space less inclusive. The presence of security guards may make people feel less comfortable and wary of using these spaces. Németh (2009) identified this type of management approach as "filtered spaces," "panoptic places," and "eyes on the street," while Oc and Tiesdell (1999) referred it as "the panoptic." Although the original reason behind this strategy was to increase security and safety and to maintain a controlled public space, it has a significant impact on how people use these places and may exclude certain types of users whom private corporations intend to exclude (Boddy, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993) (Table 3.2). For example, Peterson (2000) described how security guards of California Plaza in LA use surveillance cameras to locate and follow homeless people who are identified based on the criteria: unkempt, dirty hair, a blanket wrapped around his/her body, perhaps missing a shoe or two. In

addition, security guards immediately removed those who were intensely panhandling. Those who did not create disturbances to other occupants, security guards followed at a distance of three feet until they left rather than dislocating them instantly.

Researchers generally argue that various design and management strategies employed across different types of hybrid public spaces make these spaces less inclusive than traditional public spaces. Not only are user behaviors regulated but the diversity of occupants and activities is often limited. However strategies private corporations or institutions employ most likely vary and so result in varied degrees of exclusiveness across spaces. Therefore, for this research I selected one type of space – New York City's privately owned public spaces – to investigate. In Chapter Four I review the history of this type of space and research it.

Table 3.2 Design and Management Strategies that Privatize Public Space

Strategy	Practices
Design	- Geographic location makes public space pedestrian inaccessible - Few or unnoticeable entrances - Blank walls - Placing public spaces far above or below the adjacent sidewalks - Provision of design features encourage or discourage the public - Employing smaller scale design features (e.g., affixed metal spikes, narrow or awkward slope ledges, landscaping, and landscape sprinklers) - Redesign of public space
Management	- Leasing out public space - Selling public space - Profit-making uses of public space (e.g., coffee creep) - Posting Regulations/Rules - Types of programmed activities - Presence of security personnel and surveillance cameras

Sources: Bergren, 1998; Boddy, 1992; Foderaro, 2012; Flusty, 1971; Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Goldstein, 1988; Huang, 2010a; 2010b; 2011; Kayden et al., 2000; Kohn, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Mares & Peña, 2010; Miller, 2007; Németh, 2006; 2009; Oc & Tiesdell, 1999; Pogrebin, 2013; Redstone, 1976; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008; Shepard & Smithsimon, 2011; Whyte, 1980; 1988

CHAPTER 4

PRIVATELY OWNED PUBLIC SPACE IN NEW YORK CITY

In contrast to most traditional public spaces, New York City's privately owned public spaces are located on private property and are owned and/or managed by private corporations or other private institutions, like Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. Located both indoors and outdoors, these spaces may be one floor below or above the street grade and consequently not adjacent to sidewalks. The quality of the spaces varies according to what design features are present such as seating, landscaping and retail establishments.

The creation of privately owned public spaces directly falls under the provision of the incentive program in New York City's Zoning Resolution. Similar programs have been adopted in other American cities, for example Los Angeles and Seattle. In this chapter, I focus on the history of the program to understand what circumstances and intentions lie behind privately owned public spaces in New York City and how these spaces have evolved over the years.

4.1 History

New York's zoning resolution, established in 1916, was the first zoning law in the United States. This zoning resolution classified zoning districts based on land use, building height, and area of open space. In 1948, the City attempted to revise the zoning resolution but failed. Thus, the first zoning reform was not completed until 1961. The 1961 zoning resolution divided the districts into three types: residential (R), commercial (C), and manufacturing (M). The provision of floor area ratio (FAR), a new guideline regarding maximum bulk limitation, was intended to regulate the height of buildings and the area

coverage of lots. For example, a parcel of land classified 15 FAR allowed for constructing

a building of 15 floors if the entire property was used, but if only half of the lot was used,

the number of allowable floors could be up to 30 (Bressi, 1993; Willis, 1995).

Table 4.1 Special Zoning Districts and their Bonus Spaces

Districts	Year	Bonus Spaces	Example
The Special Theatre District	1967	Arcades; Open space; Subsurface concourses; Waiver of height and setback regulation	One Astor Place
The Special Lincoln Square District	1969	Plazas; Arcades; Covered plazas; Gallerias; Pedestrian malls; Subsurface concourses	One Lincoln Plaza
The Special Greenwich Street Development District	1971	Plazas; Arcades; Through block arcades; Elevated plazas; Covered pedestrian spaces; An elevated shopping bridge; Enclosed and open pedestrian bridges; A pedestrian deck; A loggia; A shopping arcade; An elevated shopping way; A shopping way; Accept money from developers as a special district fund for improving public transit facilities in the area and the identification and cost estimating of pedestrian circulation	One Bankers Trust Plaza
The Special Fifth Avenue District	1971	Through block connections, including open, covered, and porte-cochere; Terrace level landscaping; Covered pedestrian spaces as as-of-right	N/A
The Special Manhattan Landing District	1973	Arcades; Loggias; Shopping arcades; Elevated shopping ways; Shopping ways; Shopping bridges; Pedestrian connections; Pedestrian ways; Open pedestrian bridges; Enclosed pedestrian bridges; Esplanade; Pedestrian Space; Visual Corridors; Open space; Build-to line	180 Maiden Lane

Sources: Kayden et al. (2000); CP 22498 (1973).

To bring air and light to city streets and to reduce the city government's financial

burden, the 1961 Zoning Resolution also introduced a bonus incentive. This bonus

incentive, employing the Lever House (1952) and Seagrams Building (1958) as models,

encouraged private developers to create public spaces voluntarily. In return, private

developers would receive extra FAR bonuses, up to 20 % of the base authorized FAR

associated with their properties. Spaces created under this bonus incentive are named

"privately owned public spaces." In 1961, the City introduced the first types of bonus

spaces -- plazas and arcades -- and added another five types between 1968 and 1973:

elevated plazas (1968), through block arcades (1969), covered pedestrian spaces (1970),

sunken plazas (1971), and open-air concourses (1973) (Kayden et al., 2000). The purpose

of the provision of covered pedestrian spaces that include retail space and shelter from the

weather was to solve the problems of existing outdoor plazas created by private

developers: blank walls and the absence of street-level retail space (Bressi, 1993). In

addition, the City designated five special zoning districts with their own types of bonus

spaces which are illustrated in Table 4.1. As of to 1974, private developers had created 231

privately owned public spaces (including 136 plazas and 57 arcades) in New York City

(Kayden et al., 2000, p16).

The notion of how the public uses bonus spaces and other privately created spaces

(e.g., Paley Park) had not been studied until William H. Whyte, led the Street Life Project

and studied several parks, playgrounds, and plazas in New York City between 1971 and

1973. Whyte's research showed that most plazas were underutilized with some exceptions

including the plazas at the Seagrams building and at 77 Water Street. After studying those

and other successful spaces (e.g., Paley Park and Greenacres Plaza), Whyte found that

particular design features tend to draw people to public spaces. Subsequently he

recommended five significant design features for creating vibrant spaces, but mostly for

outdoor spaces: (1) seating; (2) orientation that enables the space to receive a great amount

of sunlight and circulating the breeze in the summer; (3) trees and water; (4) food vendors;

and (5) location that is not far above or below the adjacent sidewalks. In addition, he found

that the design of seating significantly influences the number of users of a space and where

they feel most comfortable within that space. The seating features that Whyte identified included the number of seats or the total linear feet of seating provided, the dimensions (e.g., height and depth) and the types (e.g., fixed and movable). Whyte identified food as a key element because it attracts people and the presence of people is known to draw even more people. For example, the placement of an outdoor café and several ethnic food vendors in St. Andrews Plaza in New York City enlivened the space and attracted numerous people, especially during lunch time (Whyte, 1980; 1988).

Whyte's findings led to the 1975 Zoning Amendment's focus on plaza reform to eliminate the creation of as-of-right bonus spaces mostly in plazas, which had been approved by the Department of Buildings without careful examination of construction plans and without guidelines indicating required design features. The 1975 Zoning Amendment provided explicit information for required design features and how they would apply to newly proposed plazas or pre-reform plazas for further improvement. A required maintenance and performance bond was also mandated to ensure the ongoing quality of privately owned public spaces. The installation of public space plaques, which Whyte suggested, was to inform the public that these spaces are for the public's use (Whyte, 1980; 1988). Furthermore, during the period between 1975 and 1977, three types of bonus spaces were added: urban plazas (1975) and sidewalk widening (1975), mostly in commercial districts, and residential plazas (1977), only in residential districts (Kayden et al., 2000).

From the 1960s to the 1980s, New York City's rising crime rate called attention to security issues, resulting in increased exclusiveness of public spaces (Bressi, 1993). Security of privately owned public spaces became the private sector's top priority rather

than keeping these spaces accessible to the public. Since 1979, in order to receive permission to close their spaces during the evening hours to exclude homeless people, the private sector started to improve the quality of their through block plazas and contiguous arcades to meet the new urban plaza standards (Kayden et al., 2000, p19). Several building owners and managers employed unauthorized approaches to prevent certain individuals (e.g., homeless people) from using these public spaces, such as grills, fences and affixed spikes (Bressi, 1993). To improve the quality of public spaces, the New York City Department of City Planning also imposed several mandates, such as prohibiting vehicle-related activities near arcades (e.g., off-street parking and passenger drop-offs) and restricting three types of bonus spaces (including plazas, arcades and residential plazas) to certain areas in New York City (Kayden et al., 2000, p19).

In 1982 through-block connections and through-block gallerias were added to the set of bonus spaces but several of the other types of bonus space were gradually phased out. Covered pedestrian spaces, for example, offer certain benefits to the city, but several emerging drawbacks (e.g., increasing tower coverage, reduced light and air, and decreased street life) led these types of spaces to be terminated from the special Midtown District in 1982 (however they remain available in lower Manhattan) (Bressi, 1993; DePalma, 1983a). In addition, the special Greenwich Street Development District (1998) and four types of bonus spaces -- sidewalk widening (1998), open air concourses (1998), through block gallerias (1998), and residential plazas (2000) -- were removed from the zoning resolution (Kayden et al., 2000).

Research conducted in the 1990s systematically documented the design features and condition of all privately owned public spaces in New York. Between 1996 and 1999,

Jerold S. Kayden, the New York City Department of City Planning and the Municipal Art Society of New York conducted the New York City Privately Owned Public Space Project. This project identified the location of all the existing privately owned public spaces in New York City and documented their legal requirements and their compliance with those requirements in terms of design, management practices. In *Privately owned public space: The New York City experience* in 2000, Kayden et al. (2000) reported on the various methods used to study privately owned public spaces in NYC, of which included scrutiny of building and site plans and text-based official documents regarding city agencies' approvals and private developers' applications as well as site observations, evaluations and random interviews with users of these spaces to highlight their experiences. The book lists 503 privately owned public spaces (11 of which were under construction at the time the study was conducted) in or adjacent to 320 buildings. This book not only provides a brief history of New York City's privately owned public spaces, but also indicates the location and type of each bonus space and its officially required amenities and compliance as well as the physical conditions documented during the research period. The results of this research provided basic knowledge regarding design, management and use of these privately owned public spaces up to the year 2000.

In 2007, the New York City Department of City Planning initiated another zoning amendment for plazas. Instead of having several types of plazas with their individual rules, a new set of rules regarding design and operational standards was created to govern existing plazas and guide upcoming plazas. To rejuvenate the special lower Manhattan District, the City allowed tables and chairs to be placed in arcades, one type of bonus space, in the area bounded by Fulton Street, South and Front Streets, Whitehall Street, and Pearl

Street as an "Arcades Modification Area." After Hurricane Sandy in 2012, this area that was extended westward to State Street was again allocated as "Public Space Activation Area." This act allows new amenities and events or activities (e.g., farmers markets, musical performances, outdoor fitness event, and food tastings) to occur in all types of bonus spaces as-of-right, but up to December 31, 2013, such as arcades and plazas (Department of City Planning, 2013).

4.2   Studies of Privately Owned Public Spaces in New York

Research indicates that the design and management of privately owned public spaces influences their usability and desirability. Whyte's research demonstrates that particular design features attract people to the spaces. By evaluating the actual and potential use of 503 privately owned public spaces, Kayden et al. (2000) concluded that 41% of these spaces were "marginal spaces" where people do not desire to stay or conduct any activity. Only 3% of the spaces studied were categorized as destination spaces and 13 % as neighborhood spaces, providing high quality conditions that attract office workers, residents and visitors from host buildings and nearby neighborhoods. Because the size and variety of amenities in "destination spaces" are greater than in neighborhood spaces, their users come from more distant areas. In addition, 21% are hiatus spaces that provide some seating to pedestrians for a temporary rest, 18% are circulation spaces, and 4% were under construction or undergoing alteration.

When comparing outdoor plazas created before and after 1975, Kayden et al. found that the proportion of marginal spaces decreased from 63% to 6% and the proportion of destination spaces and neighborhood spaces rose from 6% to 39%. The design features of these spaces were the major factor for this outcome because the bonus spaces, particularly

before the 1975 reform, were as-of-right so that these spaces were mostly empty with concrete pavement and had no, or limited, amenities. Their findings also demonstrated the importance of design features.

Design features of privately owned public spaces are not always meant to attract people but rather to serve the interests of private corporations. How these spaces were designed and with what objectives often determine the resulting qualities of these spaces. Based on observations and interviews with architects and city planners, Smithsimon (2006; 2008) studied 291 bonus plazas at 219 buildings located in midtown and downtown Manhattan. He ascertained that creating the barren and unusable bonus plazas resulted from architects' design choices that were heavily driven by developers' desire to exclude the public. His findings showed that developers play an important role in determining the design of these spaces that they believe will be in support of profit-making. However, Smithsimon's conclusions are based largely on pre-reform bonus plazas and neglected post-reform plazas with design features mandated by the planning department.

Also, there are five types of bonus spaces that are plazas: original plazas (1961), elevated plazas (1968), sunken plazas (1971), urban plazas (1975) and residential plazas (1977). The design features employed to exclude users might be different depending on the type of plaza and the outcome may not always be a barren and unusable space. Smithsimon, however, did not address how the type of plazas were chosen in each building project or by whom or for what reasons. Based on archival research and an interview with one city planner who was involved with the Trump Tower project, Németh (2007) concluded that the developers' intention of creating indoor privately owned public spaces was primarily to receive higher floor bonuses. Including two types of indoor bonus spaces,

Trump Tower, thus, received almost double the bonuses that were allowed in the Fifth Avenue Special Zoning District. But Németh did not explore the process of how the proposal for this project was approved initially by the planning department (p177). Similarly Miller (2007) concluded that the interior configuration, materials, and finishes of Trump Tower were intended to promote Donald Trump's enterprise and possibly to increase property value but not necessary to offer a better quality space to the public. She also argued that Sony USA transformed an outdoor space in the former AT&T building to an enclosed space and placed two Sony shops inside solely to brand its corporate image. A lack of interviews with building owners, architects, or city officials to understand the rationale behind their design decisions makes Miller's findings about Trump Tower and Sony Plaza less persuasive than they could be.

In some situations, private corporations employ design features to facilitate their management objectives. Miller (2007) pointed out that placing two landscaped terraces on the upper floors and embedding restrooms and telephones inside the basement of Trump Tower intended to make the terraces and the amenities less accessible to the public. Németh (2007; 2009) found that the private sector employs several design features to make bonus spaces less usable and accessible to people: (1) reducing the number and types of seating as well as the quality of lighting provided during the nighttime; (2) eliminating public space plaques that state that these spaces are public; (3) placing public art, statues and cultural material to make these spaces symbolically inaccessible; and (4) employing metal spikes and barriers to discourage sitting. Németh's argument that the placement of artwork and cultural materials makes spaces symbolically inaccessible is a hypothesis on his part because he did not interview occupants in the spaces he studied. In contrast, Makris

and Kronen (2011) found that sculpture placed in privately owned public spaces did not make teenagers of color feel uncomfortable staying inside the spaces they studied. Instead they reported that these teenagers enjoy the art.

Table 4.2 Németh's Seven Management Approaches with Management Practices

Management Approach	Management Practices
Filtered Space	- Subjective/judgment rules posted - General rules posted - Public art/statues/culture material - Small-scale food consumption (e.g., small café, kiosks, carts or stands selling food, drinks or simple convenience items) - Security personnel
Uninviting Space	- Lack of various microclimates available - Lack of diversity of seating types - Lack of lighting to encourage night-time use - Lack of sign announcing 'public space'
Fortress Environment	- Limited hours of operation - Lack of accessible/convenient entrances
Panoptic Place	- In a commercial building - In a business improvement district (BID) - Security cameras present
Consumption Space	- Areas of restricted use (cafés, restaurants) - Restroom available
Eyes on the Street	- Secondary/natural surveillance (e.g., janitors, waiters or doormen)
Small-Scale Design	- Design to imply appropriate use

Source: Németh (2006; 2009)

Likewise, management practices in privately owned public spaces can determine how inclusive these spaces are. After the city mandated required design features to improve the quality of these spaces, Kayden et al. (2000) found that the private sector employed management practices (e.g., denial of public access, annexation for private use, and diminution of required amenities) to make these spaces less accessible to the public. Some are completely inaccessible except to employees or those who receive permission to enter. They also observed that the proportion of post-reform bonus spaces that are exclusive is higher than pre-reform spaces. Based on his observations of privately owned

public spaces, Smithsimon (2006) concluded that there are three management practices the private sector employs: privatized spaces that exclude everyone except those who work inside the buildings (before the 1975 reform), filtered spaces that are intended to exclude undesirable people and activities (after the 1975 reform), and continuously filtered spaces with design features, such as "bum-proof" benches and upscale furnishing (pp101-102). He argued that the private sector tends to make these spaces less accessible for its own benefit even though the guidelines of the incentive program have been changed and have become more demanding.

Using an index of 20 variables, generated from his literature review and covering four categories: laws/rules, surveillance/policing, territoriality/access, and design/image, Németh (2007; 2009) studied 163 bonus spaces connected to 93 buildings in central midtown Manhattan. He identified seven commonly used management practices that the private sector employs to make these spaces more exclusive: filtered spaces, uninviting spaces, fortress environments, panoptic places, consumption spaces, eyes on the street, and small-scale design (Table 4.2). These management practices are adopted regardless of the type of bonus spaces although some of them may only apply to certain types of spaces. Even though some management practices may apply to several types of spaces (e.g., hours of operation and number of yearly hours for closing spaces for private events), how these rules are enforced varies across spaces. Instead of using the seven management approaches to examine one type of bonus spaces or how the strategies differ by type, Németh (2007) only studied two different types of indoor spaces: Sony Plaza and Trump Tower, using archives, observations and interviews with security guards and a city planner. He found that the management approach of "filtered space" that included several management

practices listed in Table 4.2 is employed in post-reform lobbies to maintain a desirable corporate image. (But he did not list the questions he asked security guards or the city planner.) Again, a lack of information from building managers and architects also makes his findings regarding management less than complete. Further investigation with a larger sample of bonus spaces is certainly needed to understand how management decisions are made.

Miller (2007) studied bonus spaces at 590 Madison Avenue, Sony Tower and Trump Tower, which Kayden et al. (2000) identified as destination spaces, and concluded that the presence of security guards, the violation of hour and public space plaque compliance, the posting of rules of conduct, and the choice of specific exhibited items are meant to make the spaces less inclusive and more for private interest. At 590 Madison Avenue (the former IBM atrium), Edward Minskoff, the new owner, introduced a rotating art exhibition but only displayed the artwork of the artists who were sponsored by Pace Wildenstein and employed security guards for safety and protection purposes. Security personnel (security guards and/or doormen) are present at Trump Tower and Sony Plaza as well. At Trump Tower, the owner(s) installed only a few plaques that notify passersby that the spaces are open for the public and sometimes closed the bonus space below the street grade temporarily for private events without informing the New York City Department of City Planning. Within Sony Plaza a list of rules is placed on the tables, which forbids activities such as gambling, running and loitering. Miller's findings (2007) are only based on archival research and her own observations. In her study, Miller did not conduct interviews with building owners, managers, architects or city officials. Therefore, some of these findings seem to be driven by her subjective judgments concerning management

practices. For example, Miller concluded that Sony USA uses the Sony Wonder Technology Lab, an interactive science museum, solely to promote its products to visitors, particularly children, in order to increase its sales, especially in the youth market. Not only did Miller not provide any empirical evidence to support this point (e.g., documented increase in sales of Sony shops due to the museum), but she did not recognize other benefits the museum might have. Programming like the Sony Wonder Technology Lab as well as the art exhibitions in the former IBM Atrium helps increase the number of people in these bonus spaces, but previous studies tend to address their negative influences rather than any possible positive ones, like providing shelters from weather and other amenities and being accessible without a fee.

The findings of many urban researchers often suggest that private corporations employ design and management to intentionally exclude undesirables. People who are homeless are one of their major targets. After interviewing several architects and city planners involved in the design development of bonus plazas (e.g., Paramount Plaza and 55 Water Street), Smithsimon (2006; 2008) explained that the creation of barren and unusable bonus plazas is purposely intended to exclude those who may disturb tenants or "lower the tone" of a plaza (e.g., homeless people and drug-dealers). In most situations, potential consumers are often welcome and unwelcomed individuals such as homeless people, vagrants and drug addicts tend to be excluded so that private developers can increase their profit-making opportunities (Miller, 2007; Németh, 2007; 2009; Shepard & Smithsimon, 2011). In Sony Plaza, several types of uses (e.g., sleeping, gambling, loitering, and possessing baggage or shopping carts) are prohibited in an attempt to exclude homeless people (Miller, 2007). When comparing privately owned public space to publicly owned

ones, Németh & Schmidt (20011) concluded that the owners or managers of the former spaces often adopt more design features and management practices to regulate user behavior and make these spaces less inclusive. However, similar management practices employed in different spaces do not always result in the same outcomes. What makes the enforcement of management practices different across spaces? In my preliminary observations of Sony Plaza, I found that people play chess and poker in Sony Plaza even though "gambling" is prohibited. The way in which the security guards determine whether such activities are gambling has not received sufficient investigation to understand how management practices are actually enforced.

The decision-making process behind the creation of privately owned public spaces determines the resulting design features and management practices in these spaces. However, previous researchers have not paid much attention to this process that engages the private sector in negotiations with the New York City Department of City Planning. The redesign process of privately owned public spaces has become discreet due to the planning department's increasingly detailed guidelines covering design and management of these spaces. Although Miller's (2007) study on the former IBM atrium raises the critical issue of how the renovation of a bonus space is determined to be a "minor" or "major" project (which determines whether a public hearing is required during the design process), she neither investigated how this rule was made nor addressed how Minskoff negotiated with the city during the redesign process. Her study focused exclusively on how Sony USA utilized this space for its private benefit through the redesign and related management practices rather than on documenting the redesign process including interviews with the participants involved. For example, Miller did not specify how or by

whom the redesign decisions were made and with what design ideas, or how the rules that control user activities were approved by the city.

This author's study of the Rubenstein Atrium has shown how city officials were involved in the 2008 redesign process and how they insisted upon certain design features to protect the public's rights and to prevent the private sector from utilizing the space exclusively for its own benefit. How the private sector responded to the city's requirements and negotiated with city officials to achieve its needs also became clear (Huang, 2011). The decision-making process regarding design features of privately owned public spaces merits this kind of investigation. Changes in the use and design of these privately owned public spaces often result from a change in building ownership, but previous research has not addressed how the change of ownership influences the design, management, and use of these spaces. Kayden et al. (2000) also observed that the owners' (or the shareholders') appreciation of having bonus spaces in or nearby their residential buildings decreases when the original developers no longer own the space, but Kayden et al.'s book provides no additional information about this phenomenon. A thorough documentation of the decision-making process can clarify the choices regarding design and management made during design development, or even after spaces have been created, and the resulting outcomes.

Previous studies by many urban researchers tend to emphasize how these spaces have been annexed for private interests and how they became less inclusive. However, these spaces can also play a positive role in urban public life. For example, Zuccotti Park in Lower Manhattan functioned as the base for the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement from September 17, 2011 to November 15, 2011 and exemplifies how a privately owned

public space can, in fact, become inclusive. If this park had not been a privately owned public space, and instead a publicly owned and managed one, OWS protesters would not have been able to camp there for nearly two months (Franck & Huang, 2012; Shiffman, et al., 2012). As a result, they would not have had opportunities to communicate with pedestrians through various activities and even inspire more participants to support their movement and to occupy public spaces in different states.

Researchers often conclude that the design of bonus spaces is one way they are less inclusive. However, design can also make these spaces more accessible to the public and so more inclusive. After improvements or redesign, several formerly unusable spaces have been reincarnated and have become more accessible and inviting to the public. After the City mandated unlocking the entrance to the elevated plaza at 330 East 39th Street, the manager of the apartment building went further to improve this space by adding flowers and several design features. In addition to homeless people whom the manager is not concerned about, this space is expected to attract more nearby office workers (Smithsimon, 2006; 2008; Shepard & Smithsimon, 2011). After its environmental quality was enhanced through re-configuration of the space to make it more accessible and to provide a panoramic river view, the planning department expected that the number of users on the elevated plaza at 55 Water Street would increase (Dunlap, 2005). This author's preliminary study of the redesign of two enclosed privately owned public spaces, Sony Plaza and the Rubenstein Atrium, again, also suggests that redesign can result in more users. In addition to documenting its improved spatial quality and greater number of users, the author has observed homeless people several times at the Rubenstein Atrium. So the redesign of privately owned public spaces can make these spaces more inclusive (Huang, 2011).

Through an empirical study of three privately owned public spaces, Makris and Kronen (2011) found that the spaces they studied are not as exclusive as previous commentators have suggested. They found that the spaces are welcoming and interesting to teenagers of color. No inclusive privately owned public spaces, particular enclosed ones, have been studied with the intent to compare them with less inclusive ones as this dissertation research did.

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

The preliminary fieldwork for this study revealed substantial differences in the degree of inclusiveness among the 24 fully enclosed, privately owned public spaces observed in New York City. Their design and management characteristics, as previous studies suggest, seemed to influence the number and diversity of occupants and activities. Therefore, the aim of this study was to fully document what design features and management practices are included in the spaces, how the spaces were being used and by whom, and to explore the rationale behind the design features and management practices. By doing so, this research aimed to understand how these features and practices attract or deter the public from using the spaces.

Table 5.1 lists the research questions under five topic areas this study addresses: design, management, users/uses, influences of design and management, and the decision-making process of design and management. The table also specifies the sources of information for each research question.

Table 5.1 Research Questions and Sources of Information

Research Question	Sources
1. Design	
a. What are the design features of the fully enclosed privately owned public spaces that are accessible to the public?	Observations (with photographs and maps)
b. What was the original design? What was the rationale for the design choices? *	Interviews and archival sources (reports of City Planning Commission, newspaper articles, and websites)
c. How was the space redesigned? What was the rationale for the redesign? *	Observations (photographs and maps), interviews and archival sources (reports of City Planning Commission, newspaper articles, and websites)
2. Management	
What are the management practices of the privately owned public spaces that are accessible or inaccessible to the public?	Observations (photographs and maps) and interviews
3. Users/Uses	
a. Who uses these spaces?	Observations (with photographs and maps)
b. What do they do there?	Observations (with photographs and maps)
4. Influences of Design and Management	
What inferences can be drawn about how design features and management practices support a diversity of uses and users?	Analysis and interpretation of findings
5. Decision-Making Process	
a. How were the design features and management practices determined?	Interviews and archival sources (reports of City Planning Commission)
b. What was the rationale behind these decisions?	Interviews and archival sources (reports of City Planning Commission, newspaper articles, architectural magazines and books, interviews, websites)

Notes: ＊: Research question applies only to spaces that were redesigned.

5.1   Twenty-Four Cases

This research focused only on indoor, privately owned public spaces for three reasons.

First, previous studies on privately owned public spaces often focus on outdoor bonus

spaces (Miller, 2007; Németh, 2997; 2009; Smithsimon, 2006; 2008). Less attention has

been given to indoor bonus spaces: if these studies included indoor bonus spaces, the

number of cases tended to be small (between one and three). Second, enclosure makes an

indoor space accessible year-round and under all weather conditions, making it more frequently useable by the public. Third, generally an indoor public space appears to be less public and limits certain behaviors. My preliminary fieldwork, however, showed that some of the enclosed public space could be inclusive. What contributes to this different outcome?

Based on the description of the spaces by Kayden et al. (2000) in *Privately Owned Public Space: The New York City Experience* and my own fieldwork, I selected 24 cases in 23 building projects that are fully enclosed, excluding those that are solely for pedestrian circulation and have no retail space or seating, are located one floor above or below the sidewalk (e.g., the interior space of Marriot Marquis at 1535 Broadway), or have been repurposed exclusively to sell merchandise (e.g., the spaces at 712 Fifth Avenue). Not only does the public have difficulty discovering some of the spaces but also may treat some of them as passageways due to the absence of tables, chairs, and retail shops and cafes. The space at 383 Madison Avenue, which does not provide any seating, was included in the study in order to explore the rationale behind its strict management practices – placing security guards at the entrances to the bonus space observed in my preliminary fieldwork.

Some of the building projects in the study could comprise of both interior and exterior bonus spaces but this research only focused on the interior spaces. If several interior bonus spaces are located on different floors of a building, I treated the space on each floor as an individual case. For example, 875 Third Avenue possesses bonus spaces located on three different floors. I studied only two of them, which are located on the concourse and mezzanine levels but excluded the one on the ground floor because of the absence of seating there.

Table 5.2 Types of Bonus Spaces in 24 Cases

Area	Date of Completion	Cases	Type of bonus space
EM	1971	Grand Central Plaza* (622 Third Avenue)	Through block arcade
CM	1974	Olympic Tower Atrium (645 Fifth Avenue)	Covered pedestrian space
CM	1974	Galleria (115 East 57th Street)	Covered pedestrian space
UW	1974	Two Lincoln Square*	Covered plaza
EM	1975	CitiCorp Atrium* (153 East 53rd Street)	Covered pedestrian space
CM	1977	650 Fifth Avenue	Covered pedestrian space
CM	1979	Park Avenue Plaza (55 East 52nd Street)	Through block arcade
CM	1979	Le Parker Meridien (118 West 57th Street)	Through block arcade
UW	1979	Rubenstein Atrium* (61 West 62nd Street)	Covered plaza
CM	1980	575 Fifth Avenue*	Covered pedestrian space
CM	1980	499 Park Avenue	Through block arcade equivalent (with glass-enclosed urban plaza equivalent)
D	1982	180 Maiden Lane	Enclosed public space
CM	1982	Former Altria Atrium (120 Park Avenue)	Covered pedestrian space
EM	1982	805 Atrium (805 Third Avenue)	Covered pedestrian space
CM	1982	Former IBM atrium (590 Madison Avenue)	Covered pedestrian space (with seating area and through block arcade)
D	1983	101 Barclay Street	Public lobby
CM	1983	Trump Tower Plaza (725 Fifth Avenue)	Covered pedestrian space
D	1983	52 Broadway	Through block arcade equivalent
CM	1983	Sony Plaza* (550 Madison Avenue)	Covered pedestrian space
EM	1985	875 Atrium (875 Third Avenue Concourse)	Covered pedestrian space
EM	1985	875 Mezzanine (875 Third Avenue Mezzanine)	Covered pedestrian space
UW	1985	1991 Broadway	Covered plaza
D	1989	60 Wall Street	Covered pedestrian space
CM	2001	383 Madison Avenue	Through block connection

Note: (1) Kayden et al. (2000); (2) ＊: The space was redesigned between 1990 and 2010 approximately; (3) (D): downtown; (CM): Central Midtown; (EM): East Midtown; and (UW): the Upper Westside

Regarding location of the 24 spaces, half are located in Central Midtown, four in

Downtown, five in East Midtown, and three on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. These

cases mainly cover five types of bonus spaces: Through block arcade, though block connection, covered pedestrian space, covered plaza, and public lobby. Table 5.2 lists the types of bonus space of the 24 cases, when they were created and where they are located. Except for five, all cases were approved and completed after the 1975 Zoning Amendment. Six spaces have been redesigned: Two Lincoln Square (1988), Sony Plaza (1994), the CitiCorp Atrium (1994), Grand Central Plaza (1998), the Rubenstein Atrium (2008), and the spaces at 575 Fifth Avenue (2008).

Previous studies show that private corporations employ management practices to intentionally exclude certain unwanted users such as homeless persons and drug dealers (Boddy, 1992; Davis, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Németh, 2997; 2009; Smithsimon, 2006; 2008; Whyte, 1980; 1988). Therefore, the presence of homeless people onsite is the major criterion used to determine whether or not a space is inclusive. For example, in my preliminary fieldwork I found that homeless persons used two spaces in which onsite security guards did not make any efforts to remove them. The criteria used to determine whether someone is homeless includes but is not limited to: wearing dirty, smelly, layered or tattered clothes and shoes, having bags around them, being alone, or sleeping.

5.2   Sources of Information

I collected information from three types of sources: (1) Field observations of the interior of the sites, using photographs, field notes and floor plans; (2) Interviews with building managers, architects involved in the redesign of six spaces, and city officials; and (3) Archival sources. Observations and archival sources provided information regarding current and past design, management and use of the spaces as well as design ideas.

Interviews allowed me to pursue an in-depth investigation of the rationale behind certain management practices that private corporations employ to manage their spaces as well as how design features were determined in the redesign of six spaces.

5.2.1 Field Observations

I conducted field observations immediately after receiving the IRB approval in mid-July 2012 and continued the observations until January 2013. Being a non-participant observer in each space, I endeavored to make sure that my presence did not influence occupants and their activities. Dividing the daily observation into a twelve hour period between 9 a.m. and 9 p.m. enabled me to understand the number of occupants in these spaces per hour and how people use them over the period of this time. On a given day, I might observe more than one space, making a maximum of three visits to any one of the spaces (in the morning between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, in the afternoon between 12 noon and 6 p.m., and in the evening between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m.). Therefore, I could not complete the twelve observations of each space in one day. I conducted observations on weekdays and on weekends so as to explore possible differences in occupants and activities. Because occupants and activities in certain spaces changed dramatically at different times of the day and the week, I observed these spaces more frequently. As a result, I observed each space (except those closed after 6 p.m. and on weekends) at least 24 times in total (and at most 47 times in total): 12 times on weekdays and 12 times on weekends.

I conducted observations in order to understand how people used these spaces and who they were. Therefore, I gave priority to capturing the diversity of occupants of each space at each visit rather than determining the accurate number of users. As a

non-participant observer, I found determining occupants' ethnicity was challenging. For example, it is difficult to separate Hispanics (or Latinos) from non-Hispanic white and black only by observing occupants' physical appearance. Therefore, I only recorded race as well as gender and age to determine whether or not a diverse body of occupants occurs in each space. The race of occupants was recorded three types – white, black and Asian – and age in four types – younger than 10, between 10 and 20, between 20 and 50, and over 50. I adopted several abbreviations for gender, race and age of users, which enabled me to quickly document the information. For example, "M" is for male and "F" for female.

Because occupants of each space changed constantly, I recorded only those people who were sitting down, not those standing or moving. On each visit I made one complete tour of the space, regarding the users and activities occurring at each table, once, following the spatial sequence of tables and benches. I recorded whether occupants were sitting in groups or individually. I focused only on occupants and their activities at the table (or bench) that I was observing at that moment. If occupants at the tables that I had just recorded changed, I did not alter the previous recording. I stayed in each space between 5 and 30 minutes depending on the number of occupants to be observed. During periods of programmed activities in the Rubenstein Atrium, I did not record the characteristics of the occupants or their activities. Not only were tables removed and more chairs added but the number of occupants was often close to or over 200. For these time periods, I recorded the type of programmed activity and how people interacted with performers.

Floor plans of these spaces and a smart phone facilitated my field observations. Most of these buildings where the spaces are located were completed two or three decades ago, which made locating floor plans of these spaces difficult. Drawing floor plans

improved my understanding of these spaces. These floor plans also facilitated the recording of characteristics and locations of occupants in each space more rapidly. I employed a smart phone to solve the challenge of observing around or over 100 people during lunch hours in several spaces. I put on my headset and pretended to talk to someone on the phone in Mandarin or Taiwanese. This "false" image prevented people from recognizing what I was doing and enabled me not to disturb people as well as to reduce their attention to my presence. While walking through a space, I made mental notations of the space and verbally recorded its occupants and their activities (on the cell phone) at that period of the time. Once I finished my recording, I wrote down the characteristics of occupants on floor plans while playing the recording either in the same space.

In addition to composing two checklists of design features and management practices (Appendix A), photographs and floor plans helped to illustrate design features, the presence of homeless persons, and the location of types of activities and types of occupants. If photographing was permanently prohibited by security guards (at least three cases), I relied mostly on field notes unless I could capture some image discretely. Two methods of photographing enabled me to avoid disturbing occupants. First, if I had a friend with me during field observations, I often asked my friend to stand near activities that I wanted to photograph. By pretending to take pictures of my friend, I would be able to capture some images of the activities. Second, if I did not have anyone accompanying me, photographing occupants and activities could be difficult. By pretending to use my smart phone I was able to capture some images of activities occurring in the spaces without being noticed by occupants.

Of the 24 cases, I conducted field observations at 20 of the spaces since people's use of the other four spaces was either prohibited, discouraged or oriented to only certain types of activities. At 101 Barclay Street, people are not allowed to enter the space. Similarly at 383 Madison Avenue, the public is discouraged from entering the space. If members of public do enter, they are allowed only to walk through so that conducting any activity inside this space is impossible. In contrast, the public can enter Le Parker Meridien and Two Lincoln Square but their use of the spaces is restricted. This is because the former is used exclusively as a hotel lobby and a lounge bar (that occupies a certain area inside it), and the latter has been converted entirely to a museum. Of the remaining 20 cases, I observed six only on weekdays since they are closed on weekends. They are: 180 Maiden Lane, 805 Atrium, 650 Fifth Avenue, 52 Broadway, 499 Park Avenue and Grand Central Plaza.

In October 2012, Superstorm Sandy caused severe damage in New York City. The storm destroyed the entire bonus space at180 Maiden Lane. As a result, I did not conduct any field observations of this space afterwards. Fortunately, I had completed the required visits to it as well as the interview with the building manager.

5.2.2 Interviews

I conducted interviews with building managers, architects, and city officials from the New York City Department of City Planning. Interviews with building managers enabled me to understand what management practices were employed to govern the spaces, how rules were interpreted and enforced, and what the role of security guards was. The building managers of five spaces that had been redesigned also offered additional information

related to their design. Interviews with architects were intended to reveal the redesign process, allowing me to understand how the spaces were before the modification and how design features were determined and with what intentions. Similarly, interviews with city officials enabled me to understand the City's point of view regarding the design and management of bonus spaces.

My initial plan of arranging interviews with building managers and architects required the assistance of the New York City Department of City Planning. Unfortunately, the city planning department could not offer any assistance due to its budget cuts and labor shortage. To obtain the contact information for building managers, I used the Internet to identify the private corporations that currently own and manage them. First, I sent emails to building managers of ten spaces which many people use for a wide variety of activities and requested an interview. Only one of the ten managers I contacted this way responded to my e-mails. The manager of the former IBM atrium agreed to be interviewed. After that, I made phone calls to those who did not reply to my e-mails, but only five of them agreed to be interviewed. To arrange additional interviews, I asked each building manager whom I met for an interview to refer me to persons they knew who currently work in some of the private corporations managing the spaces in my sample. Through their introductions, six buildings managers accepted my request for an interview. Prior to the interviews, some requested the interview questions so that they knew what to prepare for. In the end I conducted a total of 12 interviews with building managers.

My interviews with architects were restricted to those involved with the redesign of six spaces because it was difficult to locate the architects who participated in the original design of these spaces, some of which were built two or three decades ago. As with my

approach to arranging interviews with building managers, I sent emails to the architectural firms that renovated these six spaces and requested an interview. The architectural firm, Gwathmey Siegel & Associates, that renovated Sony Plaza and the CitiCorp Atrium responded to my email and agreed to an interview. Through the introduction of a professor at my university, the architectural firm, Moed de Armas & Shannon that renovated the space at 575 Fifth Avenue, also agreed to an interview. Some of the redesign information regarding these three spaces is from the interviews with their managers. In the end I conducted a total of three interviews with building architects. Without the interviews with architects of Two Lincoln Square and the Rubenstein Atrium, the information I gathered about their redesign process came mainly from my interviews with their building managers. The interview with a city official in the city planning department who was involved with the redesign of the Rubenstein Atrium also offered some information about its redesign. Table 5.3 below conveys information about the building managers, architects, and city official I interviewed and which spaces those interviews covered.

I used three separate semi-structured interview protocols that cover design and management of the spaces for building managers, architects, and city officials (see Appendix B). The completion of sixteen interviews included: 12 with building managers, three with architects, and one with a New York City planning official. These interviews covered 12 cases (see Table 5.3), and each interview ranged from 30 to 60 minutes. Except for the managers of the Galleria and 575 Fifth Avenue, the 14 other interviewees allowed me to audio record the interviews. For the two interviews where I was not allowed to audio record, I took notes and typed them up immediately after the interviews. For the recorded ones, I often completed these transcripts within two weeks. I sent all the interview

transcripts to the interviewees as a "member check." By doing so, I could ensure that the

information is accurate and acceptable to the interviewees. Most of the interviewees agreed

with my transcripts except four of them—the managers of Sony Plaza, the CitiCorp Atrium,

the 805 Atrium, and 575 Fifth Avenue—who made some edits and corrections.

Table 5.3 16 Interviews Covering 12 cases

Address/Space	Building Manager	Architect	City Official
622 Third Avenue	-	-	-
Olympic Tower Atrium	-	-	-
Galleria*	YES	-	-
Two Lincoln Square	YES	-	-
the CitiCorp Atrium	YES	YES	-
650 Fifth Avenue	-	-	-
Park Avenue Plaza	YES	-	-
Le Parker Meridien	-	-	-
Rubenstein Atrium	YES	-	YES
575 Fifth Avenue*	YES	YES	-
499 Park Avenue	-	-	-
180 Maiden Lane	YES	-	-
former Altria Atrium	-	-	-
the 805 Atrium	YES	-	-
former IBM atrium	YES	-	-
101 Barclay Street	-	-	-
Trump Tower Plaza	-	-	-
52 Broadway	-	-	-
Sony Plaza	YES	YES	-
875 Atrium	-	-	-
875 Mezzanine	-	-	-
1991 Broadway	-	-	-
60 Wall Street	YES	-	-
383 Madison Avenue	YES	-	-

NOTE: ＊: The building managers did not allow me to tape the interviews.

5.2.3   Archival Research

Archival sources for this study include primary and secondary sources. The primary

documents of New York City's privately owned public spaces, named the POPS archives,

are stored in the New York City Department of City Planning. A city official once retrieved the folders of two spaces from this archive for me when I was working on a course paper in 2011. I made several subsequent attempts to access the POPS archive, but without success. In addition to submitting a request through the website of the planning department, I also sent two versions of the summary of my dissertation to a city official at the city planning department with whom I had been in contact. Also, I contacted Professor Jerold S. Kayden, one of the authors of *Privately Owned Public Space: The New York City Experience*, and David Burney, a commissioner of New York City Department of Design and Construction (DDC), for their assistance in accessing the POPS archive.

After the city planning department refused my requests with the reason that the information I was searching for is not at their department, the city official suggested I to contact Alexis Taylor who is in charge of Advocates for Privately Owned Public Spaces (APOPS) at the Municipal Art Society of New York City (MAS). Miss Taylor reported that the information about privately owned public spaces that I was looking for is not housed at MAS but rather mostly stored at the city planning department. She did send me the files for 575 Fifth Avenue and Grand Central Plaza, which were collected for the project that Kayden et al. (2000) conducted between 1996 and 1999. In addition, I contacted several architectural firms that designed most of these spaces such as Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) that has its own archive of the projects they designed. Due to the confidential nature of the information, they refused my requests to access their archive.

I also used the website of the New York City Department of City Planning to search for some information. I located several reports of the City Planning Commission (CPC) on the website and used them as primary sources for this research. The other primary sources

included some drawings and images offered by the interviewees. Secondary sources primarily cover newspapers articles such as from the New York Times, architecture magazines such as *Architecture Record*, and websites of architectural firms. These sources provided information about the history of the spaces, their design features and management practices and the rationale behind their design, how they were used in the past, and the record of and reasons for non-compliance. (Non-compliance means that the private sector did not satisfy the agreement, established during the design process, with the New York City Department of City Planning.)

5.3   Data Analysis, Reliability and Validity

The collected data included records of characteristics and number of occupants observed on weekdays and on weekends, field notes, photographs, reports of the City Planning Commission (CPC), and audio recordings and interview notes. I transcribed the audio recordings immediately after each interview. I also digitized notes that I took during the interviews that were not part of the audio recording right after the interviews. The interview transcripts were sent back to the interviewees for their verification. Both interview transcripts and information from field observations were stored securely and were not shared with anyone except the interviewees and my dissertation adviser and other dissertation committee members. I organized the raw data by the addresses of these spaces. Each file includes information of field observations and photos in chronological order. Particular events or activities on each observation were marked with colors or texts so as to be easily searched.

I read through all the collected data, especially the interview transcripts. I marked some important information or did a brief coding related to design, management and use.

This process enabled me to understand an overall picture of the data. At the same time, I created a qualitative codebook covering several codes (e.g., sleeping, large-size bags, playing games, and homeless persons) that assisted me when I coded each transcript. Table 5.4 lists the codes, covering design, management and use/uses, in the qualitative codebook. If these codes were not applicable to some pieces of the transcripts, more codes were added. I coded these transcripts by using a paragraph as a unit of the analysis. Once the coding process was done, these codes were grouped inductively to generate themes such as occupants' activities, programmed activities and private events, attitudes of managers, and prohibited items and activities. In addition to field notes and photographs, these themes were useful to describe the differences and similarities between the spaces with regard to their design, management, and use/user. I used Microsoft Excel to calculate the average number of occupants per hour on weekdays and weekends as well as the percentage of their gender, race and age. I also used a chi-square to test whether or not the change in race, gender and age of occupants was significant between weekdays and weekends. These findings were used to understand how design features and management practices support a diversity of occupants and activities across the 24 spaces and how the managers of the spaces interpret and enforce the rules of conduct posted inside these spaces.

While collecting data, data reliability and validity needed to be ensured. Therefore, each step I employed to collect data from the different spaces was similar and consistent. The face-to-face interviews were conduced with semi-structured interview questions; each interview covered design, management and use of these spaces and their related issues. I conducted all the observations of each space so that the field observations were consistent

across spaces. While analyzing the data, I applied similar codes (or themes) across spaces. Therefore, reliability of the analysis was confirmed.

I collected data from difference sources which allowed me to triangulate the data to ensure accuracy. At the same, I observed these spaces during different times of the day and the week so that I understood how these spaces were actually used and by whom and what types of programs were held in these spaces. I reported to my dissertation adviser what I found and what problems I encountered after conducing filed observations. I confirmed that the direction of collecting data was proper or if I needed to make some changes. In the process, I also worked to be aware of any bias I might possess and attempted to guard against my bias while collecting data and observing these spaces. I separated my own comments from the data I obtained. Through these steps, I worked to increase the validity of my research.

Table 5.4 Qualitative Codebook Covering 11 Codes in Three Scopes

Scopes	Codes	Description
Design	Seating	Types of chairs, providing tables or not
	Retailers	Type of retail shops, cafes, and the opening hours
	Landscaping	Information related to plants and water features
	Amenities	Including restrooms, free wi-fi, power outlets, skylights, and climate-control and so on
Management	Large-size bags	Manager's attitude toward large-size bags
	Sleeping	Manager's attitude toward sleeping
	Security personnel	Understanding the reasons of placing security personnel, what is their role and how they enforce rules
	Programmed activities	Types of programmed activities, how to promote and schedule activities
Use/User	Playing games	People use the spaces to play games and the types of games
	Number and diversity	How people use the spaces, and at what time; how is the diversity of occupants
	Homeless people	The presence of homeless people, manager's attitude toward homeless people, whether or not homeless people were asked to leave and so on

CHAPTER 6

DESIGN

The provision of bonus spaces in New York City's Zoning Resolution encourages private corporations to create spaces, indoors or outdoors, for the general public to use. In addition to design features mandated by the New York City Department of Urban Planning, the types of bonus spaces that private corporations choose to incorporate into their buildings determine in the design direction of these spaces, such as covered pedestrian spaces, through block arcades, and covered plazas. The 24 indoor privately owned public spaces chosen for this research possess various design characteristics. Some of them are similar to each other and some are not. The physical, visual and symbolic accessibility of spaces influences whether or not they are inviting or less inviting. So it is important to understand what design features of the spaces make them visible and noticeable from city streets (e.g., types of frontage and entrance doors) and which design features enhance their quality (e.g., skylights and spatial dimensions). Furthermore, what environmental amenities do the spaces offer to intentionally attract people such as seating, retail shops and cafes, and art galleries?

6.1   Relationship between Indoors and Outdoors

Unlike outdoor public spaces that can more easily be seen as one passes by, bonus spaces located inside buildings are not always visible from the street, although how visible they are varies significantly with the design of the building and the location and design of the space. Consequently, the relationship between indoors and outdoors influences both their visual and physical accessibility to the public (Table 6.1). 17 spaces are located on the

ground level of their host buildings; six spaces are below and one space is above the street grade. Therefore, these seven spaces are less noticeable from the sidewalk. Tucking the CitiCorp Atrium and the Trump Tower Plaza inside their host buildings further decreases their visibility to the public.

Most of the host buildings that house the bonus spaces in this study are located at the corner of city blocks with the exception of five that are placed in mid-block (Table 6.1 & Fig 6.7). 13 spaces provide mid-block pedestrian access from one street to another and so serve as shortcuts. At 60 Wall Street and 383 Madison Avenue, subway entrances are located inside and/or adjacent to the spaces so that people can access the subway through the spaces. Some subway entrances face or are located adjacent to the entrances of four spaces: the CitiCorp Atrium, Park Plaza Avenue, the Former Altira Atrium, and the 875 Atrium (Fig 6.7). Because many people pass through the subway entrances every day, the relationship between the six spaces and the subway entrances increase their visibility to the public and that may possibly increase the number of their occupants.

