

NEIGHBORHOOD RENEWAL IN CONTEXT:
PROJECT IMPACT ON ADJACENT AREAS

by

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A B S T R A C T

Title: Neighborhood Renewal in Context: Project Impact on
Adjacent Areas

by Dwight E. Flowers

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This thesis presents a case study of urban renewal in the Roxbury sector of Boston, from the initial Washington Park project conceived prior to 1960, through the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan, and ultimately the Model Cities Proposal of 1967. It identifies problems of the "project approach" and evaluates boundary definition at different levels of renewal planning, in terms of physical and social criteria and broadening objectives.

The analysis of project impact on adjacent areas presupposes that major effects of urban renewal, principally economic and social, cannot be contained within the project boundaries.

1. Functional and visual effects are found to be least significant beyond the renewal area, but drastic changes occurred within. Patterns of circulation and activity are mapped before and after renewal, as well as district character. Resulting visual contrast along a border street is shown by sequence analysis.
2. Economic effects were felt throughout the Negro housing market as massive family relocation was absorbed by adjacent areas. Prior trends of in-migration, housing condition, rent and income levels are analyzed. At a time of rising demand and acute housing shortage, urban renewal reduced the supply substantially and induced turnover, thus contributing to a dramatic rise in rent and overcrowding. The project has failed to stimulate improvements in adjacent areas; decline has generally accelerated, in terms of real estate values and building demolition. Effects on local business are also evaluated.
3. Social change has accompanied relocation in the expanding ghetto. Low-income families faced problems of readjustment and continued hardship, while the middle-income group benefited more from project improvements. A new social environment was created, accentuating class differences in Roxbury. The "slum problem" has actually been shifted by urban renewal rather than alleviated. Crime and vandalism have increased throughout the area.

4. Political implications of urban renewal are analyzed along with other issues of inadequate police protection and municipal services. As reflected by recent voting patterns, the entire Negro Community has become disaffected with its city administration. Prospects for future renewal are uncertain in the face of adverse public opinion. Leadership in the area has challenged the Redevelopment Authority for the power of decision.

In light of experience in Washington Park, recommendations for public policy are put forth. The traditional "project approach" should yield to a new strategy of neighborhood improvement, with emphasis on gradual rebuilding throughout the community. Involved are rehabilitation incentives, selective redevelopment, capital improvements policy and improvement of public services. Within this framework resources might be concentrated or dispersed, according to local objectives.

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I. INTRODUCTION: The Project Approach to Urban Renewal

Since its inception some 18 years ago, the Federal program for Urban Renewal has adjusted to changing concepts and objectives. As originally conceived in the Housing Act of 1949, the program was limited in scope --to the elimination of blighted housing through methods of large-scale clearance. However, in subsequent years the program was broadened, to the extent that practically any "blighted" area may qualify for many alternatives in re-use, and methods of clearance have given way to emphasis on conservation and rehabilitation.

Yet throughout this evolutionary process the "project" approach has remained, imposing its rigid timetable and myopic scope on the renewal efforts of each community. Areas must be precisely designated for special treatment, almost out of context with the surrounding city.

Within these predetermined boundaries, detailed survey and planning is undertaken. Physical condition, functional problems, population characteristics, and economic feasibility are thereby considered; specific proposals are embodied in a plan which is presented for approval. Such a plan must not only outline what physical changes shall be effected, but also how these are to be staged and how their consequences will be dealt with. A program for relocation is required to provide for displaced residents or businesses, and a sound fiscal program must be developed for capital improvements. These and other statutory requirements

look beyond the immediate project, yet direct public action is circumscribed within the renewal area.

The need for conceiving each project in a larger framework of comprehensive planning has been recognized with the establishment of Community Renewal Programming. If undertaken at the city scale, CRP studies would assure greater continuity and overall integration of future efforts. As initiated in the Housing Act of 1959, a Community Renewal Program is designed to provide a coordinated approach to the community's needs in five steps:¹

1. The identification of slum areas or blighted, deteriorated or deteriorating areas in the Community.
2. The measurement of the nature and degree of blight and blighting factors within such areas.
3. Determination of the financial, relocation, and other resources needed and available to renew such areas.
4. The identification of potential project areas, and, where feasible, types of urban renewal action contemplated within such areas.
5. Scheduling or programming of urban renewal activities.

At the sub-city scale, a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan may be developed when an urban renewal area is of such scope that renewal activities must be carried out in stages over a period of not more than 10 years. It must be established that in the interest of sound community planning, it is desirable that this large renewal area be planned as a whole for urban renewal purposes. As introduced in the Housing Act of 1956, a GNRP is

¹ Housing and Home Finance Agency, Urban Renewal: Excerpts from the Housing Act of 1949 as Amended through June 30, 1961., p. 11 (Sec. 405(3) of the Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 86-372).

defined as follows:

"A preliminary plan which outlines the urban renewal activities proposed for the area involved, provides a framework for the preparation of urban renewal plans and indicates generally, to the extent feasible in preliminary planning, the land uses, population density, building coverage, prospective requirements for rehabilitation and improvement of property, and any portions of the area contemplated for clearance and redevelopment."²

In Boston, several GNRP areas have been designated -- some of which contain specific projects under planning or execution. Experience has shown that, even at the GNRP scale, boundary definition and timing remain major problems. Although intended to merely set the framework for smaller projects within, such areas tend to become projects in their own right for purposes of planning though not execution. As within any specific project, substandard conditions are identified and corrected patterns for land use and circulation are proposed. Probable clearance areas are indicated; public improvements are roughly programmed and market analysis undertaken to estimate the potential for new private investment.

Listed below are the required components of a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan:³

- Boundary Description
- Land Use Plan
- Plan for Community Facilities and Public Improvements
- Delineation of Clearance Areas

² HHFA, op.cit., pp. 7-8 (Sec. 303(a) of the Housing Act of 1956, Public Law 1020).

³ Boston Redevelopment Authority, General Neighborhood Renewal Plan, Project No. Mass. R-50, Roxbury -North Dorchester Urban Renewal Area (March 1965).

- Prospective Conservation Requirements
- Prospective Title I. Projects
- Anticipated Market Absorption Capacity of Cleared Land
- Estimated Federal Grant and Local Financing Requirements
- Estimates of Relocation Requirements and Resources
- Identification of Governmental Action Required

These same components are involved in a project plan, though on a somewhat more specific level. They are essential legal and administrative requirements presented in both State and Federal Statutes for Urban Renewal.

Project areas were initially defined for purposes of redevelopment --that is, where total or substantial clearance was to be undertaken. To avoid legal ambiguities as to the status of each parcel of land, within the area and adjacent to it, explicit boundaries had to be established as the absolute limits of public action. Thereby, just compensation would be assured for private property acquired, and property outside the area would not be affected nor investment curtailed.

Nevertheless, considerable litigation has resulted from land acquisition. Designation of an area for urban renewal, or announcement of an Urban Renewal Plan usually causes an almost complete cessation of improvement and maintenance in the area, depreciating property values generally. Consequently, the area loses population, and retailers, largely dependent on neighborhood patronage (and often bound by long-term leases at fixed rentals), face a steady decline in revenues and profits. Years may elapse between the announcement of a Plan and acquisition of particular properties. Compensation for such losses has traditionally been

unrecoverable, as assessing these damages might be largely speculative.⁴

This problem has been somewhat alleviated by procedures of "Early Land Acquisition" prior to approval of a final project plan. To assure all property owners equal protection under the law, ideally all land would be taken simultaneously. However this has proven to be administratively impracticable; the problem of just compensation remains a difficult one, closely related to the staging of project execution.

In such cases, public authority is exercised only within a designated project area, with no responsibility beyond its limits. Thus the position of boundaries becomes critical in determining the nature of renewal treatment. During the early 1950's when total clearance was the normal solution, areas could be selected on the basis of building condition alone. Within each city, the most deteriorated sections were first to be considered for redevelopment. Relatively homogeneous project areas could be easily defined, generally in the hard core slums.

However with the advent of conservation projects, criteria for boundary definition became more complex. Neighborhood preservation entails careful and sensitive treatment of both physical and social elements. The success of rehabilitation depends largely on citizen interest and cooperation, so community organization

⁴ Wilton Sogg and Warren Wertheimer, "Urban Renewal: Problems of Eliminating and Preventing Urban Deterioration", Harvard Law Review, (Jan. 1959), p. 525.

Case studies have shown the economic loss suffered by property owners in renewal areas and inequity of settlements. Two such projects in New York were analyzed by Philip C. Froeder in his M.C.P. thesis, "Impact of Project Announcement on Areas Planned for Urban Renewal", (M.I.T., 1964).

is extremely important. Economic feasibility of a project depends upon the income level of residents, home ownership, the proportion of clearance, etc. Code enforcement becomes an integral part of the renewal program, as well as capital improvements policy.

During the past two years, federal legislation reflects a broader concern for environmental quality and social problems. The Housing Act of 1965 extends beyond the concept of Urban Renewal and provides assistance for code enforcement and demolition of unsafe structures in deteriorating areas --outside renewal projects.⁵

In the fall of 1966 a new dimension was added to neighborhood improvement, combining social and physical planning in the framework of the Demonstration Cities Program. This latest concept proposes to attack diverse problems such as housing, employment, health and education throughout a "Model Neighborhood Area" embracing up to 10% of a city's population. Existing federal grant-in-aid programs, including Urban Renewal, would be used, but on a highly coordinated basis.⁶

Even with a more comprehensive approach of social-physical renewal affecting larger areas, the "Urban Renewal Project" is to be retained as a tool for implementing change.⁷ Emphasis would be on conservation rather than clearance, with areas

⁵ House of Representatives, Committee on Banking and Currency, "Highlights of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965" (August 1965), p. 24.

⁶ U. S. Congress, Public Law 89-754 (Nov. 3, 1966), "Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966", Title I., pp. 1-7.

⁷ Ibid., Sec. 113, p. 6.

selected according to social and economic patterns as well as physical condition. In such neighborhoods undergoing change, character is of generally fine grain, with blight diffused throughout. It is therefore difficult to isolate clear-cut areas for renewal action. Where "edges" are blurred, project boundaries must be arbitrarily fixed.

It is in the vast "gray areas" of our cities where conservation planning is applied, yet the capacity of a redevelopment agency is limited in terms of budget and staff time. Thus the extent of renewal, measured both in the number and size of projects, is subject to financial constraints, as well as political ones. The phasing of individual projects is crucial to the success of an overall program, as the city is a complex organism of interdependent parts.

Transition between distinct projects is usually abrupt, and the extended effects of renewal action are neither appreciated nor understood. The social and economic forces of an area cannot be contained, and the impact of a project on its environs is becoming increasingly apparent. Improved methods must be found to deal with this problem, not only in planning but in execution. The GNRP was a first attempt to enlarge the scope of renewal efforts, yet it merely applies standard project methods to a larger area. More recently the CRP was introduced as a truly comprehensive program for planning. And ultimately the Demonstration Cities Program has added the social dimension to neighborhood renewal. Yet despite these broadening objectives, the "project" approach has been retained as the principal means for executing

such plans. There still remains a need for more effective methods in administering public action in urban renewal.