Four different approaches can be identified for the design of the entrances to all 24 spaces (with some demonstrating more than one approach). First, canopies over sidewalks are installed above the entrances that are either recessed from the building edges or on the sidewalk at 11 spaces. These canopies are in different colors and sometimes have evening lighting. For example, two additional canopies colored in black above the entrances on both Broadway and Columbus Avenue make it hard to overlook the Rubenstein Atrium. The canopies of the 805 Atrium and the Olympic Tower Atrium are designed like illuminated signs that light up during the evening. The additional evening lighting makes the canopies more obvious to people who pass by.
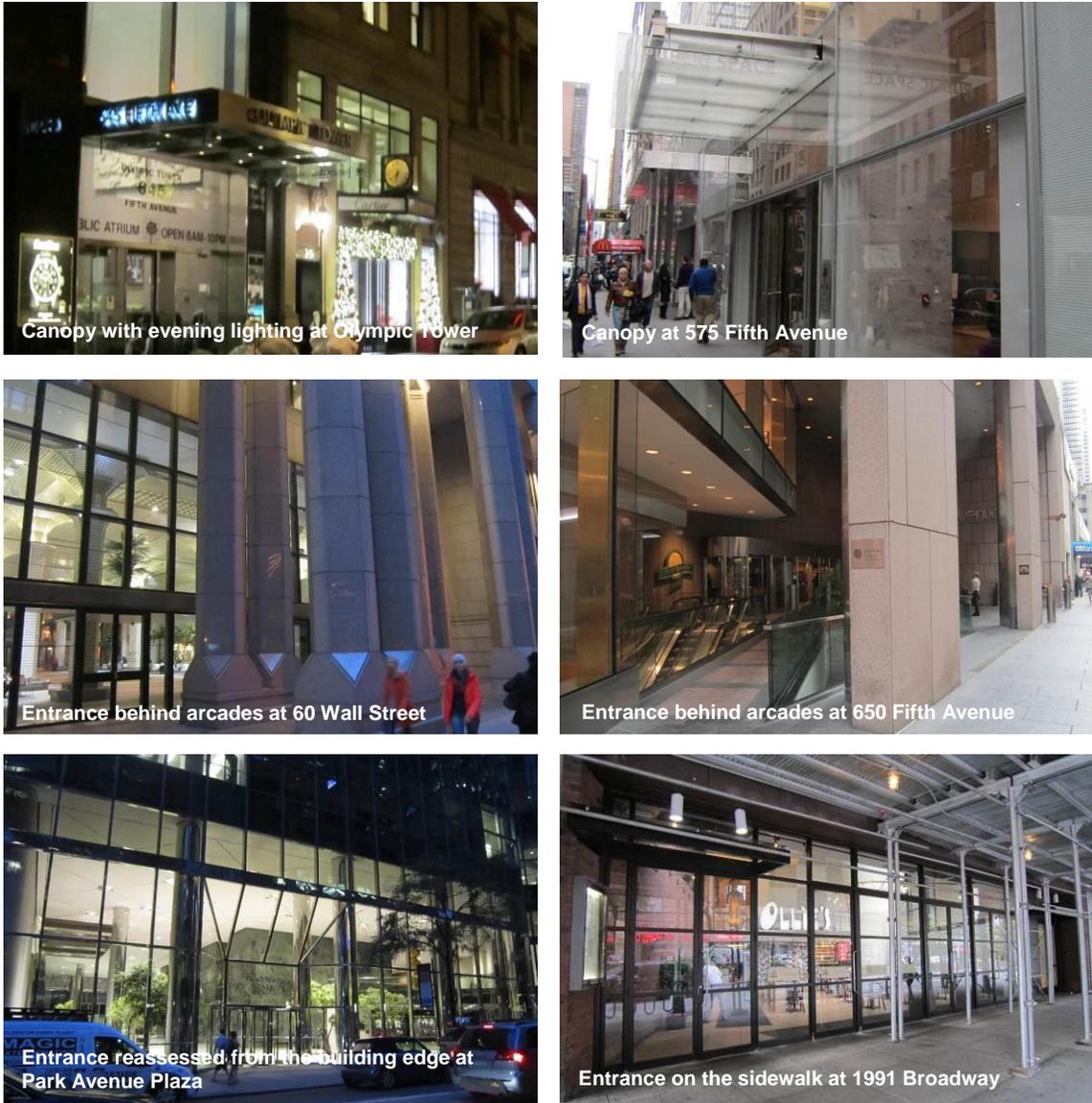
Figure 6.1 Various Design Types of Entrances

Second, the entrances to seven spaces are recessed from the building edge, as at the former IBM atrium and the CitiCorp Atrium, with the distance or depth of the recess varying. Third, the entrances to six spaces are placed behind arcades. For example, the descending escalator leading toward the entrance at 650 Fifth Avenue is placed behind a more than two-story arcade. Finally, the entrances to three spaces are directly on the sidewalk, as at 1991 Broadway and 101 Barclay Street (Fig 6.1). The different designs of

entrances to the spaces create variance along city streets that call attention or enhance people's awareness of their existence.

In addition to the design of the entrances, all spaces have or use both hinged and revolving doors except six which only possess hinged doors. In contrast to the design of the other entrances, the Rubenstein Atrium's two entrances, on Broadway and Columbus Avenue, are composed of hinged doors of two sizes: the small one for regular use and the larger one, about 15 to 16 feet high is closed most of the time but open sometimes for ventilation in the summer (Fig 6.2). The openness of the large doors can draw pedestrians' attention, as a city official from the New York City Department of City Planning described:

> …the large doors - 15 or 16 feet high - give another option to bring natural air in, especially when the weather is nice....When these doors are open, people will notice the space and realize that something here is and it will be much easier to get inside. They are not often open, but they can be open and on the Columbus avenue as well.

This result supports Whyte's conclusion (1980) that keeping doors open can make spaces inviting to the public. The frontage of 20 spaces is made of clear glass so that people indoors and outdoors can see each other (Table 6.1). The former IBM atrium is likely noticeable to pedestrians because this space is designed as an individual glass structure, attached to its host building rather being embraced by it. Several spaces, however, have only limited linear footage of clear glass along the sidewalk where passersby can look in, as at 101 Barclay Street and Le Parker Meridien. In contrast, pedestrians may not notice four spaces at all because their glass frontage is made of tinted, reflective glass. For example, while seven sides of the octagonal space at 180 Maiden Lane are two-story vertical glass walls and slanted glass roofs, the tinted, reflective glass makes the space difficult for passersby to see in. At 499 Park Avenue, the long linear frontage of the tinted black glass wall makes any visual connection between inside and outside the space

impossible (Fig 6.3). Similarly the tinted, reflective glass wall at 383 Madison Avenue obstructs pedestrians' views into it. The visual obstruction caused by tinted, reflective glass walls in the daytime can be reduced with evening lighting during the nighttime. As a result, pedestrians can view into them more easily.

Figure 6.2 Entrances on Broadway and Columbus Avenue Comprising Two Types of Doors
Source: Lincoln Center for Performing Arts

Figure 6.3 Glass Frontage is Tinted and Reflective

Public space plaques, which are required by the New York City Department of City Planning, are a direct means of telling the public that these spaces are public and the public is welcome: they have "an image of a tree" and say "OPEN TO PUBLIC" as well as listing the number of seats and tables, hours of operation and ownership. All spaces studied have such plaques outside above or next to entrances or on doors except for Two Lincoln Square

and 101 Barclay Street. The manager of the former explained, "We used to have a sign. I think when we renovated the front façade, we didn't put it on and nobody has complained that we don't have it." The Rubenstein Atrium and 1991 Broadway are the only two spaces with plaques posted both indoors and outdoors.

The size and color of the plaques vary. To make the plaques more noticeable to pedestrians, managers of several spaces have them installed at the corners of their host buildings in order to face busy streets such as at the CitiCorp Atrium, the Former Altria Atrium and 575 Fifth Avenue. The manager of Sony Plaza has additional public space flags hung on the ceiling of its arcades to draw people's attention (Fig 6.4). At 180 Maiden Lane, the 805 Atrium, and Le Parker Meridien, the color of their plaques is similar to the background color of the surfaces where they are posted. As a result, the plaques are difficult for people to recognize. The mangers of four spaces have only one plaque posted and in a location where passersby cannot see them easily. At 499 Park Avenue, a small-sized plaque, placed far below an adult's gaze, is located at one entrance so that it is difficult to notice. At 650 Fifth Avenue, a plaque is placed at the entrance to the space, one floor below the street grade, rather than on columns adjacent the sidewalk (as what has been done at the Former Altria Atrium). Therefore, it is unlikely people will notice this plaque (Fig 6.5).

The relationship of 24 spaces to their host buildings can be categorized into three design approaches. First, the entrances to12 spaces are separate from the entrances to their host buildings such as 60 Wall Street, Sony Plaza, and the former IBM atrium. This design arrangement enables visitors not to feel that these spaces are part of corporation lobbies; they are more likely to feel comfortable using them. Second, seven spaces share entrances

with their host buildings but the locations of the security desks where staff screen visitors before they enter the elevators are often located on a different level or far away from the main seating areas of the bonus spaces inside the buildings, such as at 180 Maiden Lane and Park Avenue Plaza. This allows visitors not to face security desks so that they are likely to feel comfortable when using these spaces. The security desk at Park Avenue Plaza is placed on the mezzanine level. This separation from the bonus space enhances the security of the building as the manager reported:

> I don't know if they were thinking about security back then but it does work from a security standpoint, especially after the event of 9/11….Because if you had the elevators at the public space, it would be very difficult to control people, unwanted people getting on the elevators. As it is now, you have to go upstairs and to pass through a security gate to get to the elevators. If all were on the same level, it would create additional security needs because anyone who is hanging around the lobby can just walk to an elevator.
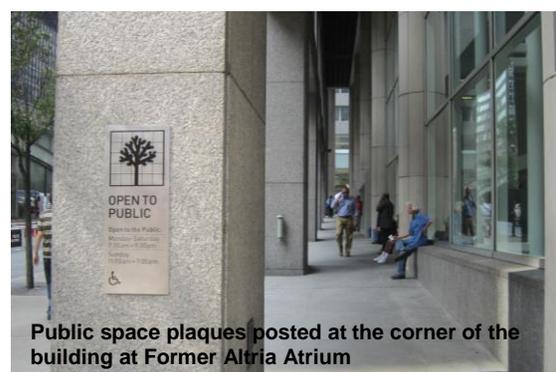
Figure 6.4 Various Design Types and Colors of Public Space Plaques

Similarly people can enter both 52 Broadway and 499 Park Avenue through their other entrances to avoid encountering security desks. Finally, some spaces not only share entrances with their host buildings but their security desks are placed in the central area as 101 Barclay Street, 383 Madison Avenue, Grand Central Plaza, and the Galleria. So users of these bonus spaces cannot avoid encountering or facing the security desks. The location of security desks in the spaces may make people feel less comfortable using these spaces. At Grand Central Plaza, the posting of seating that is directly facing the security desk may make occupants less comfortable to conduct other activities besides sitting down. The security desk in in the Galleria is more secluded, below the grade of the seating area so that it is less obvious to occupants.

Figure 6.5 Locations of Public Spaces Plaques Making Them Hard to Notice

Table 6.1 Relationship between Indoors and Outdoors

	Location of host buildings	Cross-block connection	Street level	Entrance design	Types of doors	Clear glass frontage	Public space plaques	Separate entrances from the entrances to host building
180 Maiden Lane	Corner	Yes	Yes	Recessed	Both	No	Yes	Partial
60 Wall Street	Mid-block	Yes	Yes	Behind arcades	Both	No	Yes	Yes
Park Avenue Plaza	Mid-block	Yes	Yes	Recessed	Both	Yes	Yes	Partial
Sony Plaza	Corner	Yes	Yes	Behind arcades	Hinged	Yes	Yes	Yes
Former IBM Atrium	Corner	Yes	Yes	Recessed	Both	Yes	Yes	Yes
CitiCorp Atrium	Corner	Yes	Below	Recessed	Both	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rubenstein Atrium	Corner	Yes	Yes	Canopy & Directly on sidewalk	Both	Yes	Yes	Yes
Former Altria Atrium	Corner	No	Yes	Behind arcades	Hinged	Yes	Yes	Yes
575 Fifth Avenue	Corner	No	Yes	Canopy & Directly on sidewalk	Both	Yes	Yes	Yes
805 Atrium	Corner	No	Below	Canopy & Directly on sidewalk	Both	Yes	Yes (one)	Yes
875 Atrium	Corner	No	Below	Recessed & Canopy	Both	Yes	Yes	Yes
650 Fifth Avenue	Corner	No	Below	Behind arcades	Hinged	Yes	Yes (one)	Yes
Trump Tower Plaza	Corner	No	Below	Recessed	No	Yes	Yes (one)	Partial
Two Lincoln Square	Corner	No	Yes	Behind the arcades	Hinged	Yes	No	Yes
1991 Broadway	Corner	No	Yes	Directly on sidewalk	Hinged	Yes	Yes	Yes
52 Broadway	Corner	Yes	Yes	Directly on sidewalk	Both	Yes	Yes	Partial
Olympic Tower Atrium	Corner	Yes	Yes	Canopy & Directly on sidewalk	Both	Yes	Yes	No
Galleria	Mid-block	Yes	Below	Recessed & Behind arcades	Hinged	Yes	Yes	No
499 Park Avenue	Corner	No	Yes	Recessed	Both	No	Yes (one)	Partial
Grand Central Plaza	Mid-block	Yes	Yes	Behind arcades	No	Yes	Yes	No
875 Mezzanine	Corner	No	Above	Recessed & Canopy	Both	Yes	Yes	Partial
383 Madison Avenue	Corner	Yes	Yes	Recessed & Canopy	Both	No	Yes	No
101 Barclay Street	Corner	No	Yes	Directly on sidewalk	Both	Yes	No	No
Le Parker Meridien	Mid-block	Yes	Yes	Recessed & Canopy	Both	Yes	Yes (one)	Partial

6.2   Quality of Interior Spaces

Lighting is a critical feature because a bright space tends to attract people and make them feel secure and safe using the spaces (Gehl, 2010). Carmona et al. (2003) assert that natural lighting is not only important to the character and utility of public space but also to its aesthetics (p187). All 24 spaces in the study possess glass frontage enabling natural light to enter during the daytime. To bring in more sunlight, skylights are incorporated into 15 spaces (Table 6.2). In three spaces the skylight is an extension of the glass frontage. In eight spaces, the skylights cover a portion of the ceiling area. The single skylight in most spaces is often located in the same place except in the Rubenstein Atrium which is dotted with several round skylights. The ceiling of four spaces is created like skylights so that the amount of sunlight they receive is more than the other spaces of the study (Fig 6.6). The former IBM atrium is a great example of this type of skylight. Not only does its skylight bring in daylight but also it allows occupants to see the sky and make them likely feel as if they are outdoors rather than indoors.

Unlike most outdoor public spaces whose use may be limited during nighttime, the provision of artificial lighting in interior bonus spaces not only enhances the lighting quality and security of these spaces but also enables people to continue to use them in the evening. Most spaces that are open until 10 pm or midnight provide sufficient lighting similar to the daytime except for Sony Plaza, the former IBM atrium, and the Galleria. On weekends, the lighting of the space at 60 Wall Street is less bright than on weekdays.

Other important design features of the interior include total square footage and the shape of the space and its height (Table 6.2). The area of five spaces is more than 10,000 sf; 12 spaces are between 5,000 sf and 10,000 sf and seven spaces are less than 5,000 sf.

When the total square footage of spaces is large, the quality of their spaciousness is better and more tables and chairs are offered. The ceiling height of all spaces, except three, is at least two-stories-high and may vary in different sections. The ceiling of some spaces is more than five-stories high and enhances their spaciousness such as Sony Plaza, the CitiCorp Atrium, and Trump Tower Plaza. Each space also has its own particular space shape (Fig 6.7).The shapes of 13 spaces are square, rectangle or triangle. Nine of the spaces are more linear. The shapes of the Rubenstein Atrium and Two Lincoln Square are very different from any of the other spaces: a T shape in the former and a cross shape in the latter. If the total square footage of spaces is small, their shape can have a significant influence of the types of activities included. For example, large-size sculptures displayed in the former IBM atrium would be difficult to exhibit in Two Lincoln Square. "The space is small. Sometimes the museum has a bigger exhibition than we can fit into this space. We have to limit the size of our programs a little bit….," said the manager of Two Lincoln Square.

With the exception of fives spaces, the grade remains the same throughout the space. At 805 Atrium, Two Lincoln Square and 499 Park Avenue, the space is divided into two sections at different grades. At the Former Altria Atrium and the Olympic Tower Atrium, areas are divided into three grades but the grade changes only occupy a small area of the atrium. The grade changes enable to separate the spaces into several sections for different usage but, meanwhile, that may reduce their usability for various activities, particular large-size ones. Therefore, they are eliminated in some cases through redesign. To make the CitiCorp Atrium a multi-purpose space and more accessible to the public, its redesign, which is discussed in Chapter Seven, removed the central raised area.

In 14 spaces, tables and chairs occupy most of their interior area but their locations vary. In nine spaces, the location of seating is at the central area as in the former IBM atrium, at 650 Fifth Avenue and at 1991 Broadway. In five spaces, a central pedestrian route passes through the seating area such as at 60 Wall Street and at Sony Plaza. In five spaces seating is concentrated in only one location -- along the pedestrian circulation route -- as at 52 Broadway and in the Galleria. In contrast, chairs in four spaces are placed along the circulation route and two of them also provide tables. Finally, 383 Madison Avenue does not possess a designated seating area because it does not provide any seating.
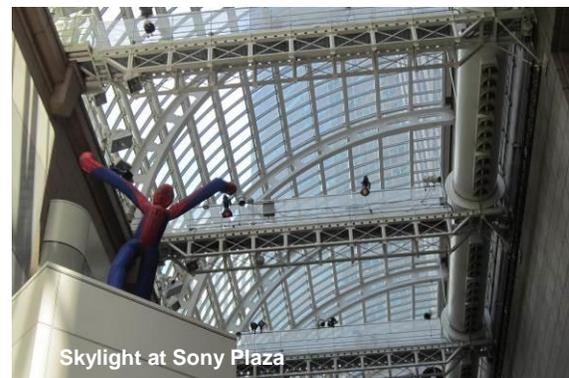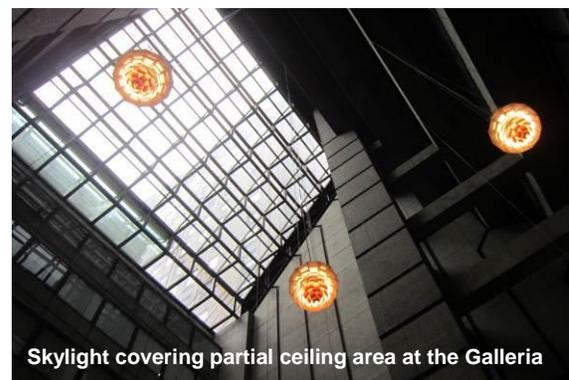
Figure 6.6 Various Design of Skylights
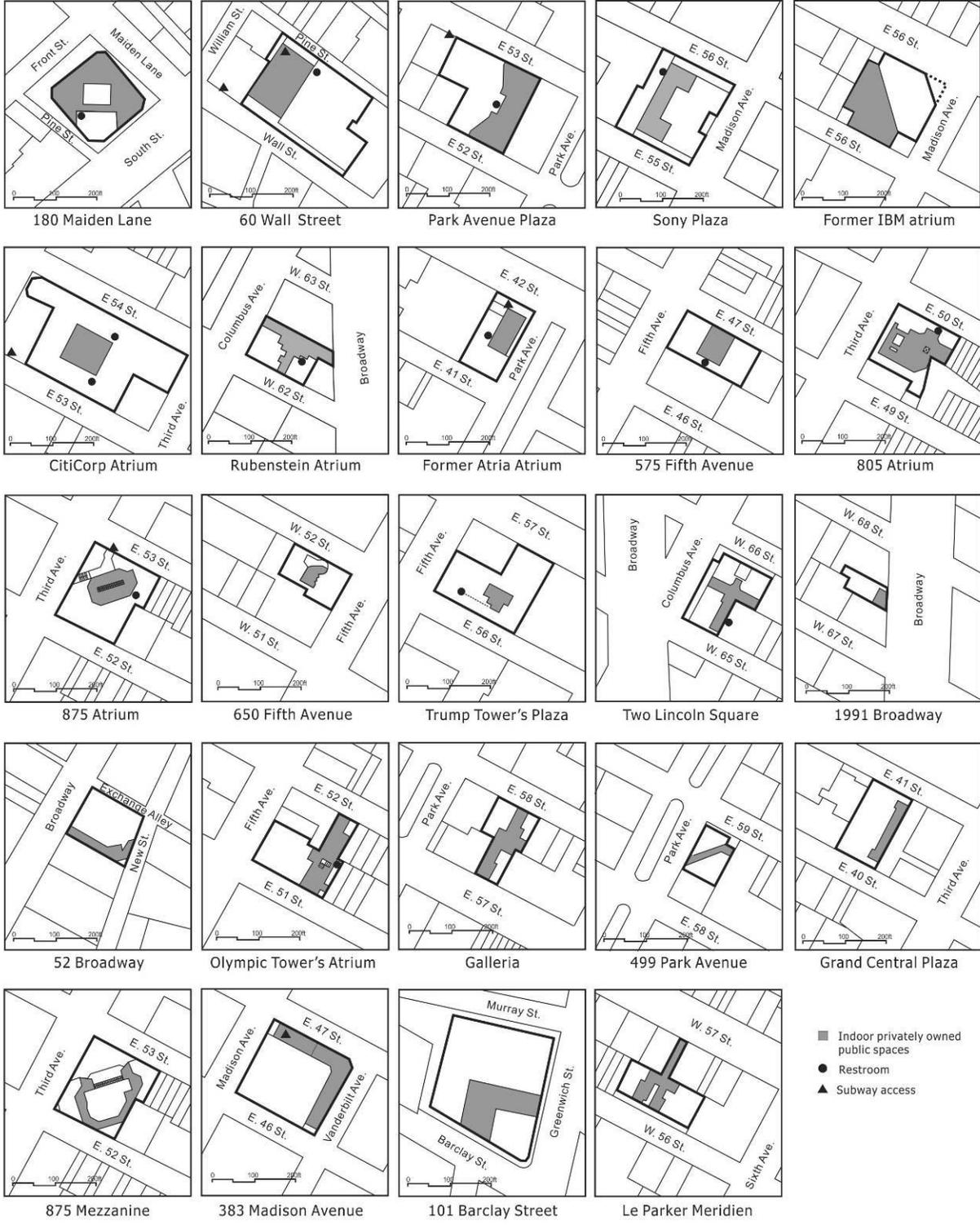
Figure 6.7 Site Plans of 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces
Source: Kayden et al. (2000). The author revised the plans of 180 Maiden Lane, 575 Fifth Avenue, and 650 Fifth Avenue to match their existing situation. The author also added the location of subway entrances and restrooms.

Table 6.2 Selected Design Features of 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

	Skylights	Type of Skylights	Area (sf)	Ceiling height (Floors)	Shape space	Grade change	Seating area
180 Maiden Lane	Yes	Extension of glass facade	16,364	> 2	square	No	Majority of the area
60 Wall Street	No	N/A	15,080	> 2	rectangle	No	Majority of the area
Park Avenue Plaza	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	13,000	2	rectangle	No	Majority of the area
Sony Plaza	Yes	Treated as ceiling	10,164	> 5	rectangle	No	Majority of the area
Former IBM Atrium	Yes	Treated as ceiling	16,430	> 5 (65 feet)	triangle	No	Majority of the area
CitiCorp Atrium	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	7,247	> 5 (85 feet)	square	No	Majority of the area
Rubenstein Atrium	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	6,906	2 (30 feet)	T shape	No	Majority of the area
Former Altria Atrium	No	N/A	5,103	3	rectangle	Yes	Majority of the area
575 Fifth Avenue	No	N/A	3,442	3	square	No	Majority of the area
805 Atrium	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	8500	> 2	square	Yes	Majority of the area
The 875 Atrium	No	N/A	5,500	> 1	rectangle	No	Majority of the area
650 Fifth Avenue	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	3,363	2	rectangle	No	Majority of the area
Trump Tower Plaza	Yes	Treated as ceiling	1980	> 5	square	No	Majority of the area
Two Lincoln Square	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	6,358	1	cross	Yes	Along the circulation
1991 Broadway	Yes	Extension of glass facade	1,660	> 2	square	No	Majority of the area
52 Broadway	No	N/A	4,841	1	Linear	No	A small area
Olympic Tower Atrium	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	8,681	2	Linear	Yes	A small area
The Galleria	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	7,419	> 1 (90 feet)	Linear	No	A small area
499 Park Avenue	Yes	Extension of glass facade	2,990	> 2	Linear	Yes	A small area
Grand Central Plaza	No	N/A	4,621	> 1	Linear	No	Along the circulation
875 Mezzanine	No	N/A	7,300	1	Linear	No	Along the circulation
383 Madison Avenue	No	N/A	5,706	2	Linear	No	None
101 Barclay Street	Yes	Covering partial ceiling area	7,600	> 2	Linear	No	None
Le Parker Meridien	No	N/A	6,820	> 2	Linear	No	Along the circulation

Source: The square footage of each space is based on Kayden et al.'s documentation (2000). Because their documentation does not always clearly separate the area of certain spaces, the author estimates the area of several spaces for this study.

6.3   Environmental Amenities

All spaces possess various environmental amenities that make them comfortable and supportive spaces to occupy. Certainly that they are interior provides shelter from wind and snow and ample electric lighting allows for use during evening hours. All 24 spaces of the study are heated, an additional advantage in cold weather and all have air conditioning except the former IBM atrium and 1991 Broadway. Because of ample ventilation, every occupant there is unlikely to be uncomfortable in the summer months. And at 1991 Broadway, electric fans hung from the ceiling and open doors increase the air flow to reduce summer heat.

All spaces provide seating except 383 Madison Avenue. Regarding the absence of seating there, the manager of the former said:

> I don't know why they don't require benches. It's an easement to allow traffic through here. Because it's a transient base, I don't know why legally we were not required to put benches. It's not like a park space where you need a seat. It's not a train station where you wait for something. It's an access; it's an easement through a public space. So I don't believe you would need benches where it's a transient space.

The number of seats varies among the study spaces. Ten spaces include both movable and fixed chairs and 13 of them include either movable (9 spaces) or fixed (4 spaces) chairs but not both. Most spaces are also equipped with tables except for Two Lincoln Square, 499 Park Avenue, Grand Central Plaza and Le Parker Meridien. Whyte (1980) concluded the importance of movable chairs was to allow people to arrange them according to their needs and activities, which change over time, and to support social interaction among occupants. Anyone can use the tables and chairs without having to purchase food or drink from adjacent cafes. At both the 875 Atrium and the Olympic Tower Atrium, a sign posted on one column informs occupants that "All seating is available to the public without the

purchase of food (or drink) (Fig 6.8)." However, the northern section of Le Parker
Meridein has been annexed for private use and is used as a lounge bar so that people need
to order some food in order to use that area.

Figure 6.8 Signs Indicating that People Can Use Seating Without Purchasing Food

Most of the study spaces include retail shops and cafes except for eight. Three of
these eight do not possess any retail space at all. The other five have retailers but none of
them sells food or drink at this time. At least one retail shop in three spaces once served
food and drink. The restaurant at the Olympic Tower Atrium was open until August 2012
and now it is closed for renovation. "After one piece glass of the skylight accidently
dropped into the Galleria two or three years ago, the food provider moved out of it and this
retail space remains empty," said its manager. A café that once served the former Altria
Atrium has been replaced with an art and jewelry shop. The retail shops and cafes in 10 out
of 16 spaces are only open during office hours. One main reason the owners do not open
after office hours is because of less demand, as the manager of 60 Wall Street explained:

> They [retailers] can be open as long as until 10pm. If there is a demand for their
> services, they can open until 10pm, but the primary time is really from 7 in the
> morning through probably 3 or 4 in the afternoon. Therefore they close around 6
> o'clock if there are no customers.

The manager of the CitiCorp Atrium mentioned a similar situation: "The Atrium is open until 11 o'clock at night. They [retailers] often close around 5 or 6 pm because they can't make money. They are going stay open as long as they're going to make money." In addition, three spaces also offer a drinking fountain to their occupants.

Thirteen spaces offer restrooms for their occupants. All these restrooms are separated by gender except four: at 60 Wall Street, Park Avenue Plaza, the Rubenstein Atrium, and the former Altria Atrium. The restrooms at both the former Altria Atrium and the 875 Atrium are locked most of the time so that people need to ask onsite security guards to access them. However, these restrooms are not noticeable to occupants, especially for those who visit the spaces for the first time.

Free wi-fi is available in the CitiCorp Atrium and the Rubenstein Atrium. At the CitiCorp Atrium, signs of free wi-fi are posted on the wall adjacent to the piano at the central area of the atrium to inform its occupants and at its entrances to tell pedestrians. Cafés in Sony Plaza and 575 Fifth Avenue also provide free wi-fi but the latter restricts wi-fi reception to the area of the café. The Rubenstein Atrium also provides power outlets to their occupants. As a result, people often stay inside it for hours using their laptops or other electronic gadgets without the concern of running out of their battery power. In addition to the Rubenstein Atrium, the Olympic Tower Atrium also offers power outlets but only four.

All the study spaces have plantings except five without any (or with very limited) vegetation. The area and design of plantings vary. (Most of the plants are mixed with bushes and herbaceous plants and are grown in flower pots.) Some of the spaces feature artificial plants, such as palm trees at 60 Wall Street and bamboo trees in both the 805

Atrium and the 875 Atrium. Four spaces that have full size trees growing inside are Park Avenue Plaza, the former IBM atrium, 180 Maiden Lane, and 499 Park Avenue. The eight sets of bamboo trees in the former IBM atrium are not only more than three-stories high but house birds. Birds' chirping enriches the quality of the atrium. Both the Rubenstein Atrium and 101 Barclay Street offer green walls. For example, a vertical green wall is located next to each of the two entrances to the Rubenstein Atrium (Fig 6.9).
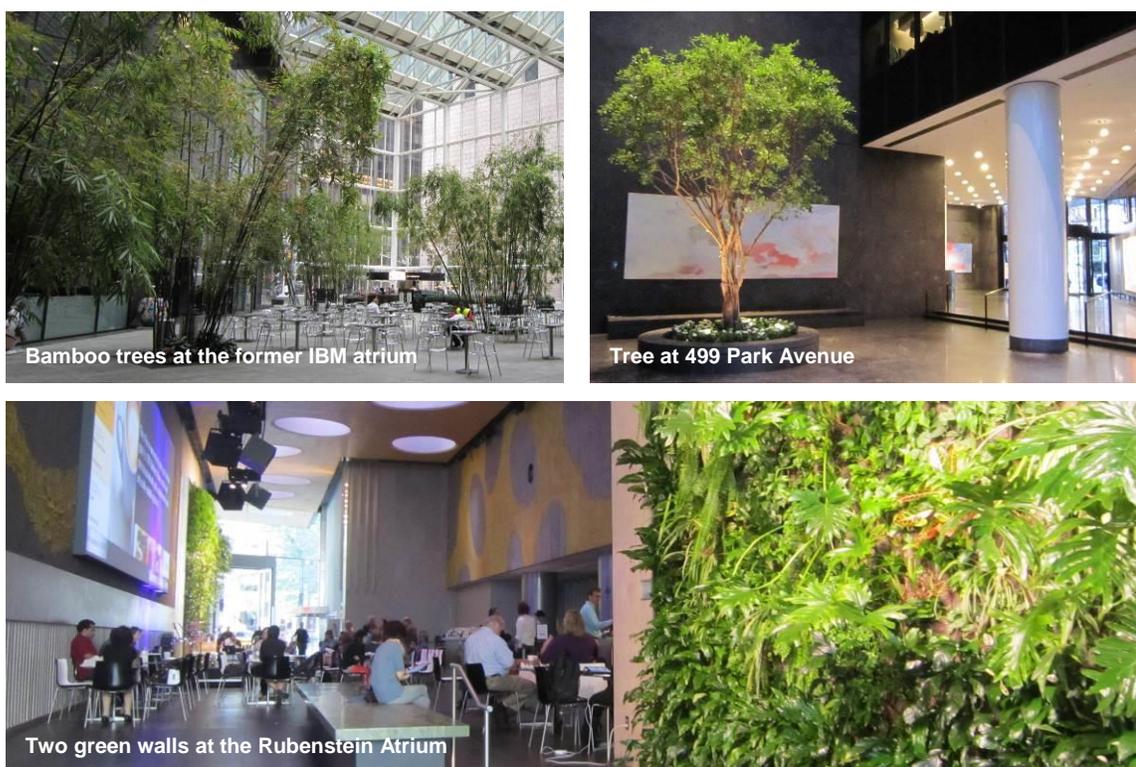
Figure 6.9 Plants Growing in All Spaces

Seven spaces possess one of two types of water features: water fountains and water walls. Six spaces offer a water wall while the Rubenstein Atrium has a fountain (Fig 6.10). Water features not only increase the quality of the spaces but also make them inviting and their occupants relaxing as the manager of the 805 Atrium described:

It [the 805 Atrium] is a very inviting space. It has a lot of amenities to make it inviting. It has a waterfall and it has a little river that moves through around the space. Water is very comforting and very relaxing. And any space that's open to the public, I think it should have some kind of water or waterfall. It always makes it more relaxing and music also is important.

This supports Whyte's findings (1980) that the sound of water, other than the look and feel of it, can make people feel relaxed when talking to people in Paley Park. The height of most water walls is about two to three stories but the one in the Trump Tower plaza is about five stories and the one in the Galleria is about one height of a stair. The water wall in the Galleria is often operated only in the summer. The water walls at 60 Wall Street and at the Olympic Tower Atrium are no longer operating (at least during the period of filed observations).
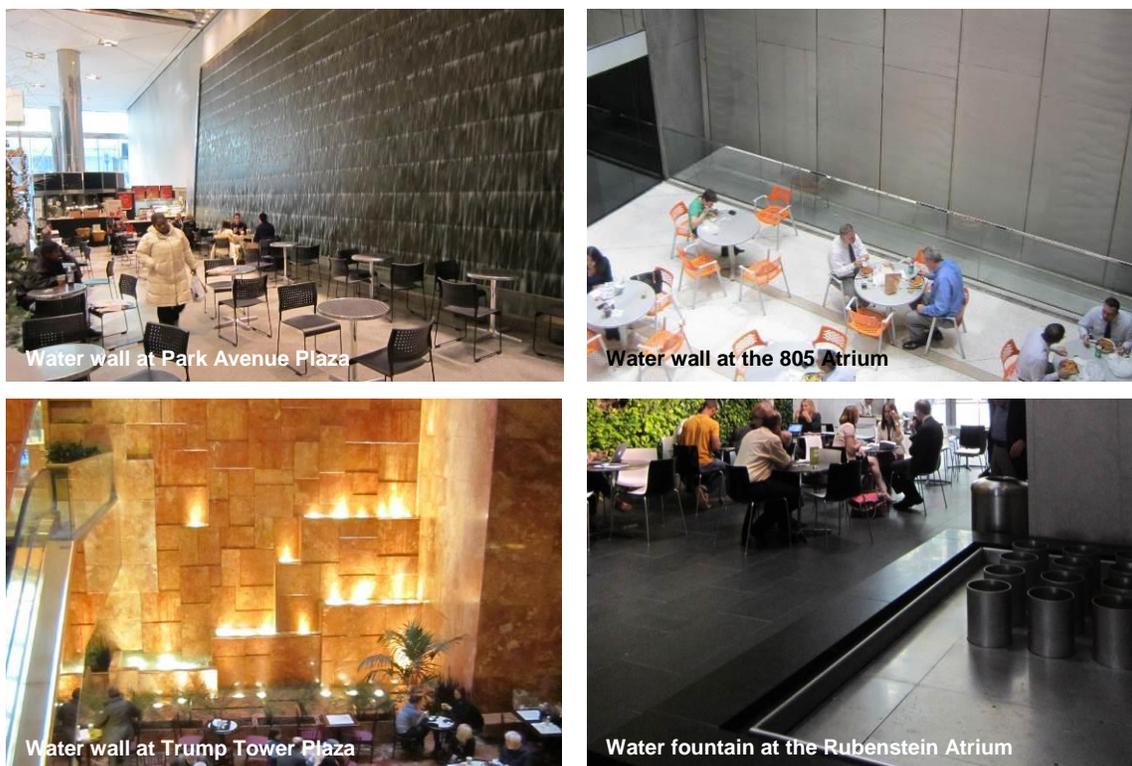
Figure 6.10 Water Features in Spaces

Most of these spaces also display artwork. At the former IBM atrium, Two Lincoln Square and 499 Park Avenue, artwork is periodically changed. The former IBM atrium

offers a rotating exhibition of large-size sculpture. The number of sculptures varies by exhibition but often between one and five pieces. Each exhibition, sponsored by different art galleries, lasts a couple of months. Some artists attend openings of these exhibitions. Artwork in some exhibitions may move or make noises, as the manger described:

> The public art that has been there in the last five or six years is pretty tremendous. We had a big sculpture from Devonie….We have a Calder sculpture there now... We had some of the artist who have exhibited there make appearances, such as Richard Prince and Morikami. We had a huge Morikami in the atrium for like seven months about three years ago. Morikami himself came to set it up to exhibit it. He had an event there to celebrate....We've had pieces that make noise; we've had pieces that move; and we've had things that create things. I mean it is just a tremendous space... we had people coming from all over the United States to see it. It's really a tremendous piece of space.....Where in New York other than museums can you see major, Calder sculptures or major artists for free? You can just sit in the room with them without any issues what so ever and just enjoy them in a public way. It's a great a piece of space.
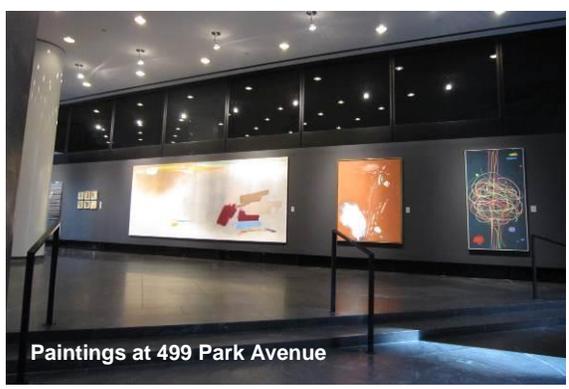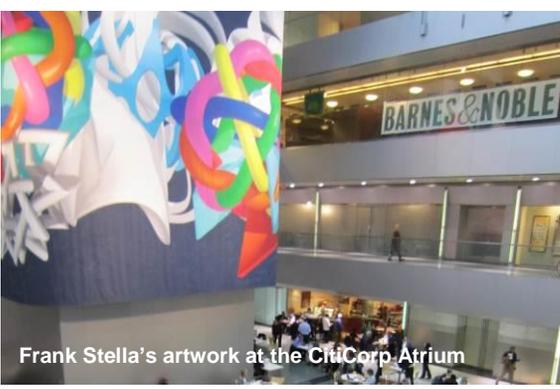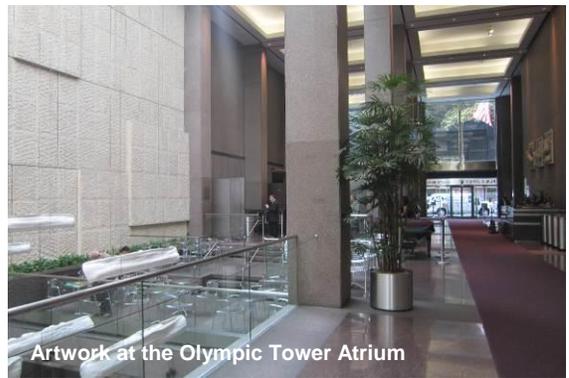
Figure 6.11 Artwork Displayed in Spaces

At 499 Park Avenue, paintings hung on the walls are rotated about every six months. Inside the Olympic Tower Atrium, ancient and modern sculptures (e.g., the Parthenon marbles cast collection) are permanently hung from the ceiling, adjacent to the waterfall wall, and serve as partitions to separate the restaurant area from the resting area (Fig 6.11).

Four of the study spaces house or provide entrance to galleries or museums. Sony Plaza houses the entrance to Sony Wonder Technology Lab with free admission, which attracts numerous domestic and international visitors, especially groups of school children who visit it with their teachers for educational purposes. The manager reported that "Since the Atrium is in mid-town, a number of International visitors frequent the space and visit the Sony Wonder Technology Lab," and "The Lab maintains strong ties to the Department of Education and we work closely with them on events too." At Two Lincoln Square, the American Folk Art Museum uses the entire space for its exhibition without entry fees (Fig 6.10). This space is now completely used as a museum but offers some fixed benches in the hallway before entering the exhibition area. The restroom located inside it is also open for the public to use. Formerly, the Whitney Museum of American Art occupied and managed the Altria Atrium for museum exhibitions that were also free to the public (Whitney Museum of American Art, 2008) (Fig 6.12). The museum and the gallery at 180 Maiden Lane and the Olympic Tower Atrium are currently closed. The manager of the former stated:

> We used to have an Art Gallery there. Last May 2011, they had a flood from upstairs, the 3rd. floor. They got everything out at the time. We just have not put anything back in because we hope in the near future to revitalize the lobby, bring some life to it, refresh it a little bit. It's a little old.

The museum inside at 180 Maiden Lane is currently under renovation and is expected to re-open in 2013. Overall these spaces are used as showcases of art.

Table 6.3 Types of Environmental Amenities

	Climate Control	Seating /Tables	Retail Spaces	Food/ Drink	Drinking Fountain	Rest room	Free Wi-Fi	Plants	Water	Museum /Gallery
180 Maiden Lane	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (gendered)	No	Yes	No	Gallery (Not run)
60 Wall Street	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes (Not run)	No
Park Avenue Plaza	Yes	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Sony Plaza	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (gendered)	One café shop	Yes	No	Museum
Former IBM atrium	Heat only	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
CitiCorp Atrium	Yes	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (gender)	Yes	Yes	No	No
Rubenstein Atrium	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (with power outlets)	Yes	Yes	No
Former Altria Atrium	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	No	No	Yes (Locked)	No	Yes	No	Museum (Not run)
575 Fifth Avenue	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (gender)	One café shop	Yes	No	No
805 Atrium	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (gender)	No	Yes	Yes	No
875 Atrium	Yes	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (gender & Locked)	No	Yes	No	No
650 Fifth Avenue	Yes	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Trump Tower Plaza	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (gender)	No	Yes	Yes	No
Two Lincoln Square	Yes	Fixed	Yes	No	No	Yes (gender)	No	No	No	Museum
1991 Broadway	Heat only	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
52 Broadway	Yes	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Olympic Tower Atrium	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	No	No	Yes (gender)	No	Yes	Yes (Not run)	Museum (Not run)
Galleria	Yes	Mixed (w/tables)	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes (run by time)	No
499 Park Avenue	Yes	Fixed	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Grand Central Plaza	Yes	Fixed	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
875 Mezzanine	Yes	Movable (w/tables)	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
383 Madison Avenue	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
101 Barclay Street	Yes	Movable (w/tables	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Le Parker Meridien	Yes	Fixed	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No

American Folk Art Museum at Two Lincoln Square

Whitney Museum used the Altria Atrium for museum exhibitions

Figure 6.12 Museums or Galleries in Spaces
Source: Whitney Museum of American Art (2008), p19.

6.4   Spatially Defined Types of 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

Using the criteria of relationship to nearby streets, size and shape, and presence and type of

environmental amenities, the 24 interior bonus spaces can be categorized into five spatial

types (Table 6.4). The seven cases of "cross-block atrium" all offer cross-block

connections between adjacent streets and also possess various amenities particularly an

abundance of tables and chairs. Their floor area is over 7,000 sf not including the

Rubenstein Atrium. Four other cases, examples of "atrium", do not offer pedestrian routes

from one street to another. Although they have seating, they provide few other amenities.

Table 6.4   Spatially Defined Types of 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

Type	Addresses/Spaces
Cross-block atrium (Seven cases)	180 Maiden Lane 60 Wall Street Park Avenue Plaza (55 East 52nd Street) Sony Plaza (550 Madison Avenue) Former IBM Atrium (590 Madison Avenue) CitiCorp Atrium (153 East 53rd Street) Rubenstein Atrium (61 West 62nd Street)
Atrium (Four cases)	Former Altria Atrium (120 Park Avenue) 575 Fifth Avenue 805 atrium (805 Third Avenue) 875 Atrium (875 Third Avenue Concourse)
Space with one side entrance (Four cases)	650 Fifth Avenue Trump Tower Plaza (725 Fifth Avenue) Two Lincoln Square 1991 Broadway
Linear space with designated seating areas separated from circulation (Four cases)	52 Broadway Olympic Tower Atrium (645 Fifth Avenue) Galleria (115 East 57th Street) 499 Park Avenue
Linear space sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route (Five cases)	Grand Central Plaza (622 Third Avenue) 875 Mezzanine (875 Third Avenue Mezzanine) 383 Madison Avenue 101 Barclay Street Le Parker Meridien (118 West 57th Street)

The third type consists of spaces with a one side entrance and tends to be small in

size: three of the four cases of this type possess floor area less than 5,000 sf. making them

substantially smaller than the first two types. The last two types are both linear in shape. One of these two types offers a designated seating area separated from the circulation route. The other type features seating exclusively along the circulation route. Most of the cases of these two types include no retail shops or cafes.

CHAPTER 7

REDESIGN

Most of the 24 privately owned public spaces studied have undergone several phases of redesign for a variety of reasons: refurbishment of outdated host buildings, change of building ownership or management, modification mandated by the City resulting from noncompliance with law, and damages caused by natural disasters. However, change of ownership is the major reason for redesign; the process of redesign varies by case. Regarding the process, some sites have minimal reconstruction. For example, six sets of bamboo trees at the former IBM atrium were removed with the placement of additional chairs and tables and a rotating exhibition. In contrast, several outdoor spaces underwent more extensive renovation such as conversion to indoor space and some went through a reconfiguration of their floor plan. Of the spaces reviewed, six underwent major re-construction but only five of them are reported due to the limited information of Grand Central Plaza (1998). The five spaces are: Two Lincoln Square (1988), Sony Plaza (1994), the CitiCorp Atrium (1994), the Rubenstein Atrium (2008), and the spaces at 575 Fifth Avenue (2008).

7.1   Two Lincoln Square

The bonus space at Two Lincoln Square is adjacent to its host building, a 38-story apartment building, on the Upper West Side. The entire project, completed in 1974, was built and owned by Joel Banker and Samuel Landau and is currently owned by the Mormon Church. This space only has one entrance accessed directly from Columbus Avenue.

7.1.1 Before Redesign

According to the original plan (CP 22126) approved in 1972, by creating the space at Two Lincoln Square for a pedestrian circulation space (also known as a covered plaza), the developers received several benefits for creating a mixed use project: an apartment building, a Mormon church, and several retail spaces. The benefits included modifications of bulk, height and setback requirements, and parking regulations. This bonus space is 6,358 sf allowing for an additional 63,580 sf (about eight floors) to the apartment building. In addition, this project offers sidewalk widening and mandatory arcades to improve pedestrian circulation of the Lincoln Square Special District (CPC 880002, 1988).

The covered plaza that the developers created, however, did not meet the description of the original design concept as reported in CPC 880002 (p4):

> It was both lower in height and narrower in width than required, and it lacked retail frontage that opened directly into the covered plaza. The storefronts should have had transparent fronts, which would have provided an interesting and well-supervised public space.

Without the promised amenities of landscaping and seating, this open-air public space became uninviting (Lueck, 1989). The manager of the American Folk Art Museum recalled that, "This was not an inviting public space and was in fact dark, gloomy, and had gates across all the openings." Its use was considerably affected by the design and it was eventually used for car parking and trash removal as recorded in CPC 880002 (Fig 7.1):

> Because of these deficiencies, the covered plaza was ignored, becoming little more than an alley used to accumulate trash or park cars. Occasionally, it served as refuge for a homeless person.

7.1.2 Redesign Process

After years of noncompliance with the law, in 1982 the Department of Buildings demanded that the Board of Standards and Appeals withdraw the entire certification of occupancy from the building owners as a penalty. But the State Supreme Court considered this penalty too strict because it affected the entire building rather than just the areas related to the bonus space. Therefore the Court asked the Board of Standards and Appeals for a reasonable penalty. To avoid possible lawsuits, the owners proposed a redesign project to make this space usable in the way it was originally intended (CPC 880002, 1988).

In 1988, this redesign proposal was finalized to convert the open-air public space into an enclosed one, retaining the entrance from Columbus Avenue and closing the other two entrances from 65th and 66th Streets. The Museum of American Folk Art, as the future tenant of the space, was later involved in discussing details and sharing responsibilities for construction as the manager stated:

> The apartment building at that time was owned by Joel I. Banker and Samuel J. Landau. They were responsible for constructing the shell and the Folk Art Museum was responsible for any internal systems we wanted such as temperature control, air condition, the lighting, the electronic system. But the building owners had to provide the actual construction of the area covering the space.

In addition, the city planning department mandated several design features and requirements included in the new design: natural lighting, seating, plants and visibility from the sidewalk. The manager described the discussions with the city planning department:

> And the City was very demanding. When we first worked on this project, they insisted on having a skylight......They insisted the front to be all glass, the Columbus Avenue side, and there was a window out to 66th Street. All of these were the City's mandated. The City also wanted a certain amount of fixed seating and movable seating..... There used to be benches and planters on Columbus Avenue and in this area ....what we called "garden court" because it used to have plants in it and fixed seating.