FIG. 1. Washington Park in Context

— Middle Roxbury
 - - - Upper Roxbury

II. CASE STUDY: Neighborhood Renewal in the Greater Roxbury Area

A. The Washington Park Project, in Planning and Execution

To illustrate in concrete terms the process of project development, a specific renewal area in Boston has been selected for review. The Washington Park Project in Roxbury affords a good example of conservation planning and the problems encountered in execution. Analysis of the project in relation to its surrounding area reveals major implications which accompany public action in urban renewal.

When first considered for renewal during the early 1950's the Washington Park area was experiencing a rapid change in social character. Historically, the area had undergone a series of ethnic changes but only in recent decades had Negroes settled in the area.

Roxbury in colonial times was an independent town and in the late 19th Century became one of Boston's "streetcar suburbs", as described by historian Sam Warner, Jr., in a recent book. Being one of the oldest places of settlement in the New World, its tax records date back to the year 1630.

"The main body of settlers were English and this strain continued to define the population for two centuries. In the 1840's, migration of Irish, German, Scandinavians, and Canadians added to the population. During the last two decades of the 19th Century and up to the 1920's, the area experienced an immigration of Jewish families. In the mid-Twenties Negroes began to move into Roxbury, a migration pattern which accelerated after the Second World War.

"The Washington Park section of Roxbury was virtually undeveloped in 1830. By 1870, buildings had reached as far south as Alpine and Fountain Streets. The major development of the area took place between 1870 and 1890, the last decade of the century having been marked by the filling in of the few remaining lots. Thus, by the time of the present century Washington Park was essentially built up." ⁸

Housing in the area is relatively dense, with predominantly frame structures closely spaced on narrow lots. There are also many brick apartment buildings, sometimes clustered along major streets. Due to topography the overall area is commonly referred to as Lower Roxbury and Upper Roxbury, from north to south respectively. Lower Roxbury, lying roughly between Massachusetts Avenue and Dudley Street, has experienced drastic population loss and substantial demolition has occurred. Interspersed with industry, open storage (junk yards), and parking lots, it can hardly be regarded as a "neighborhood", except in the vicinity of the large Orchard Park Housing Project. The area lies in the path of the proposed Inner Belt Expressway, therefore uncertainty has discouraged any new investment or even routine maintenance.

The area south from Dudley Station to Monroe or Townsend Street is sometimes referred to as Middle Roxbury. Due to rapid deterioration it was in this section where urban renewal was first proposed. Substandard conditions and neglect of maintenance were widespread in the housing stock, over 60 years old. In 1960, less than half of the dwellings had adequate plumbing facilities,

⁸ Sam B. Warner, Jr., Streetcar Suburbs, p.

⁹ Chester Rapkin, "The Washington Park Renewal Area: An Analysis of the Economic, Financial and Community Factors that will influence the Feasibility of Residential Renewal", p. 15.

according to Census reports.⁹

To the south in Upper Roxbury serious blight was only beginning to appear. In this area of larger old homes, largely middle class residents were struggling to maintain property values and home ownership against seemingly inevitable decline.

As early as 1950 the City Planning Board had recognized the need for renewal in Roxbury. In that year the General Plan for Boston defined low-rent areas in need of redevelopment, where building condition was extremely poor (according to the 1940 Census). Only the previous year had urban renewal been conceived, under Title I. of the Housing Act of 1949, and no local authority had been set up to administer such a program.¹⁰

In 1952, the entire Roxbury community was shocked by the senseless murder of a Jewish rabbi in Horatio Harris Park adjoining Townsend Street. Racial implications were immediately apparent, and concern developed among the Jewish residents that this was an expression of anti-Semitism among certain elements of the expanding Negro community, particularly the newly-arrived Southern migrants in Lower and Middle Roxbury. Roxbury had been a model interracial neighborhood for several years, and this incident was causing the gradual Jewish exodus to accelerate. Middle class Negroes, valuing inter-racial living, were aroused by this sudden turn of events and organized a Roxbury Citizens' Committee.¹¹

¹⁰ Boston Planning Board, General Plan for Boston - 1950, pp. 40-41. However under Massachusetts Law the Boston Housing Authority was empowered to put redevelopment procedures into effect.

¹¹ Robert Coard, "The Planning Process: Washington Park Project, Boston", May, 1964.

Another civic organization had previously been established in Upper Roxbury to work toward neighborhood improvement and better understanding among the area's diverse elements. Founded by Otto and Muriel Snowden, Freedom House assumed a role of leadership in the years to follow. With increased responsibility and support, its objectives were as follows:

- (1) Conserving and improving the Upper Roxbury neighborhood.
- (2) Providing opportunities for greater inter-racial contact and understanding, both within the community itself and between its residents and those of greater Boston.¹²

By 1954 various citizen groups, businessmen and Boston social agencies combined to establish the Roxbury Community Council, financed by member organizations and the United Community Services. Representing some 75 neighborhood groups, social agencies and business establishments, the Council turned to the city government for help, requesting that Roxbury be considered as a conservation and rehabilitation project under recent federal legislation (the Housing Act of 1954).

In response to citizen interest, the Boston Planning Board undertook general studies of the area. A number of proposals were considered, and by 1958 the choice narrowed to a 186-acre "demonstration" or "pilot" project, containing about 10,000 of Roxbury's estimated 80,000 population. The bell-shaped area extended southward from Dudley to Townsend Streets, comprising what is herein referred to as Middle Roxbury. Bounded on the east by

¹² Otto and Muriel Snowden, "Citizen Participation", reprint from the Journal of Housing, Vol. 20, No.8, Sept. 30, 1963.

Warren Street and on the west by Washington Street, the project proposal was approved by the Boston City Council in 1959.

During this period, Freedom House had been instrumental in generating support for renewal. Block associations were organized in the prospective project area, although the Snowdens operated from Upper Roxbury. Other neighborhood-wide groups were formed which likewise appealed to the city for help, and jointly they backed the renewal proposal.

In conjunction with project planning, a General Neighborhood Renewal area was established, apparently to set the project into context. Including most of Roxbury and a portion of North Dorchester, the GNRP encompassed over 1700 acres, bounded on the west by the New Haven Railroad and on the east by Columbia Road, with Franklin Park to the south and the probable Inner Belt route on the north. This area was at the time regarded as an appropriate setting for the initial project and subsequent renewal efforts over a ten-year period.

However, inclusion in the GNRP did not assure residents outside the project area an active part in planning. Although the Roxbury Community Council had broad representation and worked closely with the assigned project director, effective citizen participation failed to develop through this channel.

From the very beginning, there was feeling among the residents of Upper Roxbury that their area should have also been included in the project. Middle-class families south of Townsend Street, many of them home owners, had vital stakes in the future

¹³ Interview with Mrs. Snowden, July 7, 1964.

of the neighborhood and wanted a direct part in renewal planning.¹³

Chester Rapkin, in a later report on economic feasibility of the proposed project observed that:

"One of the more common proposals volunteered by our respondents is that the renewal area should not be treated separately from the entire area of the Roxbury -North Dorchester GNRP, or at least the area directly south to Franklin Park. The Washington Park area, they state is an indistinguishable part of Roxbury or the GNRP area; they seek assurance that it will be treated in a broader context."¹⁴

Yet the Planning Board was reluctant to extend the project before submitting it for Federal approval. It was feared that a substantially larger area might be rejected. However until the Collins administration assumed office in 1960, no further action was taken. In the meantime some citizen groups in support of renewal lost enthusiasm. The Roxbury Community Council was torn by dissension from within as its member organizations became frustrated with their role in the planning process. The Council had functioned largely through its executive director who met frequently with the Planning Board's project director, Lloyd Sinclair. Citizen participation through such a large and broadly based organization proved unweildy. Member groups defected in increasing numbers and finally their director resigned. The Roxbury Community Council still exists today, but has no role in community organization.¹⁵

¹⁴ Rapkin, op.cit., p. 20.

¹⁵ The Council is now administering a tutoring program under anti-poverty funds.

Also during this period the Boston planning program was reorganized. With the creation of an all-powerful Redevelopment Authority, all former planning functions were absorbed by the new agency. With the advent of Mayor Collins in 1960 came a new approach to urban renewal. The program was to become a central policy of his administration and all efforts were directed toward the achievement of a "New Boston".

Washington Park was the most advanced residential project under consideration, however its advisability, both political and economic, had yet to be shown. Thus a survey and analysis team, headed by Chester Rapkin was commissioned to evaluate its feasibility. This study was not available until late in 1961. In February of that year, Edward Logue was brought in as Development Administrator, assuming major responsibility for the program.

With emphasis on an overall program of community improvement Mr. Logue assisted the United Community Services in creating a new organization to plan for "human needs in urban renewal." Known as Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), the agency was given responsibility for social planning in the Roxbury-North Dorchester Area.¹⁶

In the spring of 1961 ABCD contracted with Freedom House to assume "full responsibility for community organization in Washington Park."¹⁷ However similar efforts were undertaken at

¹⁷ Constance Williams, "Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal - the Role of the Resident", MCP Thesis, (M.I.T., May 1964), p.45.

¹⁶ Whitney Young, Jr., now head of the National Urban League, conducted the study. In mid-1961 ABCD published the "Task Force Report on a Preliminary Exploration of Social Conditions and Needs in the Roxbury -North Dorchester GNRP".

the GNRP level by the ABCD staff; these paralleled the work of Freedom House and some conflicts developed. When their initial contract was not renewed, the Snowdens turned to the Boston Redevelopment Authority for financial help to continue their work. In March, 1962 they received a contract for funds "to assist in meeting the tremendous demands of an intensive community organization job."¹⁸

The leadership of Freedom House organized a "Steering Committee", consisting of key individuals representing block groups, education, the clergy and social service agencies. This committee was given the main responsibility for discussing preliminary urban renewal plans. Appearing at the initial meeting on May 1, the B.R.A. project director Lloyd Sinclair informed the group that the Neighborhood had two months to prepare a general plan for the area. During this period they were to decide which areas were to be recommended for conservation and for clearance, and for what purposes cleared land should be used.¹⁹

The Steering Committee met weekly with B.R.A. staff members, but not until October, 1961, were the first tangible results unveiled. A series of maps was displayed, reflecting the months of survey and analysis, along with planning proposals. It was during this formative stage that critical decisions were made, determining the nature of the plan. Particularly significant was the extension of project boundaries to take in Upper Roxbury --an additional 316 acres. It had become evident by the summer

¹⁸ Snowdens, op.cit., p. 437.

¹⁹ Williams, op.cit., pp. 49-50.

of 1961, that "if urban renewal in the area was to have the maximum degree of success, the boundary should be extended to Franklin Park."²⁰ In July the boundary extension was approved by the Redevelopment Authority for planning purposes.