Exhibitions scheduled inside the space were required to be open to the public from 9am to 9pm, seven days a week, and without an entry fee. A public space plaque had to be posted at the entrance indicating that "this space is public space" as well as noting that the exhibitions and public restrooms located inside are for the public to use. The planters with fixed seating and sculptures were located in the area between the entrance and the front desk of the museum. The museum, additionally, leased the retail space next door as its gift shop. As per the agreement, the city planning department allowed the museum to close the space four times a year, each time for three consecutive days (CPC 880002, 1988) (Figs 7.1 & 7.2).

Over the years, the museum amended several earlier agreements through negotiations with the city planning department. Keeping the space open 12 hours, seven days a week not only became a financial challenge to the museum but also made changing the exhibitions difficult. To persuade the New York City Department of City Planning to change the hours, the museum started counting the number of visitors. The manager reported:

> We started monitoring how many people came in and the guard would keep track of this per hour. After a year or two years, we made an appeal to the City to please allow us to not operate 7 days a week for 12 hours....we cut down to less hours per day and maybe closing Monday. So it was a six days a week operation.

The city planning department also allowed the museum to close the space five consecutive days each time instead of only three days to accommodate changing exhibitions. Also, the museum was allowed to remove all the originally required movable seating that was scattered inside the gallery because, "it was crowding the space and it was very hard for museum shows to have all these chairs around," stated the manager.

In 2000, the museum made another appeal to the city planning department while building new headquarters on 53rd Street to redesign the entrance and the garden court area of this space. As part of this appeal, the door of the entrance was moved from the central axis and the planters were eliminated. In this phase of the redesign, the museum moved the gift shop into the bonus space due to the high rent of the adjacent retail space (Fig 7.2). For the museum to make these changes, the city planning department required that the museum exhibitions need to be open if the gift shop is open. The public space plaque was also removed at this time and has not, yet, been re-installed. In 2011, the museum sold its headquarters on 53rd Street and moved all of its exhibitions to this space.

At the beginning of the design process, the New York City Department of City Planning was very insistent that the proposed amenities are completed in order to attract people. The manager said:

> The City was very upset because this was not a public space for quite an amount of years. So they wanted it to be the way it was supposed to be how it was mandated to be. So they were very demanding of us as a tenant to make sure that we met all of their requirements.

The community board in the neighborhood also oversaw how the museum manages this space as "[I]t also had to do with the local community board and the person, Gael Brewer, a city council member, from this area. They were also watching what we did. And they also made sure that we had fixed seating and movable seating. It wasn't just the City. We had these arms of the City watching us," said the manager. Over the years, the New York City Department of City Planning became more tolerant than it was before when they realized that the museum is continuing to make this space inviting and welcoming. "But, now everybody realized that we are trying to do the right thing, which we're trying to make it a

welcoming place. It's good for us; it's good for the community. So they are less looking

down our back or sort of our neck and allowing us to do what we do," the manager said.
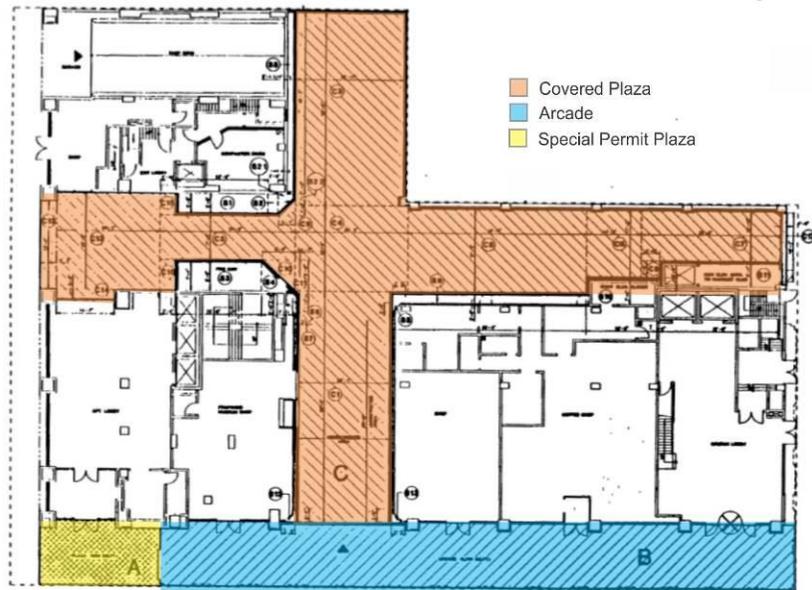
Floor Plan Before Redesign
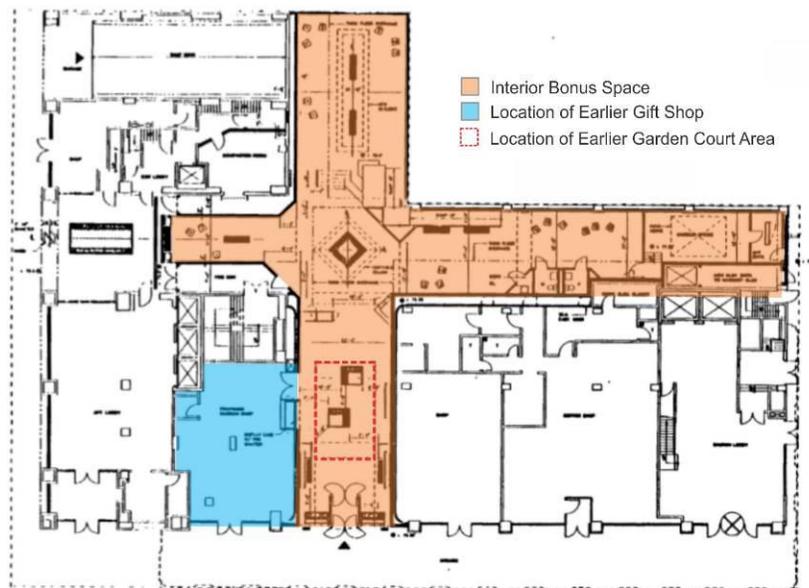
Floor Plan After Redesign

Figure 7.1 Floor Plans of Two Lincoln Square
Source: CPC 880002 (1988)

7.1.3 After Redesign

The redesign improved the quality of the space but it was not well utilized in the beginning for several reasons. Most of the museum visitors, the manager reported, went to its headquarters on 53rd Street and might not have been aware of the existence of this space or viewed it as just a branch of the museum. The reflective surface of the glass wall at the entrance made it difficult for pedestrians to see the interior or may have led them to believe that it was closed. Therefore, the intention of the entrance redesign, by adding colored patterns on the glass wall, was to make it noticeable and obvious to passersby on the sidewalk (Fig 7.2).

According to the manager interviewed, the presence of homeless people was the other possible reason for few people using this bonus space after it was converted to a museum. Homeless people often congregated in the garden court inside the space. Their presence and their disheveled look may have discouraged people from visiting the space. "There were benches up the front and they were pretty much standing and sitting in that area [the garden court area]….Sometimes they looked disheveled so that other people sometimes didn't want to come in," described the manager. But the museum did not have the right to remove them. So the museum started reaching out and negotiating with homeless people not to stay inside the space when events were held. The manager described their approach:

> We had to teach ourselves how to deal with this situation.... It was a negotiation. We got to know them. Sometimes they would agree if some events were happening inside, they wouldn't come in. They're welcome to come in when it was really cold and the weather was bad. I mean they were welcome to come in all the time. But it was a negotiation and we learned what you can and cannot do with the homeless persons who have the right to be here. You cannot deny them using the bathrooms.

Eventually, fewer and fewer homeless persons appeared in the space. The manager thought that this might have resulted from the removal of the fixed benches in the garden court or from changes in the Lincoln Square neighborhood.

The museum exhibitions and weekly programmed activities make this space inviting and welcoming. The use of this space is primarily for the museum's purposes but this result is definitely better than it was before as, "a black hole without any amenity," said the manager. In addition to museum visitors, some people will come to the museum to use the public restrooms. "....two days a week there is a farmers' market in a little park over here. The farmers know they can come here to use the restrooms. So it's a known fact that it's a public space," said the manager.
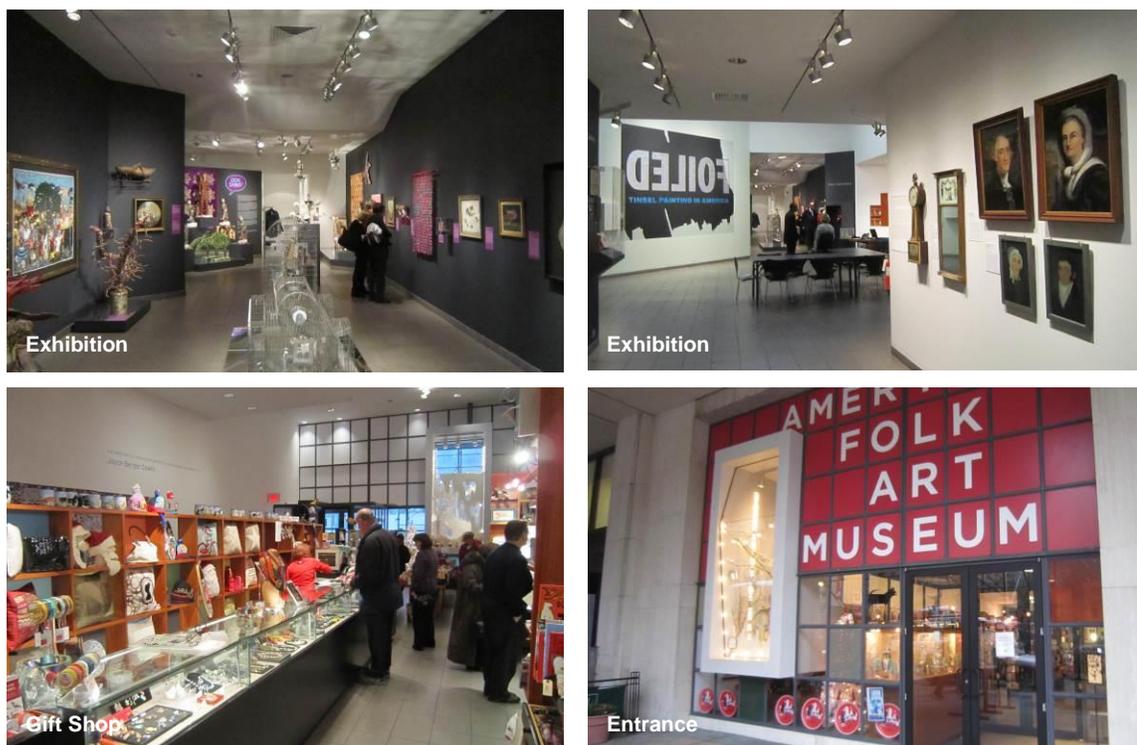
Figure 7.2 Two Lincoln Square

7.2   Sony Plaza

The public space at 550 Madison Avenue, located in Central Midtown, is on the ground floor of the AT&T building designed by Philip Johnson and John Burgee and completed in 1983. Sony USA purchased and renovated this building in the early 1990's and, afterward, renamed it Sony Tower and the public space Sony Plaza. Two direct entrances to Sony Plaza are on 55th and 56th Streets. The other four entrances of Sony Plaza allow people to enter Sony Tower's lobby and its two shops and then exit onto Madison Avenue.

7.2.1   Before Redesign

When AT&T decided to relocate its headquarter to New York City from New Jersey, the design concept of this new headquarters aimed to create a monumental image, demonstrating corporate power and competing with IBM across 56th street. To fulfill this goal, Philip Johnson adopted the model of the Palazzon Massimo in Rome to create an urban space within the building (Lewis & O'Connor, 1994). Therefore, Johnson placed the retail shops far away from Madison Avenue to make an arcade from part of the ground floor of AT&T, along the sidewalk. The resulting openness of this section of the building on the avenue, in contrast to the nearby storefronts, increased the visibility of the building entrance. This approach also accomplished two other purposes: (1) avoiding "being stuck with a tiny little entrance sandwiched between 'a lingerie shop and a cigar store'" (Dunlap, 1992a); and (2) creating a secure and safe space for its employees because this space would be easily monitored (Gorman, 1994).

To complete this project, AT&T received both extra floor bonuses through the provision of bonus spaces and a special permission from the city planning department. Two types of bonus spaces included in the AT&T building were an arcade (14,102 sf) and

a covered pedestrian space (5,625 sf). The provision of 104,181 sf of extra floor bonuses allowed AT&T to add another six floors to the building (Miller 2007; Németh 2007; Dunlap, 1992a). The special permission received from the City enabled the AT&T building project to avoid the restrictions of height and setback. Without this special permit, AT&T would not have been able to apply all the received extra floor bonuses to its new headquarters (Bartolucci, 1993) (Fig 7.3).
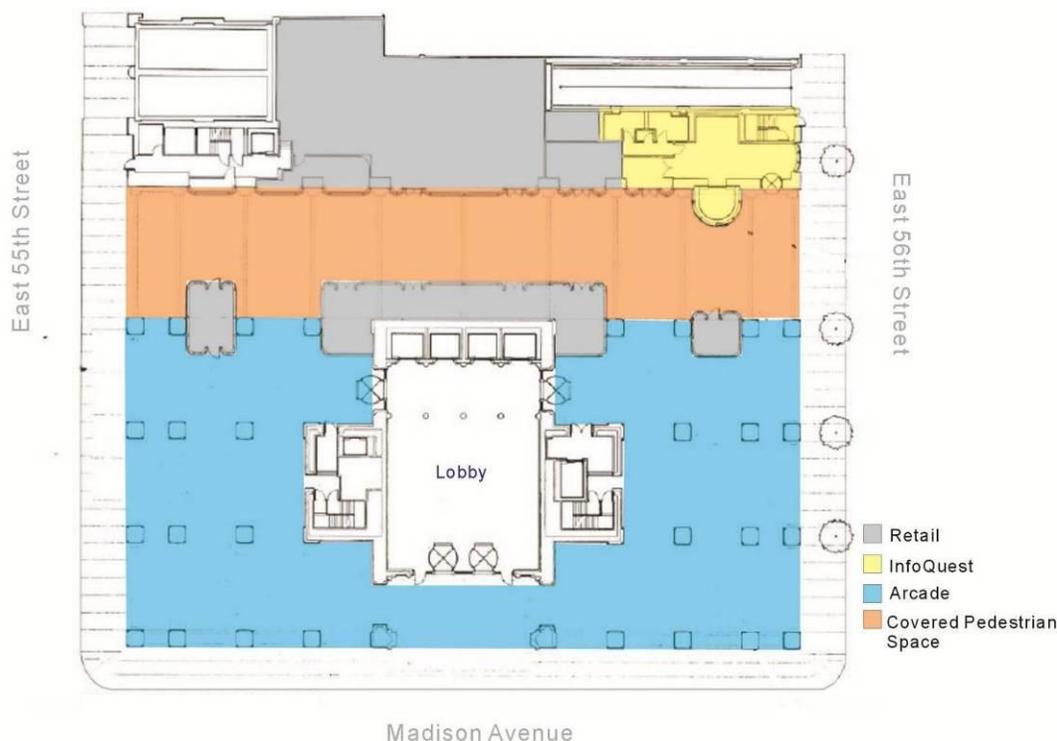
Figure 7.3   Original Ground Floor Plan of AT&T Building
Source: Branch (1994)

The openness and height of the ground floor arcade contributed to an image of monumentality, as intended, but its role to serve as a public space did not function well. The 60-foot high open-air arcade offered shade to its occupants during the hot summer time; its chairs were fully occupied when the weather was nice (Dunlap, 1992a). Patricia

Mccobb (1992), a landscape architect in New York, endorsed this space for several reasons: a great place for people-watching, a highly used space because the chairs inside it were often occupied especially those near the sidewalk, and offering pedestrians a resting area. However, this space received little sunlight and was windy, cold and inhospitable, particularly when the weather was bad (Branch, 1994; Dunlap, 1992a; 1994; Goldberger, 1992; Gorman, 1994; Stern et al., 2006). The manager interviewed for this dissertation expressed the same point of view: "It [the atrium] was used in summer time when the temperature outside was comfortable, but not in the winter." Because of the skylight, the covered pedestrian space between the 36-floor AT&T building and the four-floor adjacent building, on the other hand, was brighter. The main amenities offered in these two bonus spaces were movable tables and chairs, shops, and kiosks (Dunlap, 1992a) (Fig 7.4).

Based on the 1978 agreement between AT&T and the New York City Department of City Planning, AT&T provided a free science museum that was open to the public. InfoQuest, the science museum, however did not draw crowds because it was "uncelebrated" (Branch, 1994). No primary attractions within the covered pedestrian space, with the exception of a few shops, made it feel both "cramped" (Dunlap, 1992a) and like a "barren no man's land" (Gorman, 1994, p118). The failure of this space, Mr. Burgee, the architect argued, were the missing amenities that AT&T had promised but did not complete until years later, such as noontime concerts and attractive lights at night. Because this space was no longer the attention of AT&T before the entire building was completed, the management focus of this space only involved keeping it clean rather than figuring out how to make it an interesting space that attracted users (Bartolucci, 1993)

Figure 7.4   Exterior and Interior Views of Bonus Spaces of AT&T building
Sources: Knight III (1985); Branch (1994); Lewis &O'Connor (1994)

7.2.2 Redesign Process

Because the final sentence of the Bell System divestiture, in 1982, divided AT&T into seven regional companies, AT&T's decreased value forced it to sell more than half of its properties and released thousands of its employees before its new headquarters was completed (Bartolucci, 1993; Goldberger, 1992). AT&T suspended the plan of moving most of its employees to this newly-built headquarters on Madison Avenue and, subsequently, in 1989 leased this building to Sony USA for 20 years with an additional

agreement that Sony USA would purchase it later. In the fall of 1992, Sony USA legitimately acquired this building (Branch, 1994; Deutsch, 1993).

The change in building ownership from AT&T to Sony USA resulted in altering the use of the building and the public space, as the redesign architect described:

> When you take an entertainment company like Sony who took over the building and moved most of its divisions into the building, its vision was based on a strong retail component. Something you would see on the street level of Madison Avenue, one of the great shopping streets in the world. That would give them a great presence for their products or things.

Michael P. Schulhof, the vice chairman of Sony USA, described Sony's intention to turn this building into a new destination in New York City and to make its two public spaces "more lively, exciting and comfortable" (Bartolucci, 1993; Deutsch, 1993; Dunlap, 1992a; Gorman, 1994). Sony USA hired Gwathmey Siegel & Associates for the redesign of the entire building, including the bonus spaces on the ground level. The attitude of Sony USA toward this building is very different from AT&T's as, "AT&T wanted to be above the pedestrian domain. Sony is about the pedestrian domain, and wanted to attach itself to it," said Charles Gwathmey (Branch, 1994, p102). As a result, Sony USA enclosed the two open-air bonus spaces, as the manager described:

> When Sony leased the building in 1989, the decision was made to enclose the existing open-air atrium space to provide a more cohesive environment for the retail stores and also for the restaurant. The idea was to provide a more welcoming environment for families and visitors to have lunch either in the atrium or at the restaurant, to increase traffic flow to the Sony Style Retail store, and to provide a nice environment for all of the school children that visit the Sony Wonder Technology Lab.

Gwathmey Siegel enclosed the arcade on both sides of the building's lobby (6,380 sf) to create two L-shape retail spaces on Madison Avenue for displaying and selling Sony's products. This approach resulted in walling up the six bays of the arcade. The removal of three retail spaces (1,324 sf) on the east side of the covered pedestrian space enabled the

architects to create an enclosed space, covering the entire area of the covered pedestrian space (5,625 sf) and a portion of the arcades (4,106 sf). The architects also designed the interior of this new enclosed space to match the image of Sony USA. "Enormous, cage-like, tubular lighting fixture, added in recent years by AT&T are to be replaced by something more subtle," described Dunlap (1992a, para. 29). The other amenities of this enclosed space were also expected to include: 30-foot olive trees (eventually replaced with the pots of ivy), kiosks and shops, seats and tables, a restroom at the entrance of the Sony Wonder Technology Lab, and climate-control (Dunlap, 1992a; 1992b; Gorman, 1994; Németh, 2007; Miller, 2007) (Figs 7.5 & 7.6).

Since the additional four-story museum resulted from an agreement between AT&T and the New York City Department of City Planning, leasing this building from AT&T meant that Sony USA undertook the responsibility of operating it as the manager described:

> An overall City agreement regarding the 550 Madison Avenue building currently exists between the Department of City Planning and Sony. If Sony were to sell the building, this Agreement would revert to the person(s) who purchased the building from Sony. This Agreement originally existed with AT&T and reverted to Sony when Sony leased and subsequently purchased the building. AT&T originally had an open-air Atrium and Infoquest, a science and technology museum. When Sony leased the building, they enclosed the entrance to the building and the Atrium and replaced Infoquest with the Sony Wonder Technology Lab.

Sony USA hired Edwin Schlossberg Incorporated (ESI) to redesign AT&T's InfoQuest and turned it into Sony Wonder Technology Lab. To create an interesting space, the design encourages its visitors to interact with electronic machines and, meanwhile, to learn how technology changes, improves and is embedded in our society (Branch, 1994; Gorman, 1994; Németh, 2007; Miller, 2007).
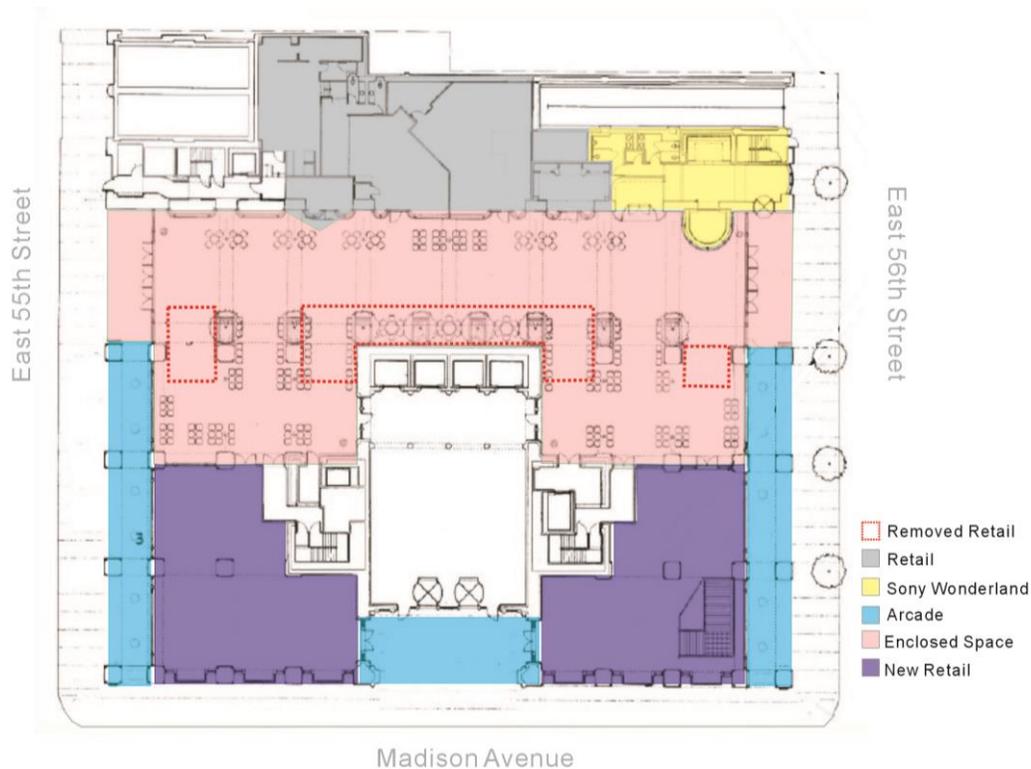
Figure 7.5 Ground Floor Plan after Sony USA's Redesign
Source: the ground floor plan is from Branch (1994)

The conversion from open-air bonus spaces to an enclosed space was the most controversial change. At first the city planning department did not approve of Sony USA's proposed conversion of public spaces to prevent them from being used for private purposes. For example, some members of the planning commission were concerned that if these spaces were enclosed, they would become a lobby of Sony USA for promoting Sony products (Dunlap, 1994). Joseph B. Rose, the chairman of the community board's land-use committee, stated "there is a dangerous precedent being set there in trying to improve public space by converting much of it into retail" (Dunlap, 1992a). Advocates for open space(s) did not endorse Sony USA's proposal and warned that enclosing these open-air public spaces would make them like a "highly-controlled" suburban mall, less public and

less accessible (Mccobb, 1992). In contrast, some of the members of the planning commission supported the proposal and believed that this redesign would encourage more users. Amanda Burden, a planning commission member at that time, favored the new design not only because the use of this space would no longer be restricted by weather conditions but also because the provision of amenities could increase the number of users and make it exceed the use of the IBM atrium (Dunlap, 1992a).

Based on the bonus incentive program in New York City's Zoning Resolution, an enclosed climate-controlled bonus space could receive a higher floor area reward than an open-air one. After the recalculation of bonus spaces, Gwathmey Siegel's new design could actually provide 117,667 sf of floor area, which is over the original design plan (104,181 sf). This calculation showed that Sony USA actually acquired rights to more floor area by enclosing the bonus spaces at 550 Madison Avenue.

7.2.3 After Redesign

Sony USA's redesign project turned underutilized bonus spaces into more highly used ones. The climate-controlled enclosed space, which includes the original covered pedestrian space and a portion of the arcade, offers a better quality of public space and attracts more occupants than they did before (Branch, 1994; Dunlap, 1994). People occupy the space at different times of the day, particularly during lunch hour, as the manager described:

> Now that the space is enclosed, the atrium is vibrant all year round. Since the atrium is in mid-town, a number of international visitors frequent the space and visit the Sony Wonder Technology Lab. There are public restrooms, so people can use the bathroom, and there is a restaurant and coffee shop, so folks can get lunch or a cup of coffee. Porters keep the space clean and visitors often remark on how clean and inviting the space is and how nice it is for children. A lot of it has to do

with the fact that we also have a children's museum and we have to be thoughtful about their needs.

Sony Wonder Technology Lab attracts many individuals and families daily and seems to have become an educational place which school teachers and their students often visit. The manager further described how the atrium offers a comfortable waiting space for people who want to visit the museum (Fig 7.6):

> The atrium is a welcoming space for all visitors to the store and the restaurant, and for all of the children that visit the Sony Wonder Technology Lab. Instead of waiting to get into the Lab outside in the freezing cold, the many children and their teachers that come through the Lab can utilize the restrooms and enjoy a relaxing lunch in the Atrium prior to their visit.

Figure 7.6 Sony Plaza

In addition to everyday uses (e.g., eating, chatting and reading), observations in this dissertation research indicate that occupants bring their laptops and electronic gadgets with

them and work inside the atrium. Some occupants gather in the space to play games (e.g., poker and chess) even though one of the rules prohibits gambling or the promotion of gaming. Onsite security guards do not interfere with these activities. If occupants have any questions, security guards offer help. For example, a female occupant asked a security guard where she could get a power outlet. The security guard walked through the entire space to look for one but they could not locate one. Eventually, he asked one of their retail cafes to use one of their power outlets.

7.3   CitiCorp Atrium

In partnership with St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Citibank (First National City Bank) initiated the project of CitiCorp Center as its headquarters. The site is surrounded by Lexington and Third Avenues and 53rd and 54th Streets. Citibank's intention was to promote its corporate image and to build needed office space. The bank hired Hugh Stubbins & Associates for the building design. The entire project, completed in 1978, includes two office buildings, one with 59 and one with seven stories, and a ten-story-high St. Peter's Church with four interior levels (Schmertz, 1978; Stern et al, 2006).

7.3.1   Before Redesign

Stubbins utilized three types of bonus space to create the CitiCorp Center resulting in four public spaces. Two are outdoor plazas and the other two, located indoors, are a through block arcade and a covered pedestrian space (the CitiCorp Atrium). Ralph E. Peterson, the pastor of St. Peter's Lutheran Church and a partner in the project, wanted these spaces to be welcoming to everyone and to be used for various purposes such as meeting, eating, resting, and worshiping. Citibank supported this idea and intended to create an inviting and usable

public space as a return to the city for the extra floor bonuses. Stubbins proposed to make

the covered pedestrian space a marketplace, not only inviting people but also responding to

the needs of nearby neighbors to revitalize the neighborhood. As a result, a free flow

pedestrian circulation between city streets and the atrium, between the atrium, and the

office elevator lobbies was established. As the manager described, referring to walking

through the space as a young architect:

> When I first started working in New York at the architectural firm Skidmore,
> Owings & Merrill, I used to take the subway to 53rd & Lex and then enter the
> building on the lower plaza level, take an escalator up to the street level and then
> walk through St. Peter's Church lobby and out to 54th Street.

A seven-story-high skylight atrium, the CitiCorp Atrium, on the concourse level of the

low-rise office building was established. The base three floors of this building are for retail

(Mehlman, 1977; Schmertz, 1978; Stern et al., 2006).

Various design features were included in the three-level marketplace/atrium for

attracting the public. Such features included plants, tables and chairs, restrooms, and retail

spaces. The central area of the atrium with tables and chairs was raised and paved with

bricks. Occupants entered this area either via steps or a ramp located at its northwestern

corner. The peripheral planters further confined this area and made the atmosphere like a

small park (Fig 7.7). Citibank selected various interesting, international shops and

restaurants to occupy the retail spaces around the atrium including a Greek delicatessen, a

charcuterie, patisserie, and Conran's (Mehlman, 1977). Conran's, an English store that sells

trendy house merchandise at reasonable prices helped establish this marketplace as one of

New York City's destination spaces (Stern et al., 2006). The architect who was later

involved in redesigning this space described the retail shops inside the atrium:

> .....one of the retail components they brought in was a Conran's. Terence Conran
> started his first Conran's store in New York. Having a sort of design center store

where you could buy all the modern objects was a new enough concept. This flagship store at the corner went all the way through it...And the original restaurant tenants were very interesting….a number of different international restaurants….there was a very good Spanish restaurant and couple of other things. It's really that people would go there for lunch.
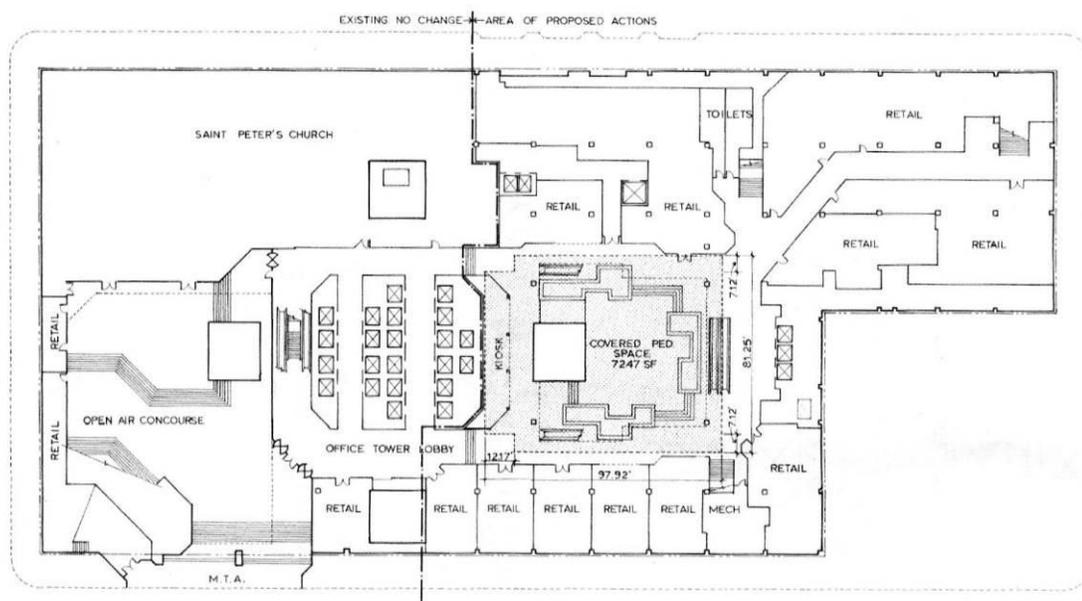
Figure 7.7 Floor Plan and Views of CitiCorp Atrium before Redesign
Sources: Gwathmey Siegel & Associates; Schmertz (1978)

Since opening in 1978, this indoor public space has successfully attracted many people daily and becoming a destination where New Yorkers shopped and met their friends, as the architect described:

> When this building was originally built, it was a hugely successful destination space. People from all over the city came to visit it because it was such an unusual space -- an indoor atrium that is publicly accessible and has a Conran's store. It was a great design store. And it was really a destination where people would go for an afternoon or morning to go shopping. They went there to have lunch and to meet friends. It was sort of a New York City's landmark. And it became a great sort of space to hang out.

Citibank's surveys also showed the tremendous achievement of this marketplace. It not only attracted at least 6,000 people daily but also had a low rate of retail turnover. Unlike the other developers who included bonus spaces only for additional floor areas, the success of this space was mostly because, "They [the Citibank] really want to do the retail concept," stated Lauren F. Otis, deputy director of the City Planning Department's Manhattan Office (DePalma, 1983a). In addition to everyday users, new immigrants also utilize this space to meet others who are from the same countries. In the late 1980s and early 1990s immigrants from eastern European countries (e.g., Hungary and Czechoslovakia), gathered in this atrium weekly (Kayden et al., 2000).

7.3.2 Redesign Process

The Citicorp Atrium that was once a popular indoor public space eventually lost its charm after 10 to 15 years. "Aging" is one main reason, especially when its interior materials were not very durable as the redesign architect described:

> Over time, the space got tired and got worn out. The furnishings didn't age well. The lighting was never particularly conducive to a space where you feel comfortable. And the trees....the landscape just didn't hold up....it was just run down. It wasn't maintained properly..... And the planting at the center just got more and more tired and it looked drab....The leaves [of the trees] were covered with dust. And it was very depressing. And it lost its vibrancy.

The current building manager gave a similar description, "The public area was in a very bad shape. The brick pavers didn't particularly last well. The public seating was in poor

condition and there were many vacancies in the retail space throughout the three public levels of the atrium." The original tenants that attracted numerous people left the atrium; the ones that replaced them were not particularly interesting or selective. "When Conran's went out, a lot of the original stores were changed. And the retail mix was not exciting or considered new. At that time, it was not attractive," the architect said. The manager also noted that the atrium became less inviting:

> It was the lack of activity being generated within the atrium. In order to drive sales, you had to get people there to buy something and people simply weren't visiting the space. It was not a particularly an inviting space. Further, some of the retailers that were there from the previous owner weren't necessarily the best suited for the atrium.

Without exciting activities and attractive retail shops, people gradually stopped visiting this atrium. The smaller number of occupants in the atrium made it more attractive to homeless persons who congregated inside. The design of the atrium enabled their shelter and gave them privacy. Several conflicts between homeless persons and other occupants occurred as the architect described:

> In the existing project, there were things like the congestion of the planters. There were corners of hidden spaces. And there was a corridor that came through Third Avenue and 54th Street. This diagonal corridor was very dark and people felt unsafe in it. People had been confronted by homeless people and we were concerned about that….The bathrooms were in terrible shape. They were very dark. Again people were very uncomfortable. They were visually obscured so people did not feel safe using them.

> To enliven this dying atrium, Citibank and the other two partners, Dai-Ichi and St.

Peter's Church, hired Gwathmey Siegel & Associates for a redesign project in the early 1990's. This project sought to transform the atrium into a multi-purpose space as the architect reported:

> The ownership is a group that's interested in repositioning the CitiCorp Center to bring it forward, modernized and updated, and to make it a best destination space once again. On the retail side, they were looking for new anchor tenants. They were

> looking at sort of very interesting, sort of restaurant opportunities. They were trying to re-cast the atrium as a flexible, multi-use space that would be a much more inviting space to come to.

First, Gwathmey Siegel eliminated both its north and south escalators and relocated them to the east side. Besides systematizing the interior circulation, this approach enabled occupants of the central seating area to view the surrounding retail shops. The original location of the two escalators obstructed this visual connection, as the architect expressed:

> The next component of that was to re-visit the views into the space and subsequently the views from the space back to the retail tenancies. What was very awkward was the location of the escalators on the sides of the atrium because you had one that brought you up from the lower level to the first level and then there was one that was in one of the stores. They blocked the views to the retail tenants so that they were skewered if you were sitting in the atrium.

In addition, Gwathmey Siegel removed the raised platform and planters to make the entire atrium one level. The result not only made the atrium more accessible to everyone (including elderly people and the handicapped) but also made it usable for various programmed events. The removal of the planters enhanced both occupants' and security guards' view of the atrium as well as increasing the security and safety of the atrium. "That way is for safety, for people who are using the space and for the security staff in the building who would be able to see things. They would be able to head off something from potentially happening," and "It was greatly enhanced their ability to maintain security. That was a huge, huge issue to them. It gave them better visual access to things," said the architect. By doing this, there would be fewer places for homeless persons to shelter. "There was more visual security and things were more open and more brightly lit. At the same time, you can discourage the homeless. But if you make it less easy to hide behind something, like having a place to build a little home for them, it made the space more easier to manage," the architect said (Fig 7.8).

Figure 7.8 Floor Plan and Views of CitiCorp Atrium after First Redesign
Sources: Gwathmey Siegel & Associates; Schmertz (1978)

To make the atrium more visible to pedestrians on the street, Gwathmey Siegel rebuilt all entrances to it and created new canopies above them (Fig 7.8). They redesigned and added signage to these exterior entrances to the storefronts inside the atrium as the manager described:

> This redesign, which we inherited when we bought the building, created new canopies at the 53rd Street, 54th Street and Third Avenue entrances. They were

branding elements with a series of undulating screens with vertical bars waving in and out around their lengths. We nicknamed them the "radiators." This branding carried into the atrium where the original storefront entrances to the various retail spaces were replaced with more rectilinear aluminum and glass finishes and consistent signage.

However, the result of Gwathmey Siegel's redesign did not completely invigorate the atrium. "When we purchased the building, there were a number of vacant retail spaces and the space had a somewhat empty feeling to it," said the manager. After Boston Properties purchased the building in 200l, they started to eliminate some additional architectural elements that Gwathmey Siegel had created to brand the atrium as the manager reported:

> The Gwathmey Siegel/Donovan & Green design was looking very dated to us and visually cluttered. We undertook efforts to start to change this.… That led us to remove four large light fixtures from the atrium that had been added by Dai-Ichi. This in turn led us to also remove what we considered much cluttered signage and streamline the look of the atrium.

The September 11 attacks led to a second redesign of the Citicorp Center. In addition to de-cluttering the atrium (Fig 7.8), the primary goal of the second redesign was to make the building more secure against terrorism. Towards a more secure space, Boston Properties closed pedestrian flow through and around the elevator core on both ground and concourse levels of the building, as the manager described:

> We eliminated the access to the atrium from the north elevator lobbies and we eliminated the south entrances to the elevator vestibules. This created only three access points to the office building – one from Lexington Avenue, one from the Plaza entrance and one from 53rd Street. The latter two entrances are for office workers only. In order to create access to the upper bank elevators from 53rd Street, we removed an existing stair between the west escalators and replaced it with a marble, glass bridge. These changes now restricted the access to the atrium to street entrances on 53rd, 54th and the Plaza. We also closed two entrances from the north elevator lobby corridor to St. Peter's Church. In exchange for gaining permission to do this, we ultimately constructed a new separate lobby to the church on 54th Street.

While this design eliminated access from Lexington Avenue into the atrium, it enabled Boston Properties to create a new and distinctive glass office lobby facing Lexington Avenue (Fig 7.9). Also, several bollards were added to the sidewalk on 53rd Street.

The major redesign of the CitiCorp Atrium was the first one. For that redesign the New York City Department of City Planning mandated certain design features. The architect said:

> There are all sorts of things if you go through the NYC zoning regulations, specifically the area of covered pedestrian spaces or through block arcades. There is a whole check list of criteria as to what is required in terms of seating spaces, in terms of lighting and signage, in terms of bathroom spaces, hours of operation, handicapped access, and those types of things. It shows things that are specifically important, such as chairs, benches, tables, planters, litter receptacles, telephone kiosks, information panels and graphics. So you can find your way around.

The choice of plants is the most difficult task because they often do not grow well; the city planning department realized that as well. "Finding a plant that would actually grow, a tree can survive indoors, with minimal natural light, even though you have the skylight. Finding something that is aesthetically, that is nice to look at, was very difficult…. At some point, the city planning department was willing to accept that the trees would not be the most successful," the architect said. As with the redesign of Sony Plaza, the city planning department insisted that the square footage of the atrium remain the same, as the architect reported:

> You are constantly looking for a way if you had to trade something off. If you did change something, you would have to have a very persuasive reason to do it.... There were constant checks and balances to make sure you were not just taking things away…. There were also calculations in here actually – all the areas, the zoning texts, the summary of current actions that we defined every single point and we're going to do.

In the end, the square footage of the public space was not changed. The city planning department, the architect said, was "very helpful in reviewing the specific criteria and what

was critical" because the city also wanted to revitalize the atrium since, "They realized that the space had become tired. It had lost its status as a destination space."

Figure 7.9 New Entrance to CitiCorp Center

7.3.3 After Redesign

The two phases of redesign enhanced the relationship between the atrium and city streets. The first redesign made the atrium more visually spacious and systematized pedestrian circulation as well as improving security and safety. "It [the original design] was not open; it was like you're in a little park; it was very claustrophobic from my perception," the manager said. To reenergize the atrium, the current owner, Boston Properties, has repositioned it as a "food court" destination. To do this they ensure that the mixture of tenants they place inside it can attract people and increase its use, as the manager reported:

> ….the type of tenants that we have attracted has led to increased usage. The atrium now functions largely as a food court destination. The large tenants 24 Hour Fitness – a largely static function on the upper level of the atrium (the gym is located on the subcellar level). Other tenants include Cucina, Barnes & Noble and Heartstone. There continues to be a number of vacant units and some food uses are more successful than others are.

As a result, "We find that the atrium is well used as a shared public space. This includes weekends (where 10 years ago the atrium was largely vacant during those times)," stated the manager.

The increased use of the atrium also results from several supporting amenities that Boston Properties provides because, "we are trying to maintain a welcome environment where people want to linger," said the manager. In addition to security guards and a pianist during lunch hours, free wi-fi is available to occupants. "The provision of free wi-fi is just to have people there. We install that to attract people and make it a convenient place to….again you want to energize the place with people," the manager reported. For the purpose of security, police officers also patrol the atrium: "We hire off duty New York City police in the building to assist us and provide a greater sense of security."

7.4   Rubenstein Atrium

At the beginning of 1900s, 61 West 62nd Street was the location of the Colonial Music Hall. Through change in ownership over the years, this building has been reused and renamed for different purposes -- a theater, a movie house, a TV studio for NBC and ABC, and a ballet school (Lincoln Center, 2006). In the 1970s, the building was razed and replaced with the residential project of Harmony Condominiums, designed by Philip Birndaum and completed in 1978. On its ground floor this condominium project possesses one type of bonus space – a covered plaza, a type offered exclusively in the Special Lincoln Square District. The provision of this space (6,906 sf) added additional 95,314 sf (equivalent to 100 apartment units) to the permitted floor area (Dunlap, 2006; Kayden et al., 2000). Originally called One Harkness Plaza or Harmony Atrium, this bonus space was renamed

the David Rubenstein Atrium after the redesign in 2008. The three entrances to this atrium are on Columbus Avenue, Broadway and 62nd Street.

7.4.1 Before Redesign

Because the lighting, planting, public access and use of the atrium did not comply with the zoning ordinance, over the years the city issued several violations to the condominium association (Kayden et al., 2000). Eventually the condominium association initiated modifications to improve its quality but none of them successfully revived the space as, "the redesign over the years was cosmetic and did not address the underlying issues," said the city official in the New York City Department of City Planning. The manager of Two Lincoln Square whose office was located above the atrium described its condition:

> The museum took an administrative office space in that building on the second or third floor. It was around 1989 and we stayed there for a number of years. It was a poorly maintained public space. There were tables and chairs but no one…... So it was just a kind of ugly space with some tables and chairs. They were not clean. There was no vendor there and no security. Vagrants would come in and sleep there. It was very unpleasant. It was not very welcoming at all. If you walked in there to have a seat, you probably would turn around and walk out again because it was quite unpleasant.

One of the main reasons that people did not use this space was because "it was dark and inhospitable and people don't want to walk into a big, empty and dark space that they really don't know what it is," emphasized the city official in the city planning department.

Prior to the conversion to the Rubenstein Atrium, the last modification of the atrium, completed in 1995, offered several amenities such as movable plastic tables and chairs, a food stand, and a one-hour weekly entertainment program. A mezzanine that was accessible by a stairway and provided movable chairs and tables was located above the entrance on Columbus Avenue (Fig 7.10). The design of its three entrances was simple and

two of them, on Broadway and on Columbus Avenue, were decorated with "Harmony Atrium" and "open to the public" signs above them. In contrast, the entrance on 62nd Street was fairly plain (Fig 7.11). Public space plaques were posted on the doors. "It [the atrium] had doors and was locked at 11pm. There were public space signs on the doors; they had the hours on it from 9am to 11pm," said the manger of Two Lincoln Square. In 1997, the condominium association leased a portion of the plaza to a rock-climbing company named Extra Vertical. Subsequently, this company installed a rock-climbing wall on the north wall. The posting of two flags at the entrances indicated a sports club inside it (Dunlap, 2006; Gathamist, 2006; Kayden et al., 2000).

Since it was opened in 1978, the use of this atrium was never successful even with the provision of a wall-climbing club in 1977 (Dunlap, 2006). "It was an underutilized, under maintained and unsafe public space that just passed through between Broadway and Columbus Avenue," said the manager. The food stand and the weekly music program were not operated consistently (Kayden et al., 2000). The type of food that the food stand served was not attractive as the city official in the city planning department described:

> There was supposed to be a café – somewhere that will serves drinks and refreshments and gave people reasons to be there. But when I saw, I am not even sure that it was open but it is mostly like soft-drink stands. So it wasn't the sort of thing that people would be attracted to.

Eventually the adjacent restaurant annexed the mezzanine section and prevented the public from using it, as the city official reported:

> In the absence of a thriving public space, private uses will sometime encroach because if no one cares enough about what is going on in this space and it was mostly empty. People would start searching for opportunities of using it. So at a certain point the restaurant that was on the 2nd floor here started to use this balcony.

Rules were posted inside the atrium prohibiting smoking, sleeping, shopping carts, excessively large packages or bundles, and sitting on the floors or heating vents but they

were not enforced strictly. Homeless persons gathered inside and used the space as a temporary shelter (Kayden et al., 2000; Pogrebin, 2006; 2008; Dunlap, 2006). The absence of security guards decreased the security of this atrium as the manager reported:
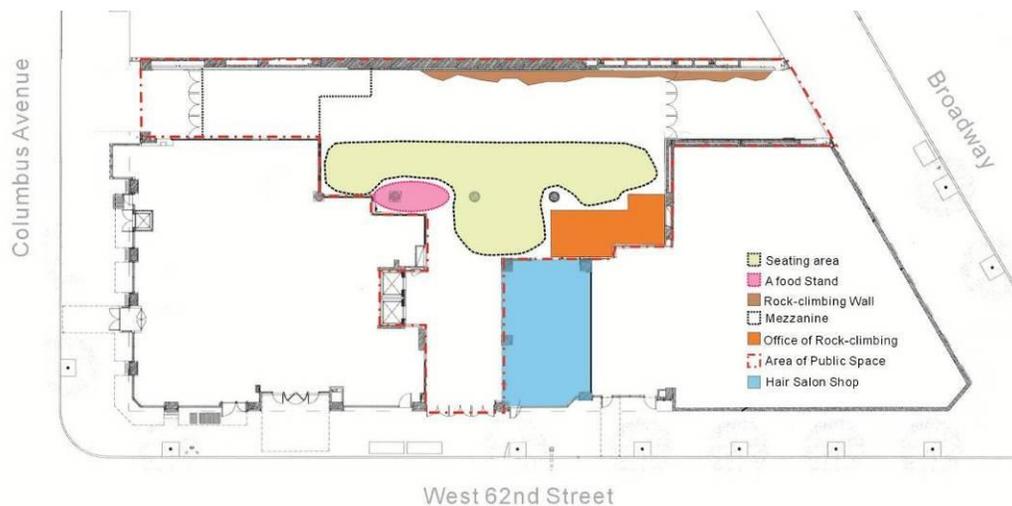
Figure 7.10   Floor Plan and Views of Harmony Atrium before Lincoln Center's Redesign
Source: Lincoln Center for Performing Arts

There was a security guard who oversaw this space before. But when the condominium board refused to continuously pay for this person, this space seemed to become less secure. At the end, the adjacent restaurant, Rosa Mexicano, decided to pay for this person to maintain its security. One of the reasons was that this restaurant occupied the Mezzanine of Harmony Atrium for its own use.

Until the redesign in 2008, this atrium remained uninviting, as the city official said: "When I visited it in 2007, it was definitely like…I won't say scary but it wasn't a space you would like to spend any time if you have a choice."

Figure 7.11 Three Entrances to Harmony Atrium
Source: Lincoln Center for Performing Arts

7.4.2 Redesign Process

At the beginning of 2000, the Board of Directors of the Lincoln Center for Performing Arts launched a series of redevelopment projects to modify Lincoln Center, which had been heavily criticized for being a cultural fortress, into an inviting place (Huang, 2011b; Tommasini, 2010). The goal was "to be open, to be transparent, to be welcoming and make access to Lincoln Center easier and more innovative," Reynold Levy, the president of Lincoln Center, reported (Pogrebin, 2006). The redevelopment was also to include a visitor center to serve as an information and service hub for its 12 institutions and neighborhood

cultural and civic events (Lincoln Center, 2006). The existing Lincoln Center campus could not accommodate a space to house the visitor center. So Lincoln Center leased the Harmony Atrium from the condominium association for 99 years and set out to turn this underutilized space into an inviting one. "We want to liberate the space, reduce the constraints and make it a real center, a beehive of activity," stated Levy (Dunlap, 2006).