This action was confirmed by the Rapkin study which questioned the economic feasibility of the original project. Unusually poor building conditions were identified, requiring an inordinately high proportion of clearance. The residents were of such low income that rehabilitation costs could not have been sustained. Thus the area would probably not have qualified as a conservation project under federal criteria, so boundary adjustment seemed the only alternative.

Of course the middle-class residents of Upper Roxbury had long desired to be included in the project. Through Freedom House their interests were represented, but not until the expanded project area was approved were they officially involved. At that time the Steering Committee was enlarged to over 30 members, directly representing Upper Roxbury.

In early 1962 the matter was put before the City Council for approval. Mr. Logue outlined the purpose for urban renewal in Washington Park and reasons for expanding the project area. He stated the major goals of the B.R.A. program in very general terms:

- (1) To improve the city's older neighborhoods which are now blighted or threatened with blight,
- (2) To provide decent, safe and sanitary housing for every citizen,

²⁰ City of Boston, Boston's Workable Program for Community Improvement, 1962, p. 8.

- (3) To strengthen the city's tax base, and thereby
- (4) To support an adequate level of municipal services and facilities, and
- (5) To arrest the further decline of older neighborhoods and to preserve existing neighborhoods and properties which are in essentially sound condition." ²¹

Mr. Logue declined to identify more specific goals behind the renewal proposal but went on to list the survey findings. The following table was presented, comparing various characteristics of the original project area, extended project, and GNRP. ²²

| Finding | GNRP | Original Project | Project Extended |
|----------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Area in acres | 1,704 | 189 | 472 |
| Total population | 81,150 | 10,576 | 25,922 |
| White | 41,769 (51%) | 3,173 (30%) | 9,037 (35%) |
| Nonwhite | 39,381 (49%) | 7,403 (70%) | 16,849 (65%) |
| Total housing units | 27,176 | 3,641 | 8,774 |
| Total occupied | 24,591 | 3,225 | 8,184 |
| Owner-occupied | 4,911 (20%) | 644 (20%) | 1,452 (18%) |
| Renter-occupied | 19,680 (80%) | 2,581 (80%) | 6,732 (82%) |
| Condition of units | 27,176 | 3,641 | 8,774 |
| A Satisfactory | 1,219 (4%) | 95 (3%) | 246 (3%) |
| B Minor repair | 14,944 (55%) | 1,407 (39%) | 4,704 (54%) |
| C Extensive repair | 8,065 (30%) | 1,508 (41%) | 2,972 (33%) |
| D Major repair | 2,948 (11%) | 631 (17%) | 852 (10%) |
| Condition of bldgs. | 9,666 | 1,510 | 2,841 |
| A Satisfactory | 586 (6%) | 54 (4%) | 128 (4%) |
| B Minor repair | 5,490 (57%) | 578 (38%) | 1,310 (46%) |
| C Extensive repair | 2,467 (25%) | 615 (41%) | 1,018 (36%) |
| D Major repair | 1,123 (12%) | 263 (17%) | 385 (14%) |
| Non-resid. buildings | 1,383 | 95 | 177 |
| With deficiencies | 477 (34%) | 53 (55%) | 94 (53%) |
| Residential bldgs. | 8,283 | 1,415 | 2,664 |
| With deficiencies | 3,113 (37%) | 878 (62%) | 1,309 (49%) |

²¹ Boston Redevelopment Authority, Memorandum by Edward Logue, "Proposed Urban Renewal Plan for the Washington Park Project", (January 31, 1962), pp. 1-2.

Table continued:

| Finding | GMRP | Original Project | Project Extended |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Clearance structures | 2,600 (27%) | 656 (43%) | 911 (32%) |
| Rehab. structures | 7,066 (73%) | 854 (57%) | 1,930 (68%) |
| Total families | 20,000 | 2,526 | 6,467 |
| To be displaced | 4,000 (20%) | 1,028 (40%) | 1,543 (24%) |
| Total businesses | N.A. | 224 | 409 |
| To be displaced | N.A. | 107 (48%) | 175 (43%) |
| <u>Index</u> | | | |
| Infant mortality (cases/1000 lyr) | 30.5 | 28.0 | 26.7 |
| Preliminary TB (new cases/100,000) | 105.4 | 106.4 | 79.5 |
| City Hosp. admissions | 25% of total are from Roxbury | | |
| In-patient | 35% | | |
| Out-patient | 40% | | |
| Emergency | | | |
| Youth Service Board Commitments (cases/1000 under 18) | | 12.19 | 3.85 |
| Public Welfare assistance | | | |
| Percent of households | | 21.5 | 11.4 |
| Percent of population | | 17.2 | 6.3 |

From these figures it is obvious that building condition is substantially better in the extended portion of the project area; overall clearance would be reduced, displacing less than 24% of the families as opposed to 40% in the original area. Survey data therefore supported the case for boundary extension and the B.R.A. Board promptly approved the amended application for survey and planning. Two months later the City Council

approved the request for an expanded project area, and it was submitted to the Urban Renewal Administration. In June, 1962 public hearings were held on proposals for Early Land Acquisition, the first step in project execution.

Through the remainder of the year, Freedom House, operating under contract with the B.R.A. scheduled numerous meetings with individual block groups, businessmen, etc. to explain how the proposed plan would affect their particular area. Literature was prepared and distributed, as attempts were made to reach all segments of the community. As the project was approaching the execution stage a new leadership group was established to continue the work of the original Steering Committee. Known as the Washington Park Citizens Urban Renewal Action Committee (CURAC), invitations to participants were issued by the B.R.A. and ABCD through Freedom House. The purpose of CURAC was "to work cooperatively with the Redevelopment Authority throughout the execution period of the renewal project and ... provide for the ongoing citizen concern for maintaining the renewal community over the long haul."²³

Throughout 1962 intensive efforts were made to acquaint citizens of the area with the proposed plan, although no substantive changes were made. The plan adopted by the B.R.A. Board in January, 1963 was similar to the initial proposal of October, 1961. It was reluctantly approved a month later by the City Council, after a public hearing and bus tour of the renewal area.

²³ Snowdens, op.cit., p. 438.

Opposition to the plan was practically nonexistent in the neighborhood, but the councillors were "somewhat less enthusiastic than many residents of the area involved or members of the B.R.A. staff," according to a newspaper report at the time. They had little real choice but to go along with the proposal.²⁴

Several of the councillors had serious reservations about the plan, especially in problems of relocation. They feared that low-income families displaced by clearance would have difficulty finding suitable housing within their means. Their confidence in the B.R.A. program was somewhat less than complete, especially after rental estimates for new FHA housing were revised upward. In a staff memorandum dated January 1962, it was indicated that "under liberal FHA financing, two-bedroom family units with heat might rent for as little as \$65.00 per month".²⁵ This estimate proved to be overoptimistic and in March, 1962, Administrator Logue informed the City Council that these apartments would rent "from \$75 a month." However nine months later he told the B.R.A. Board of Directors that such units "might rent for as little as \$85 a month."²⁶

Prior to project approval, the Council's Urban Renewal Committee reported with cautious pessimism:

"The Washington Park project area is now going downhill at such a pace one questions whether at this date anything can be done to make it a decent place in which to live..."

²⁴ George B. Merry, "Roxbury Renewal Gets Nod", The Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 19, 1963, p. 1.

²⁵ B.R.A., Memorandum by Edward Logue, op.cit., p. 6.

²⁶ Alice Burke, "The Amazing B.R.A. Story", Boston Traveler, April 2, 1963, p. 39.

"Governmental action alone cannot reverse the rapid rate of deterioration of (the) existing housing stock no matter how many tax dollars are expended there.

There is a feeling among committee members that the problem of the Washington Park area is far greater than the urban renewal program alone is equipped to deal with." 27

In February of 1963 this judgment was perhaps underestimated, but subsequent experience has borne out the early insight of the Boston City Council.

²⁷ As quoted by George Merry, op.cit., p. 1.

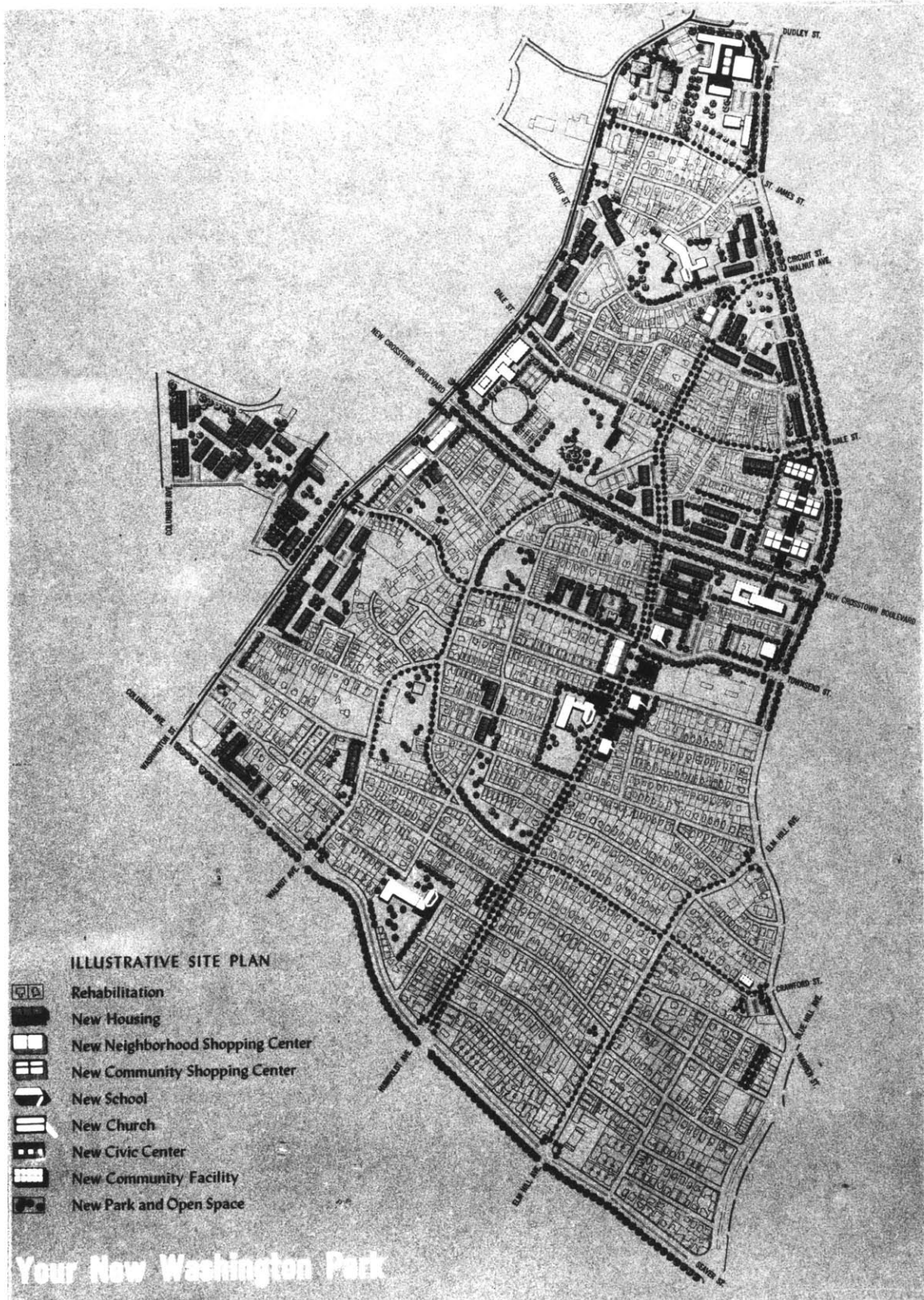


FIGURE 2. Illustrative Site Plan

The Plan

The Washington Park Renewal Plan as adopted in 1963 provides for major public and semi-public improvements and considerable private investment in commercial centers, new housing and rehabilitation.²⁸ As the Illustrative Site Plan indicates (Figure 2), the 502-acre area will be most affected by redevelopment in its middle and northern portions, with Upper Roxbury to the south receiving mostly rehabilitation treatment. Three new elementary schools are proposed to replace obsolete structures in Roxbury, and new recreational facilities are to be provided, including a skating rink and swimming pool along Washington Street, the expansion of various playgrounds and creation of tot lots.²⁹

At Dudley Square a new Civic Center will be constructed to house the Roxbury District Court, municipal offices, a police station and library. The Roxbury Boys Club, a new semi-public facility, will adjoin the Civic Center along Warren Street.

Through the heart of the project area a new cross-town thoroughfare, now named Washington Park Boulevard, is planned to consolidate traffic flow now filtering through narrow east-west streets. This major avenue would be later extended beyond the Project boundaries --westward to Jackson Square and eastward to Columbia Road. Flanking the new cross-town Boulevard is the

²⁸ According to B.R.A. estimates, over \$27 million of public funds will be committed to the project (2/3 from the federal government), while another \$25 million in private investment would be involved.

²⁹ The staging of public improvements such as schools, parks and community facilities has been proposed for the Roxbury - North Dorchester GMRP in Boston's Capital Improvement Program 1963-1975. See Appendix B.

expanded Washington Park and proposed recreational center, new housing, and at its intersection with Warren Street to the east, a new eight-acre shopping center and YMCA site. Warren Street, a major radial to downtown Boston, will be widened and landscaped from Dudley Square south to Townsend St. Other local and collector streets will be repaved with old water and sewer lines replaced.

New moderate-income row housing is to be built on cleared land mostly in Middle Roxbury, with a large concentration of garden apartments on the spacious grounds of Notre Dame Academy, between Washington Street and Columbus Avenue. This area was annexed to the project to accommodate some 450 units of relocation housing without displacing a single family. Another 150 units of the same type is indicated for a cleared site flanking Washington Street on the east. In all, it is projected that about 1500 units of new private moderate-income housing will be built, largely sponsored by non-profit corporations assisted (subsidized) by liberal FHA financing. No public housing was included in the plan.

Despite the quantity of new construction, rehabilitation of existing housing is regarded as the key program for upgrading the neighborhood --particularly in Upper Roxbury where clearance is to be minimal. Technical assistance is offered by the B.R.A. to property owners, with home improvement loans and refinancing made available through FHA.

Such was the Plan for urban renewal in Washington Park. It was a product of close collaboration between the B.R.A. staff and organized citizens of the area. For the more affluent resi-

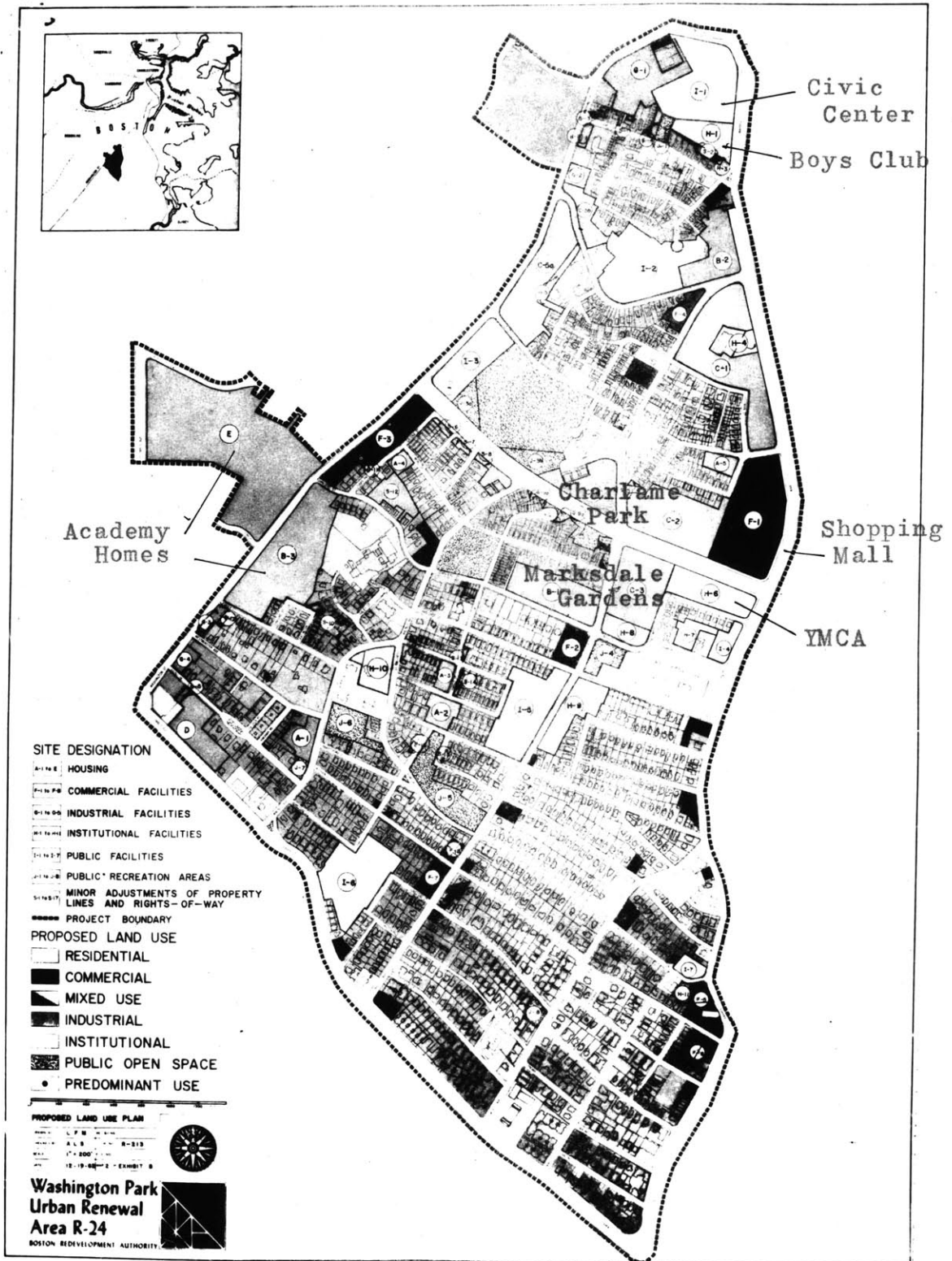


FIGURE 3. Land Use Plan

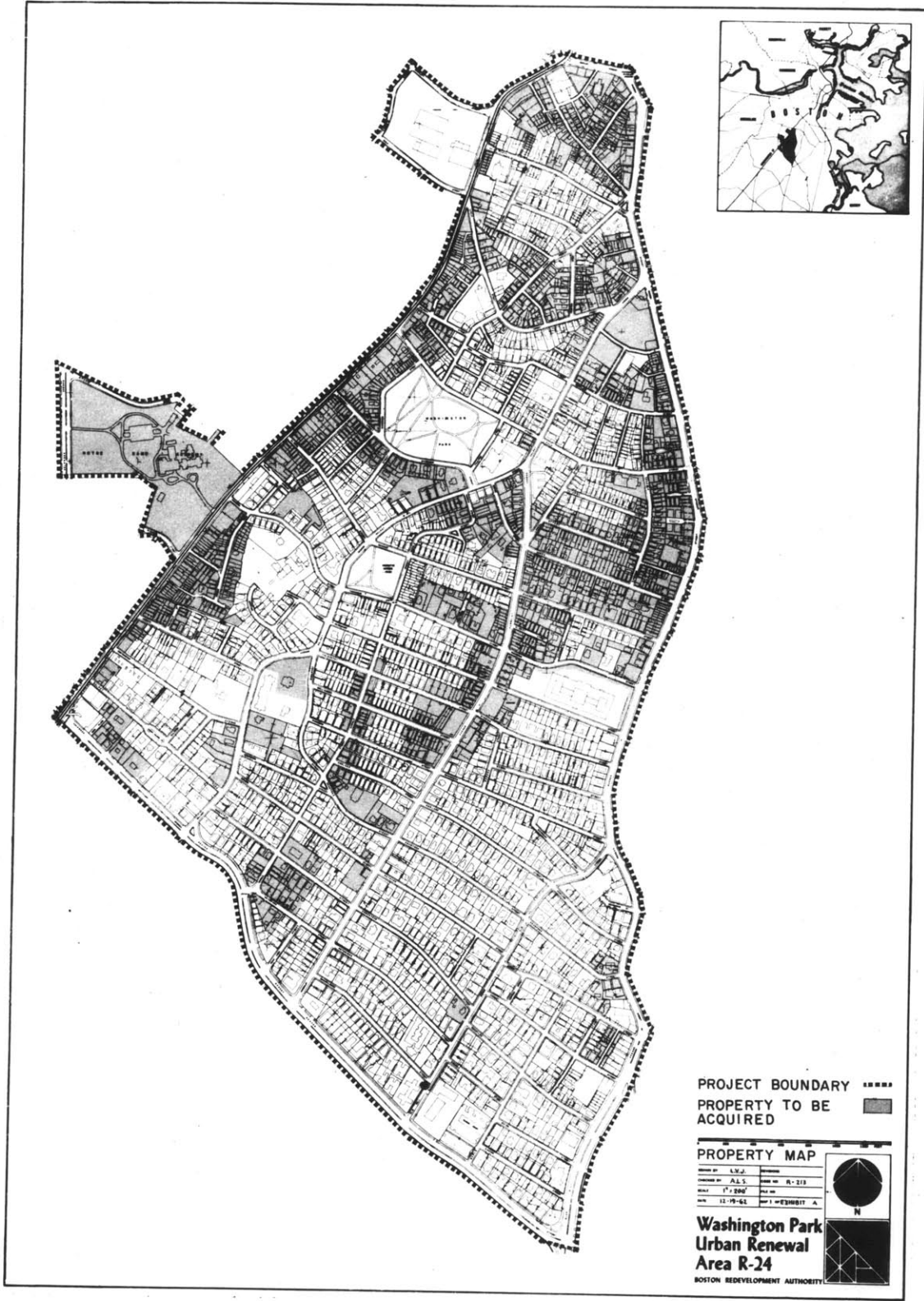


FIGURE 4. Land Acquisition and Clearance

dents, particularly of Upper Roxbury, it offered hope as a means of restoring their neighborhood while rolling back the "tide of blight" from Middle and Lower Roxbury. However for those families to be displaced, as well as dozens of small businesses, renewal meant uncertainty and continued hardship for many. The Plan was received by some with enthusiasm, and by others with skepticism or hostility. Project execution was awaited with considerable anxiety.