Figure 7.12 Floor Plan and Interior Views of Rubenstein Atrium after Redesign
Source: Lincoln Center for Performing Arts

Lincoln Center selected Tod Williams Billie Tsien Architects to redesign this atrium. "It's the kind of space you'd like to drop into to feel like you're slightly separate from the intense flow of Broadway," Mr. Williams said (Pogrebin, 2006) and, "It is a place to go in and get a coffee or a glass of wine and maybe buy tickets to a show, which normally you wouldn't do if you were just walking by," said Ms. Tsien (Bostwick, 2009). The architects employed three elements - lighting, water, and greenery - to address the fundamental defects of the atrium -- darkness, emptiness, inhospitality, and dull interior materials (Fig 7.12). To brighten the atrium, the architects introduced skylights equipped with artificial lights. They also removed the mezzanine to maximize the opening of its two entrances from Columbus Avenue and Broadway, to bring in more daylight and to enhance the connections to the sidewalks. To make this atrium more noticeable to passersby, the architects created two additional marquees (or canopies) above the entrances, added several Lincoln Center orange signs, and changed the sidewalk pavement next to these two entrances. The city official in the city planning department described (Fig 7.13):

> The idea is for people who approach on Broadway or Columbus Avenue. They could see it [the atrium] and know it is there and be curious about what it is and that will help establish and draw attention on the space and give it presence of identity. And there is a sort of paving, change of material, on the sidewalk. So when you walk on the sidewalk, the normal concrete, and the area around the marquees is grey. So even you are not looking up, if you just look down at your feet, you see something is changing.

The entrance on 62nd Street, in contrast, did not undergo a major makeover. Materials for the atrium were specifically chosen in light, vivid, and natural-toned colors to enhance its brightness. "The choice of materials of the space was very dark in addition to lack of sunlight. The materials did not help to improve the lighting of the space," said the city official in the city planning department. The provision of one fountain (sounds of water)

and two vertical green walls (plants) was expected to soften this space and enrich its spatial

quality.

Figure 7.13 Entrances after Redesign

The design included several other amenities to make the atrium attractive: a café, a

free Wi-Fi access, Lincoln Center's box office and information desk, a TV screen, various

types of seating, restrooms both on both floors, a drinking fountain on the second floor, and

a weekly Thursday night music performance. (Some of these additions were to

accommodate current building codes, such as restrooms and mechanical equipment.) The

city official in the city planning department gave the reason for requiring varied seating

(movable chairs, benches and benches with a back):

> It is kind of the principal of our POPS space regulations. You want a lot of seating.
> … You want variety because you want different types of users at different times of
> the day. So you want different people like students who may come in … and take
> out their laptops and sit at the table for a while. But also you want someone who just
> passes through or sits on the benches for a few minutes, maybe with their strollers.
> But also at this corner you have seating, like L-shaped a little bit more enclosed,
> that has backs and that is more comfortable than benches. So it is more suitable for
> siting for a longer period of time. There are some plugs you can plug in your laptop.

So the idea is for people who want to come and really sit there for a while and stay in the space. So you don't want just movable chairs or benches without backs. You want a combination of different things.

The posting of some amenities had gone through a series of negotiations between Lincoln Center and the city planning department. For example, the city planning department was concerned about the location and size of the café, as the city official described:

The question in the beginning is where to put this restaurant – which is big enough for it to operate, heat the food, prepare sandwiches and wash dishes and things like that. At the same time, it has a minimum foot print and won't make this public space like a food court. …. So it will be good enough for a restaurant to rent and use it. But at the same time, that will provide an amenity without taking over this space.

Lincoln Center eventually made the café smaller to accommodate this concern, as the manager reported:

We agreed to reduce that foot print. We made the café slightly smaller….They [the city planning department] didn't want too a large café there that might impede the public gathering. There is no cooking there, just some heating elements. That is not real cooking.....They just prepare sandwiches, sort of grab and go, coffee, or a glass of wine or cocktail in the evening.

The final location of the café is at the south-west corner of the central area of the atrium where the café staff still has sufficient space to prepare food. At the same time, occupants will not feel that they should purchase something in order to use the tables and chairs. "I found people still use them and do not feel like you have to buy something to be there -- even the seating next to the café," said the city official.

When Lincoln Center proposed including a box office for selling Lincoln Center's daily discount tickets, the city planning department did not accept this idea initially. Like the redesign of Sony Plaza and the CitiCorp Atrium, the city planning department insisted that the square footage of the atrium remain the same after the redesign. The city planning department eventually approved this proposal after Lincoln Center decided to lease an

additional retail space from the condominium association for its box office, as the manger described:

> This retail space is not part of the public space; it's not under domain of the city planning or etc. However to accommodate the box office we wanted to put into the atrium, we needed to have some of the area of this retail space too. So Lincoln Center, as part of the agreement with our landlord, which is the building right here, took over this space as well so we could build our box office.

Placing the office box in this location can also prevent Lincoln Center from making it one of their own properties as the city official described: "It is not located at the center of this space but kind of in the secondary area of this space, less pedestrian traffic. So it is located back here. It is not hard to find but also not on the main stage, but a little put in the back." Unlike the redesign of Sony plaza, the city planning department approved Lincoln Center's proposal to install a TV screen because that will not disturb its occupants who may or may not be interested in receiving the information about Lincoln Center and the surrounding neighborhood. The city official expressed the city planning department's point of view:

> It is important to figure out that this is going to show the images of what will be presented in Lincoln Center or communities. Even though you are not interested in this information, you will not be disturbed. We want to make sure that Lincoln Center will not use this for advertising for its own benefits or make people not feel like being there or distracting or annoying.

In addition to the design challenges, the other obstacle is the constraint of New York City's existing zoning resolution. In 1984, the bonus space of "covered plazas" was phased out from the zoning resolution. Without this type of bonus spaces in the zoning resolution, there were no authorized regulations to follow during the redesign process. Not only did the New York City Department of City Planning have no way to amend the existing zoning resolution, but also no existing rules to follow for addressing the required features. In the end, this obstacle was overcome through the process of "mayor override of the zoning" as the city official described:

…there was a zoning problem… because this category of POPS, covered plazas, was removed…..the zoning laws had no process to change the existing POPS, no way to change the design requirements. For example, the new detail requirements could not be implemented. So what we ended up doing was to call the "mayor override of the zoning" in which the mayor actually exercised his charter mandate power to authorize the new design. This is not a common procedure.

7.4.3 After Redesign

The redesign has helped attract people. "Now almost three years into the run -- we opened in November 2009. We were approaching 750,000 visitors in just under three years. Shortly it will be three quarter of a million of visitors," reported the manager. People use this atrium for various activities such as chatting, eating, reading, using electronic devices and playing scrabble. The free wi-fi and various power outlets attract a high percentage of occupants who use their laptops as the manager described:

> It [the atrium] serves many functions for many folks: it's public congregation during the day – people coming here for free Wi-Fi or to get out of the heat or to get of the cold. It's just common. We see people utilize the atrium almost half of the time for matters unrelated to Lincoln Center. It's just a public space. We were totally fine with that. Our responsibility is to run a public space that happens to be managed by Lincoln Center. So the more we can offer and introduce to them regarding arts happening here, the better. But if you just want to come, hang around, read your book, write your novel on your laptop, which is fine too.

Before the redesign, this atrium was a place where some homeless people spent their days. To ensure that homeless people can still use this atrium after its redesign, no rules are posted to specifically target this group or to purposely exclude them (Dunlap, 2006). Homeless people often frequent this atrium. They mostly gather at the fixed-seating area or nearby. Like other occupants, they seem to feel comfortable being in the atrium. They may be sleeping, reading, people-watching or, surprisingly, using laptops. The other occupants who sit nearby seem not to be bothered by their presence. Furthermore, onsite security guards do not take any actions or ask them to leave if they are not bothering other

occupants. The number of homeless people inside the Rubenstein Atrium varies by the time of the day and the day of the week. The more other people in this space, the fewer homeless people there are, according to the manager.

7.5   575 Fifth Avenue

The southeast corner of 47th Street and Fifth Avenue has been used for retail ever since 1900 when the architect Charles Berg designed and built a four-story baroque building named the Windsor Arcade. In 1912, the eight-story W. & J. Sloane store, later used for the Korvettes department store, replaced the northern half of the arcade. Fred Wilpon's Sterling Equities Inc. along with its partners acquired this building in 1980. The new owners then hired Emery Roth & Sons to add a 27-story building onto the existing building. In 1984, this 35-story office building was finally completed (DePalma, 1983b, Sep; Stern et al., 2006).

7.5.1   Before Redesign

Two aspects enabled the construction of this 35-story office building. According to the City Planning Commission's report (N810450ZAM), the developers first received the waiver of height and setback requirements to enlarge coverage of the office tower by providing additional retail space. They also obtained extra floor bonuses by including two types of bonus space: one covered pedestrian space (3,575 sf) and two arcades (275 sf). By doing so, the developers sought to enhance the shopping district of the Fifth Avenue. The design of the corridor connecting to the Fifth Avenue entrance, in addition, was intended to bring pedestrians directly into the core of this shopping atrium (CPC810450, 1981).
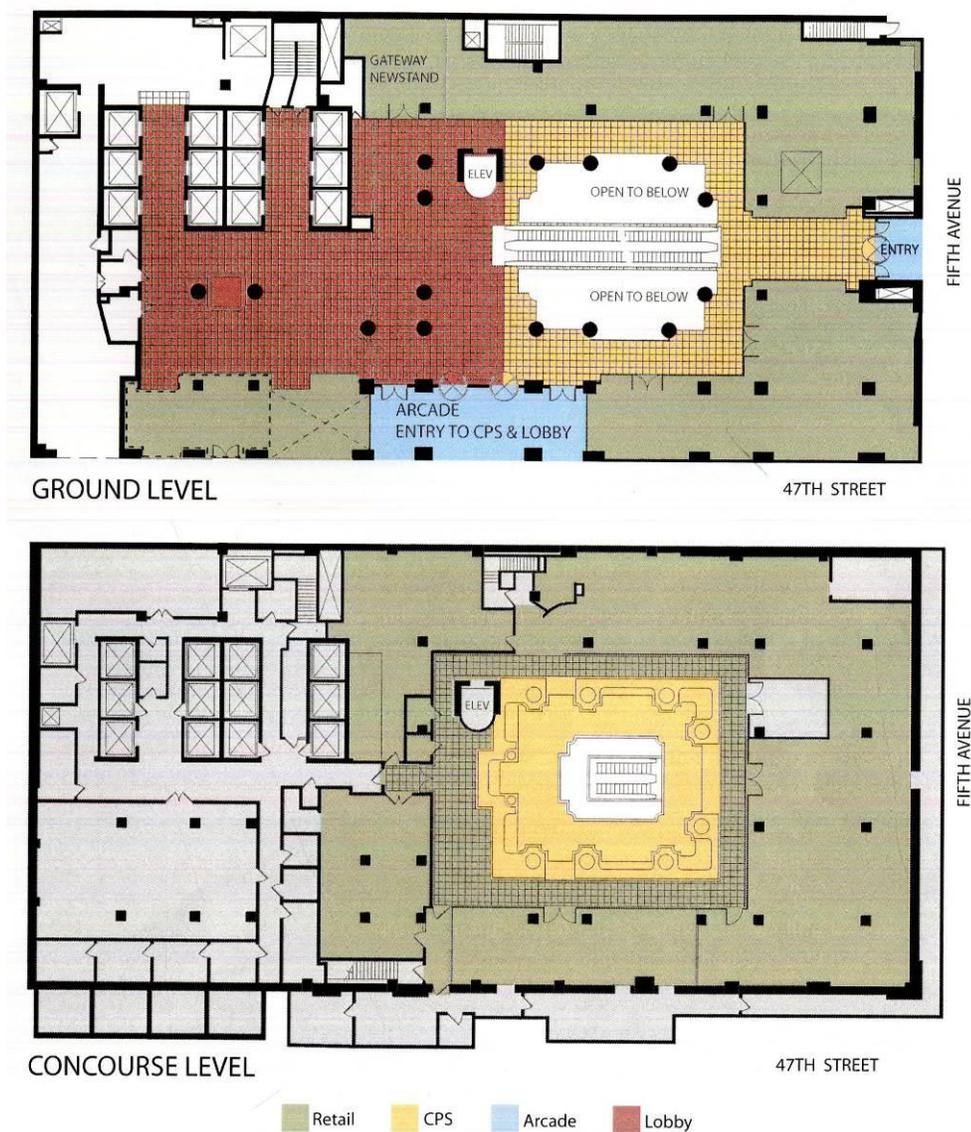
Figure 7.14 Floor Plans of 575 Fifth Avenue before Redesign
Source: Gensler & Moed de ARMAS & SHANNON

Most of the public space inside the building served as corridors except the space located in the central area on the concourse level and surrounded by stores selling food and merchandise. This space included several design features to attract people: seating, plants, a fountain and public restrooms (CPC 830490, 1983). Except the elevator offered vertical interior circulation, the escalators across the atrium and connected between floors helped visitors circulate. A 1,600 sf of Frank Lloyd Wright-inspired stained glass ceiling,

designed by Hank Prussing, covered the atrium (Kayden et al., 2000; Stern et al. , 2006) (Figs 7.14 & 7.15). This luxurious atrium often astonished its first-time visitors. One woman commented, "I think it's beautiful. I'm really overwhelmed....I didn't expect this" (Kayden et al., 2000, p138).

Figure 7.15 575 Fifth Avenue before Redesign
Source: Gensler & Moed de ARMAS & SHANNON

The vitality of the four-story shopping atrium the developers intended to create, however, was never achieved. Not only were the owners unable to lease all the retail spaces but most of the public seemed unaware of the atrium's existence. Kayden et al. (2000) pointed that the arcades at both entrances made it difficult for pedestrians to see the space. The granite cladding of the building's facade with small-sized openings blocked the visual

connection between indoors and outdoors. The architect from the redesign team said (Fig 7.15):

> .....we got a 1983 maybe 80's building that's heavy, clad in granite, not feeling open to the public. Nothing about it announcing that there's either invitation to enter or purely public use as a scheme from the City nor for development goals regarding what was considered a retail presence.

Due to its location, the space was not visible from the sidewalk. Even though public space plaques were posted at the entrances, the passersby would not be aware of it unless they already knew about it. So this space was not well used prior to the redesign.

7.5.2 Redesign Process

The redesign process began in 2005 when MetLife purchased the building. The intention behind the redesign was to create prominent retail spaces with large frontage on Fifth Avenue and a distinctive lobby for the office building. This would allow them to retain the original tenants, attract new tenants, and possibly increase rent. The redesign architects proposed eliminating several earlier design faults that made this shopping atrium unnoticeable to pedestrians and unattractive to shop owners. In addition, the atrium was overly dominated by vertical escalators between floors and corridors between retail and office spaces. As a result the atrium became a transiting space, not a gathering space. The architect said:

> ......you can see extremely cluttered, busy, dominated by the escalators. This is the interior space, dominated by vertical transportation, escalators. No real sense of a gathering space in there, there's nothing that...There is retail obviously on some of these different levels, but there is no real sense of a gathering space. There are some benches, something like that, but no one used them. That was under used completely. The retail is a burden by someone having to find this space, no way to go in there, so it was challenging from the developer's point of view.

The irregular placement of the escalators also made the interior circulation confusing.
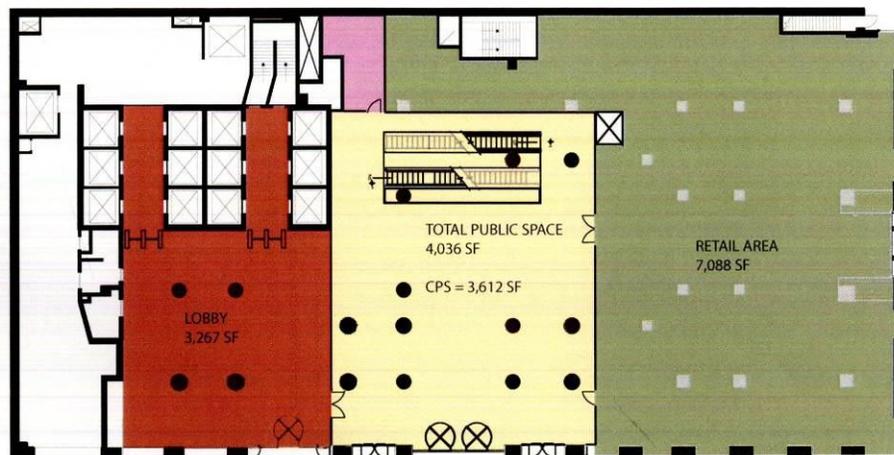
GROUND LEVEL

CONCOURSE LEVEL

TOTAL PUBLIC SPACE
4,036 SF

CPS = 3,612 SF

LOBBY
3,267 SF

RETAIL AREA
7,088 SF

11,239 SF

OFFICE BLDG. LOBBY	PUBLIC RESTROOMS
CPS	PEDESTRIAN BRIDGE
COMMERCIAL	RETAIL AREAS
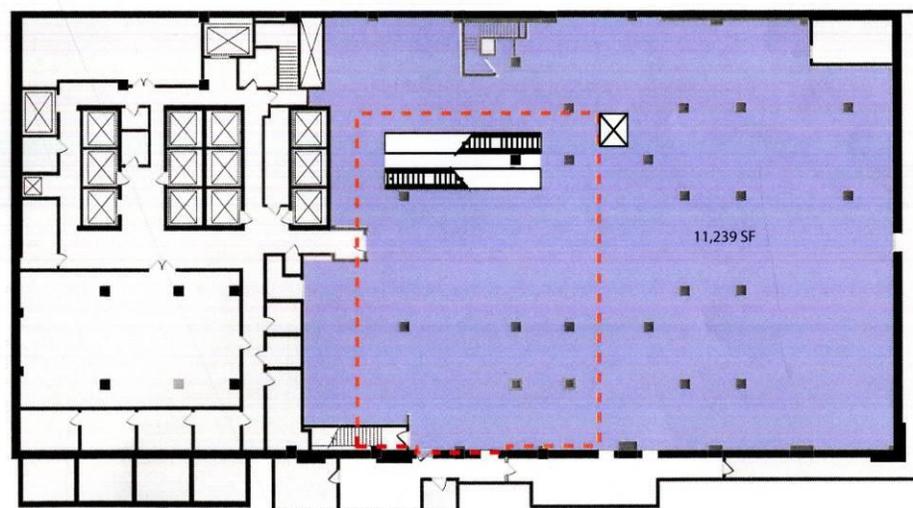
Figure 7.16 Floor Plans of 575 Fifth Avenue after Redesign
Source: Genster & Moed de ARMAS & SHANNON

To create retail spaces with large frontage on Fifth Avenue, the architects reconfigured the floor plan by eliminating the Fifth Avenue arcade and relocating the interior wall inward. In addition, they proposed moving the public space to the ground level and leaving the entire concourse level for the tenants' cafeteria as an incentive to keep

them in the building. They intended to make the public space visible and to increase its

connection with the surrounding retail spaces, as the architect described:

> You got awkward small retail. So in order for this to thrive as a covered pedestrian
> space, they wanted retail to face it and they [the owners] wanted an interaction, a
> happy, clean, interaction between the two because they support one and other.

The architects also systematized the location of the escalators to support a clearly defined

public space (Figs 7.16 & 7.17).
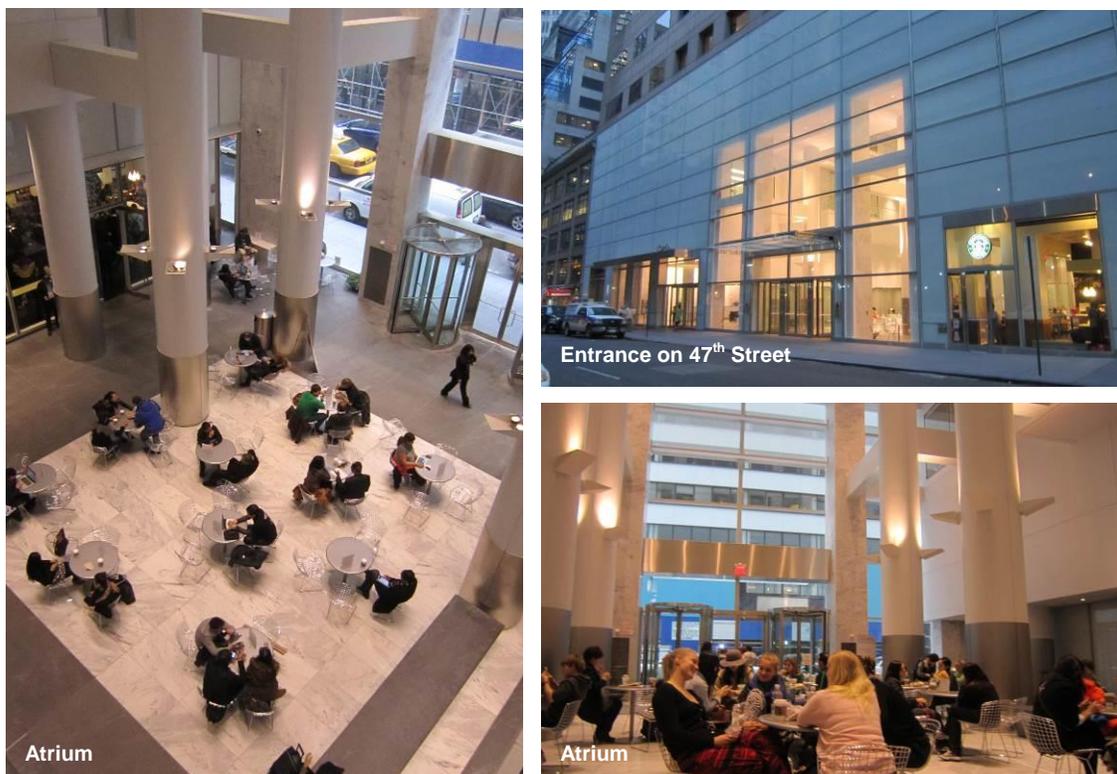
Figure 7.17 575 Fifth Avenue after Redesign

To create a lobby for the office tower, the architects first needed to redefine the

interior area that is either designated for retail visitors or office workers. This not only

resolved the indistinctive and ambiguous relationship between retail and office spaces but

also facilitated future management of the atrium. "...It's much better to not have public

space leaking into a private office building, especially given security change over time (more controlled lately, particularly after the September 11 attacks) and just identify - where your high level tenant is and you've got people just wondering around the lobby," the architect said. The redesign team, hence, removed the 47th Street arcade and several retail spaces on the street. This enabled them to create two separate entrances: one for access to the atrium surrounded by the commercial or retail spaces and the other for access to offices. A wall between the new lobby and the atrium separates one from the other but does not completely block their physical connection.

The marble facade on the first four floors was also re-skinned to make the public space visible. "It's very heavy and even though there's an opening on Fifth Avenue. All the openings were dark, not well-announced, not inviting to the public," the architect reported. Even though New York City's zoning does not mandate how a building facade should be designed for interior bonus spaces, the redesign team utilized more transparent materials to enhance visual connections between inside and outside and also to bring daylight into the atrium (Fig 7.17). With the evening lighting, people on the adjacent sidewalks can easily discover the space.

During the redesign process, the city planning department primarily ensured the resulting quality of the public space. Certain design features were required in the new design; signage, seating, planters, restrooms and artwork. Regarding seating, the New York City Department of City Planning not only ensures its type and number but also that it supports social interaction among users being what the city planning department calls "social seating." For the artwork, programmed activities and a rotating exhibition were

discussed in place of a sculpture on the proposal drawings. Through the process, the idea of

including artwork was phased out and nothing has been done.

Regarding the removal of two arcades and relocation of the public space, the

attitude of the planning department during the negotiation process was flexible as long as

the redesign approach showed the great improvement of the existing conciliation:

> That was one thing we had to approach to the City with essentially closing the
> entrance to the public space. What we had to show was how it's going to be better.
> The end product is going to be better, the end product is going to be more inviting,
> and people would know much more clear than they do now, how to get to this
> public space.

As in the other cases of redesign, the New York City Department of City Planning

department insisted that the square footage of the public space remains the same. Thus,

calculating the area of the public space became one of the redesign issues. The architect

said:

> You have to show how you move around the area and how you're hitting the right
> zoning numbers between the existing and the proposed ones......We took away the
> arcade so we ended up having to do it with our final public space. These two
> arcades incorporated into the final space so the basics are just math, math and how
> we got creative about reallocating the math in the way they agreed.

Through the process, the redesign team also found the area of vertical escalators was

included in the original area of the bonus spaces, which should not have been included.

Regardless of this earlier mistake, the redesign team still needed to include this area into

the calculation of the new public space.

7.5.3 After Redesign

The redesigned public space is more concentrated, more physically and visually accessible,

and more closely connected to the sidewalk than it was before. The number of occupants

has increased as well. The elimination of the retail spaces, which Starbucks occupied, to

create the new entrance to the office building enabled it to be relocated to another retail space in the building, close to the Fifth Avenue. The current owner of this Starbucks branch is happy with this result. Not only can pedestrians on the Fifth Avenue easily see and find this shop but also, most importantly, its sales increased after the redesign, according to the manager interviewed. The only thing that remains unchanged is that this shop cannot provide numerous chairs and tables because of its limited floor area.

The resulting interior reconfiguration also facilitates the management of the space as well as the office building because of the distinction between public space (for the public to use) and private space (for office workers and visitors) which is clearly defined. Also, the two kinds of spaces are separated, as the architect described:

> There's a certain foot print we had to meet, but you have a distinctive lobby with connections between all these things because the connections are important. Identifying the users is even probably more important when you've got private tenants and public space supported by the retail.

This result also helps enhance the security and safety of the office building because the public cannot linger at its office lobby.

CHAPTER 8

MANAGEMENT

Management is another key approach to ensure the possibility of an inviting space. Unlike traditional public spaces, privately owned public spaces are managed either by the company that owns the building or a management company. All the spaces of the study have maintenance staff to keep them clean. Other than that, management approaches employed by their owners or management companies vary by space. To understand how these spaces are managed and the rationale for certain management practices, I interviewed several building managers with a semi-structured interview protocol. The interviews revealed that managers' tolerance of certain uses and how their interpretation of these rules varies by space.

8.1 Hours of Operation

Unlike most of traditional outdoor public spaces that are often open 24 hours, the spaces in this study are accessible to the public only during certain hours. Nineteen of the 24 spaces are open seven days a week. Their hours of operation vary by space; many are open into the evening hours and their ample indoor lighting supports evening use. Information about the hours the space is open is often posted along with public space plaques at their entrances.

Owners or managers of eight spaces do not operate their spaces based on the authorized hours. Some managers completely refuse people's entry to these spaces unless they have an appointment with employees inside the building. The others either shorten the opening hours or keep only one entrance open on one side of the space in order to prevent people from walking through. On a Saturday morning, I went into Grand Central Plaza and I sat on a bench in Grand Central Plaza between the entrance and the partition strip that was

placed to stop people walking through the space. The signs of the hours are placed at the entrances and indicate "Open to Public 7am to 8pm weekdays and 9am to 6pm weekends." The security guard immediately approached me and asked "Are you waiting for someone from the building?" I said "No" and he then said to me that "They (people who own or manage the building) don't want you to be here." Therefore, people allowed in this space on weekends are either the office workers of the building or delivery persons (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Hours of Operation of 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

	Seven Days	Hours	Obey Opening Hours Rule
180 Maiden Lane	No	Mon-Fri: 8:30am-5:30pm	Yes
60 Wall Street	Yes	7am-10pm	Yes
Park Avenue Plaza	Yes	8am-10pm	Yes
Sony Plaza	Yes	7am-11pm	Yes
Former IBM atrium	Yes	8am-10pm	Yes
CitiCorp Atrium	Yes	7am-midnight	Yes
Rubenstein Atrium	Yes	Mon-Fri: 8am-10pm / Sat-Sun: 9am-10pm	Yes
Former Altria Atrium	Yes	Mon-Sat: 7:30am-9:30pm / Sun: 11am-7pm	Yes
575 Fifth Avenue	Yes	7am-midnight	Yes
805 Atrium	No	Mon-Fri: 8am-7pm	Yes
875 Atrium	Yes	Mon-Sta: 7am-11pm / Sun/Holidays: 11am-7pm	Yes
650 Fifth Avenue	Yes	7am-midnight	Open five days a week b/t 7am-5pm
Trump Tower Plaza	Yes	8am-10pm	Closed the entrance connecting to the former IBM Atrium around 8pm
Two Lincoln Square	No	Tue-Sat: 12pm-7:30pm / Sun: 12pm-6:00pm	Yes
1991 Broadway	Yes	8am-midnight	Yes
52 Broadway	Yes	8am-8pm	Open five days a week b/t 6:30am-6:30pm (Also addressed by Kayden et al. (2000))
Olympic Tower Atrium	Yes	8am-10pm	Yes
Galleria	Yes	Mon-Sat: 8am-10pm / Sun: 8am-6pm	Closed the entrance on 57th Street Closed around 7pm on Saturday night
499 Park Avenue	Yes	8 am-6 pm	Open five days a week but longer than 6pm
Grand Central Plaza	Yes	Mon-Fri: 7am-8pm / Sat-Sun: 9am-6pm	Only open the entrance on 41st Street during weekend
875 Mezzanine	Yes	Mon-St.: 7am-11pm / Sun/Holidays: 11am-7pm	Closed on Sunday mostly
383 Madison Avenue	No	Mon-Fri: 7am-8pm	Yes
101 Barclay Street	No	Not open for the public	Not open to the public at all
Le Parker Meridien	Yes	7am-midnight	Yes

8.2 Rules of Conduct

The rules of conduct posted, as most of the managers expressed, are intended to ensure that everyone will feel comfortable using the spaces without being interfered with or discouraged by other occupants. They also allow the rights of owners and managers to employ security guards or police officers to enforce rules. As a result, certain behaviors and activities are prohibited.

Rules vary by space but they all prohibit certain behaviors, activities and items (Table 8.2). In addition to the universal law that prohibits smoking and the city laws that ban unlawful activities (e.g., gambling and consuming alcoholic drinks or controlled substances), these rules are often intended to maintain the environmental quality of spaces and enhance the enjoyment of the majority of occupants. Disorder and offensive behaviors that can interfere with or pose a health or safety risk of others are prohibited, such as loitering, disruptive and lewd activities (including obscene language), panhandling, soliciting, creating noises (including playing music or radio), and running. The rule "All children must be accompanied by an adult" is posted only at 575 Fifth Avenue.

To prevent certain activities from occurring, items related to them are not allowed to be brought with into the spaces, such as bicycles, skateboards, roller blades, and scooters. Excessive packages or shopping carts are prohibited or are subject to search by onsite security personnel, particularly after 9/11 for the stated purposes of security and safety. For the same reason, leaving packages unattended is forbidden. Tarps and sleeping bags associated with camping and sleeping are banned. Animals are excluded from four spaces, except for service and seeing eye dogs.

Occupying a seat or a space for more than one hour is also prohibited as "No person or persons should occupy a seat or space in the atrium for more than one hour," which is only posted at 575 Fifth Avenue. These uses are often associated with sleeping and gaming (e.g., board or card games) as well as political activities. Like sleeping, lying down or sitting on floors is forbidden in several spaces. At 60 Wall Street, occupants are not allowed to rearrange tables. This is listed on the rules of conduct as a measure to prevent large gatherings or meetings, which is how the OWS participants used the space in 2011. A similar rule is enforced in the former IBM atrium even though it is not posted.

Behaviors that may damage or decrease environmental amenities and quality are prohibited such as littering, removing objects from trash, and storing personal items on benches or chairs. Any type of spontaneous commercial or soliciting activity is also forbidden (e.g., distributing flyers). Some rules are created to protect the rights of owners or management companies. The rule stating that "Property management reserves the right to contact NYPD for criminal acts or violations and the Homeless Outreach Program to provide social service for persons in need" is listed at 575 Fifth Avenue. A similar approach is the "Please cooperate by following the instructions of security officers and other building service staff personnel" rule, which is included in the CitiCorp Atrium's list of rules.

Several spaces without posted rules of conduct prohibit certain behaviors nonetheless. For example, larger shopping carts, animals (except service ones), sleeping, and skateboarding are banned in the Rubenstein Atrium. The manager expressed "The rules are sort of obvious things. They are all orientated toward everyone having a pleasant experience." Regarding skateboarding, the manager who I interviewed reported:

It is a public space so that we cannot refuse anyone who wants to come and use this space. As long as people do not commit violations or create nuisance based on behaviors what are listed in the city law. Of course, skateboarding is not ok in this space. It is just not the type of activity for this space.

Besides banning loitering, littering, and sleeping in the Galleria, using power outlets is not allowed as the manager stated:

People sometimes use their laptops inside the space. Yes, they can use their laptops in the space. But they are using the electricity outlets that are intended to be used by our porter who vacuums the floor. They often gather at the location where the electricity outlets are. This is not a space for them to have their laptops plugged into the outlets. We often asked them not to do that.

Rules are not posted in the 805 Atrium because "We don't like to put up signs because it will look too institutional. We want it to be a welcoming space," said the manager. However, there are some basic rules that security guards will enforce as the manager described:

Of course we don't want running in the space. We don't want people falling asleep in the space. No loud noises or music. Of course no smoking, it's the city law anyway. Also, no jumping, bicycling, roller skating, skate boarding and things like that.

Although photo-taking is not listed in any posted rules, it is at least forbidden at 180 Maiden Lane, in the Former Altria Atrium, at 575 Fifth Avenue, and at 383 Madison Avenue. The reasons for excluding this vary by each space. The manager of 180 Maiden Lane stated:

You cannot take pictures. We don't want pictures taken here. We don't want them posted in other places. What if somebody's face is posted somewhere, or if somebody's face ends up on the internet and they don't want that there? We don't want any possible law suits. So we don't allow pictures, no pictures.

Conversely, the manager of 383 Madison Avenue expressed another point of view:

There are certain rules the firm has about taking pictures of JPMorgan assets and information because it might be used harmfully by the public. There might be something specific to JPMorgan Chase that is internal and not for public knowledge, so If someone came in and took a picture of it, it's now public

knowledge. So we have to guard against having private information becoming public and that makes sense.

Rules of conduct are posted in only half of the spaces (Tables 8.2 & 8.3). Two spaces share the same rules because they are located in the same building but on different floors. Unlike public space plaques installed outdoors at the entrances to these spaces, rules are posted indoors: some on walls while others on columns or on stands. The number of signs listing the rules ranges from one to three except Sony Plaza in which signs are placed on almost every table. By displaying or stating the rules the space managers can not only regulate occupants' behaviors and activities but also, if certain misbehavior occurs, the rules enable police officers to take action against them according the interview with the manager of 60 Wall Street.

Before Occupy Wall Street encamped in Zuccotti Park, no rules were posted at 60 Wall Street but they were then posted during the movement as the manager described the situation:

> There are some rules that are posed there. One of the reasons why we were asked by NYPD to post the rules is because if there is a misdemeanor they can only take action if the rules are clearly shown or displayed within the area. They don't have to be in great big letters and huge fonts for people to read but they do need to be able to be accessed by the public, which basically say: no sitting on the floor, no loitering, and no massive groups. The reason the NYPD asked us to put the rules up is simply because... otherwise they wouldn't be able to take action against anyone there.

Originally, three large-size signs of rules were individually posted on both sides of the walls after the OWS participants conducted their large gatherings of people inside it. But these signs were removed and replaced with only one smaller sign a few months later as the manager reported:

> We really don't want to have large rules posted. The reason we have the rules posted is because we were asked by NYPD, because otherwise they couldn't take

any action for misbehaviors so... now things have hopefully returned to normal. We probably don't have the need to have these rules.

After the movement, some companies that own and manage these bonus spaces also carefully revised their rules to prevent similar uses like OWS from occurring as the manager of Park Avenue Plaza stated "…after that [OWS] happened…..anybody who is operating a public space looks at that a lot more diligently to pose these things [rules] correctly so that you do not have to worry about if that situation comes up."

Table 8.2 Rules Posted in 12 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

		180 Maiden Lane	60 Wall Street	Park Avenue Plaza	Sony Plaza	Former IBM atrium	CitiCorp Atrium	Former Altria Atrium	575 Fifth Avenue	875 Atrium	875 Mezzanine	1991 Broadway	Olympic Tower Atrium
	Smoking			●	●	●		●	●		●	●	●
	Alcoholic beverages/controlled substances			●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	
	Loitering		●		●				●				
	Disruptive and lewd manners (including obscene language),				●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●
	Panhandling/soliciting			●		●	●	●	●		●	●	●
	Loud or obnoxious noises (including music)		●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●
	Children accompanied with an adult								●				
Items	Bicycles, skateboard, roller blades and scooters	●		●	●		●	●	●		●	●	
Items	Tarps and sleeping bags	●	●										
Items	Excessive packages or shopping carts			●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●
Items	Unattended packages			●	●	●	●		●		●	●	●
Items	Animals except seeing eye dogs					●		●	●			●	
Excessive uses	Using space excessively (Occupy a seat or space more than one hour)		●						●		●		
Excessive uses	Rearrange tables/chairs		●			×							
Excessive uses	Blocking ingree/egress		●		●								
Excessive uses	Gambling			●	●	●	●	●			●	●	●
Excessive uses	Playing board games or card games					●	●	●	●		●	●	●
Excessive uses	Sleeping			●	●	●	●	●			●	●	●
Excessive uses	Lying down/Sitting on floors	●	●	●		●	●				●	●	●
Excessive uses	Camping	●	●				●						
	Littering (Removing objects from trashes)	●		●			●	●			●		
	Storing (placing) personal items on benches / chairs	●	●	●		●						●	●
	Damaging amenities						●	●					
	Inappropriate attire				●			●					
	Distributing (handing) billing					●							
	Conducting commercial business							●		●			
	Management contact NYPD or Homeless program									●			
	Cooperate with security personnel						●						
	Photo-taking	×							×	×			

Note: "●": Rules-posted onsite; "×": Rules mentioned in the interviews with managers or observed being enforced during observations.

8.3 Security Personnel

Assigning security personnel is another management practice for maintaining the security of properties and the safety of occupants. Security personnel patrol in all spaces except four spaces (Table 8.3). At least one of them stays inside during all hours when the space is open but sometimes they can be absent temporarily. In Trump Tower, security personnel patrol different locations. They can be on the other floor but still oversee the plaza without actually being inside it. In the four spaces without the presence of security personnel, a security guard sometimes roves through the 805 Atrium and the 875 Mezzanine.

The types of security personnel include security guards, NYPD officers, and front desk staff. Security guards are present in 16 of the 20 spaces while owners or management companies of the other four spaces only assign front desk staff to oversee the space (Table 8.3). NYPD officers are sometime present at 60 Wall Street and in the CitiCorp Atrium during the afternoon, evenings and on weekends. They may be alone or sometimes with security guards. The manager of 60 Wall Street described the reason for NYPD officers onsite:

> Last year it became very popular with the OWS and we literally used to have hundreds of people there every single evening for massive meetings. At the beginning of the movement they were incredibly well-behaved, very disciplined and organized. And actually I think there was a natural concern about so many hundreds of people being there each evening. We didn't do anything. We just, basically said: ok, they can do that in the park; they can do that here. That doesn't concern us. Then it became a more unruly element with OWS, which meant we had to take a step to protect our people and the NYPD had to take a step to protect our people in the space during lunch. At that point, we had almost permanent NYPD presence.

To increase the security and safety of the space, the manager of the CitiCorp Atrium said "We hire off-duty police officers to stay in the atrium." A NYPD officer was also present

once in Sony Plaza when a Halloween Party was taking place inside Sony Wonder Technology Lab.

Table 8.3 Management Approaches in 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

	Rules	# of rules	Security personnel	NY PD	Programmed Activities	Types of Activities
180 Maiden Lane	Yes	2	Security guards	No	Yes	Music
60 Wall Street	Yes	1 (Six before)	Security guards	Yes	No	No
Park Avenue Plaza	Yes	1	Security guards	No	Yes	Piano
Sony Plaza	Yes	Almost every table	Security guards	Once	Yes	Music
Former IBM atrium	Yes	2	Security guards	No	Yes	Music
CitiCorp Atrium	Yes	3	Security guards	Yes	Yes	Piano
Rubenstein Atrium	No	N/A	Security guards	No	Yes	Various
Former Altria Atrium	Yes	1	Security guards	No	No	No
575 Fifth Avenue	Yes	1	Security guards	No	No	No
805 Atrium	No	N/A	No	No	Yes	Piano
875 Atrium	Yes	3	Security guards	No	Yes	Piano
650 Fifth Avenue	No	N/A	No	No	No	No
Trump Tower Plaza	No	N/A	Security guards	No	No	No
Two Lincoln Square	No	N/A	Security guards	No	Yes	Music
1991 Broadway	Yes	1	No	No	No	No
52 Broadway	No	N/A	Front desk staffs	No	No	No
Olympic Tower Atrium	Yes	3	Front desk staffs	No	Yes	Piano
Galleria	No	N/A	Front desk staffs	No	No	No
499 Park Avenue	No	N/A	Front desk staffs	No	No	No
Grand Central Plaza	No	N/A	Security guards	No	No	No
875 Mezzanine	Yes	1	No	No	No	No
383 Madison Avenue	No	N/A	Security guards	No	No	No
101 Barclay Street	No	N/A	Security guards	No	No	No
Le Parker Meridien	No	N/A	Security guards	No	No	No

Where security personnel stay onsite also varies by space. In ten of 16 spaces, security guards mostly stay in the same location. For example, one security guard in the Rubenstein Atrium often sits by the information desk monitoring the space through a CCTV system. Periodically, this security guard checks the restrooms located on the 2nd floor. Because of the volume of people at 180 Maiden Lane they separate the space into

two segments, one security guard always stands at the northern area of each segment respectively for monitoring. Similarly, one security guard at 575 Fifth Avenue tends to stand (but sits on a chair in the evening and on weekends) by the door between the space and the lobby of its host building. One security guard also stays inside the former Altria Atrium and the 875 Atrium: sitting at the desk by the entrance on Park Avenue in the former and standing by the entrance connecting to the hallway to a subway entrance in the latter. Security guards in both spaces leave their positions only when occupants ask them to use the restroom.

Security guards in the other six spaces do not have designated locations. Some security guards tend to walk back and forth along the central walkway in three spaces: 60 Wall Street, Sony Plaza, and Park Avenue Plaza. In the former IBM atrium and in the CitiCorp Atrium, security guards often walk in circles because most of the tables and chairs inside them are in the central area. Security guards in three of the spaces tend to temporarily stay in certain areas. At 60 Wall Street, security guards (and NYPD officers) like to stand next to the column between the subway entrance and the entrance on Pine Street. In both the CitiCorp Atrium and Park Avenue Plaza, security guards stand against the wall in proximity to the (male) restrooms, behind the escalators in the former and at the central area in the latter respectively.

In contrast to most of the security guards who stay indoors, security guards at 383 Madison Avenue stand outdoors at the entrances but the public can enter the space, (Security guards at 101 Barclay Street stood outdoors in the past but they now stay by the entrances inside the space according to recent visits in February 2013. The public cannot enter this space.) Therefore, visitors to these two spaces need to be screened by security

guards first before entering the space. The manager of 383 Madison Avenue explained the reason for doing this:

> There are protesters potentially that would harm our employees and we want to guard against that. So that is why we would post security guards at the entrances and make sure that we can monitor who is going into the lobby.

Three entrances to this space are also barricaded to avoid placing security guards at each entrance and to control certain areas as the manager reported:

> This is a public access down to the Metro north, to Grand Central. So there is a gate that comes down, again, to control the traffic into the lobby. Otherwise, we have to post a guard here as well. So to eliminate that, we put the gate down. Everybody still can access that. There is an escalator to get down to the trains. But it makes the traffic come around to every other guard basically. So it controls the traffic again.

As a result, only two entrances are open for people to enter: one at the corner of Vanderbilt Avenue and 47th Street and the other on 48th Street. In the other four spaces with the presence of front desk staff only, these security personnel stay indoors and often are located by the turnstiles to screen people who want to go to the other floors of the buildings. In the Olympic Tower Atrium and the Galleria, their location is much closer to the designated seating area than the two spaces at 52 Broadway and at 499 Park Avenue.

Most of the managers interviewed believe that the presence of security personnel not only ensures the security of their properties and the safety of everyone onsite but also makes users feel comfortable. If certain unacceptable activities occur, security guards would first stop those initiators verbally and possibly ask them to leave the space. If they ignore these warnings, security guards would contact NYPD officers to remove these people. For example, the manager of 575 Fifth Avenue described the approach they adopt:

> If something happens, they approach the security personnel and they will only verbally remind the users not to disturb the other users or infringe the others' rights of using the public space. They will not interfere with them or physically remove them from the space. If the person(s) keep disturbing the others, the security personnel will contact NYPD and let them respond to these issues.

Some managers provided examples to describe situations that had occurred. The manager

of Park Avenue Plaza recalled a fight between occupants:

> People were fighting. People sit around in there, especially some of the homeless
> people and they see each other. Sometimes they have arguments. So we say "Please
> get up and go." You can get up and leave. Or we can call the police and they will
> take you out of here. You decide what you want to do".

In the Rubenstein Atrium, the manager talked about similar circumstances:

> There are instances where an emotionally disturbed person or a homeless person or
> a regular person has yelled at another person or there's a conflict or where a
> homeless person might go to one of the bathrooms and close the door. They're
> asked to leave. We deal with it. We take our responsibility to be a public space very
> seriously.

> In contrast, security personnel at 383 Madison Avenue stop any possible

occurrence of unacceptable behaviors and activities at once rather than let these situations

occur and then deal with them. Therefore, the presence of security guards at the entrance

intends to screen people and to discourage the public from entering the space even though

they have right to do so. The manager described this reason to employ such a different

approach and how security guards interact with the public who may want to enter the

space:

> Technically, it's a public space and we do allow the public through. But we try to
> discourage it as much as possible for security reasons. It's strictly for security
> reasons. Occupy Wall Street was a big issue. And they actually got into our
> building across the street, at 270 Park Avenue. Somehow they snuck in through our
> guards and suddenly it's like a flash mob of a protest at the lobby of the building. So
> we try to screen and make sure we know who is coming through the doors so that
> we can protect our employees and assets.

> To secure the assets (and the employees), their job is to allow employees in. So they
> have to check the IDs to make sure the employees are coming in. If the public wants
> to go through, security has a list of questions (e.g., what you want to do there and
> why you want to be there). They will ask to see why you want to come into this
> space......They want to make sure that you are not there to harm somebody.

The manager of 60 Wall Street provided a more detailed look at the role of security guards who are trained to search for "unpredictable situations" rather than regular or normal day to day activities:

> You have to sort of recognize that security people are trained to observe and become familiar with certain people. Clearly if it's someone new with whom they are not familiar, they are probably going to observe them closely. One duty of security is to look for unpredictable behaviors. For example, a person comes in three o'clock every afternoon, has a cup of tea and reads his book, and occasionally falls of sleep 15 minutes. If they do that every day, it's a normal behavior.

Therefore, security guards at 60 Wall Street are unlikely to consider regular users of these spaces threats (including homeless persons). In contrast, the manager of 383 Madison Avenue treats each individual person as a possible threat so that they are unlikely to let people use their space.

The other role of security guards is to ensure environmental quality. The managers of both the former IBM atrium and Two Lincoln Square emphasized the importance of an orderly space because of their rotated art exhibitions. At Two Lincoln Square, security guards not only make sure visitors do not touch the artwork but also remind them to leave their large bags at the front desk and, if it is raining, put their wet umbrellas at the entrance. How security guards at the former IBM atrium enforce this rule was documented on a field observation:

> A woman and her baby in a stroller were in the atrium. She pushed the stroller close to an artwork placed by an entrance to the host building for taking photos of her baby. The onsite Security guard quickly walked toward them and stayed around them to ensure that no possible damages to the artwork would happen.

Security guards here and those in Sony Plaza and in the Rubenstein Atrium sometimes also help organize tables and chairs to make sure that the spaces are organized and neat. Regarding this, the manager of the Rubenstein Atrium considers "it [maintaining the space] is all hands-on mentality" and people who work inside the space will do that:

…..if I see someone had lunch there and I walk through, I would grab a napkin and I would clean the table. Also our porters do it; our visitor service staff and, of course, the restaurant and buss staff will clean the tables as well. Lincoln Center has the responsibility to maintain the space facilities, but specifically with regard to food items we ask the restaurant to be proactive as well.

In addition, security guards have become "go-to persons" whom visitors ask for directions or recommendations for restaurants and retail stores, particularly for tourist information. Field observations indicated that these interactions between security guards and visitors occur at several spaces such as 60 Wall Street, the former IBM atrium, the CitiCorp Atrium, and Trump Tower Plaza. The manager of 60 Wall Street reported: "They [the security guards] have become like travel guides because people are constantly stopping them, asking advice on where to shop and where to eat or how to get to a place they want to go." At least two times visitors asked security guards at 60 Wall Street to take a picture of or with them.

8.4 Programmed Activities and Private Events

Offering programmed activities in spaces not only can enhance their quality but also, in fact, attract people. The types of programmed activities and how they are promoted may certainly influence people's awareness of these spaces.