Project Execution:

Family relocation began in December, 1962 along with Early Land Acquisition. Through 1963 about sixty families per month had to move. In June of that year demolition began in the Dudley Square area and continued southward along Warren St. (Figure 4)

New moderate income housing was being negotiated for clearance sites and the Notre Dame Academy grounds. Construction first began in the spring of 1964 on a four-acre tract along Townsend Street; an 82-unit row house development, Marksdale Gardens, was ready for occupancy later that year (Fig. 3.) Its non-profit sponsor was St. Marks Congregational Church, with financing under the FHA 221(d)(3) program.

Also in 1964, some prefabricated shells were erected along Columbus Avenue as part of the 450-unit Academy Homes project --soon to be abandoned as the original developer withdrew and the project had to be renegotiated. Financial and labor problems plagued this development for a couple years but finally

in 1966 about half of the apartments were available for occupancy.³⁰

Another church-sponsored development of some 90 units, Charlame Park, was built on cleared land next to the new Washington Park Blvd. Also flanking the Boulevard at Humboldt Ave. an additional 80 units were built as a second stage of Marksdale Gardens. Of the 460 units of "relocation housing" completed by 1966, about 200 were taken by displaced families. The other 2000 had relocated elsewhere, in either public low-rent projects or private sales or rental housing --mostly in the Roxbury area.

A second stage of Academy Homes was begun in 1966 on the rocky slopes just east of Washington Street, a site cleared in 1965. Also a third development is underway in the heart of the renewal area, providing more two-story row housing.

After considerable delay, the new shopping center at the Boulevard and Warren St. opened for business in October, 1966. It contains ten stores with an interior mall and spacious parking area to the north.³¹ Also completed last year was the new YMCA building, fronting on the Boulevard at Warren St. Near Dudley Square the Roxbury Boys Club is under construction with

³⁰ After selecting the new developer, the rental schedule was revised upward with 2-4 bedroom apartments ranging from \$90 to \$120, as compared to \$85-105 in Marksdale Gardens. Delay was also caused by a labor dispute in which the trade unions involved were charged with violating fair employment practices required by federal law in all urban renewal construction.

³¹ The original award-winning design by Cambridge Seven, Architects, proved too costly (see Progressive Architecture, Jan. 1964, "11th Annual Design Awards", pp. 118-121. Washington Park Shopping Center for Cifrino - Washington Park Realty Trust, Boston). Bids exceeded the estimate by some \$400,000 so the project was given to another developer associated with Paul Parks, Negro engineer.

dedication set for January, 1968. However adjacent land for the proposed Municipal Service Center lays idle. This project was scheduled for 1964.³²

After three years of demolition in Washington Park, considerable new construction has occurred; however dozens of acres of cleared land still await development. The city's capital improvement program is far behind schedule. Of the \$8.5 million to be spent on community facilities during the past four years, less than a million has been invested, and most of that was federal funds.³³ The school building program involving nearly \$3.7 million in city funds has been deadlocked over the controversy of racial imbalance. However some \$4.2 million designated for health and recreation centers, as well as the Civic Center at Dudley Square, has yet to be spent. Construction continues on the new Washington Park Boulevard, about one-third finished in 1966, but other streets are breaking up and badly need repavement.

During the execution stage of urban renewal, many unforeseen problems have been encountered. Admittedly new construction has lagged, both public and private, but substantial progress has been made toward creating the "New Washington Park". However the rehabilitation program, regarded as the key to successful renewal, has not at all lived up to expectations. Property owners, on the whole, have not responded to B.R.A. "persuasion", and relatively few have sought technical assistance. Due to conservative FHA policies, financing has remained a major problem;

³² B.R.A., Renewing Boston's Municipal Facilities: Capital Improvement Program, 1963-1975. (Boston 1963), p. 199. See Appendix B.

rehabilitation loans have gone mostly to more affluent families of Upper Roxbury for making costly improvements.³⁴ The average home owner interested in meeting code standards has relied mostly on "private funds", according to the B.R.A. Few conventional loans have been made and critics claim that many families have borrowed from mortgage sharks at exorbitant interest rates.³⁵ Not only has the cost of rehabilitation, measured in increased debt service, exceeded the original estimates, but lending institutions have not been as generous as was hoped in making mortgage funds available. By 1966 only \$2,000,000 had been pledged by some twenty Boston banks.³⁶

Despite efforts to promote rehabilitation, many owners, either unable or unwilling to invest in improvements, have asked the B.R.A. to acquire their properties, and others have lapsed on maintenance. This has resulted in considerable demolition unforeseen in the original plan. Although the worst housing has been removed, deterioration has continued in the remaining stock,

³³ Ibid., pp. 198-201.

³⁴ Langley Keyes, "The Rehabilitation Planning Game: A Study in the Diversity of Neighborhood" (PhD. Dissertation, M.I.T., 1967), p. 523. Of the 45 FHA loans secured during the first two years, median family income of applicants was \$8500 and the average rehabilitation loan amounted to \$8500.

³⁵ Neva Rockefeller, "The BRA's Washington Park: Safe for the Middle Class", Connection (Spring, 1966; published by students of the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University), p. 37. Through 1965, the B.R.A. reported that "of the houses rehabilitated in Washington Park so far, 98 were with FHA loans; 25 conventional loans; 3 VA loans; and 276 private funds."

³⁶ Joseph H. Bacheller, Jr. of the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group had originally estimated that the fund "could run as high as \$20,000,000." Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 18, 1963, p. 2.

in some sections at an accelerated pace.³⁷ Neighborhood leaders are seriously concerned about slow progress of the rehabilitation program and continued deterioration, particularly in Upper Roxbury.³⁸

Midway through the execution stage in Washington Park, there was mounting criticism of the B.R.A.'s methods. Many displaced families were experiencing economic or physical hardship due to the shortage of adequate housing at rents they could afford. Although B.R.A. reports show that 97% of those relocated are living in standard housing, independent surveys have found well over 50% in substandard housing. Rising rents have caused more families to double up, and large families have had the greatest difficulty.

For better or for worse, urban renewal in Washington Park has changed the area more in four short years than occurred in the previous forty years. It has involved massive demolition and relocation.

³⁷ Interview with Dr. Samuel Thompson, Director, Washington Park Site Office of the B.R.A. (March 15, 1967). When owners ask the B.R.A. to take their property, the title is held by the agency until it can be resold to someone willing to rehabilitate; otherwise it is demolished. Since original surveys of building condition, many properties scheduled for rehabilitation in 1961 were beyond repair by 1966.

³⁸ Interview with Otto Snowden, Freedom House, Inc. (Mar. 13, 1967).

ROXBURY-NORTH DORCHESTER GNRP AREA & WASHINGTON PARK URBAN RENEWAL AREA

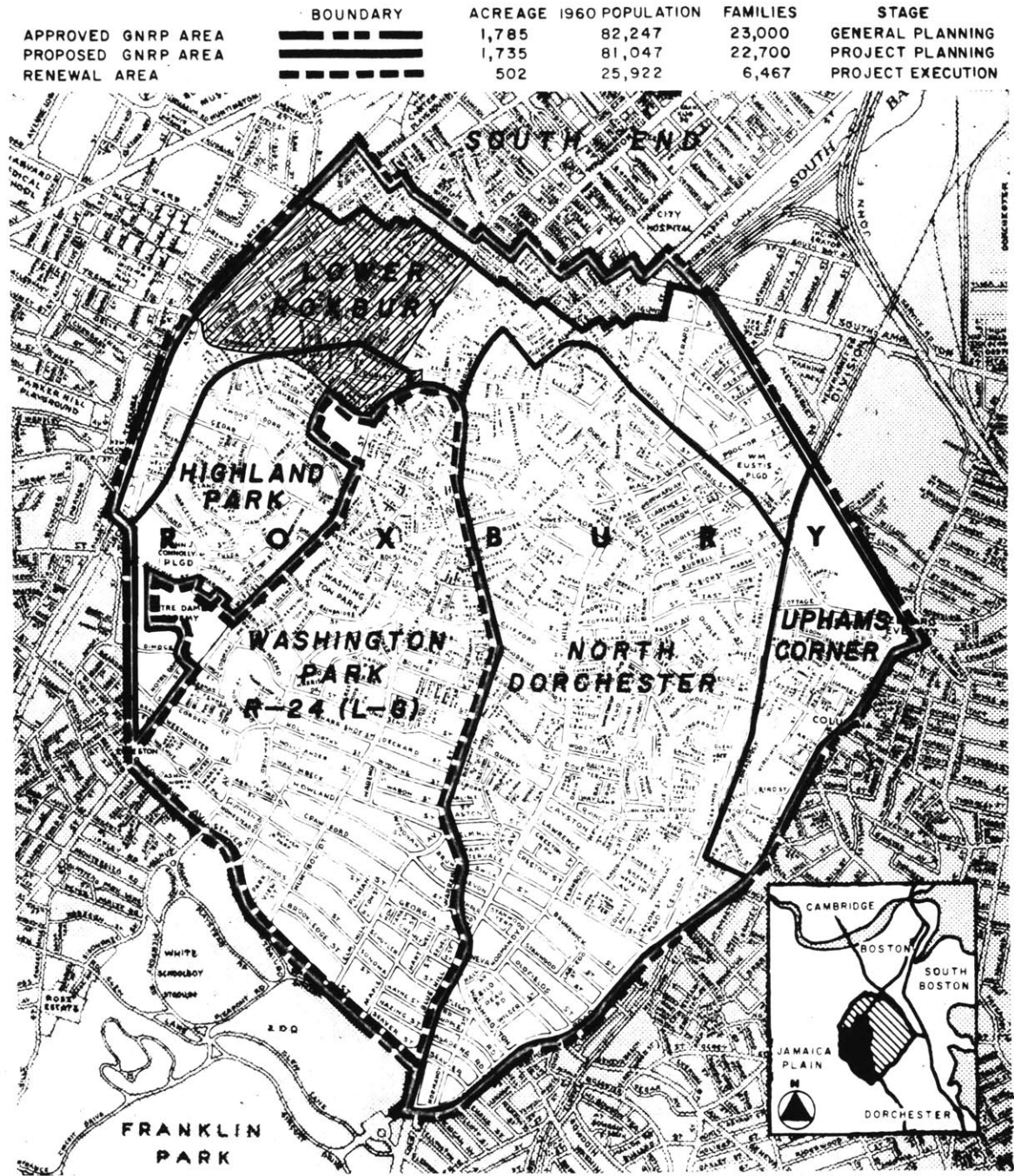


FIG. 5 - GENERAL NEIGHBORHOOD RENEWAL PLAN (1965)

 Subsequent Proposal:
Madison Park Project (1966)

B. The GNRP and Beyond

With execution well underway in Washington Park, the B.R.A. planners turned to the larger General Neighborhood Renewal Plan area of which the project was a part. The staff had done little on the GNRP since initial survey work in 1960 and 1961. By mid-1964 the extension of renewal beyond Washington Park appeared to be the next logical step. Based on an up-dated study of conditions in the area, future Title I. projects were to be defined and implementation projected.³⁹

After several months of concerted effort under the direction of Robert Rowland, formerly project director for Washington Park, the Roxbury - North Dorchester GNRP was completed. In the spring of 1965 it was submitted for federal approval. Three additional renewal projects were outlined --for Lower Roxbury, Highland Park, and North Dorchester between Warren St. and the railroad, with priority in the order listed.⁴⁰ (See. Figure 5.) This proposal was purely a staff product, so general as to preclude citizen involvement; it was never presented to the Roxbury Community. The plans lay dormant for several months, until early 1966 when events unexpectedly focused on Lower Roxbury.