8.4.1   Programmed Activities

Ten out of the 24 spaces offer programmed activities (Table 8.3). The American Folk Art Museum that manages and uses the entire space at Two Lincoln Center offers several events on weekdays, such as guitar music concerts every Wednesday afternoon and folk music concerts every Friday night. In addition, the museum offers other activities for

educational purposes. Most of them are free for the public but some may require a minimum fee for the supplied materials as the manager reported:

> We do programming associated with this space and the programming is free. We do Tuesday curatorial tours in addition to the music. And then we have other events on Thursday evenings. We do what is called "Make it Thursday" and people come in to make some crafts or something. Regarding that, we charge a minimal amount for the supplies.

Some spaces also offered these programmed activities before but they do not now. For example, the Whitney Museum managed and used the Former Altria Atrium as one of its branches between 1982 and 2007. In addition to regular exhibitions, the museum also offered various events similar to what Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and American Folk Art Museum present in their spaces (Whitney Museum of American Art, 2008). The manager of the Galleria also expressed that students of the Juilliard School once performed in the space once every week but that was about 20 years ago.

Eight of the ten spaces either offer a lunch time piano performance on weekdays or a weekly student musical performance during certain months (Fig 8.1). During summer months, Saint Peter's Church at the CitiCorp Center hosts a Jazz event on the sunken plaza every Thursday between 12:30 and 1:45pm. On Thursdays of these months, a pianist mostly plays alone in the CitiCorp Atrium or performs with other musicians. For example, one pianist played Jazz Style music with a cellist and a violinist on a Thursday. At 180 Maiden Lane, students of the Julliard School perform music every Tuesday between 12:30 and 1:30pm. "Sometimes they sing; sometimes they do small skits; and sometimes they bring an orchestra in here," reported the manager. Also, high school or college students perform a series of music concerts in Sony Plaza (during summer and winter months) and in the former IBM atrium (during spring months). Their performances are often during

lunch hours and each is about one hour. During the lunch time when a pianist performs in the 875 Atrium, occupants in the 875 Mezzanine can also hear the music because these two spaces share the same host building.
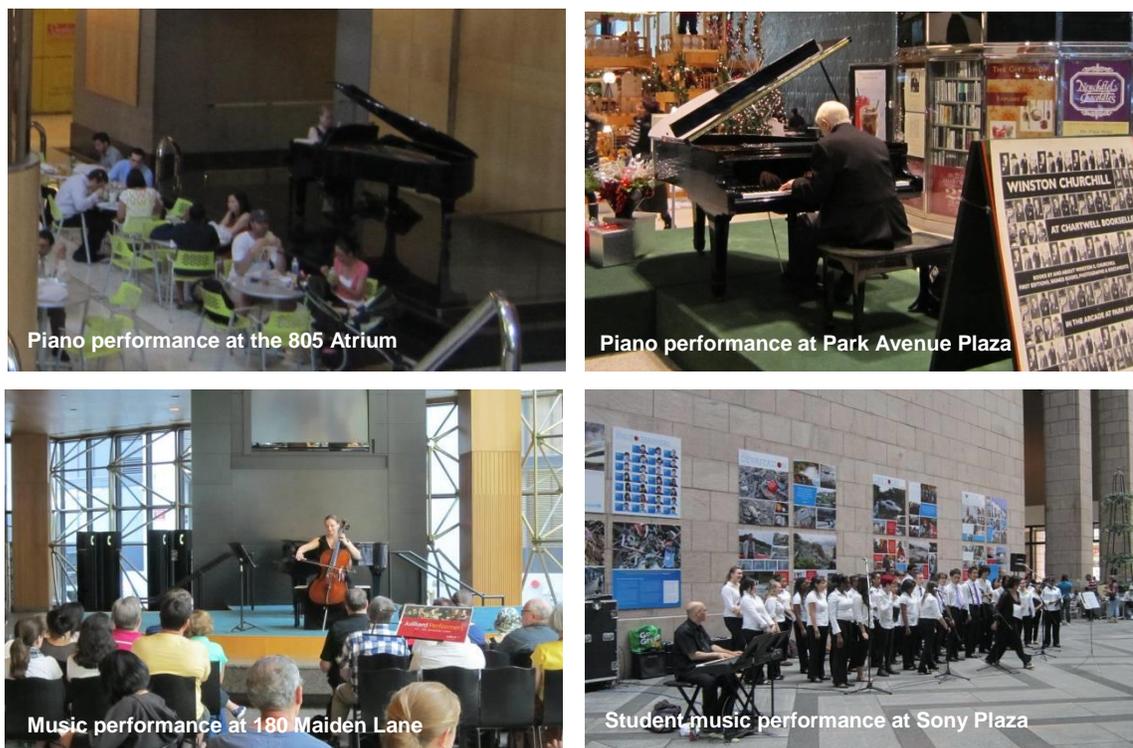
Figure 8.1 Various Lunch Time Music Performances

Programmed activities in the nine spaces (previously discussed) tend to be less diverse except at the Rubenstein Atrium. This atrium, which is managed by Lincoln Center of the Performing Arts and also houses a ticket booth, hosts various types of events to promote art and culture such as concerts, lectures and dance performances (Fig 8.2). A retail company sponsors all the events performed every Thursday night. Other programmed events are sometimes scheduled other evenings on weekdays or on weekends. " In almost three years, since it was opened in 2009, we presented over two hundred free performances and events," said the manager. This atrium was even converted to a movie

theater to present Christian Marclay's *The Clock* in summer 2012. In order to present this artwork to the public, Lincoln Center had to consult with the City as the manager described:

> That presentation was done in collaboration with the City of New York. We went to the Department of Cultural Affairs and the Department of City Planning and said that we have an opportunity to present this great piece of free PUBLIC art. But to do so, we need to build a theater within the atrium and there was a little bit of back and forth about the number of days we would close to build the theater and to remove it after. The City was very acceptable….We had a 62 hour marathon performance from Friday morning to Sunday night so it was literally around the clock. It was great.

This event was very successful as the manager said: "The exhibit was unbelievably successful. In three weeks, almost 20,000 people came and experienced *The Clock*. The longest line was three to 4 hours long."
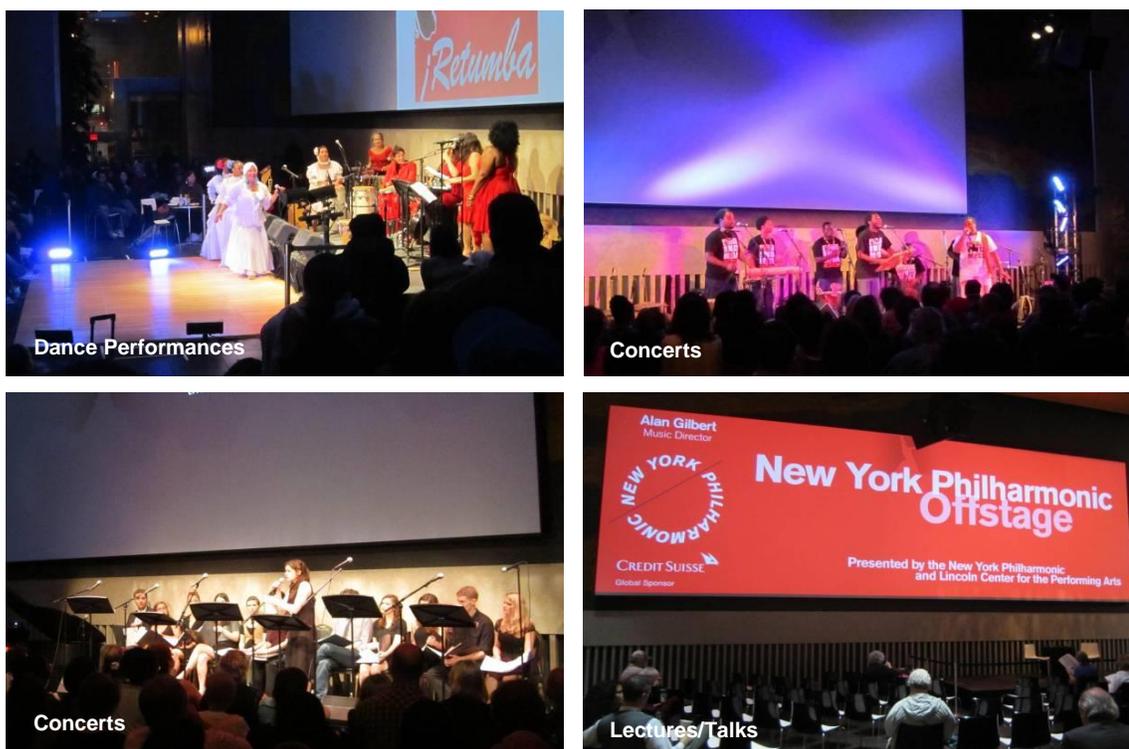
Figure 8.2 Lincoln Center Hosts Various Events at Rubenstein Atrium

The reason that managers of these spaces tend to organize less diverse activities is because programmed activities require investment as the manager of Park Avenue Plaza reported: "It is an involved process and you almost have to have somebody who just does that" in addition to increasing management budgets and the possible insurance liabilities. In the Rubenstein Atrium, several people at Lincoln Center are in charge of scheduling events and coordinating with performance organizations as the manager reported:

> One of my programmers was in charge with coordinating or curating community partners. For example, she reached out the Bronx's counsel for the Arts and invited them to perform in the space when we opened in November 2009……if you look at the list of the performances we presented, a third of them are presented with the cooperation of another organization. It's for a practical purpose that we give them a platform to perform in Lincoln Center.

Because of these efforts, Lincoln Center offers various events to the public in the Rubenstein Atrium. According to the manager, three components of activities cover free events at the atrium: community performances from community-based organizations in New York's five boroughs, constituent performances from Lincoln Center's resident organizations and the group that plans one of Lincoln Center's events named *Out of Doors* in the summer.

Ways of promoting programmed activities vary by space. None of the managers of the six spaces that offer lunch time music performances promote their events. Therefore, people need to be in the space or walking through the spaces while music performances are taking place to discover them. Outside the performing hours, occupants may discover the events by noticing a piano in the space or receiving the performing information through a sign posted next to the piano. At 180 Maiden Lane, the information of programmed activities of each month is posted inside the space. The manager reported: "We communicate with them [the Juilliard School] once a month. They give us a print out and

we do the poster for them so that the public can see what show is coming." Sometimes, the

Juilliard School will post the information of student performances at 180 Maiden Lane on

its website.

The manager of the former IBM atrium reported that they do not promote their

programmed events or the rotating sculpture exhibitions because of a concern for the

"capacity" of the atrium:

> We had little flyers that are in the atrium itself. We don't advertise it. There is a
> limited capacity to the space. You either know what we are doing or not. There is
> no advertising of the artwork or changes. When it is changing, there is no specific
> discussion about it. Sometimes the art gallery that's putting it in there will do
> something within their own websites. There is nothing advertised from the space
> itself about what is going to be in there in the programming or anything like that.
> We don't do any of that.

In addition, the manager believes that the atrium is "to be a public space" rather than "to

attract people:"

> It's about being a public space. It's not meant to draw people there. If you're
> passing by, it's a great space. If you know about it, it's a great space. There is no
> advantage on our part to draw four hundreds of people to a concert when the space
> is really only comfortable to accommodate one hundred and twenty people. So that
> is why we don't advertise it. You either know about it and you're there or you
> don't.

Occupants may receive some information regarding sculpture exhibitions through flyers

art galleries place in the atrium or through their website.

In contrast, the mangers of Two Lincoln Square, Sony Plaza, and the Rubenstein

Atrium do promote their programmed events to attract people. Besides providing

information through flyers, all managers also announce program information on their

websites and/or have this information published in magazines as the manager of Sony

Plaza reported:

> Information on the atrium can be found on the website of the Sony Wonderland Lab.
> Information on the Lab's activities, some of which take place in the atrium, are also

found in various City parent's magazines, such as "Parents Guide," and on flyers at the entrance of the Sony Wonderland Technology Lab.

The information of an event, for example, posted on the website of the Sony Wonderland Lab is "SONY PLAZA ATRIUM: HAWAII CHOIR (Thursday, March 28 &11:30–12:30 p.m.) Join us for an afternoon of musical entertainment from the Hawaii Choir. *No reservation required.*" The managers of both the Rubenstein Atrium and Two Lincoln Square employ technology to inform visitors about the upcoming events: a projection screen covered one-third of the north wall in the former and a legal-size digital flyer on the desk in the latter. The projection screen in the Rubenstein Atrium also promotes other events held in nearby:

> The extensive purpose of the media wall is a marketing, promotional, welcoming, orientating platform so we talk about what is happening on Lincoln Center campus. As part of the standard loop, we talk about what is happening in the communities. So it's not just simply Lincoln Center focused activities. We create criteria for inclusion of community organizations within the neighborhood, say from 59th to 96th. If they're producing a free event and they want or ask us to promote it, we are happy to do so. So we do it on the media wall.

8.4.2   Private Events

Owners of these spaces sometimes lease them for private events (including both profit and non-profit events). In addition to the annual hours of closing each space for events and the annual number of events, the New York Department of City Planning department requires signs regarding the dates of events to be posted beforehand (about two weeks) to notify the public. On each given event date, the planning department also oversees what time a space is allowed to be closed and what time it needs to be re-opened to the public the next day.

These rules often vary by space. For example, the manager of Sony Plaza described their

rules:

> The atrium can be closed for events 12 times per year, six for nonprofit events and
> six for profit events. The space can be closed no earlier than 3pm for an event..... The
> space must reopen the day following an event at 7am and all traces of the event must
> be gone. The number of hours is determined by the Department of the City
> Planning.....Before the atrium is closed for an event, Sony is required to advise the
> tenants in the atrium two weeks before the actual event occurs and post signage in the
> atrium letting the public know that the space will close early for an event.

The rules governing the Rubenstein Atrium are quite different from Sony Plaza. One

reason for the city planning department to regulate the hours and number of events is to

ensure that the public use these spaces as the manager of the Rubenstein Atrium described:

> That was a highly, very specific negotiated deal we made with the Department of
> City Planning. So over the course of 12 months, we can close 240 hours per year,
> which is roughly 5% of the overall hours that we operate. There are additional
> regulations within that, for example, 10 months of a year, we cannot have more
> than 6 closures and 2 months of a year we have up to 10 closures. We cannot close
> more than 20 consecutive hours and it is all again very understandable. They [the
> City] don't want Lincoln Center to close this public space with such a grand
> regularity that the public would not have an opportunity to come and congregate.

> Several private events were taking place during the hours of operation in four

spaces: the former IBM atrium, the Rubenstein Atrium, the CitiCorp Atrium, and the

Trump Tower plaza (Fig 8.3). However, signs regarding events were only posted in two

spaces. At the CitiCorp Atrium, private events only occupy the central area of the atrium.

For example, one golf event was held in the atrium:

> Tables and chairs that occupied the central area of the atrium were pushed to its
> perimeter for setting up the event. A square green Astroturf was placed in front of a
> giant white net. Inside the white net, two small black baskets were placed and a
> target for shooting was hung. Participants placed a golf ball on the top of the
> Astroturf and swung their golf club either to hit the target or to put the golf ball into
> the small black baskets.

The public can still enter the atrium and use the other areas. Therefore, owners of the

atrium did not violate the rules. Like golf-playing in the CitiCorp Atrium, another *active*

activity, a Ping-Pong tournament, was once held at the Rubenstein Atrium as a private event. Conversely, the Trump Tower plaza was completely closed when an event occurred and no signs were posted beforehand. People could only find out that the space was closed until they were there.

Sings regarding events posted at the former IBM atrium

Sings regarding events posted at the Rubenstein atrium

Sings regarding events posted at the CitiCorp Atrium on the event date

Private events at the Trump Tower Plaza

Events occupying the central area of the CitiCorp Atrium

Events occupying the central area of the CitiCorp Atrium
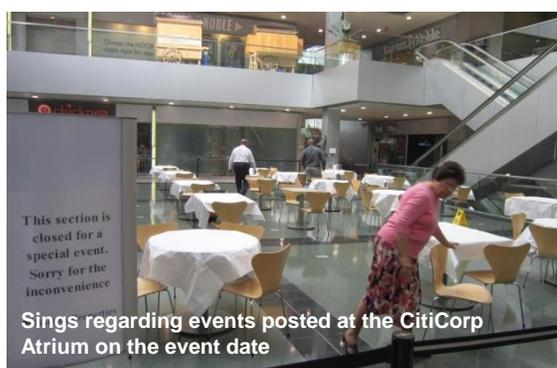
Figure 8.3 Private Events Occurred in Four Spaces

Some spaces host private events after hours. For example, the manager of Two Lincoln Center described their approach for private events:

> We try to do events after hours. Sometimes we're setting up during open hours but the event itself takes place usually after 7:30PM. We do lease out for private events in the evening, such as corporate Christmas parties or events. But they are usually after hours…... It's hard to have dinner parties because the space is limited once you put the tables in. But we can do small dinner parties. We can do breakfast parties and cocktail parties. Sometime there's a book signing event. Anything you can think of to have an event, we host pretty much.

At 383 Madison Avenue, the manager only remembered a wedding party was held in the space on the weekend:

> The only thing that I am aware of is some employees wanted to hold a wedding. So we allow them to do an event here. It was on the weekend so there's very very very light traffic in this building on the weekend. So the employees also came through this way.....Two employees have held their weddings in the lobby.

Private events in the 805 Atrium that the manager knows about were held after hours. If they need to use the entire space for private events during open hours, they will then have to post a sign.

Holding private events may require various preparations. The managers of four spaces who I interviewed tend to turn down people's requests explicitly and implicitly. What the manager of Park Avenue Plaza has concerns about are lawsuits providing an example which had occurred in the space before:

> One of the businesses in the lobby used to have events every 3 - 4 months. They called it "Tea Dance." They would have a band downstairs. It was just coffee and tea. People would come to listen to music and dance. You would then have women who lived on Park Avenue dancing with homeless guys. It became an issue regarding managing it. There were probably a couple of lawsuits involved because people had slipped and fallen. Now we can't do that anymore. It was very interesting that you would see quite a mix of people. But it became a lot to manage.

At 60 Wall Street, Deutsche Bank often provides comprehensive advices to people about the constraint of the space (particularly for the restroom capacity) rather than turn down

their requests of holding private events immediately. By doing so, most of these inquirers would withdraw their requests as the manager reported:

> We got a lot of requests, everything from movie production wanting to use it, from not-for-profits wanting to host events, and from local communities wanting to do a holiday affair. We do support those occasions. We don't close it very often for ourselves, for Deutsche Bank, to hold an event. One of the issues within it, there is not a lot of restrooms......For public events, we do say to people, look if you think there is actually a capacity limit about 600 in the atrium but with one male and one female toilet. That is not a good combination if you're going to have several hundreds of people there for a period of time......What we tend to do is simply to advise them what the constraints are...and the majority of the time they wouldn't do it.

But if people still want to hold their events, the space will remain open to the public during the entire time of the events:

> We also allow certain non-profit foundations to come and use it different times. We have used it for arts exhibitions. There is a good share of time we typically have events there, which does involve with closing. But we obviously provide additional security, etc. for typically around the holiday seasons where we have lots of local people who can come in and sell their home-made products and arts and things like that, sort of holiday events.

At 180 Maiden Lane and the Galleria, the managers basically said that "We don't close the space for a private event." The manager in the latter further reported "When Mendy's (the former food retailer) was still in the space, they had tables and chairs placed inside the space once or twice but the space was not closed."

Different from most of the other spaces, Sony USA no longer accepts any requests of holding private events that may require to close Sony Plaza. Instead, Sony USA welcomes organizations to have their events taking place in Sony Plaza as its Corporate Philanthropy. Like private events held at 60 Wall Street and in the CitiCorp Atrium, Sony Plaza will not be closed during any events and the public are still welcome to use the space as the manager described:

Sony no longer hosts nonprofit or for-profit events in the atrium. Instead, the Company uses the atrium as an extension of its corporate philanthropy, providing a unique venue to host lunchtime events such as chess competitions and robotic competitions, to name a few. These events are open to the public and the space is donated to the various nonprofits that use it. "Chess in the Schools" is one of the many nonprofit partners that utilize the atrium, and their event is open to the public.

8.5 Attitudes of Managers toward Certain Uses

The rules of conduct prohibit certain activities. Management attitudes, however, shape the interpretation and enforcement of the rules and these attitudes vary by space with some managers being more tolerant than others.

Sleeping is one of the activities that are commonly forbidden. OWS participants' two-month encampment in Zuccotti Park led many owners of bonus spaces to post rules prohibiting sleeping. In the former IBM atrium, the manager equates sleeping with eyes being closed regardless of whether the person might be napping or meditating. This not only prevents homeless from sleeping in the atrium but also simplifies the enforcement of this rule:

> What happens if you take a nap? Then how is it different if you are taking a nap or a homeless person sleeps there for five hours?…We say no sleeping is no sleeping for anyone. Period done. If you want to sleep, go home. It's not for naps. ….Once you allow a little bit of rule breaking it is very hard to stop. So we are just absolutely strict about the rules. We make sure that they are the right rules; they are fair and there are reasons behind them and the answer is no sleeping. Once you let someone take a five minute nap, why is it different than a homeless person taking a six hour nap? Where is the hard and fast line? It starts at no sleeping, not you can sleep no more than five minutes,. It's no sleeping.

Although the manager reported that more than one occupant has complained about security guards' accusations of their sleeping while they were meditating, the attitude of the manager toward sleeping remains strict: "I am very sorry but you have to understand that you have your eyes closed and they [security guards] can only assume you are sleeping.

Maybe this isn't a place where you should go to mediate. There are other public spaces in the area where maybe it's better for you."

The managers of Park Avenue Plaza and the Rubenstein Atrium share the same attitude about how to ensure that homeless people will not treat their spaces as shelters. Since if they do, that will negatively affect the quality of the space as well as the corporate image of its host building. The manager of Park Avenue Plaza said:

> .....We let people know they are not allowed to sleep here because it would become a problem, especially if you have homeless. Once you have one sleeping, you will then have ten sleeping. It's just not the business image or the image you want for sitting in a space [Park Avenue Plaza].

The manager of the Rubenstein Atrium believes that the atrium is a public space which people use for various activities but sleeping is not one of them:

> ......We say there is no sleeping. We don't want someone to sit and sleep for two hours. So we will tap on their shoulder and say "Sorry, there is no sleeping here" and that goes for tourists as well as homeless persons.....Just to be fair to everybody and that is the rule that we give them.....I mean it's a protection. We don't want someone to view this as their home. This is a public space for people coming to have a meeting, have lunch, and read a book. And that's just not an activity we are looking to have happen here.

In dramatic contrast, at 60 Wall Street temporary napping is allowed as long as people do not treat the space as their permanent living space:

> There is a tolerance level of napping here .Let's say you are a tourist and you have a REALLY long day and you get in there around 3 o'clock, 6 o'clock, or 8 o'clock. You sit down and you think: my goodness, I need a nap. So you're sitting in the chair and you have a nap. I don't think anyone is going to worry. I think if you were to get a series of chairs and bring a sleeping bag in and put your night cap on, then I think that wouldn't pass the test...... I'm always trying to use cross references to parks. There's a rule in the parks saying "don't sleep." It's not intended for sleeping. If you're in Central Park and on a nice warm day you have had a busy day or a busy week and you sit down and go to sleep for an hour and are not bothering anyone, it's no problem. But if you bring your bed with you, set your bed up and jump into the bed, of course that isn't allowed.

"Rules posted in these spaces are governed by the laws of New York," reported the manager of 180 Maiden Lane. So sleeping associated with a sleeping bag is not allowed in any public space of the City:

> I believe this [the rule about sleeping] comes from New York State, the New York state law. It is just set in stone when they build the building, just like anywhere else. In a subway, you are not supposed to be down there in a sleeping bag. You are just not supposed to do these things in a public space.

In the 805 Atrium, the manager's attitude is fairly moderate: "If someone naps for like 10 to 15 minutes, we're not going to say anything." What their concern is that people occupy an area for hours: "We're talking about people who come in from the streets like a homeless person and just stays here for a number of hours….If someone is here all day, he's basically taking up space that other people could be using. It's not fair to the public."

> Gambling is prohibited in all New York City's public spaces. People are restricted from playing any games in the former IBM atrium because the manager believes that these games would eventually lead to gambling:

> I had many people come either to see me or email or call me and say I don't understand why I cannot play chess because there is one rule saying that there is no game playing. The answer is because if I let them play chess, then why can't they play cards? If they're playing cards, why can't they be gambling? Then it's gambling, then it's something completely different... So the answer is just no games. If it's no games, it's no games. Then we don't need to worry about the extension of what happens when you allow chess, then it becomes cards, then it becomes gambling, and then all of a sudden how can you say yes to chess but no to different games. So it's just no games.

Another concern this manager expressed is preventing particular groups from dominating the space for long periods of time:

> That is a place for individuals and small groups, not for larger groups. No one can dominate the space. No one move all the chairs into one area so they can have a group of 20. All these things I think are what make up the way we manage the space. These rules are important to make this space as successful as it is. I think the well thought out rules and how not to open the door for game playing because it would lead to all the other stuff. This is why it makes all the sense in the world to say no

game playing. Because all of a sudden you cannot sit at a table for six hours if you don't have chess boards or game frames. Then all of a sudden if you have chess boards or game frames, you can sit there for three hours, playing chess and it's not fair to other people who want to have the ability to use the space.

As a consequence, the manager does need to worry about any possibility of gambling occurring in his atrium.

In contrast, managers of several spaces do not equate gambling with playing other games. They define gambling as involving the exchange of money. For example, the manager of Sony Plaza described what should be considered as gambling:

Chess players sometimes use the atrium to play but the space doesn't have gambling issues. There's no monetary exchange. That is not allowed to happen in a public space. As long as no money is showing and they are just playing a family game. That's fine.

The manager of Park Avenue Plaza expressed the same idea: "As long as it is not obvious they are playing for money and I don't think they are, that's fine with me." Although the manger of 575 Fifth Avenue shares this attitude, she also believes that judging whether people are gambling or not by the presence of cash on the tables sometimes can be incorrect:

It is a public space so people can also play chess, poker cards and backgammon as long as they are not gambling. Of course, it is hard to know whether people are gambling or not. As far as we are concerned, they don't obviously show cash on the table. But in some situations cash placed on the table may be the change from purchasing a cup of coffee or something else. So it is very difficult to judge. However, playing dice is not allowed for security reasons because people may throw them to the other players. For playing backgammon, dice are involved in the game but are confined to the containers. In that case, dice should be fine.

Therefore, the enforcement of rules posted is not always cut and dried literally. This may require looking at the content of activities. At 60 Wall Street, the manager explained that sometimes gambling goes beyond the exchange of cash:

Gambling is not only the exchange of money. It can be other things or it could be goods or services or whenever money exchanges hands as the result of the event that is taking place.

Because the manager of Park Avenue Plaza allows people to play games, this space is one of the spaces where many people gather to play chess for hours, sometimes until the space is closed. The manager of the former IBM atrium commented on the groups of chess players in Park Avenue Plaza for its different management approach:

Have you been to Park Avenue Plaza, the one with the tennis store in it on 52nd or 53rd street right behind the New York Racquet club? That one has people playing chess all day long. There is an area behind the kiosk and they encourage people to play chess there. Their view is that if people play chess, they are not doing something else.

The managers of both 60 Wall Street and the CitiCorp Atrium expressed the opinion that these spaces are intended for various purposes. The manager of 60 Wall Street stated:

It's fine. They [chess players] are not bothering anyone. It's actually quite interesting. We don't actively support it by handing out free food to those who are playing chess or free drinks but again you have to step back and look and say this is what the original intention of this was. The original intention was to have a place that the public can use. If you have a group likes to play chess. Well what a wonderful place for them to do that.

How much managers associate their spaces with public space and how they define certain activities significantly influence their approaches of enforcing rules of conduct posted inside these spaces.

Because most of the spaces possess moveable tables and chairs, people are able to re-arrange them to accommodate their needs. In the 12 spaces where rules of conduct are posted, a rule of preventing people from re-arranging tables and chairs is only listed at 60 Wall Street. However, security guards in this space do not enforce this rule if one person moves a table or a chair.

Based on field observations, the former IBM atrium is the only space where security guards do not allow occupants to re-arrange tables and I observed this situation and recorded on my field note shows:

> The tables are not allowed to be moved, like putting two or three tables together to form a larger group gathering. If people intend to move tables together, the security guard(s) prevent them from doing that. The resulting situations are often that people in a group of five or six move chairs and share one table. If groups are larger, they often divide them into several subgroups and sit at separate tables.

The manager believes that the atrium is for individual experiences rather than for larger groups:

> And there is no moving of the tables to get a large group together.....We want this to be an experience of the individual persons of the public. It's not a gathering space for large groups. We don't want to have people who dominate the space by having protests or organizing or dating circles or things like that. So we specifically set up the rules that we think really engender the real intent of the space that is public space for individuals, not for groups.

Also, the manager believes that this space is a place that people should use for a short period of time rather than for a long one:

> It's not a place for people to come and spend their whole afternoon because they have no other place to go. It's a place that you pass through; you can sit and catch your breath, grab something to eat and then move on.

> Although people are allowed to move chairs between tables they cannot move them outside of a confined area as I noticed during a very crowded lunch time when all the tables were occupied:

> An invisible triangular boundary defined an area of the tables and chairs in the former IBM atrium. If users intended to move the chairs beyond that boundary, the security guard(s) would immediately approach them and ask them to move the chairs back into that area.

8.6 Challenges to Managing Interior Bonus Spaces

Managers face various challenges that differ by space. The managers of the former IBM atrium, Sony Plaza, 180 Maiden Lane, and 575 Fifth Avenue expressed the idea that dealing with people of various personalities in different circumstances is challenging. The manager of 180 Maiden Lane said :

> There are a lot of personalities that you are dealing with. It's not that difficult but you know sometimes when you get into a situation where you were asked what if someone is acting out of the ordinary and we have to move them. Those situations can sometimes be a little difficult. Nobody wants to handle that and you feel bad. We are not trying to stir anything up but we have to protect the property and the people on it, including you being on it. I would probably say that is more challenging.

The manager of Sony Plaza provided a specific example: certain groups of people may use the public restroom for bathing. That can feel threatening to others, particularly when many children come here for Sony Wonder Technology Lab:

> There are times when some visitors want to use the bathrooms to bathe, and that is not what the restroom is for…it is not a private bathroom where people can disrobe and wash-up. This is particularly challenging since there are so many little children in the space that use the public bathrooms. Someone naked in the bathroom is frightening and potentially dangerous. When this does occur, the security guard on duty will address the situation and say "Sir, you are certainly permitted to use the bathroom for light washing-up, however you are not permitted to disrobe here, so please put your clothes on immediately. We have other people that need to use the facilities."

A similar situation occurred in the 805 Atrium; the manager said "There was a homeless person here and he was disrobing. He was asked to leave."

How to ensure that a public space is for everyone to use and, meanwhile, not to exclude people and their activities is a difficult task for the private corporations that manage these spaces. During the 2011 OWS movement, OWS participants held their meetings at 60 Wall Street. Initially, Deutsche Bank did not prohibit their gatherings. However, eventually when these meetings became very large, management responded by

posting rules (e.g., No excessive use of space and Pedestrian ingress/egress to remain clear), increasing the number of security guards and placing NYPD officers in the space but they did not forbid meetings altogether. According to the manager, Deutsche Bank was concerned that the OWS participants had "eliminated the need and the ability for anyone else to use it" and "impacted negatively on the retail space" and increased "the additional operational cost" for maintenance. The manager of 60 Wall Street further described their ideas regarding the issue of the OWS movement:

> I think the only difficulty when you get a sort of extreme event like OWS then it becomes a day-to-day challenge, which involves legality, security, the NYPD, the other areas of the City, and community groups....then you have to look at yourself in the context of remembering it is a public open space BUT there's a sort of standard of behavior, which is expected to be consistent with any other public open spaces like parks, and things like that. So that is probably the biggest challenge. It's a little bit like being given Central Park to manage and what you are allowed and not allowed, because the rules are pretty much set down because it is a big area obviously, and requires a certain amount of control as well and tactfulness in terms of how you actually go about managing it.

The manager of Park Avenue Plaza described a similar situation when they had to exclude the activity of a particular group that dominated the space:

> Many years ago….a Church had its people bring food to homeless people. There would be a couple hundred homeless people here and a lot of them were getting meals and that was kind of detrimental to a business environment. So we had to speak to them that they had to do this in some other place. We could not have them doing this here in which we were operating a commercial high-end business environment and had almost a homeless shelter being put together in the lobby. You have to juggle that. You have to maintain the business environment but still not exclude the people.

The manager of Sony Plaza expressed the same concern: "Sony has a responsibility to ensure the safety and security of all visitors, and sometimes it can be challenging to balance the City's requirements [of managing it for everyone] with safety for all."

Budgets for managing the spaces are a concern of the managers of the Rubenstein Atrium and Two Lincoln Square. This may be because both organizations - Lincoln Center

for the Performing Art and the American Folk Art Museum- are non-profit. Many owners of the other bonus spaces have consistent and stable budgets for managing their spaces from the lease of their buildings. In contrast, the funding of Lincoln Center and the Museum of American Folk Art relies heavily on donations as the manager in the former expressed:

> There are challenges to raise the money to keep this space operating at the level it needs to be operated. This is the primary challenge for operating this public space. We're incredibly limited in the revenue that we can earn to off-set our operating costs and that is why all the philanthropic dollars are so important. Upon the launch of the atrium, we created an atrium advisor board, which is sort of many mini-groups of trustees whose responsibility is to advocate for and to raise money for the atrium's programs and operations.

According to the manager, Lincoln Center needs to invest approximately 2.5 million dollars annually to operate this space. Without sufficient sources of funding to maintain the quality of this space, it may end up another failed privately owned public space. Lincoln Center receives some income from leasing the space to the restaurant and for private events (that may occupy one area of the space or results in closing the entire space temporarily), or from fundraising. However, the income is only about 700,000 dollars every year, less than what Lincoln Center invests. Lincoln Center attempted to negotiate with the New York Department of City Planning to reduce the hours the atrium is open and to increase the number of hours annually for private events and activities. However, the Department of City Planning not agreed to that yet.

The design of the spaces can also cause some challenges to managers. Before the reconfiguration of the CitiCorp Atrium, the obstructions of the escalators and plants not only made it difficult for security guards to view the atrium but also negatively affected business of the retail stores inside it. When occupants inside the atrium could not view the retail stores well, they had less incentive to shop inside them. At Two Lincoln Square, the

shape and size of the space create constraints for large-scale exhibitions and make housing an office and a storage space impossible. The design of Park Avenue Plaza places the cluster of retail shops behind the elevator core and away from the public space. Therefore, the connection between the bonus space and the retail shops is weak. People who walk through the space are not likely notice these retail shops except the two with street frontages as the manger described:

> These stores have street frontage. One of them is Brioni, which sells clothes. That has been there forever. It's very high-end store that has a variety of clientele. The store on the other side is a tennis store that has been here for numbers of years. They get a street scene and they have a pretty regular clientele themselves. The stores that are located in between are a little bit difficult because unless people know they are there they just don't see a lot of traffic like you do on the street which proves that location is important.

The manager of the CitiCorp Atrium described a similar challenge in leasing some units of retail space: "We have had difficulty leasing out the remaining unit(s) to one or two food users. The restaurant business is a capital intensive business that smaller users have difficulty raising. We need to be cautious about who we lease to while focusing on what type of food concepts we permit."

There are other challenges raised by different managers. At 383 Madison Avenue, the manger believes that maintaining the quality of the space is one of his challenges. The floor surface suffers a lot of wear and tear because of heavy pedestrian traffic through the space:

> Because it's a very high traffic area, the floor gets a lot of wear and tear. Maintaining the floor becomes a challenge if you have that much traffic. The exterior gets quite a bit of wear and tear from the weather, from the public walking around on it. The MTA has construction outside so there is a mess from that. So keeping this space clean and fresh for the employees is challenging for us.

Birds housed inside the former IBM atrium are one of its environmental amenities, which elevate the quality of the atrium, but they were once one of the challenges that the manager needed to deal with:

> Birds have been an interesting challenge for us. They are as smart as the people that are walking through the revolving doors. The two doors in the end that goes through 56th to 57th are opened when we have concerts, when we put major equipment in and out so birds can also come in from that way too. We are concerned about birds, basically waiting around the tables when people leave their trash or begging from people or bothering the restaurant. For a number of years now we have hidden bird seed and water in the bamboo pits because birds would much rather eat bird seed. This way they won't bother people at the tables. You can sometimes see birds fly and go right into the tree pits where they eat and drink. You can see or hear them but they are not hovering around the tables or bothering the restaurant. Now we have a happy eco-system. No one bothers anyone.

CHAPTER 9

USERS AND USES

Like outdoor public spaces equipped with tables and chairs, people use indoor privately owned public spaces for various activities including ordinary activities such as eating, drinking, resting and meeting with friends. But the fact that they are indoors and the spaces are equipped with additional amenities encourages other planned activities as well, such as working, playing, learning and creating. Design features and management practices can make these spaces more or less inviting to a diversity of users and uses.

9.1   Types of Users

Some of the bonus spaces of the study are heavily populated and some are not or are only during certain periods of time. The number and diversity of occupants appearing also change over the course of the day.

9.1.1 Number and Diversity of Users

An analysis of the different spatial types identified in Chapter Five reveals that some types of spaces have more diverse occupants than others, depending on gender, race and age (Table 9.1). The average number of occupants per hour in cross-block atria is 48 on weekdays and 29 on weekends. Both numbers are approximately more than double the average number of people in the other remaining four types. In five types of spaces, the percentage of male occupants was higher than female occupants. The gender ratio of occupants in two types -- spaces with one side entrance and linear spaces sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route -- is almost close to half of male (53%) and half of female (47%). However, the majority of occupants at this type of spaces are white people:

81% for the former and 76% for the latter. Both numbers exceeds the percentage of white people in the other three types. The percentage of black people (27%) in linear spaces with designated seating area separated from circulation is the highest among the types and the highest percentage of Asian people (16%) in atria. People aged 21 to 50 are the primary occupants across all types. Eighty three percent of occupants in linear spaces with designated seating area separated from circulation are people of the ages between 21 and 50, far exceeding the other types. The highest percentage of people aged less than 10 and aged 10 to 20 is 5% in spaces with one side entrance and 5% in atria. The highest percentage of occupants aged over 50 is 23% in cross-block atria. Therefore, the findings indicate that the greatest number and diversity of occupants are cross-block atria compared to the other four types.

In cross-block atria, the average number of users per hour is between 26 and 59 except at Park Avenue Plaza with an average of only 18 persons. The average number of users per hour on weekdays, ranging from 29 to 77 persons, is higher than on weekends when it ranges from 2 to 49 except the Rubenstein Atrium (Fig 9.1). Because all the spaces, except the Rubenstein Atrium, are located inside office towers, office workers during office hours likely account for the higher number of occupants on weekdays and during office hours. After office hours, the number of occupants decreases but then these spaces are used by other groups of people. The manager of the CitiCorp Atrium described this change over the course of the day:

> Up through about 2pm it's predominantly office users and then people using the food court either for breakfast or for lunch. As it gets later on in the day, you start to see students, just groups of people and we don't ask them who they are. You'll have groups of people there and they have their needs for the space and they use it. That's what it's there for: it's a public amenity.

Table 9.1 Number of Occupants and their Ratio of Gender, Race, and Age

		Cross-block atria (7 cases)	Atria (4 cases)	Spaces with one side entrance (4 cases)	Linear spaces with designated seating areas separated from circulation (4 cases)	Linear spaces sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route (5 cases)
Number of users per hour	Weekdays	**48** (7 cases)	24 (4cases)	9 (3 cases)	**8** (4 cases)	**8** (2 cases)
	Weekends	**29** (6 cases)	12 (3 cases)	17 (2 cases)	4 (2 cases)	**2** (1 case)
Gender	Male (SD)	**61.9%** (8.4)	60.7% (8.2)	53.4**%** (7.1)	61.6% (13.8)	**52.5%** (7.5)
	Female (SD)	**38.1%** (8.4)	39.3% (8.2)	46.6**%** (7.1)	38.5% (13.8)	**47.5%** (7.5)
Race	White (SD)	67.4% (5.5)	67.5% (9.6)	**80.8%** (11.9)	**61.9%** (9.7)	76.4% (8.7)
	Black (SD)	20.2% (5.3)	16.5% (6.9)	**10.4%** (7.8)	**26.8%** (9.9)	17.7% (6.7)
	Asian (SD)	12.4% (4.4)	**16.1%** (2.9)	9.5% (4.1)	11.3% (1.6)	**6.9%** (2.0)
Age	<10 (SD)	3.5% (4.2)	1.2% (1.2)	**5.0%** (4.3)	0.7% (0.7)	**0.6%** (0.6)
	10-20 (SD)	3.8% (2.1)	**5.2%** (6.0)	4.0% (3.2)	3.0% (3.8)	**1.1%** (1.1)
	21-50 (SD)	**70.2%** (5.3)	76.2% (7.5)	73.9**%** (10.3)	**83.2%** (5.9)	76.8% (3.3)
	>50 (SD)	**22.5%** (4.3)	17.5% (5.8)	17.1% (4.3)	**13.1%** (5.9)	21.5% (1.5)

Note: (1) SD: standard deviation; (2) Numbers that are bolded indicate either high number/percentage or low number/percentage.

Another reason for the noticeable change in use by time of day and week is that retail shops and cafes located inside these spaces often close after office hours. This particularly affects Park Avenue Plaza because after office hours not only is the central seating area barricaded to prevent people from entering but most of the tables and chairs in the other areas are stacked on weekends. At 60 Wall Street, the closure of the retailers and the subway entrance as well as the decrease in indoor lighting on weekends also make this space less attractive to the public. Figure 9.1 and Appendix C suggests that both the spaces at 60 Wall Street and at Park Avenue Plaza are underused on weekends. In contrast, many people use

the CitiCorp Atrium, the Rubenstein Atrium, the former IBM atrium and Sony Plaza both on weekdays and on weekends. Because all four space offer sufficient lighting and their retail shops and cafes remain operating outside office hours, these spaces are open except the ones at the CitiCorp Atrium closed outside office hours. The average number of occupants at the Rubenstein Atrium on weekdays (47) and on weekends (49) is almost the same. The greatest number of occupants over the day in the cross-block atria mostly occurs between 11am and 2pm during office hours (Appendix C).

The average number of users per hour in 13 spaces of the other types is far lower than in cross-block atria except 29 persons at 575 Fifth Avenue and 18 persons in the Trump Tower Plaza. Both of the spaces are inside or adjacent to a shopping district, suggesting that many occupants are on shopping trips. On weekday evenings and on weekends of December 2012, the latter was filled with people who were resting in the space after their shopping for the Christmas holiday. Most of them had shopping bags with them. As in cross-block atria, the average number of users on weekdays is higher than on weekends except at the Trump Tower Plaza and at 1991 Broadway. Shoppers likely account for the higher number of occupants on weekends.

The average number of users in four spaces is very low: less than five people. Some of their design features may account for this finding. 650 Fifth Avenue is located below the street level while 499 Park Avenue and Grand Central Plaza offer only fixed seating and no tables so people tend to use them for a temporary rest or treat them as transient spaces. The occupants of the Galleria tend to be people who work in the building or in nearby office buildings because the space is not easily visible from the street, as the manager reported:
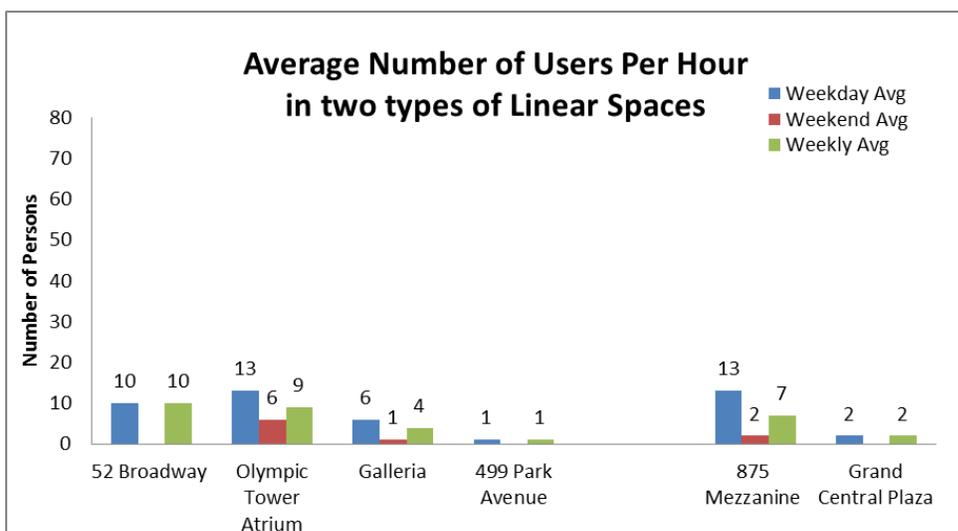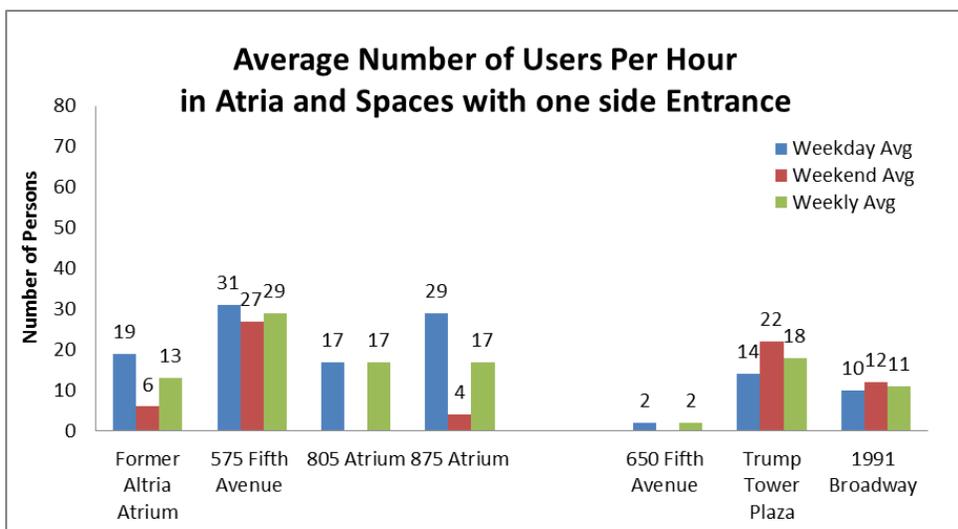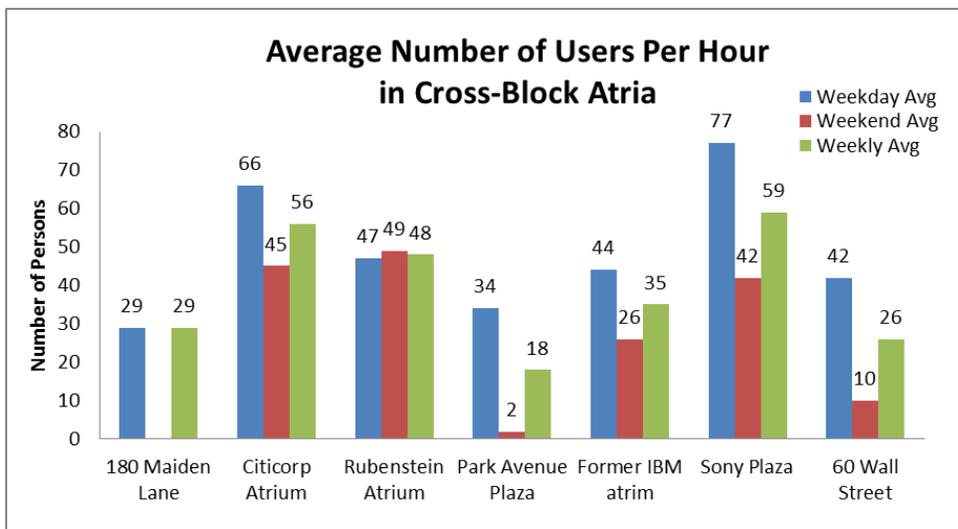
Figure 9.1 Average Number of Users Per Hour in Five Spatial Types

Because this space is off from the main street, it is hard for outsiders to discover this space. In general, most of its users are people from this building or from the neighborhood. A lot of people use this space during the lunch time, particularly office workers from the building across 58th Street or in this building.

Like the Galleria, many people use the other five spaces primarily during lunch breaks on weekdays: 180 Maiden Lane, 805 Atrium, 875 Atrium, 52 Broadway, and 875 Mezzanine (Appendix C). At 180 Maiden Lane, people highly populate the space between 12 and 2pm (between 87 and 106 occupants) but its occupants at the other hours are below its average number (29). At the 875 Atrium, the number of occupants between 12 and 1pm is about 95 persons but the number of users is mostly below its average (29) during other hours. The manager of the 805 Atrium described how people use this space:

> It's a very busy space. People use the restaurants and food courts. They come down for breakfast in the morning and they get their coffee and their breakfast. Lunch time is very busy. The tables are full. Some people bring their lunch from outside. We don't like that because we prefer that people to use the vendors that are here but you can't force them. So it's ok that some people come from outside. Again, the lunch time is more high use. For breakfast, they come and go and they don't stay here. They pick up their coffee and go. They don't sit here much but some do.

Between 12 to 1pm, the number of occupants at the 805 Atrium is 57 while its average is 17.

The gender distribution of occupants varies by space. The majority of occupants in 16 of the 20 spaces are male ranging from 50% to 75% (Appendix C). Four other spaces attract more women: between 51% and 56%. It may be because 575 Fifth Avenue and the Trump Tower Plaza are in a shopping district that their occupants tend to be female rather than male. The occupants of 52 Broadway are more likely to be female (56%) than male (44%) because it is adjacent to an educational institute, The King's College, whose female students tend to use it more than male students in addition to other female office workers.

At Grand Central Plaza, people who sit on the three fixed benches are mostly female waiting for somebody who works in the building.

The gender ratio is different on weekends and on weekdays. The percentage of female occupants at 1991 Broadway on weekends (51%) and at the Galleria on weekdays (51%) is higher than the percentage of males (49%). The hair salon and spa inside the latter cater to female clients and their staff is mostly female. A chi-square test shows that the difference in gender ratio between weekdays and weekends is significant: Park Plaza Avenue ($p < 0.05$) and the CitiCorp Atrium ($p < 0.01$) (Appendix C). On weekends, males are more likely to use these two spaces than females.

The percentage of white people is between 47% and 89% across all spaces; black between 4% and 41% and Asian between 5% and 20% (Appendix C). The percentage of white people in some spaces decreases during the evening hours (between 6 and 9pm) and on weekends. For example, the percentage of white people at the CitiCorp Atrium on weekdays is 68% and decreases to 55% between 6 and 9pm and to 50% on weekends. The percentage of black and Asian people increases from 16% and 16% on weekdays to 24% and 21%, respectively, between 6 and 9pm as well as 33% and 17% on weekends. A chi-square test of race between weekdays and weekends at six spaces shows the changes are significant: 60 Wall Street ($p < 0.01$), Park Avenue Plaza ($p < 0.01$), the CitiCorp Atrium ($p < 0.01$), Trump Tower Plaza ($p < 0.01$), 1991 Broadway ($p < 0.05$), and the Galleria ($p < 0.05$). At 60 Wall Street, Park Avenue Plaza, and the CitiCorp Atrium, the percentage of black people increases on weekends. At Trump Tower Plaza, the percentage of Asian people increases on weekends. In contrast, the percentage of white and Asian people increases at 1991 Broadway on weekends.

The primary users across all spaces are people aged 20 to 50 (61% to 92%) followed by people over 50 (7% to 27%) (Appendix C). The manager of the Rubenstein Atrium noticed that occupants of different ages and ethnicities use the atrium and stay for an extended period of time:

> The ages of the folks who are utilizing and patronizing the atrium are upward of 30 or 40 years younger than the typically Lincoln Center's clientele...just younger folks wanting to have a place to congregate during the day and a socio-economic diversity among our patrons. There's increasing ethnic diversity as well. It's really...have been well received by the hope for a diverse audience we're planning.

The proportion of people aged 10 to 20 or younger than 10 is often less than 5% except four spaces. The percentage of people aged less than 10 is 13% at Sony Plaza and 11% at Trump Tower Plaza. The percentage of people aged 10 to 20 is 8 % at Sony Plaza and at Trump Tower Plaza, 16% at 575 Fifth Avenue, and 9 % at 52 Broadway. The entrance of Sony Wonder Technology Lab is located inside Sony Plaza. This museum attracts numerous visitors during the hours it is open, particularly schoolchildren and teenagers with their teachers or families with children. In addition to the greater number of female occupants in spaces in shopping districts, there is also a great number of teenagers and children at 575 Fifth Avenue and Trump Tower Plaza. A chi-square test shows that the change in age ratio from weekdays to weekends at five spaces is significant: Sony Plaza ($p < 0.01$), the former IBM atrium ($p < 0.05$), the 875 Atrium ($p < 0.05$), the Olympic Tower's Plaza ($p < 0.05$), and the 875 Mezzanine ($p < 0.05$). On weekends, the percentage of occupants over 50 in all five spaces increases, particularly in the 875 Atrium and the 875 Mezzanine.

9.1.2 Homeless People

Previous studies show that homeless persons are one type of unwanted users who are excluded from many public spaces (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris &

Banerjee, 1998; Nemeth, 2006; Mitchell, 1995; Peterson, 2006; 2010; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). If they are allowed to use a space, that means that most of the rest of the public is also invited so that their presence is one of the criteria to determine whether a space is inclusive or not.

Homeless persons who wear dirty, layered clothes and possess large or many bags, occupy all 20 spaces except the 805 Atrium, 650 Fifth Avenue, 52 Broadway, Grand Central Plaza, and Trump Tower Plaza. The absence of homeless persons in these five spaces may be because four of them are open only on weekdays and three of them are one floor below the street grade. However, the building manager of the 805 Atrium expressed that "he saw a few of homeless people before." This suggests that homeless persons can use this space occasionally. The average number per hour ranges from zero to five (Fig 9.2). The greatest average number of homeless people was observed at 60 Wall Street: five in an hour on weekdays and four on weekends. The building manager of 60 Wall Street recognized homeless persons as one of the major types of occupants along with employees of Deutsche Bank, Wall Street office workers and tourists:

> I think you got four categories of people that actually use that space. One you have Deutsche Bank's six thousand people that potentially would walk through there any time of the day or night….Secondly, you got the people who work on Wall Street and then particularly use the subway…Three is what we see probably the last five or six years tremendously increased tourists, focusing around the Wall Street area. They particularly spend one day in the downtown area… the fourth group is those who are homeless and homeless people are actually quite well serviced by a home, a shelter, which is primarily financed by the Trinity Church. We contribute to that as well. But it's no doubt if you go in there in the early evening, sort of 6 to 8 o'clock that time frame, lots of homeless people there and spending their time. They are not doing anything, particularly in the winter months. It's covered. So it's used by various cross section sorts of people…..

The number of male homeless persons is often higher than female ones except at 180 Maiden Lane, 575 Fifth Avenue, and 1991 Broadway. Homeless persons tend to appear in

the spaces after office hours except in seven spaces where homeless people are present most of the time, particularly at 60 Wall Street and in the Rubenstein Atrium.
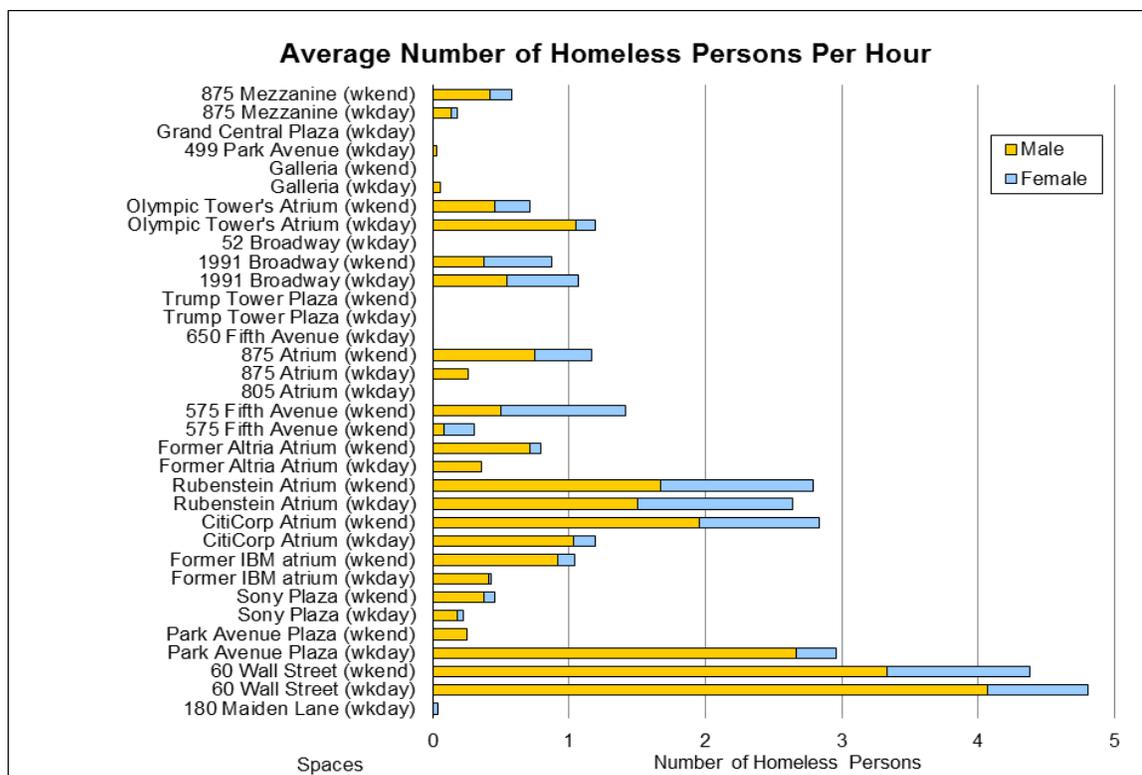
Spaces	M	F	Total	Spaces	M	F	Total
180 Maiden Lane (wkday)	0.00	0.04	0.04	805 Atrium (wkday)	0.00	0.00	**0.00**
60 Wall Street (wkday)	4.07	0.74	**4.81**	875 Atrium (wkday)	0.26	0.00	0.26
60 Wall Street (wkend)	3.33	1.04	4.38	875 Atrium (wkend)	0.75	0.42	1.17
Park Avenue Plaza (wkday)	2.66	0.30	2.96	650 Fifth Avenue (wkday)	0.00	0.00	**0.00**
Park Avenue Plaza (wkend)	0.25	0.00	0.25	Trump Tower Plaza (wkday)	0.00	0.00	**0.00**
Sony Plaza (wkday)	0.18	0.04	0.22	Trump Tower Plaza (wkend)	0.00	0.00	**0.00**
Sony Plaza (wkend)	0.38	0.08	0.46	1991 Broadway (wkday)	0.54	0.53	1.07
former IBM atrium (wkday)	0.41	0.02	0.43	1991 Broadway (wkend)	0.38	0.50	0.88
former IBM atrium (wkend)	0.92	0.13	1.04	52 Broadway (wkday)	0.00	0.00	**0.00**
CitiCorp Atrium (wkday)	1.03	0.17	1.19	Olympic Tower Atrium (wkday)	1.05	0.14	1.19
CitiCorp Atrium (wkend)	1.96	0.88	2.83	Olympic Tower Atrium (wkend)	0.46	0.25	0.71
Rubenstein Atrium (wkday)	1.50	1.14	2.64	Galleria (wkday)	0.06	0.00	0.06
Rubenstein Atrium (wkend)	1.67	1.13	2.79	Galleria (wkend)	0.00	0.00	**0.00**
Former Altria Atrium (wkday)	0.36	0.00	0.36	499 Park Avenue (wkday)	0.03	0.00	0.03
Former Altria Atrium (wkend)	0.71	0.08	0.79	Grand Central Plaza (wkday)	0.00	0.00	**0.00**
575 Fifth Avenue (wkend)	0.08	0.22	0.31	875 Mezzanine (wkday)	0.14	0.04	0.18
575 Fifth Avenue (wkend)	0.50	0.92	1.42	875 Mezzanine (wkend)	0.42	0.17	0.58

Figure 9.2 Average Number of Homeless People Per Hour in 20 Spaces

Note: Field observations were conducted in 20 spaces because (1) the managers of 383 Madison Avenue and 101 Barclay prevent or discourage the public from entering them; (2) Two Lincoln Square is assigned to use for museum exhibitions; and (3) Le Parker Meridien is often used by the hotel's clients.

Homeless people tend to occupy certain areas of the bonus spaces. For example, at 60 Wall Street they often stay along the western wall on weekdays, the side opposite to the retail shops. On weekends they often spread out to other areas and to the seating area near the retail shops that are closed on weekends. At the Rubenstein Atrium, homeless people tend to occupy the fixed seating area by the entrance to Columbus Avenue both on weekdays and weekends. However in the former IBM atrium, in the Former Altria Atrium, and at 575 Fifth Avenue homeless people sit among the other occupants. Some homeless people frequent the same spaces on a regular basis; others appear in different spaces in different parts of the city. In Lower Manhattan, one or two homeless women appeared at 60 Wall Street and at 180 Maiden Lane. In Midtown, a homeless man spent most of his time in the former IBM atrium but moved to the Galleria during the lunch hour while a homeless woman changed her location between Park Avenue Plaza and 575 Fifth Avenue regularly. On the Upper West Side, several homeless persons moved between the Rubenstein Atrium and the nearby 1991 Broadway. The territory of several homeless persons covers a greater region. For example, a couple of younger homeless people aged 15 to 30 were observed in bonus spaces in Midtown and on the Upper West Side.

All the building managers interviewed said that these spaces are meant for everyone to utilize and that homeless persons are welcome but only if they follow the rules of conduct. For example, the manager of the Galleria said "Occasionally we have some homeless people staying inside the space. As long as they are not sleeping or don't disturb the other users, they can come and use this space." The manager of 60 Wall Street said:

> I don't think we should differentiate between homeless and non-homeless as a practical matter of thinking about the atrium is part of a park. Parks in New York have their rules about when you can be there and when you cannot be there. We look at it in very much the same way. So it's not our role to decide who come into

the atrium....People sit there quietly and they are there from 6am to 10pm. It doesn't matter. If they create nuisances, then that does concern us.

Although several rules that prohibit large shopping carts and bags may discourage homeless persons from entering these spaces, I occasionally observed these items in spaces where the rules were posted. Security guards do not always enforce these rules and they may also have established relationships with certain homeless persons who come regularly. Homeless persons were observed waving to security guards when they entered certain spaces and sometimes chatted with them for a while.

However, even if they do not disturb others, homeless persons may be asked to leave because of their "bad smell." The manager of the Galleria described the situations he had faced:

> There are two times, as I remember, that homeless persons were asked to leave because of their bad smell. That was really bad even the staff at the security desk that is away from the seating area could smell it. Can you imagine how bad the smell was? Eventually, we had to ask that person to leave.

The manager of Park Avenue Plaza described a similar situation but was more concerned about sanitation and health problems. Instead of asking those homeless people to leave, management contacted Homeless Outreach Program and asked for their assistance:

> We have actually called Homeless Outreach Program a couple of times. When people come in the space and obviously they have not bathed in a long time, we ask them [Homeless Outreach Program] to come in and take them out of here because we feel it's an issue to other people – odors. Some of these people I don't know what kind of lousy issues. You have to be concerned with health issues to other people.

This finding contradicts previous studies and shows that homeless people are actually welcome to use most of the spaces as long as they follow rules. In addition, neither building managers nor security guards intend to remove them from their spaces except in some circumstances such as their bad smell.

9.2   Types of Use

Many differ kinds of activities occur in bonus spaces over the course of the day and the week. In addition to ordinary activities such as eating, drinking and reading newspapers, many different kinds of people use these indoor spaces for planned activities, often on weekday evenings and weekends. Planned activities include business meetings, playing games, learning a language and creating works of art.

9.2.1 Planned Activities

People conduct business meetings in many of these spaces except those that have been completely assigned to other uses such as the American Folk Art Museum at Two Lincoln Square or the spaces with limited (or no) tables and chairs such as Grand Central Plaza and 383 Madison Avenue (Table 9.2). The number of persons in these business meetings is often between two to four and occurs mostly during office hours, particularly at coffee breaks and lunch times, as the manager of 60 Wall Street described:

> Basically people can just bring their laptops or iPads or what things to do work while perhaps between meetings or do something like that. And that's get used a lot. Quite often when I see as I go through it, people have meetings. They actually have sorts of business meetings arranged to meet there. There is a cup of coffee and sorts of bakery, sandwiches and they have business meetings. That is exactly the purpose of the atrium intended to be.

The participants in meetings are mostly male but are racially varied -- white, black and Asian. Several larger business meetings with five participants or more were held in six spaces. Four of them are in cross-block atria. For example, a group of more than ten, mostly Asians males, was observed twice on weekends in the former IBM atrium for business training. Instead of gathering in one big group, they were divided into three or four smaller groups around separate tables. At 575 Fifth Avenue and in the 875 Mezzanine,

a group of six or seven security guards was observed once. These two groups comprised mostly of male African Americans. The group in the 875 Mezzanine was from East Midtown Partnership and their office is adjacent to it.

People also conduct job interviews and work on school assignments in three spaces. Managers or owners of retail outlets conduct job interviews at 575 Fifth Avenue and at 1991 Broadway. High school and college students often work on their homework assignments in the CitiCorp Atrium, in the Rubenstein Atrium, and at 1991 Broadway; the former two spaces that provide free wi-fi have the highest frequency of this activity.

Table 9.2 Spaces for Working

Spaces	Activity	Number of people	Frequency
60 Wall Street	Larger business meeting	5 - 10	Often
Sony Plaza	Larger business meeting	5 - 10	Sometimes
Former IBM atrium	Larger business meeting	5 - 15	Several times
CitiCorp Atrium	Larger business meeting	5 - 10	Often
	Homework assignments	1 - 5	Almost every day
Rubenstein Atrium	Larger business meeting	5 - 10	Sometimes
	Homework assignments	1 - 5	Almost every day
575 Fifth Avenue	Larger business meeting	6 - 7	Once
	Job interviews	2	Twice
875 Mezzanine	Larger business meeting	6 - 7	Once
1991 Broadway	Job interviews	2	Once
	Homework assignments	1 - 3	Several times

People play games in nearly half of the spaces, primarily table games such as chess, backgammon, scrabble and boggle, and card games such as poker and Magic Cards (Table 9.3; Figs 9.3 & 9.4). The frequency of games varies over the course of the day and the week with most game-playing occurring on weekday afternoons and evenings and on weekends. Some groups play games for several hours and sometimes until the spaces are closed. Both participants and viewers are mostly males of various backgrounds; their number ranges

from two persons at one table to more than 20 occupying several tables. The manager of 60

Wall Street noticed a regular group of people who play chess and backgammon:

> There is a big gathering that happens there every evening to play chess and backgammon, a HUGE gathering actually, probably maybe 40 people something like that. And all they do is to play chess ...... it's sort of quite interesting.... sometimes they don't leave here until 9 o'clock, also 10 o'clock and they are still playing.

Figure 9.3 Playing Chess

Orthodox Jews sometimes come to 60 Wall Street and play chess or backgammon with

people of other backgrounds such as office workers and elders. The chess players at Park

Avenue Plaza vary in age and race and sometimes include office workers, security guards,

local residents and homeless people. "Some homeless people come to play chess and you

have other people that just come here to play chess," said the manager of the space. The

groups of chess and backgammon players in these two spaces often appear regularly on weekday afternoons and evenings.

Table 9.3 Size and Frequency of Games

Spaces	Game	Number of people	Frequency
60 Wall Street	Chess	2 - 20	About five days a week (During weekdays)
	Backgammon	2 - 20	About five days a week (During weekdays)
	Poker	6	Once
Park Avenue Plaza	Chess	4 -20	About five days a week (During weekdays)
	Poker	2 -4	Occasionally
Sony Plaza	Chess	4 -20	About six -five days
	Scrabble	8	Once
	Monopoly	4	Once
	Pathfinder	4	Once
	unrecognized games	3 - 10	Occasionally
	Poker	2 -4	Occasionally
	Uno	6	Once
CitiCorp Atrium	Chess	2-20	About six -five days
	Mah-Jongg	4	Once
	7 Wonders	6	Once
	Air Baron	6	Once
	unrecognized games	3 - 10	Occasionally
	Poker	2 -4	Occasionally
	Magic cards	8 - 25	Once a week
Rubenstein Atrium	Backgammon	2 - 20	Once every month
	Scrabble	2 - 5	Occasionally
	Poker	2 - 4	Several times
Former Altra Atrium	Chinese chess	2	Once
	Poker	3	Once
575 Fifth Avenue	Spot it	2	Once
805 Atrium	Poker	4	Twice
Trump Tower Plaza	Scrabble*	8 -15	Twice every month
1991 Broadway	Scrabble*	8 -15	Once every week

Note: "＊" Information is also retrieved from meetup.com
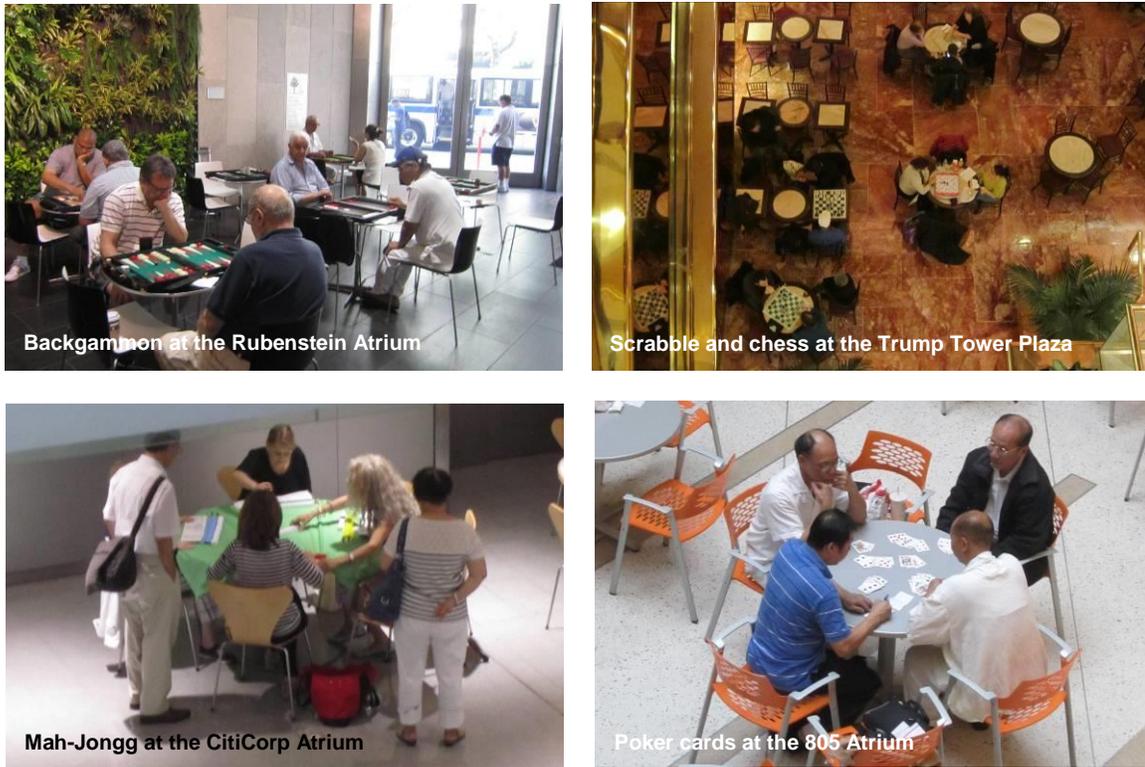
Figure 9.4 Playing Board and Card Games

In half of the bonus spaces people pursue various educational and self-improvement activities. Some of these activities occur regularly and some not (Table 9.4). One-to-one tutoring, preparing for the Kaplan Test Prep and GMAT, doing school work, and studying languages are the most frequent educational activities (Fig 9.5). At 875 Mezzanine in the late afternoon or evening, a white man often tutors a student. Learning languages, photography skills and computer software also occur in groups. Some of these activities are taught by an instructor who charges a fee and some participants learn from each other without paying. Languages that groups of people are learning include Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, French, Russian and English (Fig 9.6). Other groups choose to advance their language proficiency by translating articles or reading foreign literature. These

groups often comprise young and senior adults of different genders, races and ethnicities, gathering regularly on weekday evenings or on weekends.

Some people read and discuss Great books, comic books or the Bible to gain knowledge or simply as a pastime (Fig 9.7). Groups reading the Bible mostly comprise African Americans and Hispanics, particularly in the CitiCorp Atrium and in Park Avenue Plaza. Three female Japanese once met in the Former Altria Atrium to read the Bible. Two groups meet in the former IBM atrium and at 60 Wall Street to discuss books related to politics.
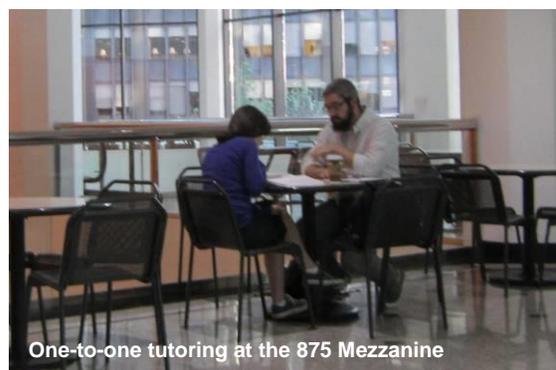
Figure 9.5 One-to-One Educational Activities

At 60 Wall Street, members and supporters of the Occupy Wall Street movement meet regularly to sustain their political reform activities. The manager of this space has

noticed their meetings: "Last time we walked though it in the evening, probably Monday evening, there was one small table of OWS participants…" This group was observed at least three times and the number of participants was between five and 15. At one time, ten participants who occupied three or four tables discussed the issues they planned to address. A post-it easel pad was placed in front of the group and a female wrote down all the ideas raised by the participants. Finally, people use these spaces to improve themselves. For example, two groups meet periodically in Sony Plaza to advance their thoughts about human-beings and one group meets weekly to improve their physical appearance through a weight-loss competition (Fig 9.8). In the CitiCorp Atrium, a group meets weekly to learn to de-clutter their homes. These groups comprise both genders but are mostly white people of the ages between 21 and 50.

(Left) A Japanese learning group of 15 to 30 meet in the CitiCorp Atrium every Thursday night and often occupies the central area of the atrium. About one third of participants are female Japanese. (Right) A Mandarin, Japanese and Korean learning group of 15 to 30 also meets in the CitiCorp Atrium every Wednesday evening. The participants of this group are divided into three sub-groups based on the language they want to learn. Each sub-group is led by native speakers. This group also meets every Saturday afternoons for native English speakers to help those non-native English speakers to improve their English

Figure 9.6 Learning Languages in Groups

(Left) A book club meets in the CitiCorp Atrium. (Right) The Spanish language book club meets once every month and only on Sunday afternoon to discuss a Spanish book in Spanish. A table sign of "Literature Corner" is placed on the table to guide the other participants who either join this gathering first or come late.

Figure 9.7 Reading and Discussing Books and Foreign Literature

Participants of this group often initiate a 12-week competition to see who can lose most weight. Within this period of time, they meet every Thursday evening to report their progress and share their experiences and knowledge of healthy diets.

Figure 9.8 Meeting in Sony Plaza to Improve Physical Appearance

Table 9.4 Group Size and Frequency of Learning and Self-Improvement

Spaces	Learning / Self-Improvement	Number of people	Frequency
60 Wall Street	One-to-one tutoring	2	Once
	Book reading (political)*	5 - 10	Once every month
Park Avenue Plaza	One-to-one language teaching	2	Twice
	Book reading	3 - 6	Twice
Sony Plaza	One-to-one tutoring	2	Once
	French learning group*	3 - 8	Once every week by session
	Book reading	4 - 10	Once a week
	Photography learning	5 - 6	Once
	Free-Will group*	5 - 6	Once every month
	Zeitgeist group	8 - 15	Once every month
	Weight loss group*	5 - 10	Once a week by session
Former IBM atrium	One-to-one tutoring	2	Four times
	One-to-one language teaching	2	Three times
	Mandarin learning group*	3 - 8	Three times a week
	Book reading (political)*	2 - 5	Occasionally
	Photography learning	2 - 6	Once every month
CitiCorp Atrium	One-to-one tutoring	2	Several times
	One-to-one language teaching	2	Several times
	Japanese learning group*	15 - 30	Once every week
	Mandarin, Japanese, and Korean learning group*	15 - 30	Once every week
	English learning group	15 - 30	Once every week
	Russian learning group*	4 - 8	Once every week
	Translation group*	2 - 8	Twice a week
	Group of Spanish book reading*	10 - 15	Once every month
	Group of Italian book reading*	4 - 8	Occasionally
	Book reading	2 - 10	Once a week
	Computer software learning*	3 - 10	Once a week
	Uncluttered group*	5 - 8	Twice a week
Rubenstein Atrium	One-to-one tutoring	2	Several times
	Book reading	2 - 10	Once a week
Former Altria Atrium	One-to-one tutoring	2	Twice
	One-to-one language teaching	2	Once every week
	Book reading	2 - 8	Several times
875 Atrium	Book reading	2 - 5	Once a week
1991 Broadway	One-to-one tutoring	2	Once
52 Broadway	Book reading	5 - 10	Once
Olympic Tower Atrium	One-to-one language teaching(English)	2	Twice
875 Mezzanine	One-to-one tutoring	2	Once a week
	Book reading	2 - 8	Once a week

Note: "＊" Information is also retrieved from meetup.com

People use seven spaces to create works of art and handcraft: sculpture, painting, knitting, and embroidery (Table 9.5). Participants are mostly white women who create the works alone or with others; they bring their tools and materials with them. The sculpture-making, which occurred once in the Rubenstein Atrium, is the most memorable use I observed: "An elderly white woman had the table covered with a plastic transparent tarp. Clay was placed on the table for her to scrape repeatedly and to model the sculpture of a human head that she was working on." Certain creative activities are in groups of four or more and take place monthly: jewelry- and greeting card-making in Sony Plaza and doll-making in the former IBM atrium (Fig 9.9)**.** Some women prepare yarn, balls of yarn, or rehearse plays in these spaces. A group of three white women was once winding balls of yarn in the CitiCorp Atrium. They attached a yarn swift (or a yarn ball winder) to a chair in the central area of the atrium. In the Former Altria Atrium, two women were discussing the details of a play named *Out Cold*, which was to be performed at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. These details included how the performer(s) would walk on the stage, what properties would be required and how they would be placed in each set, how the lighting would be, and what type and color of clothes should be chosen for the performer(s). In addition, they had a model of the stage on the table to facilitate their discussion and to help them to make their decisions (Fig 9.10). In the same space, a group of four white women aged 30 to 50 was preparing yarn on a Monday evening. While spinning yarn, they also shared certain technical skills. This group has also met several times in the Rubenstein Atrium. Other people read scripts loudly enough for other participants in the play reading to hear. In Sony Plaza, a group of 10 to 15 persons meet regularly to read scripts; one-third of the participants are African American women.

A group of jewelry-making with five to ten members meets once a month in Sony Plaza. They often occupy the tables along the TV wall and adjacent to the illy coffee shop. In one of their gatherings, they had a desk light on the tables to help members to thread needles.

A group of greeting card-making with four to five members meets on Sunday night in Sony Plaza regularly, about once a month. This group occupies two tables located in the central area of the space. Cutting tools and papers with various colors and textures are spread over these two tables. One of the participants teaches the others how to make cards. The cards that have been done during each gathering are placed together aside and were ready for sale.

A group of doll-making with 10 to 20 participants who occupy several tables meets once a month in the Former IBM atrium. While making dolls together, they share skills of making doll clothes or accessories. Several dolls that have been done are placed on the tables for people to see and take pictures. During each gathering, they also do some trades between themselves. Some of them place the doll clothes and accessories that they have completed on the tables for sale.

Figure 9.9 Jewelry- and Greeting Card-Making in Sony Plaza and Doll-Making in former IBM atrium

Figure 9.10 Two Women Discussing a Play in Former Altria Atrium

Table 9.5 Size and Frequency of Creative Activities

Spaces	Activity	Number of people	Frequency
60 Wall Street	Knitting	1	Once
Sony Plaza	Jewelry making*	5 to 10	Once a month
	Greeting Card making	4	Once a month
	Play rehearsal	10 to 15	Several times
	Painting	1	Once
Former IBM atrium	Painting	2	Once
	Embroidering	1	Three times
	Doll making*	10 to 20	Once a month
CitiCorp Atrium	Winding balls of yarn in group	3	Once
Rubenstein Atrium	Sculpture making	1	Once
	Painting	1	Once
	Knitting	1	Two times
	Yarn spinning in group*	4 to 10	Several times
Former Altria Atrium	Yarn spinning in group*	4	Once
	Play rehearsal	2	Once
Galleria	Knitting	1	Once

Note: "＊"　Information is also retrieved from meetup.com

9.2.2 How People Meet

The social networking site meetup.com provides the means for people to plan and
coordinate shared activities in these bonus spaces and to meet face-to-face regularly for
game-playing, educational and self-improvement activities, and jewelry-, card- and

doll-making. Similar to university student clubs, each group on meetup.com was initiated by someone or a group of people to bring people with a shared interest together in a physical space that is public, safe, easily accessible, and with the necessary features of tables, chairs, and lighting. The design of meetup.com enables the organizer(s) of each group to post upcoming meeting dates and locations. For example, a group named the Pre-Determined Will Society announces on meetup.com:

> We meet at the Sony Plaza at 550 Madison (between 55th and 56th) every first Saturday of the month at 2pm. We talk about why our best logic, experience, physics, (Yes, even quantum mechanics) psychology and neuroscience all point to the inescapable conclusion that human beings DO NOT have a free will; we have a predetermined, causal will…Although the group's official position is that we have predetermined wills, we welcome those who aren't sure, and those who believe in free will.

A group called Spin City – New York meets at different places "to spin and share techniques and ideas on creating your own beautiful unique yarns." They sometimes gather in indoor privately owned public spaces for their activities:

> Let's meet at the Atrium [the Rubenstein Atrium] for some spinning. If you can't make it by 6:00, no worries - I just set the earlier start time for those who can. Bring your current projects and join us for some spinning. I'll be bringing my wheel (weather permitting, of course).

Some groups, however, only share the information of meeting venues among members as the phrase "Location is shown only to members" on their club pages. If people are interested in participating in these groups and become one of their members, they will know where to go. For example, a group named No-Drama Crossword Game Club posts this message on the website to attract people:

> ….Do you love to make words, score points and have fun? Well, this group is NOT about heavy-handed management……. We're just a bunch of great people who want to play our favorite board game with other friendly folks. Our events are not all held at the same venue or on the same night of the week. So if a particular day or location is not convenient for you, you have OPTIONS! Plus, every effort is made

> to select venues with no required minimum purchase of food or beverages. Sounds good? Come and join us!

This group specifically emphasizes "every effort is made to select venues with no required minimum purchase of food or beverages." Therefore, this group uses two indoor privately owned public spaces to play their games: 1991 Broadway and Trump Tower Plaza. This group also posts messages regarding different meeting locations for their members. The messages about the location in East/Central Midtown are:

> …..the seating area is open but the restaurants will be closed, so no purchase is necessary to support the venue…….On rare occasions, the Trump Tower level may closed for a "special event." When this happens, proceed to our "emergency backup" venue, the Sony Atrium (550 Madison Avenue at 55th Street.)…."

One of the messages about the location on Upper West Side is "No purchase is necessary to support the venue. (This is a PUBLIC SPACE.) (Meetup, 2013)"

Through the search engine of meetup.com, the public can identify local groups who are pursuing activities that interest them. Based on the information they find on the website, they can decide which group to join, when and where to go for a meeting. Members can determine which meetings they will attend beforehand. They can also exchange information before or after each meeting online. For example, the following exchange occurred between members of Sunday Japanese-English Language Exchange group that meets in CitiCorp Atrium. One member posted: "I'm confused does this start at 3pm or 4pm? There are two different things written." And one organizer responded: "Yes, we started at 3pm today, but we forgot to update the schedule. We apologize for any inconvenience this may have caused." In another situation, one member said: "I need to be able to identify the group. How do I do this? I'm at the location but don't know where the group is at." Another member also expressed: "Ya I am in the same situation as you

George." One organizer then responded: "We are in front of Chickpea, opposite from Sushi-Teria."

At Sony Plaza, members of a group named NYC Settlers of Catan Meetup Group meet on Sunday once a month, and communicated with each other once for a gathering. One member A posted: "I'm bringing my mega set but I won't be there til 3:30ish." Two members then responded individually: "I'll bring my standard and 5-6 player plain expansion," and "How late do you usually stay? I probably won't get there until after 6, at least." The member A then replied: "I'll stay till they close around 10." The other member then responded: "I will bring the standard. I will probably be there around 12:45, since I need to leave at 2:15. I might come back around 5:30." The member A replied again: "I just got here. Only 5 of us. If you come back, we can go 3 and 3." Occasionally records of past events as well as photos are posted on the website (Meetup, 2013).

Without the existence of social networking websites like meetup.com, people with shared interests would have more difficulty locating each other, finding convenient and suitable places to meet and maintaining and updating the schedule of their meetings. The combination of such web sites and the availability of interior bonus spaces in New York City that are open in the evenings and on weekends create new opportunities for those who did not know each other previously to engage in a variety of activities.

9.3   Prohibited Items and Activities

People bring items and conduct activities in the bonus spaces that are prohibited by the rules of conduct. Often security personnel immediately stop occupants' activities and ask them to remove their items from their spaces but not always. This may be because some

building managers are more tolerant of certain uses than others or the individual attitudes of security guards.

9.3.1 Prohibited Items and Animals

In some situations, the rules that ban larger bags do prevent people from bring such items into the spaces studied. To avoid being searched by security personnel or for other reasons, people leave larger baggage or shopping carts on sidewalks before entering a bonus space. At 60 Wall Street and in Park Avenue Plaza, some homeless people often leave their shopping carts filled with bags on the sidewalk of Pine Street and E 52 Street while staying (Fig 9.11). At Sony Plaza, a homeless woman left her shopping cart in the arcade while sitting inside the space and watched her carts through the glass wall. Similarly a group of five to eight male black street vendors left their bags of merchandise on the sidewalk outside Park Avenue Plaza and the Olympic Tower Atrium while staying inside to temporarily avoid the harsh winter weather. In both cases, at least one person stood outside to watch their merchandise (Fig 9.12).

People with large bags or shopping carts who are most likely homeless were observed at least three times in eight spaces and were not searched or asked to leave by security guards (Table 9.6). In most of the situations, people kept bags next to them but occasionally left them unattended either temporarily or for a period of time (Fig 9.13). In two situations, security guards actually reacted to an unattended bag. At 575 Fifth Avenue, the male security guard once moved a large suitcase to the security desk next door. The owner of this bag who frequented in the space several times and had left her bag unattended more than one time and so did other occupants. Onsite security guards, however, mostly did not respond to these situations. However the security guard in the Rubenstein Atrium

immediately noticed an unattended larger suitcase. The security guard started asking

occupants for help in locating its owner. The owner of the bag was in the line to purchase

food. While the rules of conduct are posted to prohibit large bags, evidence suggests that

the enforcement of this rule is not strict in most of the spaces. In addition, security guards'

response to unattended bags seems to result from their individual attitude. Further

investigation may require exploring the attitude of security guards toward the rules and

how they enforce them.

Figure 9.11   Homeless People Left their Shopping Carts on Sidewalks

Figure 9.12   Street Vendors Left their Bags of Merchandise on Sidewalks

People brought bikes or kick scooters into four spaces (Table 9.6). In three of the

spaces, people possessing these items were not asked to leave even though security

personnel presented in two of the spaces. At Rubenstein Atrium, an Asian family of four

entered the space from Broadway. Two of the children were carrying bicycles and parked them by and stayed around the fountain for a while. Instead of asking them to remove the bikes from the space, the security guard greeted them with a smile. In the end, they walked their bikes though the entire atrium and exited to Columbus Avenue. At the Galleria, someone left a foldable bike by a column in the seating area. Sometimes it was left by itself without anyone around. The front desk staff in the space never responded to this situation (Fig 9.14). At 1991 Broadway, three Asian men who seemed to be staff of the Chinese restaurant inside the space were fixing a bike. They had the bike upside down and a bucket of water and other tools were around them.
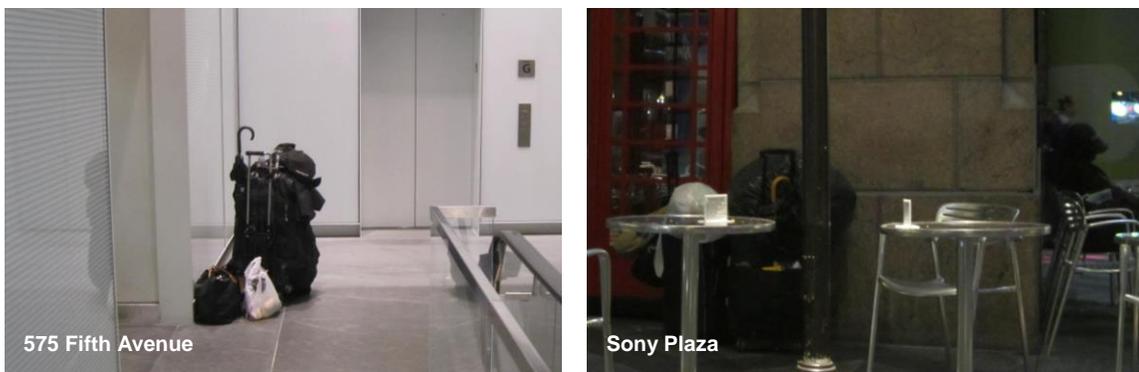
Figure 9.13 Sometimes People Left their Bags Unattended

At the former IBM atrium, the three situations involving bikes and kick scooters were quite different. Two young girls were riding kick scooters in the atrium and no one stopped or asked them to leave:

> On a Sunday afternoon, two girls in the Former IBM atrium were riding scooters back and forth along the building wall separating the atrium and its host building. When they stopped riding, they went back to their mother who was sitting at a table nearby.

During that period of time, none of security guards was present (Fig 9.15). In another situation, a security guard asked two persons to remove their bikes from the space:

A white couple entered the former IBM atrium with two bicycles from the entrance to Madison Avenue. They passed by the food stand and finally chose a table at the southwest corner of the space and parked their bicycles by a location of bamboo trees and nearby the entrance to E. 56th Street. In addition, they put two tables together. An onsite security guard immediately approached them and asked them to remove their bicycles from the atrium. They then left the atrium and the security guard put one of the tables back to its original location.
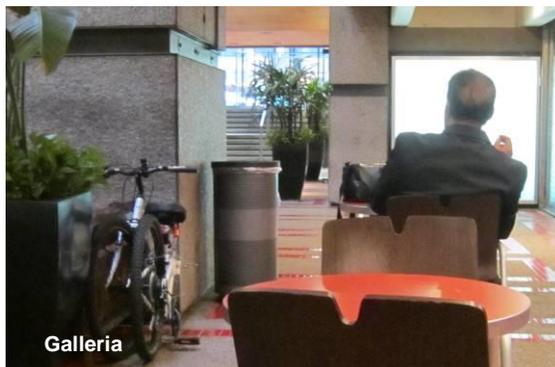
Figure 9.14   People with Bicycles

Figure 9.15 Two Girls Riding Kick Scooters at former IBM atrium

Figure 9.16   A Woman Brought a Dog with her in Galleria

In contrast, three black teenagers were sitting inside the former IBM atrium with their three bikes folded and placed around them. A security guard was inside the space but he did not ask them to take the bikes out (Fig 9.14). The different results of the examples seems to be directly related to whether or not security personnel was present on site and, if they are, which security guards are patrolling the space.

In none of the 20 spaces people bring pets except the Galleria. A white female once was resting while using her phone. Her dog was next to her. The security staff did not take any action (Fig 9.16).

9.3.2 Prohibited Activities

People use all 20 spaces for sleeping (Table 9.6). They may close their eyes while sitting on a chair or sleep at a table for a nap. Sometimes they lean against a wall and remain in a sitting position with their arms across and eyes closed or they are half-sitting and half-lying against the wall.

Because of the lenient attitude of the manager of 60 Wall Street toward sleeping, the frequency of people sleeping there is higher than in the other spaces. On weekends, 60 Wall Street seems to become a sleeping camp. The number of homeless people ranged from five to ten and most of them were sleeping or just sitting. Most of the managers whom I interviewed believe that sleeping is prohibited regardless of whether napping or meditating. Security personnel did not intervene when people are sleeping except on three occasions. At two of them, security personnel once woke occupants up. A female police officer at 60 Wall Street woke up a person who was sleeping while nearly lying down on fixed seating. In Sony Plaza, a male security guard taped the shoulder of two occupants who were sleeping against a wall in different locations. Most of the time, security personnel in these two spaces did not prevent people from sleeping. However, security guards at the former IBM atrium often actively prevent people from sleeping. They wake up those who are sleeping by tapping their shoulders or knocking the tables they sit at. While interacting with them, security guards also remind them that sleeping is not allowed even though they are just napping or meditating. However, people still sleep in the atrium

when security guards are not onsite or do not notice them. People sleeping in the atrium were observed at least 15 times.

Sitting on the floor is also prohibited in most of the spaces. During programmed activities, occupants sometimes sit on the floor of the Rubenstein Atrium. Foam puzzle mats are placed occasionally to encourage occupants to sit on the floor, particularly during activities for children. Conversely, sitting on the floor at the former IBM atrium is not allowed even when programmed activities are taking place inside it. The manager at the former IBM atrium reported:

> You cannot sit on the floor. You need to stand. There is no sitting on the floor. If there is a huge of group for the concerns, we actually bring in more chairs sometimes. But again the concern is about one hour during the lunch time. They are lunch time concerns.

At Park Avenue Plaza, this type of use is also prohibited because I personally experienced it:

> After several months of contacts, I finally got on the phone with the city official at the planning department. I was at Park Avenue Plaza for my field observations when I spoke to the city official. She told me that she had discussed my requests for accessing the POPS archive with her boss. They thought that they could not offer assistance for several reasons. I was shocked because I did not know how to continue my research and, meanwhile, tried to persuade her. I unconsciously sat on the floor against the glass façade while talking to her. I was completely depressed.

When I woke up from that sad moment, I noticed that a security guard, about five feet away from me, was walking towards me and waving at me. His gesture showed that "sitting on the floor is not allowed and please stand up." At 575 Fifth Avenue, security guards will prevent occupants from sitting crossed leg on benches or putting their feet on chairs. One of the reasons is for maintenance as a security guard explained. Before noticing that this prohibited behavior, I had already experienced it myself:

> I often sat on the bench in the far back of the space at 575 Fifth Avenue to record occupants and activities inside it. On one field trip, I sat cross-legged on the bench

and wrote my field notes. The onsite security guard approached me and asked me to put my feet down to keep the space clean and not to damage it.

People played music without using a headset or earphones in five spaces (Table 9.6). In most situations, the volume of music was not loud and could only be heard by occupants who sat nearby. If security personnel were far away, they would not be aware of these activities in Sony Plaza and in the Former Altria Atrium. In contrast, security guards often stopped these activities immediately if they noticed them in the CitiCorp Atrium, at the Rubenstein Atrium and at the former IBM atrium. For example, the situation at the latter was:

> A group of six white people aged 20 to 40 gathered around a table was watching a video on a laptop. The sound of the video might have been loud enough for them to hear but was not necessarily loud enough to disturb other nearby occupants. The security guard approached them and stopped it. This group left most of their belongings on the chairs and walked out the space with the laptop. They stood outside the entrance on E. 56th Street until finishing the video. They returned back to their chairs and started to discuss something.

At 60 Wall Street, a man from a group of five to ten people who looked like OWS supports played guitar twice in the space. The sound of guitar playing was not as loud as music performances on city sidewalks. Security guards did not take any action to stop him.

9.3.3 Gambling

Although gambling is banned in both outdoor and indoor public spaces in New York City, people conduct this unlawful activity. Security guards patrol two of the spaces. People conducted gambling in two of the spaces once or twice whereas, if certain "key" persons are there, this activity could occur in the other space most of the time. All building managers in the interviews defined gambling as involving the exchange of money. If

money does not appear on the table during a game, they assume that people are just playing

games rather than gambling.

Table 9.6 Occurrence of Prohibited Items and Activities

	Larger baggage (or shopping carts)	Bikes	Pets	Sleeping	Obnoxious noises
180 Maiden Lane	Yes	No	No	No	No
60 Wall Street	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Park Avenue Plaza	No (Small baggage)	No	No	Yes	No
Sony Plaza	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Former IBM atrium	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
CitiCorp Atrium	No (Small baggage)	No	No	Yes	Yes
Rubenstein Atrium	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Former Altria Atrium	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
575 Fifth Avenue	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
805 Atrium	No	No	No	Yes	No
875 Atrium	(Small baggage)	No	No	Yes	No
650 Fifth Avenue	No	No	No	No	No
Trump Tower Plaza	No	No	No	Yes	No
Two Lincoln Square	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1991 Broadway	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
52 Broadway	No	No	No	No	No
Olympic Tower Atrium	No (Small baggage)	No	No	Yes	No
Galleria	No (Small baggage)	Yes	No	Yes	No
499 Park Avenue	No	No	No	No	No
Grand Central Plaza	No	No	No	No	No
875 Mezzanine	No (Small baggage)	No	No	Yes	No
383 Madison Avenue	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
101 Barclay Street	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Le Parker Meridien	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

To prevent the public and security guards from noticing their gambling, people in

two spaces employ a similar approach. Players record the winning and losing points on a

sheet of paper rather than exchanging money at the end of each game. Before gambling,

participants decide the monetary value of each point and write the value down, mostly at

the top of the sheet. The recording of the points are kept until the end of the game. After

players clarify the total winning and losing points, they then leave the space together and

exchange money outside. People who are familiar with this approach may meet in this space for gambling. Whether or not security guards notice this approach to gambling is difficult to judge because the building manager of this space whom I interviewed did not think people were gambling.

In contrast, a group of three persons in the other space placed money directly on the table while playing cards. Perhaps because they were sitting far away from the onsite security guard, he did not stop their activity or ask them to leave.

9.4   Use Types of 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

According to their design, 24 spaces fall into five spatial types: cross-block atrium, atrium, space with one side entrance, linear space with designated seating areas separated from circulation, and linear space that sometimes has linear seating along the circulation route. Design features such as seating equipped with tables and retail shops and cafes can significantly influence their use. Five use types are identified: community center, foot court, quiet corner, corporate walkthrough and fortressed space. However, the use types of these spaces do not often match their spatial types because, if not all, their management (e.g., hours of operation and enforcement of the rules) can reshape their use (Table 9.7).

All cross-block atria are not only spacious but house such a variety of group activities except 180 Maiden Lane due to its limited hours of operation (Monday to Friday only, closing at 5:30pm). For example, two individual Meetup members talked about the CitiCorp Atrium: "The location works. Big space. Fairly comfortable. Definitely works" and "Great place to meet on Saturday morning for relatively quiet discussions with small

groups." Another member commented on the Rubenstein Atrium: "I think it will be a good place to meet….It is easy to get to and can accommodate any size group." Regarding Sony Plaza, a member said: "This is a great meeting place for meetups and any meetings. It's quiet, neat and spacious" (Meetup, 2012; 2013). As the findings reported, these spaces accommodate various types of activities (e.g., ordinary and planned uses) pursued by people of different genders, ages and races and often populated by different groups of occupants over the course of the day and the week. The number of homeless persons who frequent them far exceeds the other spaces, particularly 60 Wall Street and the Rubenstein Atrium (Fig 9.2). The management of these spaces, additionally, serves an important role to support the diversity of users and uses as their managers' tolerance of certain activities and occupants (e.g., homeless persons) and how they view these spaces as "public space" for everyone. All these findings suggest that five of the six cross block atria function much like community centers.