The Boston School Committee had for some time been looking at prospective sites for a proposed \$15 million Campus High School. The choice had finally narrowed to two sites --the Madison Park area northwest of Dudley Terminal and a portion of

³⁹ For further discussion of GNRP proposals, see Appendix A.

⁴⁰ B.R.A., General Neighborhood Renewal Plan, op.cit., Section GN 201(f), pp. 1-3.

Franklin Park. Madison Park is a particularly accessible location at a major interchange of the proposed Inner Belt and Southwest Expressway.

Although the GNRP had not specified any particular re-use for that part of Lower Roxbury, it had been singled out as a "Special Development District", and several prospective uses were suggested. These alternatives included the proposed Campus High School, a new vocational high school, and the Boston branch of the University of Massachusetts, which had also been interested in the Madison Park site.⁴¹

The Redevelopment Authority apparently favored the Campus High project and thereafter the University began looking elsewhere --to the Highland Park area. In February 1966, following considerable controversy, the Boston School Committee made its choice, requesting the entire Madison Park site for the Campus High and street connections.--a plan which would have displaced some 350 families (70% of whom were Negro) and provided for no on-site relocation housing.⁴²

Residents of the area regarded this as an obvious scheme to eliminate their inter-racial neighborhood by taking nearly

⁴¹ B.R.A., "Proposed Program for Extending Urban Renewal Action in the Roxbury- North Dorchester GNRP Area" (1965), pp. 26-27.

⁴² Of the two sites finally under consideration in Jan., 1966, the School Committee favored Franklin Park for the Campus High; it objected to placing the new school in a low-income Negro area. But in order to secure property in Franklin Park, owned by the Commonwealth, an act of the Legislature was required. The School Committee proposed such legislation but Madison Park proponents, including Roxbury activists and the liberal community, lobbied against it. Although the Bill passed, it was vetoed by Gov. Volpe. Then the School Committee reversed itself to favor 3-2 the Madison Park site, providing that the entire area be taken.

twice the acreage recommended for the Campus High in the 1962 Sargent Report.⁴³ They organized to protect their interests, forming the Lower Roxbury Community Council on Urban Renewal (LRCC) and demanded that on-site relocation housing be provided under urban renewal to accommodate all of the families wanting to remain.

Meanwhile, with School Committee approval, the B.R.A. had proceeded with a plan which proposed renewal action not only in Madison Park, but also in Highland Park and the remainder of the Roxbury- North Dorchester GNRP. Preliminary studies showed that about 385 families would be displaced by the Campus High School and another 200 would be affected by Early Land Acquisition elsewhere in the GNRP. An estimated 1200 units of low- and medium-income relocation housing could be provided on scattered sites in the area which were already vacant.

Administrator Logue was eager to go ahead with the package proposal, but the community had not been sufficiently informed. During late spring, 1966, the B.R.A. presented the Early Land plans to numerous neighborhood groups --particularly in the Dudley Street - Blue Hill area. Madison Park residents were already well aware of renewal plans due to the school controversy, and in Highland Park no substantial Early Land takings were proposed.⁴⁴

⁴³ B.R.A. and Harvard University, Boston Schools - 1962, (Study Committee Director, Cyril G. Sargent), p. I-51. Only 30 acres had been specified, but the School Committee requested 60.

⁴⁴ A side controversy had developed in Highland Park when the University of Massachusetts expressed interest in locating its Boston Campus there. Residents were adamantly opposed, and the B.R.A. chose not to further complicate the issue with Urban Renewal at that time.

However, residents of North Dorchester were hardly prepared when the expanded proposal was put before them. Although the Early Land plan itself represented little threat to their area in terms of family displacement, many people were skeptical as to what it would ultimately involve. Massive relocation from Washington Park was still underway and some families feared that they might have to move again.

Opposition was mobilized by several neighborhood leaders on May 24th to alert the community to the "arbitrary and callous" urban renewal procedures of the B.R.A. in Roxbury and to develop grass roots concern about the Authority's plans for the rest of Roxbury and North Dorchester. Robert White, Community Organizer for the Roxbury Community Council, expressed deep dissatisfaction over the program in Washington Park:

"Our concern is that Washington Park urban renewal is a lost cause. We feel that large numbers of poor people were mistreated by the relocation procedures of the B.R.A. and we want to be sure that doesn't happen again in our community... Urban renewal means nothing more than Negro removal. Its primary concern is with middle-class people --making them comfortable and happy while ignoring the massive problems of the lower class whose lives are tragically and callously upset." ⁴⁵

An alternative to the B.R.A. methods was seen in an offer by Urban Planning Aid, a professional group from Cambridge, to provide technical assistance to the community in devising its own plans. This group presented an effective challenge to the expertise of the Renewal Authority staff; during the summer and fall of 1966, UPA collaborated with the Lower Roxbury Community

⁴⁵ "Roxbury Leaders Blast Renewal Plan; Plan to Organize Opposition in Community," Bay State Banner, May 28, 1966, p.1.

Council in drawing up alternative plans for the Madison Park area.

Confronted with mounting opposition in the North Dorchester area, the B.R.A. decided to concentrate its efforts on Madison Park, since the Campus High project was after all their prime objective. Attempts were soon to be abandoned in those areas where "they were not wanted".⁴⁶ However community leaders who favored the package proposal for area-wide renewal attempted to overcome the resistance. Chief spokesman for this group was Mrs. Ruth Howe, co-chairman of the newly formed Roxbury Community Conference on Urban Renewal. The Conference functioned through its Steering Committee which represented five sub-sections of the GNRP. Their purpose was to dispell distrust and misunderstanding regarding renewal plans and gain concensus among the community toward neighborhood improvement. This group extended its influence through the summer of 1966 and by September claimed to include "more than sixty neighborhood, civic, and religious organizations representing a cross-section of all ethnic and nationality groups in the Roxbury- North Dorchester GNRP area."⁴⁷

Despite its efforts to gain consensus during the summer of 1966, the Community Conference had organized too late and already the B.R.A. had given up on their ambitious Early Land plan in

⁴⁶ Interview with Daniel Richardson, Director, Roxbury Neighborhood House, (March 6, 1967). In approaching various citizen organizations in the Dudley -Blue Hill area, the BRA had asked for a "mandate" to proceed with renewal planning. This was not forthcoming.

⁴⁷ Bay State Banner, Sept. 17, 1966, p. 1. On Saturday, Sept. 10th, the Roxbury Community Conference on Urban Renewal sponsored a bus tour of the GNRP area to give interested citizens

North Dorchester or Highland Park.⁴⁸ At a public hearing on July 25th only the Madison Park project was discussed.

The Campus High School controversy was yet to be resolved; proponents wanted the school built in Madison Park at any cost, while the LRCC supporters argued against the plan which made no provision for on-site family relocation. By September a hint of compromise had appeared as the B.R.A. Board approved the Early Land proposal, providing that some moderate income housing might be built on land not needed for the school. Acreage requirements were to be determined by the city's Public Facilities Department. The LRCC leaders, assisted by Urban Planning Aid, requested that 25 acres of the site be reserved for housing. After the Public Facilities Department reported that 35 acres would be adequate for the new school, the Redevelopment Authority reluctantly offered to include 15 acres of housing in the plan.⁴⁹ This commitment was finally accepted by the LRCC in late November and the "battle was over."

an overview of conditions in the various sub-sections and "a basis for developing informed opinions regarding the need for social and physical improvements within the area."

⁴⁸ Interview with Mrs. Ruth Howe, Co-chairman of the Community Conference (March 9, 1967). To have been effective in its role of generating advance support for renewal, the Conference needed much more time. Mrs. Howe regretted that they had not organized a full year before B.R.A. plans were proposed to the community.

⁴⁹ "Council Interviews Redevelopment Official", Bay State Banner, Dec. 17, 1966, p. 1. When questioned by the Roxbury Community Council regarding the Madison Park Plan, Mr. John Stainton (Director of Renewal Planning for the B.R.A.) reiterated Mr. Logue's objections to housing in the area: (1) Such an accessible site should be reserved for more important uses, and (2) It would be difficult to maintain an interracial community since future land takings for the Inner Belt will displace the parochial school and church, which have retained many of the whites in the area.

The Model Neighborhood Proposal

Although the GNRP had been studied and restudied for physical renewal, social planning in the area received little attention until recently. Under the anti-poverty program coordinated by ABCD, funds were channeled through various social agencies, churches, settlement houses and community organizations, and the Roxbury Multi-Service Center was set up to offer assistance ranging from legal aid to home management.

The emphasis has been on services of one type or another, rather than overall programs. Little attempt has been made to measure the impact of these many separate efforts, and there has been no direct coordination with the urban renewal program in Roxbury.

Similar problems of coordination have been experienced in other cities, leading the federal government to establish a new comprehensive program of social, economic and physical planning. Passed by the 84th Congress in November 1966, the Demonstration Cities Program seeks to bring together existing resources and add new impetus toward "improving the quality of urban life" -- in a selected "Model Neighborhood" of each city participating in the program. A prime objective is to produce measurable impact on the environment and the people within it.⁵⁰

Boston has chosen the Roxbury area as its model neighborhood, including portions of Dorchester and Jamaica Plain. (Fig. 6.) It is hoped that this new program will successfully extend

⁵⁰ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Improving the Quality of Urban Life: A Program Guide to Model Neighborhoods in Demonstration Cities (December 1966), p. 12.

renewal efforts begun in Washington Park, while bringing to bear new resources and innovative techniques to solve problems of health, education, crime and unemployment. Pending approval of the city's application, planning funds will be available to Boston this summer with operating grants to be appropriated for the next fiscal year.

It is yet unclear what this new program will mean for the Roxbury area, but the B.R.A. and ABCD, jointly involved with preliminary planning, are attempting to reach all segments of the community in explaining it. A general meeting was held in April for representatives of some 150 organized citizen groups in the area. Late that month the Boston City Council approved the application, with amendments.