Five spaces are much more like "food courts" because, compared to the other spaces, people use them primarily during lunch hours, buying food from the adjacent retail stores or street vendors. In addition to offering plentiful tables and chairs, just like the community center type, three of the food courts house retail shops that sell food and drink. Although only one or two retail shops are located inside 180 Maiden Lane and 575 Fifth Avenue, most of their occupants bring food from nearby areas or from home and gather in the spaces for lunch. Compared with the other three spaces in which people primarily gather during lunch hours, the public also use the Trump Tower Plaza and 575 Fifth Avenue at other times, particularly the latter, because both are in shopping districts.

However, other kinds of activities (e.g., playing games, learning and creating works of art) take place less frequently than eating, drinking and resting.

Eight spaces have features that suggest they are "quiet corners." Three of them have retail shops that provide food; the other five do not (two spaces included food providers before). All eight, except Two Lincoln Square that has benches only, offer tables and chairs to people for a temporary rest or a retreat from busy city streets. Their average number of users per hour is less than 10 except the former Altria Atrium with an average of 13 persons, far less than the number of people in food courts and community centers (Fig 9.1). Because they are less populated, these spaces are often quiet. The number and types of their activities is also limited, particularly at Two Lincoln Square where the American Folk Art Museum limits use to exhibition and other related uses. Compared to the other spaces of this type, people still use the Former Altria Atrium for playing games, learning, and creating (Tables 9.2, 9.3 & 9.4). This may be because of its spatial dimension or its location across from Grand Central Terminal.

I have characterized three spaces as "corporate walkthrough" because people tend to use them exclusively for walking between streets through a city block. These spaces offer fixed-only seating and no tables, making it impossible to play games or hold meetings as they do in the community center type. In addition, the management of Grand Central Plaza and Le Parker Meridien further discourages people from using them at all: preventing people from walking through the space on weekends in the former and annexing the northern section of the space for private purpose but allowing the public to walk through it.

The last use type I have identified is "fortressed space" which includes 383 Madison Avenue and 101 Barclay Street. Their strict management approach is the main reason for this. Security guards screen visitors at the entrances to 101 Barclay Street and 383 Madison Avenue (both linear spaces sometimes with seating along the circulation route). Security guards of the first space only admit people who work in the building or have an appointment there. The presence of security guards at the entrances to 383 Madison Avenue tends to discourage the public from entering even though they do not explicitly prohibit it.

Table 9.7 Use Types of 24 Indoor Privately Owned Public Spaces

Use Types	Spaces	Spatial Types
Community center	60 Wall Street	Cross-block atrium
	Park Avenue Plaza	
	Sony Plaza	
	Former IBM atrium	
	CitiCorp Atrium	
	Rubenstein Atrium	
Food court	180 Maiden Lane	Cross-block atrium
	575 Fifth Avenue	Atrium
	805 Atrium	
	875 Atrium	
	Trump Tower Plaza	Space w/one side entrance
Quiet corner	52 Broadway*	Linear space with designated seating areas separated from circulation
	650 Fifth Avenue*	Space w/one side entrance
	1991 Broadway*	
	Two Lincoln Square	
	Former Altria Atrium	Atrium
	Olympic Tower Atrium	Linear space with designated seating areas separated from circulation
	Galleria	
	875 Mezzanine	Linear space sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route
Corporate walkthrough	499 Park Avenue	Linear space with designated seating areas separated from circulation
	Grand Central Plaza	Linear space sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route
	Le Parker Meridien	
Fortressed space	383 Madison Avenue	Linear space sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route
	101 Barclay Street	

Note: ＊: Spaces in "quiet corner" with retail shops that provide food.

CHAPTER 10

DISCUSSION

Privately owned public spaces discussed in this study are one type of hybrid public space that emerges (or develops) through the privatization of public space. Because it is provided by the private sector whose objectives in managing spaces differ from those of the public sector, many urban researchers are concerned that privately owned public spaces limit the diversity of types of occupants and activities common in traditional public spaces, undermining the vibrancy of urban life, and, eventually, constraining a democratic society. Consequently previous studies of hybrid public space tend to focus on what design features and management practices make it exclusive (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Kayden, et al., 2000; Kohn, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Miller, 2007; Nemeth, 2007; 2009; Smithsimon, 2006; 2008; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008).

In order to understand how people actually use privately owned public spaces, various types of public space were examined and distinguished from each other. The process of typing not only helps researchers select one particular type of space to study initially but also clarifies the similarities and differences that may exist within the type selected for study. This study carefully distinguished between two different types of hybrid public spaces: (1) publicly owned public spaces that have become more private and (2) privately created and owned public spaces (see Table 3.1). Each of these types comprises spaces transformed or created in a variety of ways. This research selected New York City's privately owned public spaces as cases to study. Within this type of space, only enclosed ones that include seating and retail spaces (except the space at 383 Madison Avenue due to its management practices) were analyzed.

Table 10.1 Spatial Types, Use Types and Kayden et al.'s Classification

Spatial Types	Spaces	Use Types	Kayden et al.'s Classifications
Cross-block atrium (Seven cases)	CitiCorp Atrium (1975)	Community center	Destination
	Park Avenue Plaza (1979)	Community center	Destination
	Rubenstein Atrium (1979)	Community center	Hiatus
	180 Maiden Lane (1982)	Food court	Destination
	Former IBM Atrium (1982)	Community center	Destination
	Sony Plaza (1983)	Community center	Destination
	60 Wall Street (1989)	Community center	Destination
Atrium (Four cases)	575 Fifth Avenue (1980)	Food court	Neighborhood
	Former Altria Atrium (1982)	Quiet corner	Destination
	805 atrium (1982)	Food court	Neighborhood
	875 Atrium (1985)	Food court	Neighborhood
Space with one side entrance (Four cases)	Two Lincoln Square (1974)	Quiet corner	Destination
	650 Fifth Avenue (1977)	Quiet corner	Hiatus
	Trump Tower Plaza (1983)	Food court	Destination
	1991 Broadway (1985)	Quiet corner	Neighborhood
Linear space with designated seating areas separated from circulation (Four cases)	Olympic Tower Atrium (1974)	Quiet corner	Hiatus
	Galleria (1974)	Quiet corner	Hiatus
	499 Park Avenue (1980)	Corporate walkthrough	Hiatus Circulation
	52 Broadway (1983)	Quiet corner	Circulation
Linear space sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route (Five cases)	Le Parker Meridien (1979)	Corporate walkthrough	Hiatus
	Grand Central Plaza (1980)	Corporate walkthrough	N/A
	101 Barclay Street (1983)	Fortressed space	Marginal
	875 Mezzanine (1985)	Quiet corner	Neighborhood
	383 Madison Avenue (2001)	Fortressed space	N/A

Source: Kayden et al. (2000).

The findings of this study indicate that design features of enclosed privately owned public spaces in New York City influence the number of occupants and activities. The number of occupants in all cross-block atria and atria that possess better quality and quantity of design features is higher than in most of the spaces in the other three spatially defined types: space with one side entrance, linear space with designated seating areas separated from circulation, and linear space sometimes with linear seating along the circulation route. However, management practices play a more important role than design features in determining the diversity of occupants and activities. Based on use type, some spaces that act like "community centers" and support various activities during operating

hours are more inviting than spaces where people occupy for activities only during certain time periods, such as "foot courts," or where it is difficult for people to enter as "fortressed spaces" (Table 10.1).

10.1 Is the Public Invited?

Of the 24 bonus spaces studied, five spaces are the most uninviting. The design of three of these spaces definitely makes them less inviting on weekdays. In Grand Central Plaza, a handful of people, mostly office workers or visitors, frequent it on weekdays. However, the provision of only limited fixed seating and no tables discourages people from using it for extended periods of time. Consequently people often treat it as a space just to walk through. People probably do not frequent the space at 499 Park Avenue because its tinted, reflective glass frontage reduces its visibility from the city streets and makes it difficult for pedestrians to notice its existence. The absence of tables and limited fixed seating also deter the public from using it once they do discover it. Therefore, the use type of these two spaces is defined as "corporate walkthrough" (Table 10.1). Similarly, the space at 650 Fifth Avenue is located one floor below street grade giving it no visibility from city streets and making it difficult for people to become aware of it. As a result, few people frequent inside it and make its use type as "quiet corner" (Table 10.1).

Management practices also make these three spaces less inviting. At 499 Park Avenue and 650 Fifth Avenue, management has posted only one public space plaque at a location where people cannot notice it easily. Without being informed that the two spaces are public, people will not know they can use them. Shortening open hours of spaces that the public can access and use is a direct way of making them uninviting. By closing the spaces at 499 Park Avenue, 650 Fifth Avenue, and Grand Central Plaza on weekends,

managers violate the requirement that bonus spaces remain open throughout the entire week.

In two other spaces studied, the placement of security guards deters members of the public from entering. The managers of 383 Madison Avenue and 101 Barclay Street post security guards at the entrances to screen people. Only those who have obtained permission are allowed to enter the bonus spaces, particularly at the latter. According to the interview with the manger of 383 Madison Avenue, such practice is intended to eliminate any possible occurrence of danger rather than responding to it when it actually happens inside the space. Without having an official reason for entering, people are deterred from the space. Because of their inaccessibility to the public, the use type of the two spaces is categorized as "fortressed spaces" (Table 10.1). Lacking a diverse body of occupants, the type of activities occurring in the spaces becomes limited regardless of their design features. The policy of "no entry" eliminates their physical accessibility.

In contrast, the CitiCorp Atrium, the Rubenstein Atrium, and Sony Plaza are the most inviting spaces as evident in the number and diversity of occupants and activities observed at these locations even though they do not have the most inviting design features among the 24 cases. For instance, the CitiCorp Atrium is located below street grade and, additionally, is embedded inside its host building. And the size and configuration of the Rubenstein Atrium does not easily accommodate a diversity of activities: the relatively small size space (6906 sf) is neither a square nor a rectangle. Like most of the cases of atria, all three of the most inviting spaces possess ample numbers of chairs and tables, retail shops and cafes, restrooms, and sufficient lighting. Their design features certainly are

attractive to their numerous occupants and activities but it is most likely their management practices that explain the diversity of users and uses.

In addition to the design features required by the New York Department of City Planning, the managers of the CitiCorp Atrium and the Rubenstein Atrium offer free wi-fi. At the CitiCorp Atrium, the manager posts signs inside and outside the building announcing that free wi-fi is provided. The manager of the Rubenstein Atrium offers power outlets to allow their occupants to stay inside the atrium for considerable periods of time. The Rubenstein Atrium also provides various types of programmed activities to accommodate the needs of different groups of people. The entrance to Sony Wonder Technology Lab inside the Sony Plaza increases the number of its occupants who are younger than 20 years old. In addition to weekly student music performances, most programmed activities at Sony Plaza, which are associated with Sony Wonder Technology Lab, focus on children. At the CitiCorp Atrium, the Rubenstein Atrium, and Sony Plaza, interviews with managers indicate that they want to attract people to their spaces because they conceive their spaces as public space that is for everyone to use. Therefore, they allow them to conduct various activities such as playing games, creating artwork, and learning through educational and self-improvement activities. Because the design and management of the three spaces accommodate the needs of different kinds of people and support their various activities, their use type is categorized as "community centers" in which individuals socialize with others or by themselves for various purposes (Table 10.1).

The spatial quality of some of the interior bonus spaces studied is actually better than the three spaces that were found to be the most inviting but the interpretation and enforcement of the rules, resulting from the attitudes of their managers, limit the types of

activities of these spaces. Compared to the other spaces, the former IBM atrium, which is the most visible from adjacent city streets, is the largest space (16,430 sf) as well as possessing the greatest amount of sunlight and greenery. While the manager of this atrium perceives it to be a public space, he believes that it is not necessary to attract people and that only individuals, not groups should use it and only for short periods of time. Consequently, he does not allow occupants to re-arrange tables, to play games, or to close their eyes. In sharp contrast, the manager of 60 Wall Street perceives the atrium to be like a park which all people are welcome to use, even homeless people who are allowed to stay inside for considerable periods of time. The attitude of this manager toward eye-closing is much more tolerant than that of the other mangers interviewed.

Based on the literature, occupants of hybrid public space are often homogeneous and, specifically, are mostly white, educated professionals (Boddy, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998). Homeless people and other undesirables are absent from these spaces because of their design features and management practices. The kinds of activities in these spaces are also limited. This scenario presented in several previous studies also occurs in some of the cases studied in this research, particular those identified as "fortressed spaces" in terms of their spatially defined type and use type (Table 10.1). Lacking diversity of occupants and activities, these spaces are characterized as less inviting. In contrast, the spaces that are categorized as "community centers" attract various individuals and groups in terms of gender, race, and age at different times of the day and week and accommodate both ordinary and planned activities (Table 10.1). The frequency of planned activities such as working, playing,

learning and creating in the spaces characterized as community centers is higher than in the other spaces studied. Therefore, these spaces appear to be more inviting.

According to spatially defined types and use types listed in Table 10.1, six out of seven cross-block atria were categorized as community centers. This is suggested by Kayden et al's documentation: Five of the six cross-block atria studied fall into the 3% of all 503 bonus spaces which Kayden et al. (2000) deemed as destination spaces. During their observations, the Rubenstein Atrium was classified as a hiatus space but it would likely be considered a destination space after its redesign in 2008. Occupants of destination spaces, they noted, are from both the immediate neighborhood and other areas that are further away. Their activities include "socialize, eat, shop, view art, or attend a programmed event, although they may also visit the space for sedentary, individual activities of reading and relaxing" (p50). In some other spaces, their use types defined in this study differ from Kayden et al.'s study, such as the Former Altria Atrium, the 805 Atrium, and the space at 650 Fifth Avenue (Table 10.1). One explanation for the differences may be because of the change in ownership as that which the Former Altria Atrium demonstrated. The other possible explanation may be that the study, through systematic observations and data collection, gives a more specific type to the spaces studied in terms of the number and kinds of occupants and activities observed in them. In contrast, the classification of the 503 bonus spaces in Kayden et al.'s study is based on both actual and potential use (p49). The potential use may account for such differences.

10.2 Not Exclusive? Why

In the context of previous research and commentary about privately controlled public spaces in New York and Los Angeles, the findings of this study are quite surprising. Based on the former, in some of New York's bonus spaces one would not expect to find a diversity of individuals in terms of gender, race, and age or social communities created by groups of people with similar interests who meet regularly. There are two explanations for this contrast between these findings and earlier works and critiques: one is the orientation and methods of previous research conducted in New York and the other focuses on differences that have occurred over time in the design of privately controlled public spaces.

10.2.1 Previous Research in New York

"Types and acts of typing allow us to make distinctions between things and to divide them; they allow us to recognize similarities between things and to collect them" (Franck and Schneekloth, 1994, p15). It may be that certain types of bonus spaces are not well used and that cross-block atria acting as community centers are an important exception (Table 10.1). The contrast between the findings from this study and previous research about New York City's bonus spaces may result from the latter's failure to distinguish between different spatially defined types of spaces and, subsequently, differences that may result in different users and uses. For instance, it is very important to distinguish between interior and exterior spaces and spaces with different spatial configuration and relationships to the street. Uses and potential benefits may vary significantly according to these and possibly other differences in type.

Without distinguishing between different types of space or whether they were indoors or outdoors, Nemeth (2007; 2009) assessed 163 bonus spaces in 92 buildings,

noting their design features, the diversity of seating and art work, the presence of security guards and surveillance cameras and the posting of rules of conduct. He concluded that private corporations employ various management practices to limit the types of users and uses in their bonus spaces. However, he did not record who was present in the spaces or what they were doing. Therefore, he failed to discover that, in fact, people of different genders, races, and ages use some bonus spaces for various group activities, particularly during weekday evenings and on weekends. Smithsimon (2006; 2008) selected a particular type of bonus space – outdoor plazas – and concluded that outdoor plazas are mostly underused and barren and that the design approach private developers intentionally employed to exclude unwanted users such as homeless people and drug dealers However, he did not differentiate the plazas in his study according to their spatial configurations or their year of completion..

Although Miller (2007) studied the design and management of bonus spaces located inside three buildings, she did not note design differences between these spaces: two cross-block atria (Sony Plaza and the former IBM atrium) and two bonus spaces in the Trump Tower (one being one floor below street level with one side entrance). Through observations and archival sources, she concluded that the spaces are "privatized" to market merchandise and to establish a corporate image. Miller focused exclusively on the design and spatial configuration of the settings without observing the number and kinds of occupants and activities in the spaces. Like Nemeth, she did not note that Sony Wonder Technology Lab attracts numerous visitors. Her concern instead was that Sony USA uses this museum without admission fee to brainwash children to buy Sony's products.

Except for Loukaitou-Sideris who interviewed architects, California Redevelopment Authority staff (acting as city planners), and managers in LA, most researchers conducted their research through interviews with one of the two formers or both but with the latter (Boddy, 1992; Davis, 1992a; 1992b; Kayden, et al., 2000; Miller, 2007; Smithsimon, 2006; 2008; Nemeth, 2007; 2009). However, her studies did not describe how security guards enforce the rules and how they actually react to undesirables. The exclusion of "musicians and public performers" and "noisy activities" (p154) which she identified contradicts Peterson's findings (2010), especially the free concerts that took place in California Plaza starting in 1986. The lack of interviews with managers for understanding the rationale behind their management practices makes Miller's and Nemeth's findings less persuasive than they could be and also poses another explanation for the contrast in findings with this study. Even though the spaces they studied have similar rules of conduct, differences in managers' tolerance of certain activities (e.g., playing games and sleeping) result in differential enforcement of the rules. Also, the presence of security guards does not always discourage people from entering and using the spaces, but indeed, may increase their feelings of security and their willingness to enter and spend long periods of time in the spaces.

In contract to the findings of Smithsimon (2006; 2008) and Miller (2007), the findings of this study show that owners or management companies of bonus spaces in New York want to make the spaces noticeable, attractive, and available to the public through the design process. The redesign of Two Lincoln Square (1988), Sony Plaza (1994), the CitiCorp Atrium (1994), the Rubenstein Atrium (2008), and 575 Fifth Avenue (2008), discussed in Chapter Seven, not only show the improvement of the bonus program over the

years but also reveals the role of the New York City Department of City Planning during the design process in making bonus spaces usable. The New York City Department of City Planning, for example, mandated needed design features and their quality and quantity as well as the identical square foot of public space before and after redesign as to prevent these spaces from becoming overly privatized. In addition, the renovated spaces are required to fit for the current (or the latest) building codes even though they are still guided (or regulated) by the zoning codes of the time period they were developed and built (Lander & Freedman-Schnapp, 2012). Again, these spaces are not entirely annexed for private interests and, undeniably, people (including homeless persons) are welcome regardless private corporations receiving benefits by renovating the spaces they owned and/or managed.

10.2.2 Not Fortress LA

A second explanation for the contrast between the findings from this study and previous commentaries about the privatization of public space, particularly those from Davis (1992a; 1992b), Boddy (1992), and Loukaitou-Sideris (1993), is changes that have occurred in the design of privately controlled public spaces that have occurred over time. The bonus spaces that proved to be the most inviting in this study, six of the cross-block atria, were all designed or redesigned between 1975 and 1989 and between 1994 and 2008 respectively. The spaces that have received the most criticism were built in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Calgary, and Montreal, largely as a result of preceding social changes in cities.

At the beginning of the 1960s, racial segregation, discrimination, and poverty, and the civil rights movement resulted in urban rebellions occurring successively in many

North American cities: Los Angeles (1965), Atlanta (1966), Detroit (1967) and Newark (1967). This accelerated the deterioration of many inner cities that had already been facing population decline due to white flight. Los Angeles, like many other cities, initiated an urban revitalization plan, named *Central City L.A., 1972-1990*, which was intended to bring suburbanites who are mostly white middle-class back to the downtown area (Davis, 1991). To reduce suburbanites' perceptions of danger, the design of office towers, which house public spaces, tended to be "fortresses" – inward-oriented and disconnected from adjacent streets through skywalks, blank walls, and limited or obstructed entrances. Bunker Hill and other developments located in downtown Los Angeles adopted this design approach making these projects hard to access. Without storefronts and other street facilities, the vibrant street life near them was eliminated and that further separated them from the City (Davis, 1992a, 1992b; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). Similar design features have also been identified in the Peachtree Center Complex in Atlanta (Judd, 2002), the Renaissance Center in Detroit (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989) and the Gateway Complex in Newark (Huang, 2010a), built between the 1970s and 1980s.

Along with design, corporations employed management practices to discourage interaction between city residents and suburbanites between the 1960s and 1990s: police officers, security guards, surveillance cameras, rules of conduct, and gates. Not only were the new buildings physically isolated but security guards also discouraged those who were unwelcome: poor and uneducated minority groups: black, Latinos, and native Americans. As a result, occupants of the "public spaces" in these corporately owned buildings were homogeneous. The fortress-type features and strict management practices accounted for Los Angeles's militarized and fortressed character between 1970s and 1980s, as Davis

observed (Davis, 1992a, 1992b). Though observations and surveys, Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) concluded that users of the outdoor spaces of Security Pacific Plaza and CitiCorp Plaza in Los Angeles were mostly white, middle-class and educated professionals with the exception of Noguchi plaza that is close to the Center of Little Tokyo and was exclusively used by Japanese Americans. She also found that homeless people and undesirables were completely absent in all three spaces. In another study, she and Banerjee (1998) echoed her earlier findings: the occupants of the spaces were mostly educated, professional, white males. Both studies revealed that occupants' use of the spaces was for a short period and often at lunchtime during office hours. The number of occupants in the spaces they studied decreased dramatically after office hours.

Exclusive privately controlled public spaces were also built in other cities between the 1960s and 1990s. Increasing crime after the 1980's recession made Minneapolis's skyways, initially intended for efficient pedestrian circulation, means for white middle-class people to avoid contact with poor minority groups. The presence of police officers at entrances of skyways and security guards in lobbies further ensured this social stratification. Similarly, since the 1960s the construction of Calgary's skyways and Montreal's underground concourse was originally for pedestrian circulation and weather issues. However, the objective of profit-making eventually welcomed only potential customers. The vibrancy of adjacent streets -- the historic Stephen Avenue Mall in Calgary and Ste. Catharine in Montreal -- declined and unwelcoming users in the corporate spaces ultimately occupied these streets such as the unemployed, drifters, urban Indians and dopers (Boddy, 1992).

To attract private investment, Los Angeles's Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) during the urban revitalization between 1970s and 1990s did not have much leverage to mandate and negotiate with private corporations because they could easily withdraw and invest elsewhere. Lack of comprehensive planning and urban design guidelines made it difficult for CRA to specify the location, usage and design features of corporately owned public spaces. As a result, CRA did not control the design quality of the public spaces and their connection to city streets. Because most of the corporate public spaces were built far from the city's busy pedestrian streets (e.g., Broadway and Seventh Avenue), office workers who used them during the lunchtime mostly worked within a three block radius. At other times, the spaces were mostly underutilized (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998).

Due to the limited authority of the New York City Department of City Planning, a similar situation also occurred regarding New York's bonus spaces that were built before 1975 as-of-right. Without specific design guidelines, these bonus spaces were barren or with few amenities so as not to attract people (Kayden et al., 2000; Smithsimon, 2008). In 1975, New York City's amended Zoning Resolution mandated design features that would attract people: tables and chairs, food vendors, and retail spaces. Owners were also required to post public space plaques at entrances, indicating that the spaces are open to everyone. The resulting inclusiveness of New York City's bonus spaces is demonstrated in six cross-block atria of the study that were completed after 1975. Unlike Los Angeles's CRA, this amendment gave the New York Department of City Planning the authority to negotiate with private corporations.

Because of the absence of guidelines for the design of corporate spaces, Los Angeles's CRA eventually requested programmed activities for the final project of Bunker Hill, California Plaza that consists of five consolidated blocks. The rationale behind programming was to create a gathering place, serving as "a regional magnet for tourists, residents, and office workers" (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998, p134) and "helping shape a segregate city with a downtown posited as 'neutral'" (Peterson, 2010, p11). The Bunker Hill Associates and its principal architect, Arthur Erickson, won the design competition. Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998) argue, however, that CRA chose their proposal primarily based on financial, rather than design, concerns. In contrast, Peterson (2010, p25) noted that the difference between the proposals from the two final teams was the articulation of the description of the plaza, which the winning team presented a clear image of "a gathering place for major holiday festivities." Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998) did not address various types of programmed activities in California Plaza. Instead, they only noted that its programming increased the number of users at lunchtime, like food vendors in Citicorp Plaza in Los Angeles and Crocker Center and Rincon Centre in San Francisco to support Whyte's findings (1980). In contrast to Loukaitou-Sideris's studies of California Plaza, Peterson (2010) concluded that the diversity of programming is carefully scheduled and partnered with local racial and ethnic organizations so as to attract different people in terms of gender, race, and age. Similar effects of programming in the Rubenstein Atrium, offered by Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and community-based organizations, were observed in my studies.

The presence of homeless people and the attitude of managers toward them in New York City's bonus spaces, as reported in this study, show that some of these spaces are

indeed inclusive. According to Peterson's study (2010), managers of corporate spaces in Los Angeles, however, do not have similar attitudes yet. The successful programming in California Plaza brings Angelinos (people) of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds together but the exclusion of poor people still remains. Based on interviews with Grand Performances' staff, she noted that the poor would apparently make a "class-noticed situation" (p38) and might discourage some viewers from attending the events. Conversely, my research indicates that the owners or management companies of the cases studied want to make their spaces usable and attractive to people. One reason is to bring customers to their retail shops and cafes.

10.3 Cross-Block Atria: A Place to Meet

The CitiCorp Atrium, the first cross-block atrium among the privately owned public spaces in New York, opened in 1975. Well before the advent of the Internet, this atrium was a popular meeting place as immigrants from eastern European countries gathered in this atrium between the 1880s and 1990s (Kayden et al., 2000). The CitiCorp Atrium marked the emergence of a new type of urban public space: a spacious interior space easily reached from the street; privately owned but open to the public without charge; equipped with tables and chairs, artificial lighting, and heating and cooling as needed and overlooked by security guards. In many of its features, the space and those that followed are similar to the atrium of a mall but, importantly, are not intended for shopping and are available for activities independent of commerce and consumption.

As the research reported here demonstrates, additional cross-block atria built after 1975 joined the CitiCorp Atrium in continuously providing opportunities for people who did not know each other previously to meet in order to pursue common interests at different

times of the day and week. These spaces require no fee to enter and expect no purchase for using them. Their environmental qualities support the frequency of users and uses as they provide security, protection from the weather, heating and cooling as necessary, various amenities such as movable tables, seating and evening lighting, and positive spatial atmosphere (e.g., quiet and clean). Notably, the advent of social networking websites such as meetup.com enables many activities to take place in these spaces, activities pursued by people who would not have otherwise met. The Arab Spring and the OWS movement in 2011 have shown the powerful influence the web exerts in bringing people together in a physical space and spreading news worldwide. Provision of free wi-fi and power outlets further enhances use of these spaces.

The presence of security guards ensures the safety of the spaces, which makes people feel protected when using them, particularly after office hours. Security guards also become the "go-to persons" whom visitors may ask for directions and recommendations. The manager at 60 Wall Street reported: "They [the security guards]… become like travel guides because people are constantly stopping them, asking advices where to shop and where to eat, and how to get to a place they want to go." The *positive* design features and management practices of the interior cross-block atria enable them to serve as a kind of "community centers" but without being at the physically defined center of any geographically defined community (Table 10.1).

That is because advanced telecommunications has enabled people to communicate with others virtually without the constraint of geographical boundaries. Meetup.com serves as an interface for acquainted and unacquainted individuals with similar interests and needs to meet virtually first and later in person. Groups of people who meet regularly in

these spaces are not necessarily those living in the same neighborhood and may even come from different states -- New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. This finding supports Webber's idea (1966) that advanced technologies of transportation and telecommunications can enhance communication among people without geographic constraint. Such an idea challenges the notion of geographically delimited communities. However, Webber did not foresee that advanced telecommunications, particularly the Internet, could also facilitate people establishing *social* connections virtually with previously unknown people based on mutual benefit or common interests enabling them to then actually meet in physical space. The finding from this research supports de Souza e Silva's (2006) claim that wireless Internet access, particularly mobile Internet, enhances the frequency of people's interactions in physical space as well as the relationship between physical and virtual space.

Telecommunications allow groups to engage in ongoing dialogue on various subjects regardless of the geographical location of participants. However when members of groups desire to meet face to face, they require a physical space to do so. The research reported here indicates that cross-block atria in New York provide just such a space for many groups, allowing participants to enjoy and learn more from each other through hands-on instruction and demonstrations. Through physical co-presence, not only might social bonds among individuals be established but the solidarity among group participants could also be strengthened. The uses of cross-block atria documented in this study demonstrate the value of these spaces for providing venues for these possibilities to develop. Eventually, should they desire to do so, members of these groups could make

their voices heard and form a power of bottom-up revitalization, just as Meetup.com intends to achieve:

> Meetup's mission is to revitalize local community and help people around the world self-organize. Meetup believes that people can change their personal world, or the whole world, by organizing themselves into groups that are powerful enough to make a difference (Meetup, 2013).

How these social communities, initiated through social networking websites, continuously operate and how social bonds among participants evolve over time require further investigation. For instance in addition to the regular meetings, how often do participants, if they become friends, meet at other times?

10.4 Benefits of Privately Owned Public Spaces

The uses of bonus spaces documented in this study reflect many of the activities in public space previous researchers have identified including for recreation, commerce, education, commemoration, production, dwelling, political and artistic expression, and soliciting (Carr et al, 1992; Chase et at., 1999; Franck & Stevens, 2007; Franck, 2011; Hou, 2010; Kohn, 2004; Low & Smith, 2006; Mitchell, 2003; Stevens, 2007). The bonus spaces described in this research offer locations for some but not all of these activities. It is the limited opportunities to use public space for political expression that have drawn the most attention from researchers as constituting a threat to democracy (Boddy, 1992; Davis, 1992; Marcuse, 2006; Nemeth & Hollander, 2010; Nemeth, 2010; Sorkin, 1992).

However, not *all* public spaces can or should accommodate *all* uses. Some are well suited by design and management for everyday or ceremonial uses while some, historically, symbolically, or sometimes with government agreement, can be sites for political expression such as Trafalgar Square in London (Parkinson, 2009; 2012). Because

they are privately owned and managed, political activities for the most part have not taken place in bonus spaces with the recent and well publicized exception of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) in Zuccotti Park in fall 2011. Notably OWS participants also met regularly in the interior bonus space at 60 Wall Street during that same period. Eventually the large numbers of people attending their meetings led management to limit the size of meetings because large gatherings significantly constrained other users and uses. The ongoing presence of small OWS meetings at 60 Wall Street, as observed in my research, shows that political uses of bonus spaces are possible when management agrees but only under conditions that the private owners determine. The very same could be said of large demonstrations in publicly owned public spaces. While type as defined spatially and by ownership is important in shaping use, the management practices of private organizations and governmental authorities is as important, if not more so.

The level of inclusivity and, relatedly, the restrictiveness of management practices for indoor bonus spaces vary according to spatially defined types with the most restrictive practices occurring in linear space sometimes with linear seating along the circulation and the most inclusive practices occurring in cross block atria. Clearly the social benefits of bonus spaces are stronger in some types (notably cross-block atria) both because of the management practices that shape their use and because of their design features. The benefits described in this research are many: the cross-block atria enable a variety of uses through their environmental amenities that enable a variety of uses and through the way they are managed. As documented here, cross-block atria function as a kind of "community center" for individuals who do not live in a delimited neighborhood to meet face-to-face regularly and to reinforce their *social* communities (or groups) that are first established on

line. In addition, these atria give some shelter to the homeless, sometimes for extended periods of time.

However, the benefits of bonus spaces, even cross-block atria, are limited to those people who know that the spaces exist and that they offer the opportunity for (1) anyone to use them and (2) without charge. Without this knowledge, people will not know where to find the spaces or, if walking by, may not notice them or realize that they possess the latter two features. For example, the building manager of the 805 Atrium said, "In fact before I came here [the building at 805 Third Avenue], I lived in New York all my life and I didn't know anything about this place. I've worked in this neighborhood many times but I didn't know anything. So obviously the public would not know." Similarly findings from two other studies indicate that people still lack knowledge of these spaces. After visiting seven indoor bonus spaces with study participants, Huang and Franck (2013) conducted a focus group interview and found that participants had not previously known about these spaces. One male participant said:

> I didn't actually know it [Sony Plaza] was a public space if I don't have this experience ... I live in New York City...I saw the signs but I never made a connection that I can utilize it: whenever it's open, whenever it's available, or even know to look for one."

Another female participant commented, "I read the [public space] sign but it didn't penetrate my brain. I didn't think about it's a place to go into." In studying three indoor bonus spaces, Makris and Kronen (2011) found that these spaces are welcoming and interesting to male teenagers of color who live in the Bronx but that these participants did not know about the spaces before the study. What may well limit the social benefits even of cross-block atria is the public's lack of knowledge about them.

Not all interior privately owned public spaces in New York City provide social benefits to the public. Security guards screen visitors at the entrances to the bonus spaces at 101 Barclay Street and at 383 Madison Avenue (both linear spaces sometimes with seating along the circulation route), which make the spaces less inviting. The findings suggest that these two spaces are "fortress spaces" which is in line with Kayden et al. (2000)'s classification of 101 Barclay Street as a "marginal space." The use of the space at 383 Madison Avenue documented in this study suggests that it is most likely a marginal space as well (Table 10.1). Security guards at 101 Barclay Street only admit those people who work in the building or have an appointment there. The presence of security guards at 383 Madison Avenue tends to discourage the public from entering even though they do not explicitly prohibit entry because, according the building manager, "technically and legally they are allowed to walk through." The rationale behind this management approach is to ensure security for the building and its occupants. This study clearly demonstrates that how private corporations and institutions actually manage bonus spaces determines their inclusiveness and exclusiveness – from one extreme of not allowing or encouraging people to enter, through the enforcement of rules of conduct to the other extreme of providing additional amenities and events to further encourage occupancy.

The responsibility of the New York City Department of City Planning (DCP) is solely the design of bonus spaces and does not include monitoring their management or use after construction. That is the responsibility of the New York City Department of Buildings (DOB). According to the city planner interviewed, the current monitoring system is: (1) Once a complaint is placed, the DOC provides the agreement of the site contested to the DOB who would conduct the necessary investigation; (2) If the existing situation of this

site does not match what the owner(s) promised, the DOB writes a warning letter to the owner(s) and conducts hearing(s) at the Environmental Control Board. The owner(s) of the site must appear at the board; (3) The owners will be given a time period depending on the length of the project to rectify the situation; and (4) the DOB examines the site after the project is completed. If the improvements are not finished, the DOB files penalty to the owner(s) of the site: 5,000 US dollars for the first time and 10,000 US dollars for the second time. If the owner(s) of the site continue to avoid the penalty, the DOB will file a "civil lawsuit" due to property violation. Such procedure shows that the current monitoring system of privately owned public spaces is reactive rather than proactive. Therefore, some improvements may be necessary to make this monitoring system more proactive.

CHAPTER 11

IMPLICATIONS

The findings from this study show that the degree of inclusiveness of 24 indoor privately owned public spaces in Manhattan varies. Both design features and management practices explain these differences but the latter seems to play a more important role in determining whether or not a space is inviting for a diversity of occupants and activities. The study also demonstrates the value of systematic empirical research about privately owned public space and the importance of distinguishing between different types of space based on their spatial configuration and relationship with adjacent streets. Future research is certainly warranted but from this study it is also possible to make recommendations for the future design and management of bonus spaces. What should be added to the bonus program in New York City's Zoning Resolution to ensure that either the existing or upcoming bonus spaces will be inviting to the public and enhance the quality of urban environment and support people's needs as well? Also, what should the New York City Department of City Planning do so as to enhance the use of bonus spaces in New York City?

11.1 Future Research

This study demonstrates the value of carefully documentation of how privately owned public spaces are actually used over the course of the day and week and by whom, what management practices are employed and, if security personnel are present, how they interact with occupants. Without systematically observing spaces and collecting data from observations and interviews, important details can be overlooked and conclusions reached may only reveal some parts of the phenomenon and may misrepresent other parts.

Therefore, this researcher recommends that future urban researchers adopt the methods employed in this research when studying other hybrid public spaces.

The sources of information of this study are field observations and interviews with building managers, architects, and city officials. The findings from the interviews represent the views of those who direct the design and management of privately owned public spaces. How about the views and experiences of onsite security guards who interact with occupants and respond to various situations occurring in the spaces? What are the challenging tasks for them to manage the spaces they patrol? How much do they perceive these enclosed spaces to be public? What are the management guidelines and focus of the training programs offered by the organizations or management companies they work for before they actually start their job? This study noted that the enforcement of security guards in the spaces studied is guided by the views of their owners and building managers. Subsequently, the enforcement and interpretation of rules of conducts vary across space as the findings of this research concluded. According to field observations, different security guards who patrol in the same space may react differently to some prohibited activities and items: sleeping at Sony Plaza, bicycles in the former IBM atrium, and large-size luggage in the space at 575 Fifth Avenue. What reasons make security guards of the spaces respond differently? In addition, some security guards seem to have known several homeless people who use the spaces of this research regularly. How do they view the presence of homeless people?

In addition to the views and experiences of those who create and manage privately owned public spaces, those who occupy these places for various activities in different times of the day and the week may require some attention. It would be interesting to

explore occupants' attitudes toward and experiences in privately owned public spaces. How do members of the public find out about them, particularly those that are located inside their host buildings? How do they perceive these spaces? How much do people view them as public space and with what reasons? In addition, how do they feel about design features (e.g., tables, chairs, restrooms, evening lighting, and climate control) offered and management practices (e.g., security guards and rules of conduct) employed in these sites? This is critical because their views can help identify important design features and management practices. How often do they visit the privately owned public spaces they mention? In addition to these sites, what other bonus space do they know about and have been to? What are the advantages and disadvantages of these places?

As the findings show, groups of people gather in certain enclosed privately owned public spaces through the social networking websites such as meetup.com. What are their reasons for choosing to meet in these places? How did they select the spaces for their meetings? What are their experiences of using the sites for their regular activities? In addition, how do their relationships with other members of groups evolve over the course of meetings? Also, how often do they meet with other members at other times and, if they meet in other places, where?

People often use some enclosed privately owned public spaces for different types of activities. They can play games, conduct business, or work on individual projects. Some gather in the spaces for creating works of art, learning languages, or generating new ideas. Because of the constraint of being indoors, most of these activities are passive (sitting down) rather than active. Through the social networking websites, are there other groups of people who meet regularly in other bonus spaces? If so, what sites do they choose and what

kinds of activities do they pursue? What are their meeting schedules, on weekdays or on weekends, during the daytime or nighttime? How do types of activities occurring in outdoor bonus spaces differ from the ones observed in the indoor spaces?

The redesign of five enclosed privately owned public spaces suggests that their environmental quality has been improved through the redesign process and their use as well. In addition, the findings reveal that the New York City Department of City Planning protects (or defends) the public's rights to use these sites by: (1) carefully reviewing the location of certain design features (e.g., food vendors) to prevent private corporations and institutions from annexing bonus spaces for private purposes; (2) ensuring the quality regarding spatial configuration, programming, lighting, and climate control; and (3) mandating identical square footage of public spaces before and after the redesign. Certain design features are required to support social interactions among occupants and the visibility and attraction of spaces to individuals who walk by, such as chairs and the relation to city streets.

It would be interesting to adopt a similar research approach to investigate the redesign of outdoor bonus spaces such as sunken plazas and elevated plazas. What was the rationale behind the redesign of these plazas? What are the results of their redesign and use? What design features of outdoor bonus spaces were mandated by the New York City Department of City Planning and how are they different from those mandated for the enclosed ones?

11.2 Making Privately Owned Public Spaces Inviting

Both Whyte (1980) and Gehl (1987) suggest several design features that can attract people to public space such as the presence of seating and retail shops and cafes. To make

privately owned public spaces inviting, the findings of this study note the importance of providing ample tables paired with movable chairs because they encourage people to use these sites in pursuit of various activities for an extended period of time such as working, playing, learning, and creating. The presence of these activities in the spaces can further draw in other individuals who may or may not share the same interests. In addition, this study suggests that free wi-fi and power outlets, which have not been mentioned in previous studies of bonus spaces or other hybrid public spaces, are two important design features (and can be parts of management practice) that add to the attractiveness of spaces. Other than providing certain design features, the visibility of privately owned public spaces from city streets is also important. To improve the visibility of some existing enclosed bonus spaces, their tinted, reflective glass frontage, if possible, should be replaced with clear glass so that people who walk by can easily notice their existence. For both indoor and outdoor bonus spaces that are not immediately adjacent to sidewalks and are located below or above the street level, their visibility to the public may primarily rely on the public space plaques posted at the entrances or along the sidewalks adjacent to their host buildings. This study reveals that some of the plaques are hard for passersby to notice. To make them obvious and easily noticeable, the color, size and location of public space plaques not only need to be consistent across bonus spaces but the choice of the color needs to be bright, obvious tones. To consider their visibility during the evening, making plaques as illuminated signs that light up at night is also recommended.

In addition to the information posted with public space plaques such as ownership and number of tables and chairs, some other information is also needed to make bonus spaces inviting. Because of location or other reasons (e.g., hygiene), restrooms provided in

some bonus spaces of the study are difficult to see or to find, especially for first time visitors. As Whyte (1980) noted, the provision of toilets in privately controlled public spaces adds benefits to the public and cities; this study suggests including signs announcing the presence of toilets along with public spaces plaques. When bonus spaces are not on street level, they are not visible to passersby and may be hard to locate. Posting floor (or site) plan(s) could indicate the area and location of bonus space(s) and would help to differentiate these spaces from the private areas of their host buildings. Meanwhile, these signs would help people discover bonus spaces that are located above or below the ground floor, including the space on the eighth floor of Marriot Marquis at 1535 Broadway and two terraces on the fourth and fifth floors of Trump Tower at 725 Fifth Avenue. Such signs are posted in Taipei, Taiwan (see Fig 11.1). Finally, including information of programming may encourage the public to take advantage of free activities offered in these bonus spaces.

Note: Examples of signs that are posted on privately controlled public space s (named open space) indicating the area and location of the site that is open for the public. (Photos are taken by Author in Taipei, Taiwan.)

Figure 11.1 Floor (or Site) Plans Indicating Area and Location of Bonus Spaces

For future bonus spaces, this study proposes several other requirements in addition to those recommended for the existing ones. According to the findings of the study, it is partly the relationship to city streets and spatial qualities that account for the diversity of occupants and activities in cross-block atria: cleanness, brightness (mixed with natural sunlight), and spaciousness in shape, height and area. The New York City Department of City Planning should strictly require future bonus spaces to be located immediately adjacent to sidewalks regardless of whether they are indoors or outdoors. In addition, the design of bonus spaces, through size and shape, should make their use flexible, accommodating individual, group, or large-size programmed activities. For bonus spaces located inside host buildings, their relationship to the city streets needs to be ensured: mandating their location adjacent to sidewalks and a large footage of clear glass facades as well. To prevent enclosed bonus spaces from being used as lobbies of their host buildings, their entrances need to be separated from the ones to their host buildings as examples of the spaces at 60 Wall Street and at 575 Fifth Avenue demonstrate. Separating the entrances helps visitors not feel as though they are entering the lobby of a building where people often immediately encounter a security desk. Separate entrances support a designated space where people can occupy certain areas inside for their activities and not to be interrupted by people who constantly pass by. Conversely, Grand Central Plaza and the space at 383 Madison Avenue that are combined with the lobbies of their host buildings have limited designated areas for their occupants to use. As a result, such sites become transient spaces and people often use them to walk through or for temporary activities such as waiting for someone who works inside the buildings (Fig 11.2).
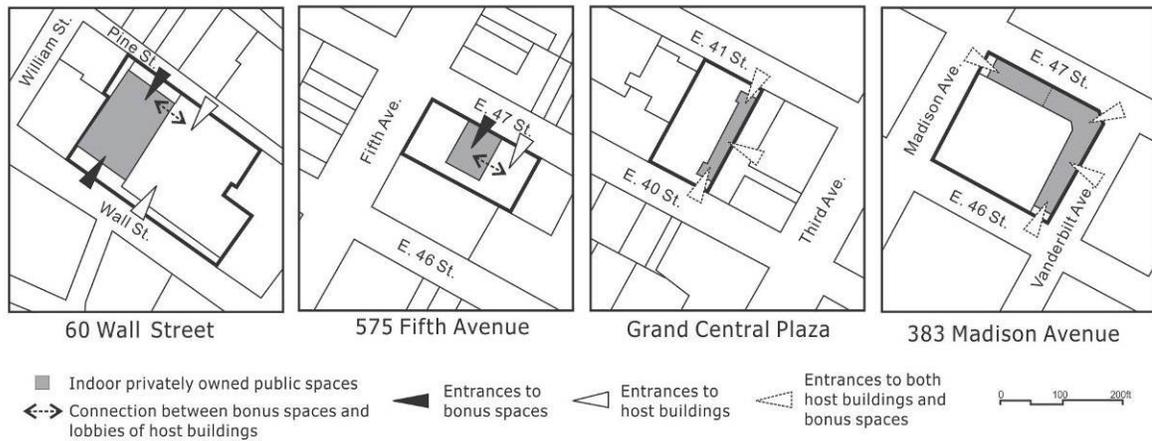
Figure 11.2 Floor Plans of Four Studied Spaces Indicating Shared Entrances or Separate from Host Buildings
Source: Kayden et al. (2000).

Because of the different attitudes managers take towards certain uses, the resulting management practices and the enforcement of rules vary by space. Some managers perceive bonus spaces as public space (e.g., parks) that should be used for many different activities; some manage them as public spaces but do not allow certain activities; and some completely close them to prevent the public from using them at all. To ensure that bonus spaces are usable and accessible for a variety of activities, the New York City Department of City Planning definitely needs to provide a specific and consistent interpretation of rules of conduct for private corporations and institutions that own and manage bonus spaces to adopt as they do for required for design features. In addition, the role of onsite security guards play and where they should stay needs to be carefully discussed and defined, avoiding deterring the public from entering spaces.

For the monitoring of bonus spaces after their completion, the findings of this study note that some owners do not satisfy earlier agreements established with the New York City Department of City Planning during the design process. For example, owners or

management companies of eight spaces violate hours of operation such as at 650 Fifth Avenue and at 101 Barclay Street (see Table 8.1). Public space plaques are either absent or limited to one posted in some spaces such as at Two Lincoln Square and at the 805 Atrium. At Trump Tower Plaza, information of private events is not posted to inform the public prior to the date that the events take place. Therefore, this research suggests that the subsequent monitoring of bonus spaces, which is coordinated between the Department of City Planning and the Department of Buildings in New York City, requires a periodic scrutinizing system rather than taking actions only after receiving complaints from the public. To ensure that bonus spaces are accessible to the public, the Department of Buildings needs to check each site, at least, once every six months regarding its hours of operation and design features (e.g., public space plaques, seating, and toilets).

In addition, the penalty for owners who violate the agreement (e.g., hours of operation and absence of required design features) and continue to do so even after receiving violations from the New York City Department of Buildings should be more severe rather than only being a fine. Such severe penalty was once initiated by the Department of Buildings prior to the redesign of Two Lincoln Square. Since the mixed use project at Two Lincoln Square was completed in 1974, the owners continued to avoid their agreement with the Department of City Planning. In 1982, the Department of Building decided to withdraw the certification of occupancy of the entire project. Although this action was later rejected by the State Supreme Court, it enabled the owners to fulfill their promise (CPC 880002, 1988). Based on this case, this research proposes to take such an approach, withdrawing the certification of occupancy of the floor area that was created through the provision of bonus spaces.

11.3   Promoting New York City's Bonus Program

One of the reasons that some people do not use bonus spaces, particularly those that are located indoors, is that they do not know of the existence of these sites or, if they do notice these sites, they may not realize these sites are for public use without payment. Increasing the public's knowledge of bonus spaces is an important approach to increasing their use.

As the findings of this study demonstrate, some managers do not want to make their bonus spaces well known to the public. Instead of relying on the efforts of private organization, the City can take such responsibility and promote these spaces. The research indicate that the City (the Department of City Planning) takes its responsibility in negotiating design features and details with private originations during the design and construction process, protecting the rights of the public for using these bonus spaces. Right before the emergence of such type of public spaces, the City created the bonus program in the Zoning Resolution, allowing private corporations and institutors to create and manage these sites for receiving extra floor bonuses. The City established agreements of design and management of these sites with these private organizations. All of these efforts are to create many public spaces for people to use and enhance urban life and environmental quality (e.g., light and air). If these bonus spaces do not fulfill their intended goal, the City seems to fail their responsibility. Therefore, both for these and other spaces the City needs to take a leading role in promoting bonus spaces to residents and visitors through publications such as brochures, flyers, or advertisements including in travel books, visitor guides, or magazines.