State legislation has been proposed to create a new "Demonstration Area Agency", under the Mayor's office, with full jurisdiction in the model neighborhood for administering all municipal functions except for fire and police protection.⁵¹ Such sweeping governmental reorganization may be necessary, but opponents argue for better coordination of existing city departments instead.

This is an issue to be settled between the State House and City Hall. Meanwhile residents of the area wonder how the new federal program would differ from current ones, such as Urban Renewal. In time this will be clarified.

⁵¹ Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Senate Bill No. 220 (Feb. 1967). Though introduced by State Senator Kelley it is commonly known as the "Logue Bill". Anticipating opposition from the School Committee, Logue later amended the bill to exclude those powers from the Demonstration Area Agency. re: Boston Globe, April 4, 1967, p. 2.

The Code Enforcement Program

Also proposed for the Greater Roxbury community are two special code enforcement areas, roughly flanking the Model Cities Area in Jamaica Plain and Dorchester. (Fig. 6) Under provisions of the Housing Act of 1965, the city has applied for federal assistance to upgrade these declining neighborhoods through effective housing code enforcement and demolition of unsafe structures, along with certain public improvements. Homeowners in the designated areas would also qualify for rehabilitation loan and grant programs of the FHA --previously restricted to Urban Renewal Projects.⁵²

Pending federal approval of Boston's \$4.5 million request, the city Housing Inspection Department will administer the program, which calls for systematic coverage of all building, fire, or health code violations in the enforcement areas. Also street and sidewalk improvements, lighting and tree planting could be done under the federal grant.

According to the director of the Housing Inspection Department, the proposal has been well received by neighborhood groups. Although these areas are not now confronted with urban renewal, residents view code enforcement as an alternative which may prevent the need for project treatment later on.⁵³

⁵² House of Representatives, Committee on Banking and Currency, op.cit., pp. 6, 24.

⁵³ Interview with Francis W. Gens, Director, Housing Inspection Department (March 21, 1967). Due to budget limitations only two small areas have been designated at this time for concentrated code enforcement. Also some sections with more serious problems do not qualify for this program, e.g. a part of Dorchester lying between the code enforcement and Model City areas.

In summary, neighborhood renewal in Roxbury has been a long and complex process involving interaction between government officials, staff planners and organized citizens of the area. It began in the mid-Fifties with initiative of Freedom House and the Roxbury Community Council, and now after several years of proposals, action and controversy, the process continues. Objectives have been defined and redefined on an ever-broadening basis to be culminated with the Model Cities proposal and code enforcement program of 1967. Project boundaries have been set and revised according to both social and technical inputs in the renewal process. It has been characterized as a "rehabilitation planning game" in which citizens, planners, and politicians play differing roles according to "rules" defined in policy or legislation.⁵⁴ This case study is concerned with both staff efforts and neighborhood interests which have guided the renewal process in Washington Park and the Greater Roxbury area.

⁵⁴ Langley Keyes, op.cit.

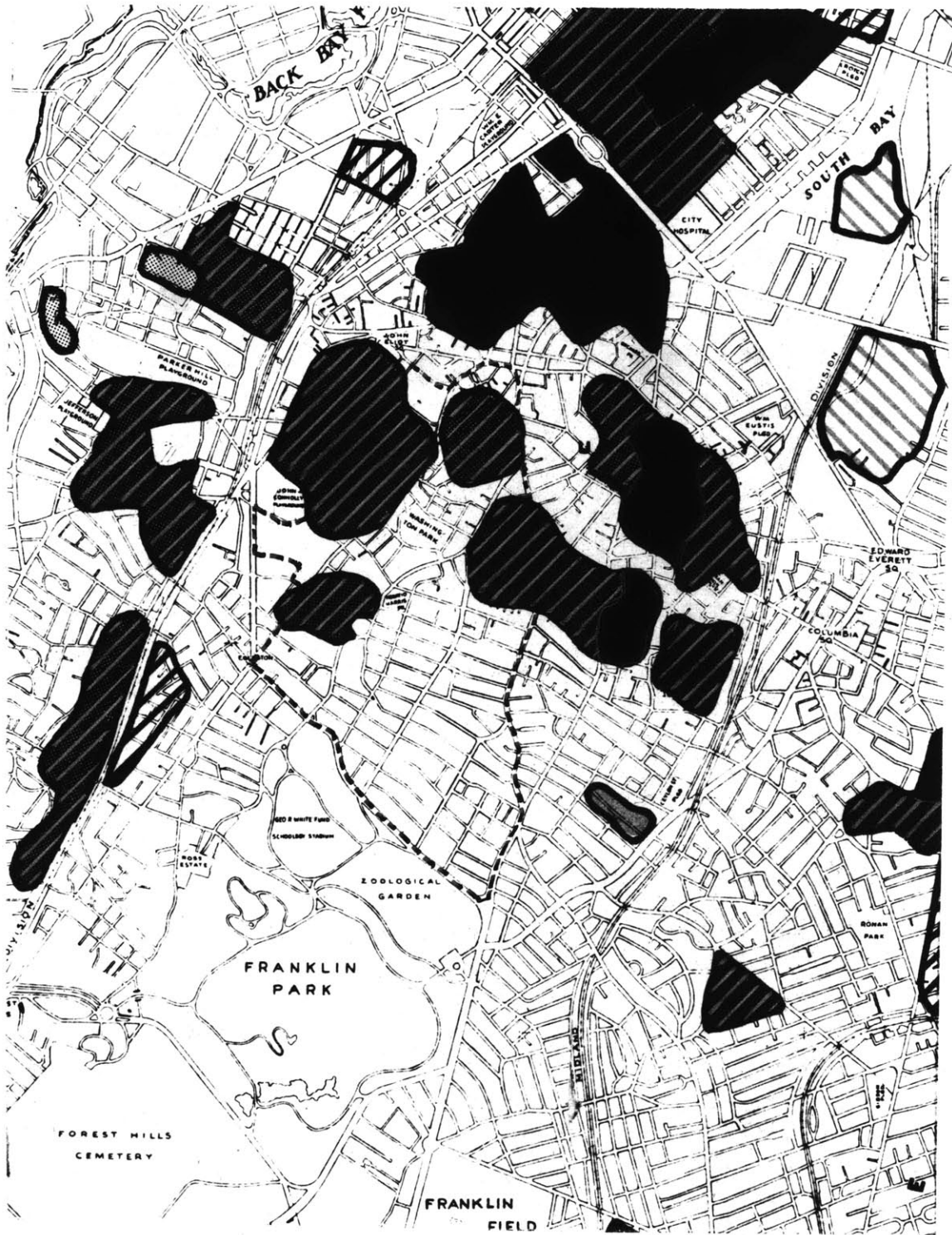


FIGURE 6. 1950 General Plan for Boston: Redevelopment Areas

- Most in Need of Redevelopment
- In Need of Redevelopment
- Washington Park Project (1963)

C. Boundary Definition

At all levels of renewal planning or project development the problem of boundary definition has inevitably occurred. From the original Washington Park proposal embracing 186 acres to the enormous Model Cities Area of over 2000, planners have been confronted with this difficult decision. The criteria have varied greatly, depending on the nature of each proposal, social and economic patterns and political factors as well. Boundaries have been often set and later changed, according to objectives of the renewal program and the resources available. But consistently the problem of strict area delineation has remained one of the chief constraints in the planning process.

Delineation of the Washington Park Project

Over fifteen years ago the General Plan for Boston had defined "high priority" redevelopment areas where public action should be concentrated first, and also deteriorating areas requiring later treatment. Figure 6. indicates substantial clearance proposed in the South End and Lower Roxbury including Madison Park, and to a lesser extent in North Dorchester. However Middle Roxbury and Highland Park were regarded with lower priority for redevelopment. Although "conservation" was prescribed for the remainder of the area, it was not considered as an integral part of the urban renewal program.⁵⁵ The Housing Act of 1949 provided only for slum clearance under Title I. and not until 1954 did legislation allow for "rehabilitation" in a

renewal area.

In considering prospective renewal areas during the mid-1950's, the Planning Board used the following criteria:⁵⁶

- (1) A project should effectively check blight from "rolling" onward, and
- (2) It should demonstrate rehabilitation and generate improvements around the area.

Much of Lower Roxbury had deteriorated beyond the point of conservation and Highland Park on the west was rapidly declining. To the east there were various pockets of "blight", with a concentration at Blue Hill Ave. and Dudley St. In its proximity to Dudley Station, the busiest MTA facility outside of downtown Boston, Middle Roxbury was particularly important in the community context.⁵⁷

In determining the size of the project, both staff resources and federal approval were constraints. Boston had no previous experience with residential renewal of this type, hence the modest proposal at the outset. Furthermore planners felt that Upper Roxbury could carry itself outside of renewal, as well as the area to the east of Warren Street.

⁵⁵ Boston Planning Board, op.cit., pp. 40-41. The term "conservation" was applied to areas "in too good condition to require wholesale clearance." It was assumed that such areas, partly old or moderately blighted, would "remain" substantially in their present condition during the next 25 years, subject only to minor improvements and small-scale normal change."

⁵⁶ Interview with Lloyd Sinclair, (July 9, 1964). He served as chief planner for renewal in Washington Park until 1961.

⁵⁷ This was not defined as a "high priority" redevelopment area by the 1950 General Plan, but it had suffered from rapid deterioration since the previous housing census.

The staff preferred a project location on the edge, not in the midst of deteriorated housing. Thus renewal efforts might be "backstopped" by a more stable neighborhood which could hold its own against blight. The intervening project might thereby serve as a "firewall". However the stable area (Upper Roxbury) should be buffered by an even better neighborhood or natural open space (Franklin Park).⁵⁸

The southern boundary for Washington Park was drawn at Townsend Street, a somewhat arbitrary division between Middle and Upper Roxbury. Along the west, Washington Street with its elevated MTA structure was regarded as a logical division from Highland Park and the Notre Dame Academy. There is also an abrupt change in topography along that line.

The convergence of Washington and Warren Streets at Dudley Square formed a triangle with its sides fixed arterials and its base a narrow local street, meandering through a district of similar character. Thus Townsend Street was the least defensible of the three borders.

Housing condition within the triangle was quite generally poor, with a concentration of dilapidated structures to the east along Warren St. The area was in need of extensive renewal. According to the GNRP ("windshield") survey the area immediately across Warren St. was in generally "satisfactory" condition with some structures in need of "minor repair". From Figure 7. it might appear that this boundary was drawn from housing quality alone. However 1960 Census data is in direct contradiction with

⁵⁸ Sinclair, op.cit.

the B.R.A. survey. It shows that housing east of Warren Street was actually in worse condition than in the Washington Park area, with over 60% of the units "deteriorating" or "dilapidated". This is to be contrasted to tracts within the project where only 30-40% fell in these categories. (See Fig.15) Therefore it may be concluded that building condition was not the principal criterion in boundary selection.