Although the New York City Department of City Planning lists all bonus spaces on its website, separating them based on the district where they are located and including

maps to indicate their locations, the website only provides information of some cases, such as location, ownership, building information, access (e.g., open hours and wheelchair access), and amenities (e.g., number of seating, climate control, and food service). The interface of the website is also not interactive and does not allow users to search for the information they might need. In 2012, the group called Advocates for Privately Owned Public Spaces (APOPS), housed at the Municipal Art Society of New York City (MAS), initiated a new website about New York City's POPS (MAS, 2012). However, the information provided on the website is what Kayden et al. (2000) gathered between 1996 and 2000 such as square footage, required hours of access, and amenities (e.g., number of seating and restroom). None of the latest information is included such as the provision of free wi-fi and power outlets. For spaces that were redesigned after their documentation, the information related to these sites on the website remains outdated and their new information has not been posted yet. The interface of this website is better than the one offered by the New York City Department of City Planning but it does not allow users to search for bonus spaces based on their addresses prior to April 2013 (Fig 11.3). A recent visit the website on September 21st, 2013, APOPS has launched a new version of the website. Differing from the previous one, the new version allows the public to use the addresses of bonus spaces to locate the information on the website (Fig 11.4). In addition, users can search bonus spaces by neighborhood such as Downtown and Brooklyn and by amenity such as seating, climate control, food service and programs. However, because some of the information is outdated, users may receive inaccurate information. For example, the Former Altria Atrium at 120 Park Avenue no longer provides artwork and the

Galleria at 115 E. 57th Street does not offer programmed activities to the public (MAS, 2013).

Figure 11.3 Website of POPS Offered by MAS Prior to April 2013
Source: Municipal Art Society of New York City (http://apops.mas.org/)

Similar to APOPS's latest website, the website of Privately-Owned Public Open Space provided by the San Francisco Planning Department offers a convenient interface for its uses. For example, the map that indicates the locations of bonus spaces is linked to Google Map, which makes it easy for users to navigate their locations. To help locate certain bonus spaces, one can select preferred amenities (e.g., food, restrooms, and tables and seating, the hours, and public art) to find out which spaces offer these amenities and where they are. In addition, different colored symbols indicate the planning policy that served as the basis for the creation of each bonus spaces. For example, the spaces marked

with darker green icons are subject to the Downtown plan and the ones marked in lighter green icons (created prior to 1985) are not subject to the Downtown plan (Fig 11.5).
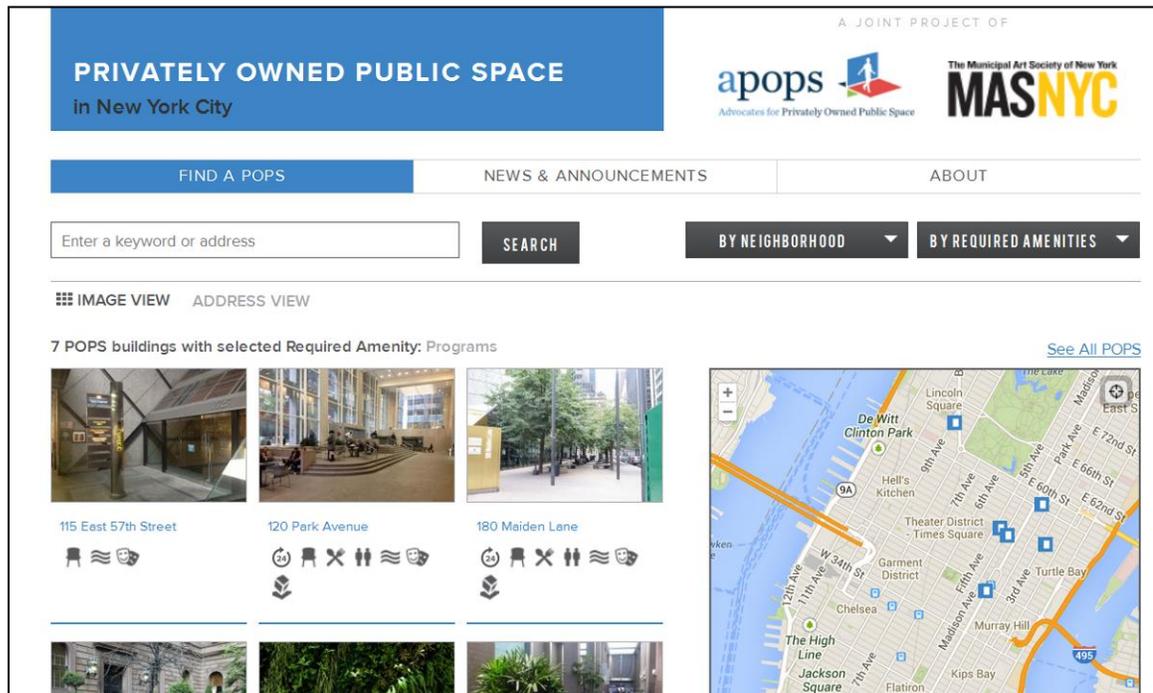
Figure 11.4 Website of POPS Offered by MAS after April 2013
Source: Municipal Art Society of New York City (http://apops.mas.org/)

Other than promoting bonus spaces through websites to a large segment of public, the City can also focus on some specific groups of people who only have limited public spaces in their neighborhoods. The findings of Makris and Kronen (2011) indicate that teenagers of color who live in housing projects had good experiences being in several bonus spaces but they did not know about them prior to the study. The New York City Department of City Planning can offer the information of POPS to schools in Manhattan to ensure that school children are informed about the location of bonus spaces and what amenities are offered inside them. So, school children can know where they can meet with their friends for homework, class assignments, or simply spending some time together,

particularly some spaces offer free wi-fi. In addition, the New York City Department of City Planning can have flyers posted in housing projects to inform people about these bonus spaces that are public for everyone to use (without an entry fee or the necessity of purchasing something).
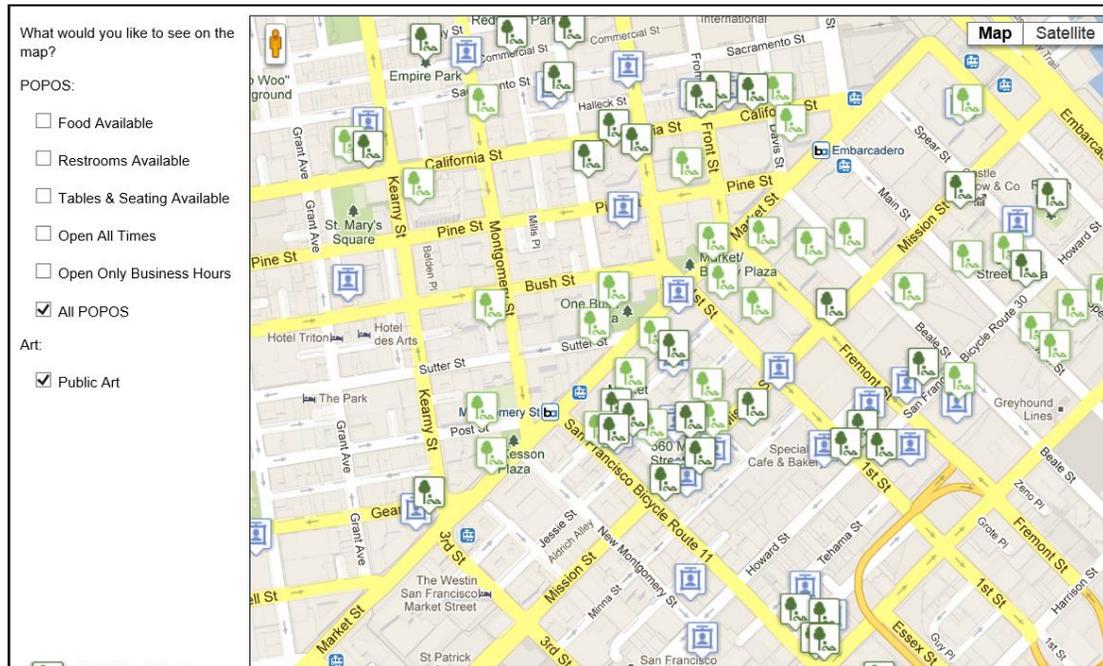
Figure 11.5 Website of POPS Offered by San Francisco's Planning Department
Source: San Francisco Planning Department (http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3339)

In addition to official promotions of POPS, some unofficial activities can also raise people's awareness of POPS. For example, a group named Friends of Privately Owned Public Spaces (F-POPS) organized a march in 2011 through several walkthrough bonus spaces in the area of midtown bounded by 51st and 57th Streets and 6th and 7th Avenues. This organization proposed "the addition of crosswalks linking the spaces and signage identifying the route" listed on one of the posters they displayed in one of the bonus spaces (Fig 11.6). A group of people who played musical instruments led the march. Several

participants danced and interacted with people who walked by. This activity generated some discussion among participants and other pedestrians that enhanced people's knowledge of bonus spaces. Similarly, the 2011 OWS's occupation of Zuccotti Park as a bonus space in lower Manhattan also raised numerous discussions about many New York City's bonus spaces (Fig 11.5). As a result, a larger segment of public may come to know about this type of public spaces and, possibly, may want to find out more about them and eventually may use them on a regular basis.

Figure 11.6 Unofficial Activities Raising People's Awareness of Bonus Spaces

APPENDIX A

CHECKLISTS OF DESIGN FEATURES AND MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

Address of Space: _____
Date: _____; **Time:** _____

Background

1. Location of Building: ☐ D; ☐ CM; ☐ EM; ☐ UW
2. Use of Building: ☐ Office Building; ☐ Residential Building; ☐ Other
   _____
3. Location of space: ☐ Corner of block; ☐ Quarter of block; ☐ Middle of block
4. Change of ownership: ☐ No; ☐ Yes
   If YES, When: _____ and From _____ to _____
5. Adjacent land uses: (Map)

Design Features

Building Façade & Entrance

1. Entrances
   Number (to the space from the sidewalk): _____
   Primary doors used to enter space:
   ☐ Hinged door; ☐ Revolving door; ☐ Hinged door but open
2. Visibility of the space between indoor and outdoor space
   ☐ Visible from both sides; ☐ Only visible from space indoors; ☐ Invisible
3. Visibility of entire space from entrance: ☐ Whole space; ☐ Partially
4. Plaques: Number: _____, also using map to indicate their location
5. Subway Entrance
   ☐ Inside space; ☐ Nearby (within one block); ☐ Other location

Environmental Features

1. Shape of spatial area: (Drawing)
2. Ceiling height: _____, also using drawings
3. Percentage of floor space that is empty: _____, also using drawings
4. Materials of floors, walls & columns: using drawings
5. Division into zoning number (including changing in level):
   _____, also using drawings
6. Lighting
   During the daytime: ☐ Dim; ☐ Bright (regarding readability)
   Where is lighting from? ☐ Daylight; ☐ Artificial lighting; ☐ Mixed both
   During the evening: ☐ Dim; ☐ Bright (regarding readability)
   ☐ Climate-controlled: No; ☐ Yes

Amenities

1. Seating
   ☐ Mixed types of seating; What types? _____
   ☐ Movable seating only: What types? _____
   ☐ Fixed seating only: What types? _____

2. Retail space
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes; Number of retail space: _____
   Use of retail space: _____
   Location: (Using drawings)

3. Food kiosk
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes, restricting the use of its nearby seating: ☐ No; ☐ Yes
   Hours: Weekdays: _____; Weekends: _____
   Types of food: _____
   Range of price: _____
   Language of menu in English: ☐ No; ☐ Yes
   Location: (Using drawings)

4. Drinkable fountain
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes
   If YES, Usable: ☐ No; ☐ Yes, and Numbers: _____and where are located?

5. Restroom
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes,
   If YES, Number: _____; Location (Using map); Usable: ☐ No; ☐ Yes.

6. Planting
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes,
   If YES, are they artificial: ☐ No; ☐ Yes; ☐ Mixed
   Type of plants: ☐ Arbor trees; ☐ Green elements (planters and vines on walls or floors)
   Location/Area: (Using map)

7. Water feature
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes
   If YES, are they working: ☐ No; ☐ Yes, and where is it located?

8. Artwork
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes;
   If YES, Numbers: _____, also using map to indicate their location.

9. Music
   Types of music: _____
   Sound level: ☐ Loud; ☐ Moderate; ☐ Soft

10. Small-Scale design
    ☐ None; ☐ Yes
    If Yes, what are they: ☐ Affixed mental spikes; ☐ Narrow ledges; ☐ Landscaping;
    ☐ Other types: _____

11. Other

Management Practices

1. Hours:
   Weekdays: _____
   Weekends/holidays: _____
2. Surveillance camera: ☐ None; ☐ Yes
3. Presence of Security personnel
   ☐ None; ☐ Security guards; ☐ Doormen, where do they stay?
   How many of them? _____
4. Placement of regulation/rules
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes
   If YES, Where are they located? (e.g., on each table or by the entrances) And what are they?
5. Programmed Activities
   ☐ None; ☐ Yes
   Type of programmed activities: _____
   Schedule of activities

INTERVIEW PROTPCOLS

Interview Protocol with Building Managers

Date: _____; **Time:** _____
Who: _____; **Location:** _____
Address of Space: _____

Introduction
Thanks for accepting this interview. This interview will cover two topics: design and management. The interview will be about 30 to 45 minutes. I would like to tape record the interview so that our conversation can be transcribed. I will not include your name in any publication and presentation. If you do not have any questions, should we start now?

Design (or Redesign)
1. What were your design ideas or expectations of this space?
2. What were the reasons for redesigning the space? *(Redesign)*
3. How were design features determined?
4. What are these design features?
5. Who was responsible for the design?
6. What things do you remember mostly during the design process?
7. What are the challenging parts during the design process?
8. How were the attitudes of the planning department toward the design of the space?
9. In what situation does the planning department insist on the change of the design and how do you response to the requirements?
10. What differences have you noticed between before and after the redesign? *(Redesign)*
11. How do you feel about the result of the design?
12. What would you do if you could redesign the space again?

Management
1. What are the official rules for using the space and where are they posted?
2. What are the reasons to impose these rules?
3. How were these rules created?
4. How are these rules enforced?
5. What are the attitudes of the planning department toward these rules?
6. What activities are programmed inside the space?
7. How are these programmed activities determined?
8. How does the public receive the information of the programmed activities?
9. Where/how does the management fund come from?
10. How many annual hours can you close the space for private events?
11. How are annual hours to close the space determined?
12. What do you require to do before closing the space?
13. What are the reasons for you to think that this space is inviting (or uninviting)?
14. What other things would you like to add?

Closing

Thank you for your participation. I do appreciate your time and kindness. Thank you again for this interview. I really learn a lot from this interview. If I have any further questions during the analysis, I will contact you for further clarifications.

Interview Protocol with Architects

Date: _____; **Time:** _____
Who: _____; **Location:** _____
Address of Space: _____

Introduction
Thanks for accepting this interview. This interview will cover two topics: design and management. The interview will be about 30 to 45 minutes. I would like to tape record the interview so that our conversation can be transcribed. I will not include your name in any publication and presentation. If you do not have any questions, should we start now?

Design (or Redesign)
1. What were the developers' design ideas or expectations of this space?
2. What were the reasons for redesigning the space? *(Redesign)*
3. How were design features determined?
4. What are these design features?
5. Who was responsible for the design?
6. What things do you remember mostly during the design process?
7. What are the challenging parts during the design process?
8. How were the attitudes of the planning department toward the design of the space?
9. In what situation does the planning department insist on the change of the design and how do you response to the requirements?
10. What differences have you noticed between before and after the redesign? *(Redesign)*
11. How do you feel about the result of the design?
12. What would you do if you could redesign the space again?

Management (Requiring design features)
1. What design features do facilitate the developers' management practices?
2. What are the reasons to have these design features?

Closing
Thank you for your participation. I do appreciate your time and kindness. Thank you again for this interview. I really learn a lot from this interview. If I have any further questions during the analysis, I will contact you for further clarifications.

Interview Protocol with City Officials

Date: _____ **; Time:** _____

Who: _____**; Location:** _____

Address of Space: _____

Introduction

Thanks for accepting this interview. This interview will cover two topics: design and management. The interview will be about 30 to 45 minutes. I would like to tape record the interview so that our conversation can be transcribed. I will not include your name in any publication and presentation. If you do not have any questions, should we start now?

Design/Redesign

1. Who participates in these decisions?
2. What role do city officials play in the design (or redesign) process?
3. How were design features of the space determined?
4. What negotiations regarding the design take place and for what reasons?
5. Which party of design (or redesign) do you remember mostly?
6. What are the most challenging parts of the design (or redesign) process?

Management

1. Who determines how the space is managed and in what management practices?
2. How is the management practices proposed by the private sector approved and by whom?
3. What confrontations have occurred about how management practices were determined?
4. How does the city monitor these spaces after the design (or redesign)?
5. How is the attitude of the planning department and the building department about these management practices?
6. What is the relationship between the planning department and the building department?
7. What are the challenges for the city to monitor the space?

Closing

Thank you for your participation. I do appreciate your time and kindness. Thank you again for this interview. I really learn a lot from this interview. If I have any further questions during the analysis, I will contact you for further clarifications.

AVERAGE NUMBER PER HOUR AND PERCENTAGE OF USERS BASED ON GENDER, RACE, AND AGE

Cross-Block Atria

60 Wall Street

180 Maiden Lane

Former IBM Atrium

Sony Plaza

Park Avenue Plaza

CitiCorp Atrium

Rubenstein Atrium
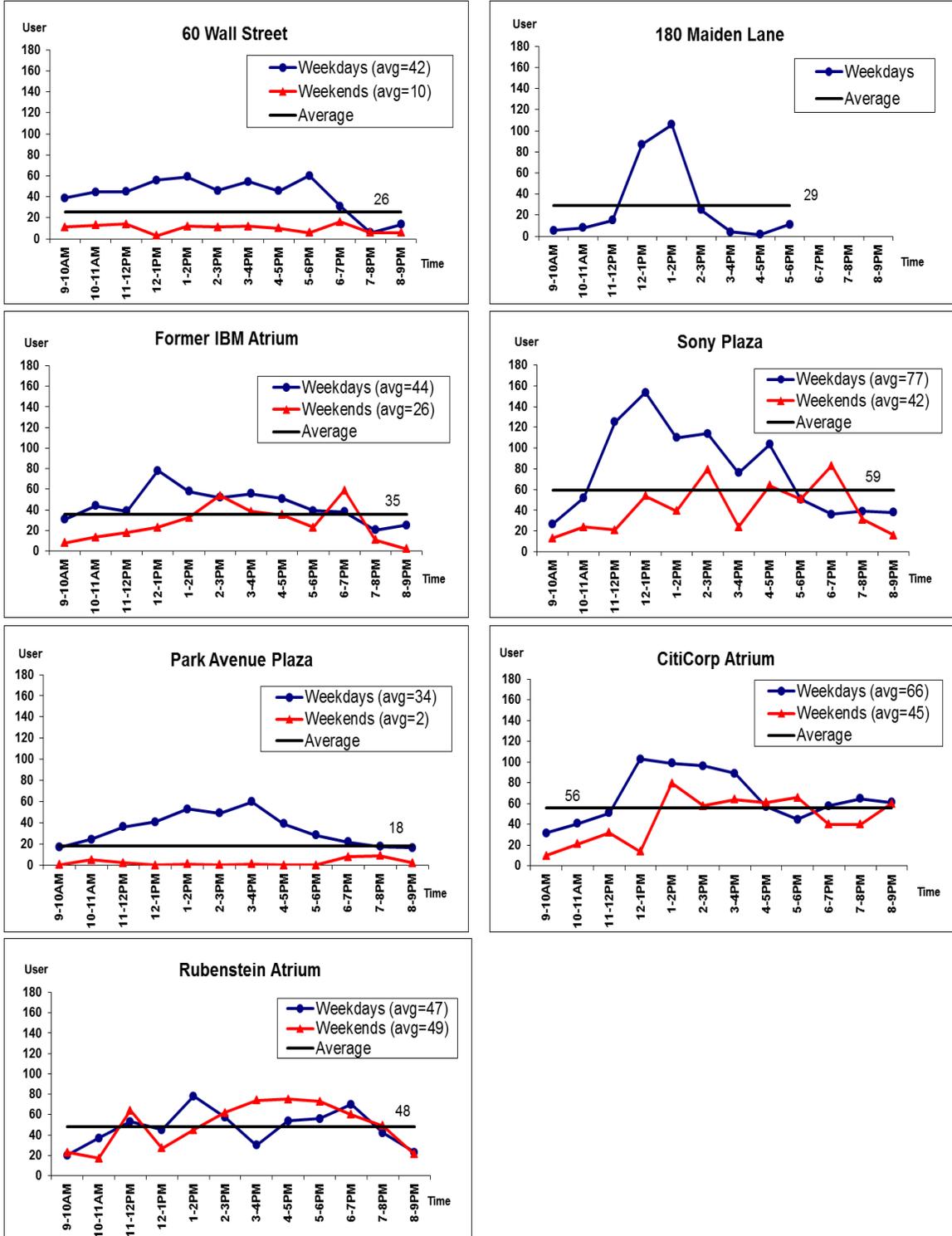
Atria
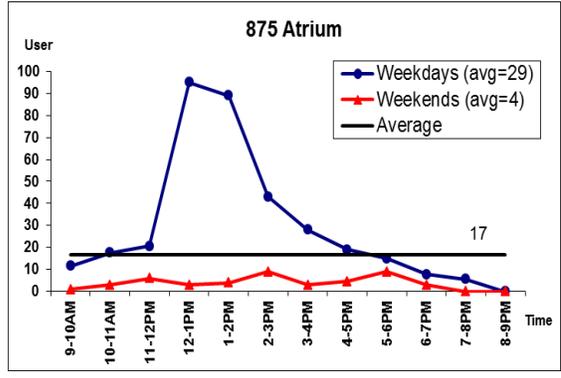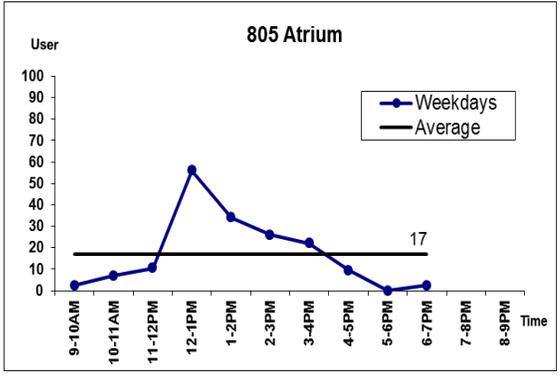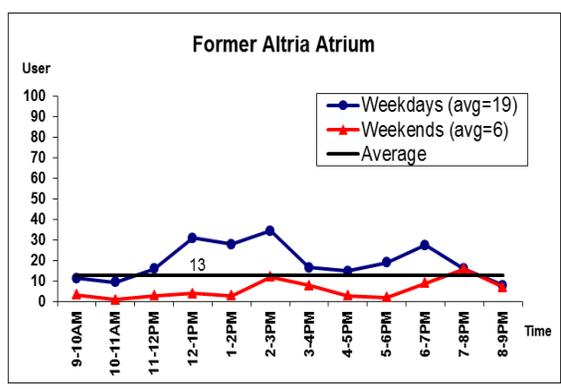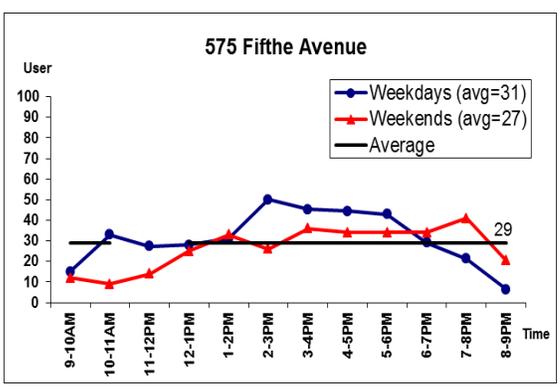
Spaces with One Side Entrance
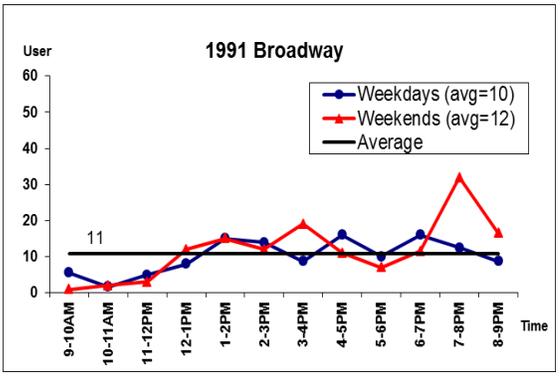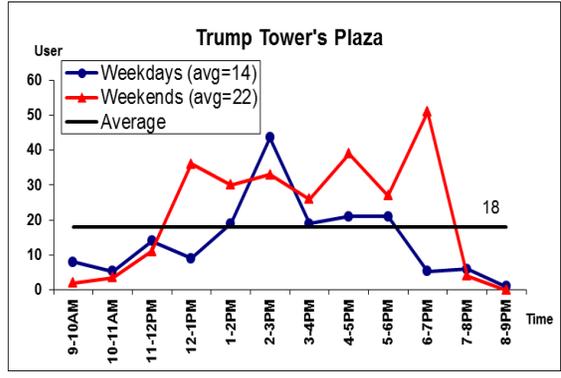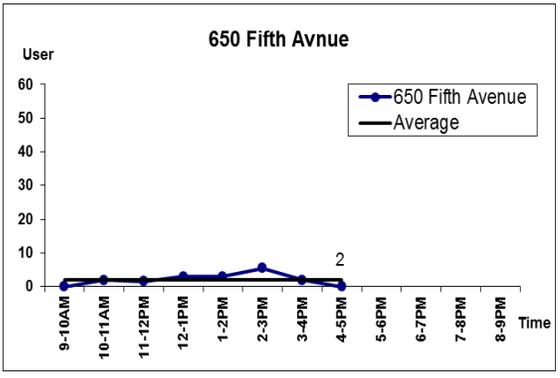
Note: The observations between 6-7pm in the Trump Tower Plaza and between 7-8pm at 1991 Broadway were conducted during the 2012 Christmas holiday. So the number of occupants in both spaces at that time period is high.

Linear Space with Designated Seating Areas Separated from Circulation

52 Broadway

Olympic Tower Plaza

Galleria

499 Park Avenue

Linear Space sometimes with Linear Seating along the Circulation Route

875 Mezzanine

Grand Central Plaza

Gender of Users

Spaces

Spaces	Male	Female
Le Parker Meridien		
101 Barclay Street		
383 Madison Avenue		
875 Mezzanine	60.0%	40.0%
Grand Central Plaza	45.0%	55.0%
499 Park Avenue	77.4%	22.6%
Galleria	51.9%	48.1%
Olympic Tower Atrium	72.5%	27.5%
52 Broadway	44.4%	55.6%
1991 Broadway	50.2%	49.8%
Two Lincoln Square		
Trump Tower Plaza	45.4%	54.6%
650 Fifth Avenue	64.7%	35.3%
875 Atrium	61.5%	38.5%
805 Atrium	67.1%	32.9%
575 Fifth Avenue	48.7%	51.3%
Former Altria Atrium	65.4%	34.6%
Rubenstein Atrium	52.5%	47.5%
CitiCorp Atrium	64.5%	35.5%
Former IBM atrium	55.2%	44.8%
Sony Plaza	59.6%	40.4%
Park Avenue Plaza	75.0%	25.0%
60 Wall Street	72.6%	27.4%
180 Maiden Lane	54.0%	46.0%

(Legend: ■ Male, ■ Female; x-axis 0% to 100%)

Spaces	Male	Female	Spaces	Male	Female
180 Maiden Lane	54.0%	46.0%	Trump Tower Plaza	45.4%	54.6%
60 Wall Street	72.6%	27.4%	Two Lincoln Square	N/A	N/A
Park Avenue Plaza	75.0%	25.0%	1991 Broadway	**50.2%**	49.8%
Sony Plaza	59.6%	40.4%	52 Broadway	44.4%	**55.6%**
Former IBM Atrium	55.2%	44.8%	Olympic Tower Atrium	72.5%	27.5%
CitiCorp Atrium	64.5%	35.5%	Galleria	51.9%	48.1%
Rubenstein Atrium	52.5%	47.5%	499 Park Avenue	**77.4%**	22.6%
Former Altria Atrium	65.4%	34.6%	Grand Central Plaza	45.0%	55.0%
575 Fifth Avenue	48.7%	**51.3%**	875 Mezzanine	60.0%	40.0%
805 Atrium	67.1%	32.9%	383 Madison Avenue	N/A	N/A
875 Atrium	61.5%	38.5%	101 Barclay Street	N/A	N/A
650 Fifth Avenue	64.7%	35.3%	Le Parker Meridien	N/A	N/A

Chi-Square Test on Gender

Cases	Days	Total	Male		Female	
			No.	%	No.	%
180 Maiden Lane	Wdays	263.7	142.4	54%	121.3	46%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
60 Wall Street	Wdays	499.8	363.8	73%	136.1	27%
	Wends	120.0	86.5	72%	33.5	28%
Park Avenue Plaza*	Wdays	404.3	297.8	74%	106.4	26%
	Wends	29.0	27.0	93%	2.0	7%
Sony Plaza	Wdays	924.7	538.3	58%	386.4	42%
	Wends	500.0	311.5	62.3%	188.5	37.7%
Former IBM atrium	Wdays	530.0	286.6	54.1%	243.5	45.9%
	Wends	317.0	181.2	57.2%	135.8	42.8%
CitiCorp Atrium**	Wdays	796.1	487.3	61.2%	308.8	38.8%
	Wends	545.7	378.2	69.3%	167.5	30.7%
Rubenstein Atrium	Wdays	565.7	284.0	50.2%	281.7	49.8%
	Wends	590.0	322.5	54.7%	267.5	45.3%
Former Altria Atrium	Wdays	232.5	154.8	66.6%	77.8	33.4%
	Wends	71.5	44.0	61.5%	27.5	38.5%
575 Fifth Avenue	Wdays	374.0	191.8	51.3%	182.2	48.7%
	Wends	318.5	145.5	45.7%	173.0	54.3%
805 Atrium	Wdays	170.0	114.0	67.1%	56.0	32.9%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Atrium	Wdays	351.9	215.1	61.1%	136.8	38.9%
	Wends	45.5	29.5	64.8%	16.0	35.2%
650 Fifth Avenue	Wdays	17.0	11.0	64.7%	6.0	35.3%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Trump Tower Plaza	Wdays	172.2	85.8	49.9%	86.3	50.1%
	Wends	262.5	111.5	42.5%	151.0	57.5%
Two Lincoln Square	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1991 Broadway	Wdays	121.0	62.0	51.2%	59.0	48.8%
	Wends	142.0	70.0	49.3%	72.0	50.7%
52 Broadway	Wdays	92.7	41.2	44.4%	51.5	55.6%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olympic Tower Atrium	Wdays	156.2	115.6	74.0%	40.6	26.0%
	Wends	67.5	46.5	68.9%	21.0	31.1%
Galleria	Wdays	77.0	37.5	48.7%	39.5	51.3%
	Wends	10.7	8.0	75.0%	2.7	25.0%
499 Park Avenue	Wdays	10.3	8.0	77.4%	2.3	22.6%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Grand Central Plaza	Wdays	20.0	9.0	45.0%	11.0	55.0%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Mezzanine	Wdays	151.4	91.7	60.5%	59.8	39.5%
	Wends	28.0	16.0	57.1%	12.0	42.9%
383 Madison Avenue	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
101 Barclay Street	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Le Parker Meridien	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Note: ∗∗: p <0.01; ∗: <0.05

Race of Users

Spaces
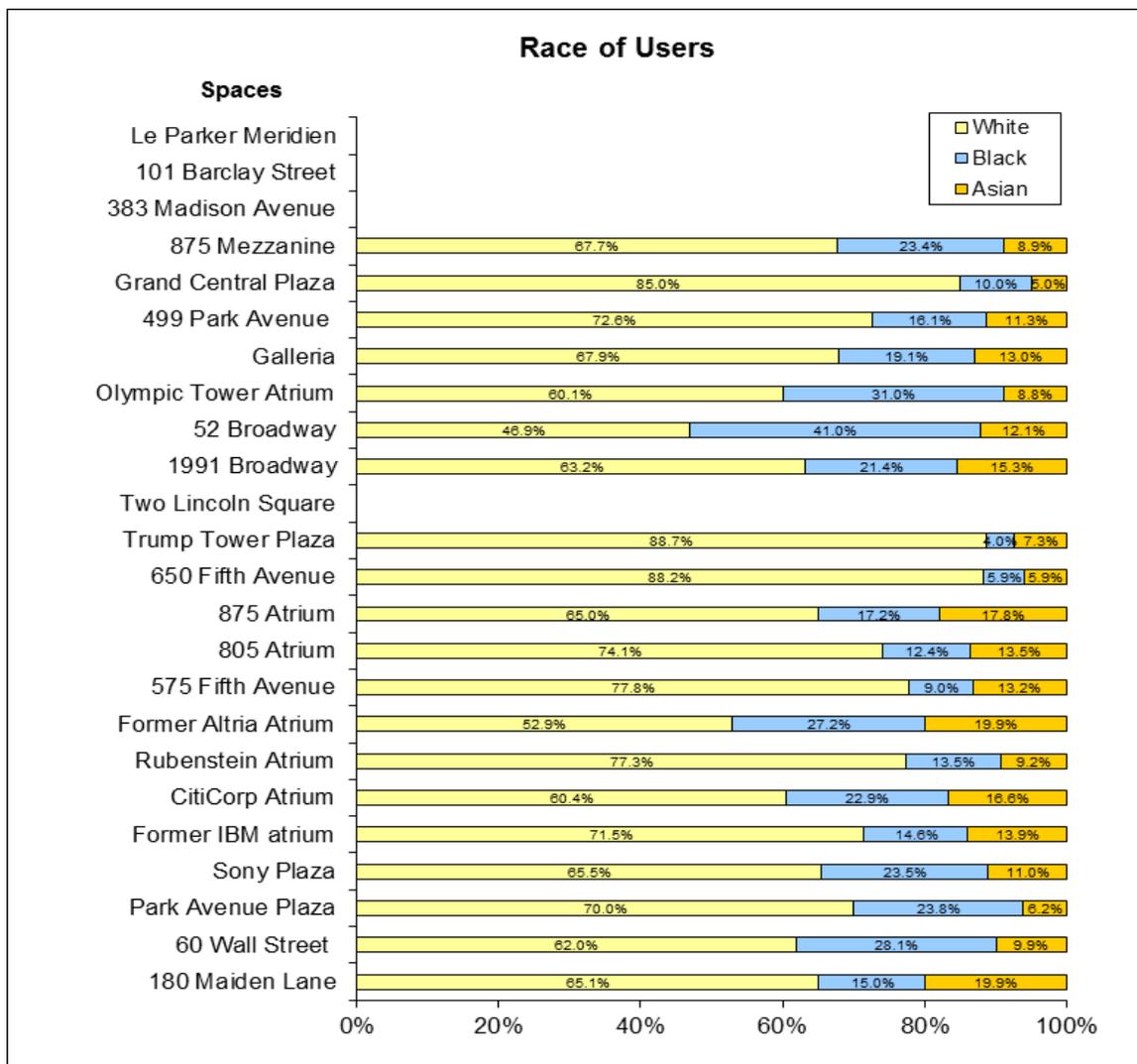
Race	White	Black	Asian	Race	White	Black	Asian
180 Maiden Lane	65.1%	15.0%	**19.9%**	Trump Tower's Plaza	**88.7%**	**4.0%**	7.3%
60 Wall Street	62.0%	28.1%	9.9%	Two Lincoln Square	N/A	N/A	N/A
Park Avenue Plaza	70.0%	23.8%	6.2%	1991 Broadway	63.2%	21.4%	15.3%
Sony Plaza	65.5%	23.5%	11.0%	52 Broadway	**46.9%**	**41.0%**	12.1%
Former IBM atrium	71.5%	14.6%	13.9%	Olympic Tower Atrium	60.1%	31.0%	8.8%
CitiCorp Atrium	60.4%	22.9%	16.6%	Galleria	67.9%	19.1%	13.0%
Rubenstein Atrium	77.3%	13.5%	9.2%	499 Park Avenue	72.6%	16.1%	11.3%
Former Altria Atrium	52.9%	27.2%	19.9%	Grand Central Plaza	85.0%	10.0%	**5.0%**
575 Fifth Avenue	77.8%	9.0%	13.2%	875 Mezzanine	67.7%	23.4%	8.9%
805 Atrium	74.1%	12.4%	13.5%	383 Madison Avenue	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Atrium	65.0%	17.2%	17.8%	101 Barclay Street	N/A	N/A	N/A
650 Fifth Avenue	88.2%	5.9%	5.9%	Le Parker Meridien	N/A	N/A	N/A

Chi-Square Test on Race

Cases	Days	Total	White		Black		Asian	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
180 Maiden Lane	Wdays	268.7	175.0	65.1%	40.3	15.0%	53.3	19.9%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
60 Wall Street**	Wdays	502.8	309.2	61.5%	133.0	26.5%	60.7	12.1%
	Wends	119.5	76.5	64.0%	42.0	35.1%	1.0	0.8%
Park Avenue Plaza**	Wdays	408.3	299.6	73.4%	82.7	20.2%	26.0	6.4%
	Wends	29.0	6.5	22.4%	21.5	74.1%	1.0	3.4%
Sony Plaza	Wdays	924.2	597.7	64.7%	231.6	25.1%	94.9	10.3%
	Wends	500.0	335.5	67.1%	102.5	20.5%	62.0	12.4%
Former IBM atrium	Wdays	527.3	383.3	72.7%	66.0	12.5%	78.0	14.8%
	Wends	317.0	220.5	69.6%	57.2	18.0%	39.3	12.4%
CitiCorp Atrium**	Wdays	796.6	537.7	67.5%	129.5	16.3%	129.3	16.2%
	Wends	545.7	273.2	50.1%	178.3	32.7%	94.2	17.3%
Rubenstein Atrium	Wdays	555.7	432.7	77.9%	72.8	13.1%	50.2	9.0%
	Wends	590.0	453.0	76.8%	82.0	13.9%	55.0	9.3%
Former Altria Atrium	Wdays	232.5	122.8	52.8%	64.8	27.8%	44.9	19.3%
	Wends	71.5	38.0	53.1%	18.0	25.2%	15.5	21.7%
575 Fifth Avenue	Wdays	373.0	289.7	77.7%	37.8	10.1%	45.5	12.2%
	Wends	323.5	252.0	77.9%	25.0	7.7%	46.5	14.4%
805 Atrium	Wdays	170.0	126.0	74.1%	21.0	12.4%	23.0	13.5%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Atrium	Wdays	351.9	226.2	64.3%	58.4	16.6%	67.3	19.1%
	Wends	45.5	32.0	70.3%	10.0	22.0%	3.5	7.7%
650 Fifth Avenue	Wdays	17.0	15.0	88.2%	1.0	5.9%	1.0	5.9%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Trump Tower Plaza**	Wdays	170.2	161.3	94.8%	3.3	2.0%	5.5	3.2%
	Wends	262.5	222.5	84.8%	14.0	5.3%	26.0	9.9%
Two Lincoln Square	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1991 Broadway*	Wdays	121.0	72.3	59.8%	33.8	28.0%	14.8	12.3%
	Wends	142.0	94.0	66.2%	22.5	15.8%	25.5	18.0%
52 Broadway	Wdays	92.7	43.5	46.9%	38.0	41.0%	11.2	12.1%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olympic Tower Atrium	Wdays	155.9	95.8	61.5%	47.8	30.7%	12.3	7.9%
	Wends	67.5	38.5	57.0%	21.5	31.9%	7.5	11.1%
Galleria*	Wdays	76.7	55.2	72.0%	11.7	15.2%	9.8	12.8%
	Wends	10.7	4.2	39.1%	5.0	46.9%	1.5	14.1%
499 Park Avenue	Wdays	10.3	7.5	72.6%	1.7	16.1%	1.2	11.3%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Grand Central Plaza	Wdays	20.0	17.0	85.0%	2.0	10.0%	1.0	5.0%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Mezzanine	Wdays	152.9	100.6	65.8%	37.0	24.2%	15.3	10.0%
	Wends	31.0	24.0	77.4%	6.0	19.4%	1.0	3.2%
383 Madison Avenue	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
101 Barclay Street	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Le Parker Meridien	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Note: ∗∗: p <0.01; ∗: <0.05

Age of Users
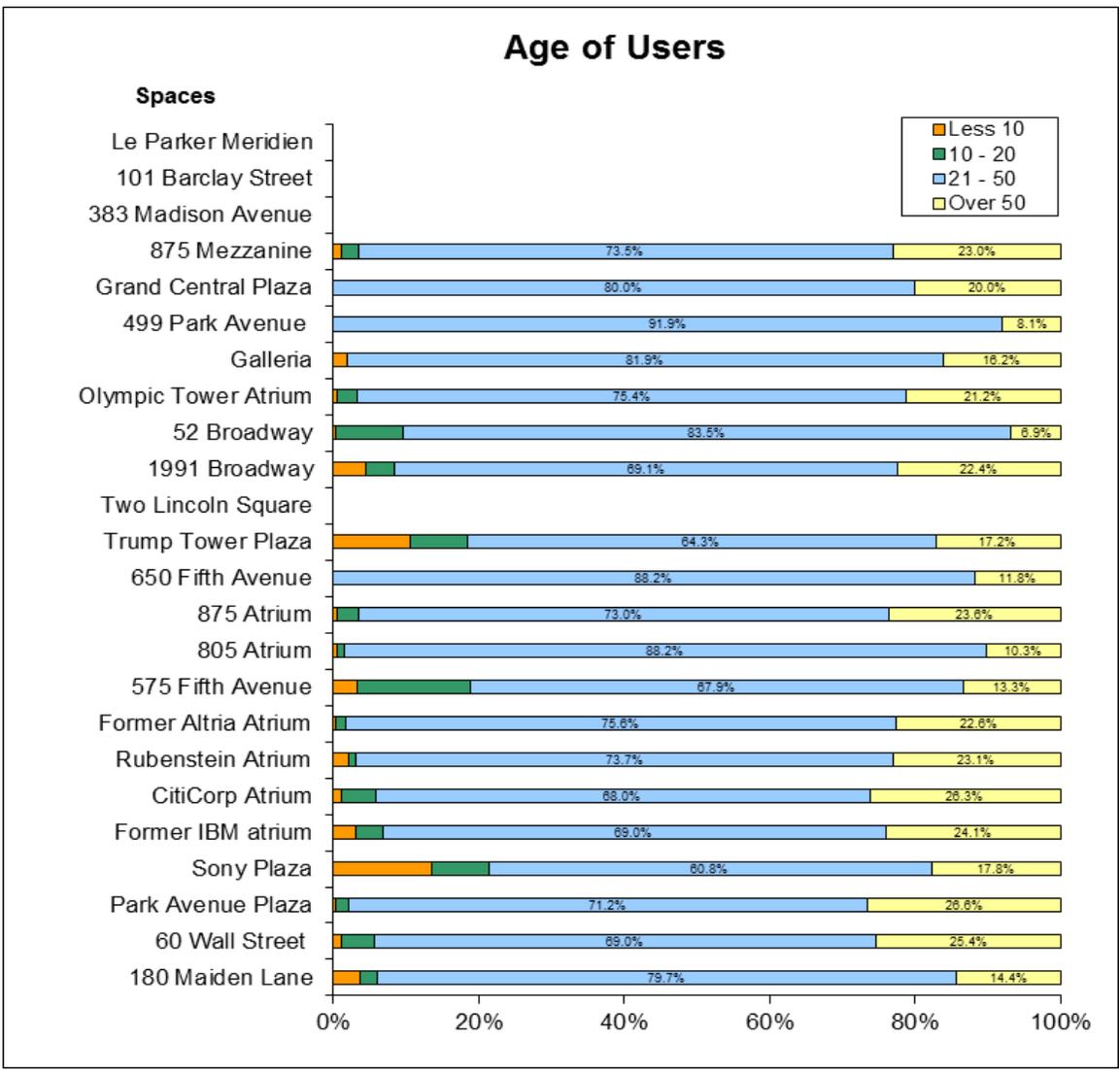
Age	Less 10	10 - 20	21 - 50	Over 50	Age	Less 10	10 - 20	21 - 50	Over 50
180 Maiden Lane	3.7%	2.3%	79.7%	14.4%	Trump Tower Plaza	10.5%	7.9%	64.3%	17.2%
60 Wall Street	1.1%	4.5%	69.0%	25.4%	Two Lincoln Square	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Park Avenue Plaza	0.2%	1.9%	71.2%	**26.6%**	1991 Broadway	4.5%	4.0%	69.1%	22.4%
Sony Plaza	**13.4%**	8.0%	**60.8%**	17.8%	52 Broadway	0.4%	9.3%	83.5%	**6.9%**
Former IBM Atrium	3.0%	3.8%	69.0%	24.1%	Olympic Tower Atrium	0.6%	2.8%	75.4%	21.2%
CitiCorp Atrium	1.1%	4.7%	68.0%	26.3%	Galleria	1.9%	0.0%	81.9%	16.2%
Rubenstein Atrium	2.1%	1.1%	73.7%	23.1%	499 Park Avenue	0.0%	0.0%	**91.9%**	8.1%
Former Altria Atrium	0.3%	1.5%	75.6%	22.6%	Grand Central Plaza	0.0%	0.0%	80.0%	20.0%
575 Fifth Avenue	3.3%	**15.5%**	67.9%	13.3%	875 Mezzanine	1.2%	2.2%	73.5%	23.0%
805 Atrium	0.6%	0.9%	88.2%	10.3%	383 Madison Avenue	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Atrium	0.5%	2.9%	73.0%	23.6%	101 Barclay Street	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
650 Fifth Avenue	**0.0%**	**0.0%**	88.2%	11.8%	Le Parker Meridien	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Chi-Square Test on Age

Cases	Day	Total	Less 10		10 - 20		21 - 50		Over 50	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
180 Maiden Lane	Wdays	272.7	10.0	3.7%	6.3	2.3%	217.3	79.7%	39.2	14.4%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
60 Wall Street	Wdays	506.8	6.7	1.3%	24.2	4.8%	355.4	70.1%	120.5	23.8%
	Wends	119.5	0.0	0.0%	4.0	3.3%	77.0	64.4%	38.5	32.2%
Park Avenue Plaza	Wdays	404.5	1.1	0.3%	8.4	2.1%	286.3	70.8%	108.8	26.9%
	Wends	29.0	0.0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	22.5	77.6%	6.5	22.4%
Sony Plaza**	Wdays	923.7	155.7	16.9%	74.9	8.1%	564.6	61.1%	128.5	13.9%
	Wends	509.5	37.0	7.3%	39.5	7.8%	306.5	60.2%	126.5	24.8%
Former IBM atrium*	Wdays	531.5	13.9	2.6%	16.2	3.0%	386.5	72.7%	115.0	21.6%
	Wends	319.0	12.0	3.8%	16.3	5.1%	200.7	62.9%	90.0	28.2%
CitiCorp Atrium	Wdays	797.9	12.3	1.5%	39.2	4.9%	544.1	68.2%	202.3	25.3%
	Wends	556.5	2.7	0.5%	23.8	4.3%	376.3	67.6%	153.7	27.6%
Rubenstein Atrium	Wdays	556.7	11.2	2.0%	5.8	1.0%	413.2	74.2%	126.5	22.7%
	Wends	580.0	12.5	2.2%	6.5	1.1%	425.0	73.3%	136.0	23.4%
Former Altria Atrium	Wdays	232.5	0.0	0.0%	4.5	1.9%	179.3	77.1%	48.8	21.0%
	Wends	71.5	1.0	1.4%	0.0	0.0%	50.5	70.6%	20.0	28.0%
575 Fifth Avenue	Wdays	376.2	13.7	3.6%	49.0	13.0%	259.0	68.9%	54.5	14.5%
	Wends	319.0	9.0	2.8%	59.0	18.5%	213.0	66.8%	38.0	11.9%
805 Atrium	Wdays	170.0	1.0	0.6%	1.5	0.9%	150.0	88.2%	17.5	10.3%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Atrium*	Wdays	351.9	2.2	0.6%	9.8	2.8%	265.3	75.4%	74.7	21.2%
	Wends	45.5	0.0	0.0%	1.5	3.3%	25.0	54.9%	19.0	41.8%
650 Fifth Avenue	Wdays	17.0	0.0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	15.0	88.2%	2.0	11.8%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Trump Tower Plaza	Wdays	171.7	17.3	10.1%	11.5	6.7%	109.5	63.8%	33.3	19.4%
	Wends	263.5	28.5	10.8%	23.0	8.7%	170.5	64.7%	41.5	15.7%
Two Lincoln Square	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1991 Broadway	Wdays	123.0	4.0	3.3%	5.5	4.5%	81.0	65.9%	32.5	26.4%
	Wends	142.5	8.0	5.6%	5.0	3.5%	102.5	71.9%	27.0	18.9%
52 Broadway	Wdays	90.0	0.3	0.4%	8.3	9.3%	75.2	83.5%	6.2	6.9%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olympic Tower Atrium*	Wdays	156.2	0.3	0.2%	2.3	1.4%	126.0	80.7%	27.6	17.7%
	Wends	68.5	1.0	1.5%	4.0	5.8%	43.5	63.5%	20.0	29.2%
Galleria	Wdays	76.7	1.7	2.2%	0.0	0.0%	62.2	81.1%	12.8	16.7%
	Wends	10.7	0.0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	9.3	87.5%	1.3	12.5%
499 Park Avenue	Wdays	10.3	0.0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	9.5	91.9%	0.8	8.1%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Grand Central Plaza	Wdays	20.0	0.0	0.0%	0.0	0.0%	16.0	80.0%	4.0	20.0%
	Wends	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
875 Mezzanine**	Wdays	152.9	1.3	0.8%	4.1	2.7%	119.3	78.0%	28.3	18.5%
	Wends	31.0	1.0	3.2%	0.0	0.0%	16.0	51.6%	14.0	45.2%
383 Madison Avenue	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
101 Barclay Street	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Le Parker Meridien	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Note: ＊＊: p <0.01; ＊: <0.05

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