Other factors led to the decision on Warren Street rather than Blue Hill Avenue. It is a major arterial carrying over 15,000 vehicles per day, whereas Blue Hill serves more as a local shopping street with lighter traffic, but more congestion. Being narrower, Blue Hill was regarded more as a "seam", integral with its neighborhood on both sides.⁵⁹

Although racial composition changed beyond Blue Hill Ave., from a predominance of Negroes to whites, the real "social difference" occurred at Warren Street --in terms of renewal planning.

⁵⁹ Sinclair, op.cit. It was explained that arterial streets are often favored as project boundaries since they tend to be wide enough that "blight" remaining on one side is not so detrimental to new construction opposite. Also streets form clean edges which facilitate land acquisition and re-use planning. To have included both sides of Warren St., for example, would have created irregular parcels along the east, making modular redevelopment most difficult. (see Fig. 8)

However had there been parallel streets behind, a more logical boundary might have been drawn. In a recent study for the Morton Renewal Project in Philadelphia, architect-consultant Louis Sauer changed its boundary from the middle of Germantown Avenue to exclude a shopping area flanking it. He reasoned that both sides of the street should be handled together thus forming an integral commercial district or planning entity. (re: Presentation at M.I.T., April 21, 1964, for course 4.572, "The Visual Plan")

The people to the east were not well organized, and Freedom House had no influence in that area.

In the end, it was the effectiveness of community organization for urban renewal that determined the boundaries. Although the Washington Park area (as extended) contained a diversity of social groupings --whites, Negro lower and middle classes --the decisive leadership of Freedom House was to dominate. As described by Langley Keyes,

"Washington Park emerged as a distinct residential district at the stroke of the planners' pen rather than through the logic of history or natural boundaries. Thus when designated as a renewal project the district had virtually no formal or informal institutions geared to link together the four residential interest groups found within the project boundaries." 60

The expanded project was agreed upon in 1962 after persistent efforts of Upper Roxbury residents to be included. With recommendation of the Rapkin Report, planners finally conceded that Townsend Street was not an appropriate limit for renewal action. The disorganized elements of Middle Roxbury were incapable of carrying out a responsible role in planning and execution of the project. Furthermore demolition would have displaced nearly half of them, making rehabilitation infeasible. Thus the B.R.A. looked to the superior resources of Upper Roxbury for effective community organization to make rehabilitation work.

Extension of the boundary to Franklin Park affected not only the extent of renewal but also the nature of proposals. People of Upper Roxbury had feared that extensive clearance in the

⁶⁰ Keyes, op.cit., p. 378.

initial project would have driven low-income Negroes south into their area, and without the urban renewal benefits of code enforcement, occupancy standards and rehabilitation aid, their area would have been seriously threatened.

Once included in the project, the middle-class leadership group felt more secure and henceforth supported widespread clearance in Middle Roxbury --assured that the bulk of relocation would go elsewhere. Thus urban renewal afforded a sense of protection, whereas non-renewal areas were more vulnerable to the displaced "problem families".⁶¹

Planning sessions between the neighborhood Steering Committee and the Redevelopment Authority staff avoided the issue of relocation housing for low-income families. Lloyd Sinclair emphasized the need for some sort of public housing within the project, but this provoked a strong reaction and further mention of the subject was taboo.⁶²

"Washington Park as an integrated middle-income community could not survive with low-income families. The renewal plan was to be structured accordingly."⁶³

By late 1961 citizen participants had become obsessed with clearance as the only sure remedy for problems in Middle Roxbury. The people were very skeptical of rehabilitation in that area; they wanted "full-scale treatment" and feared that otherwise it would "slide back" within a few years. When the B.R.A. presented

⁶¹ Sinclair, op.cit.

⁶² Keyes, op.cit., p. 413.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 439.

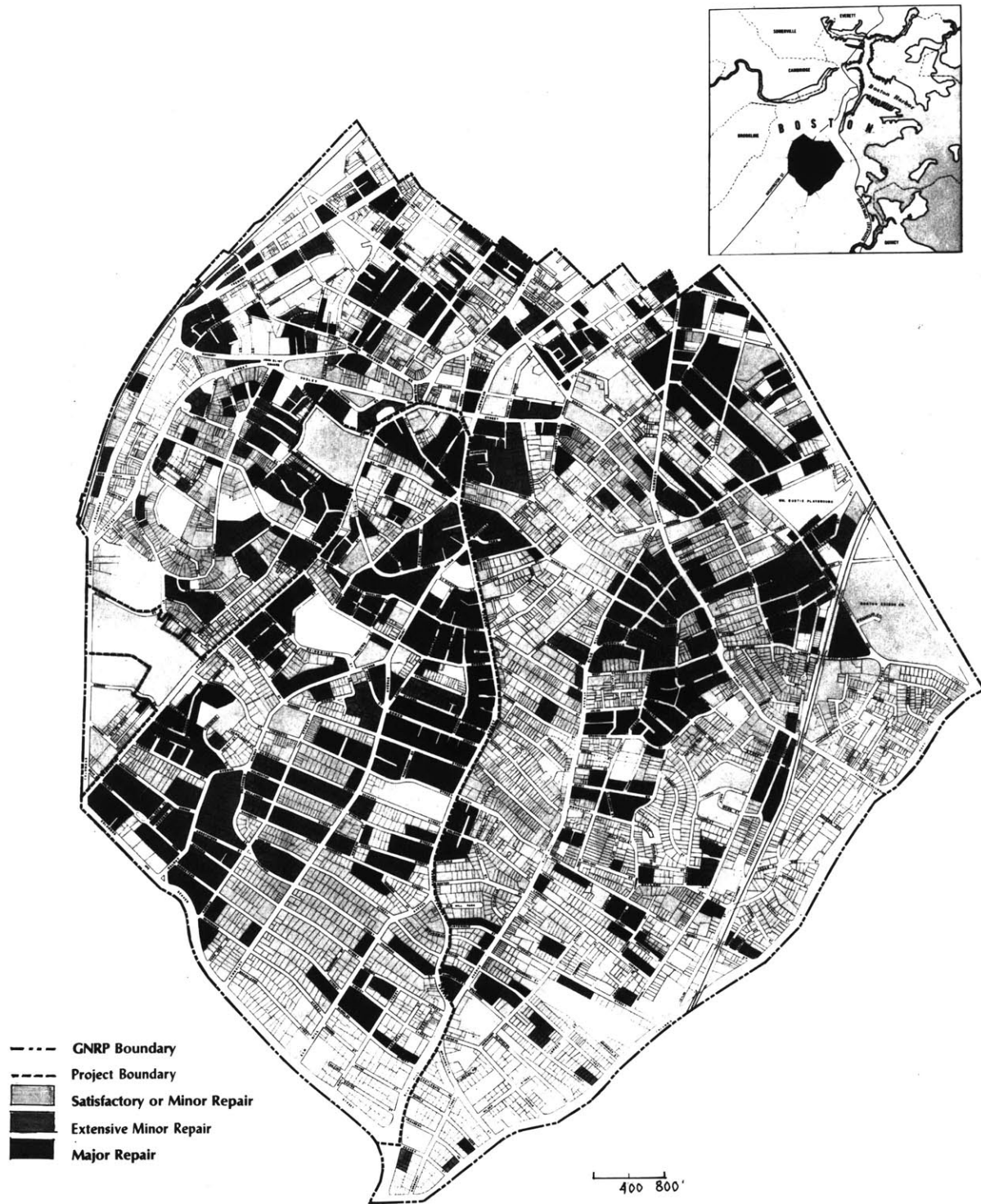


FIGURE 7. GNRP Survey: Building Condition (1960)



FIGURE 8. GNRP Survey: Land Use (1960)

a plan calling for 40% relocation, the Steering Committee clamored for more clearance. It favored an alternative proposal for 60% displacement, however this was ruled out by Mr. Logue, without further consideration. Persistent efforts of the B.R.A. staff ultimately reduced family relocation to a mere 30%, against the wishes of the Steering Committee.⁶⁴

Had the small project area been chosen instead, residents of Upper Roxbury would likely have pressed for low-rent housing for displaced families within the renewal area. This might have contained them in Middle Roxbury to minimize encroachment on the neighborhood to the south. The plan would have been quite different, in terms of school location, public housing, etc.⁶⁵

During the final stages of planning, the project boundaries were again altered to "annex" the Notre Dame Academy and MTA site flanking Washington Street on the west. These sites offered an opportunity for relocation housing --desperately needed to balance the heavy displacement in Washington Park proper. They were contiguous to the project so the boundary change was a simple matter.

The General Neighborhood Renewal Plan Area

In 1960 with the advent of the Collins administration, Boston was divided up into six Neighborhood Improvement Areas and ten GNRP's, of which Roxbury- North Dorchester is the largest.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 418.

⁶⁵ Sinclair, op.cit.

Geographically the area can hardly be distinguished from the rest of the city. It lies in a transition zone between the older high-density inner city and outlying areas almost suburban in character. It is traversed by major radial streets, transit and comuter rail lines.

Rationale in boundary selection are described in the preliminary GNRP study as follows:

"The boundaries of this planning area have been determined primarily by physical man-made factors: the approximate line of the Proposed Inner Belt highway in the north, Franklin Park in the south, the New Haven Railroad main line in the west and Columbia Road (a divided street) in the east. The area is not recognized as a social or political unit nor are there strong land use or topographic elements to give it identity. But it is beset by common problems and a common need for renewal action." ⁶⁶

In terms of housing condition, the area spans from the wastelands of Lower Roxbury to the attractive "high rent" area near Franklin Park. According to 1960 Census data, average monthly rent ranged from \$40 to \$80, north to south. Home ownership was uniformly low throughout the area, with 70-90% rental occupancy. Racially the GNRP was fast becoming a Negro ghetto. By 1960 nearly all parts of the area were predominantly non-white with one notable exception: the Uphams Corner district to the east. This Irish neighborhood was later excluded from renewal action due to its "social and physical isolation" from the Roxbury Community. In effect, the Columbia Road boundary was then superceded by a stronger "man-made" element, the railroad line through North Dorchester. ⁶⁷

⁶⁶ B. R. A., Roxbury-North Dorchester General Neighborhood Renewal Plan, preliminary submission (1963), GN-201(b), p. 1.

The 1965 Plan proposed no project treatment for the Uphams Corner area, but it remained officially a part of the GNRP. The rest of the area around Washington Park was carved up into three future projects with major, continuous streets separating them. Between Highland Park and Lower Roxbury, Center Street was chosen. It occurs at a major break in topography and partially defines a change in land use. The northern boundary of North Dorchester was drawn at Norfolk Street, which separates residential from industrial uses. (See Fig. 5)

Also in 1965 a minor "administrative change" was made in the GNRP boundary, involving a "transfer" of some 50 acres of land to the South End renewal area. Originally the entire Inner Belt right-of-way was included in Roxbury- North Dorchester. The curved alignment of the proposed highway resulted in a "stepped" GNRP boundary so as to avoid cutting through blocks diagonally. This line was ultimately shifted to the approximate centerline of the Inner Belt. Thus all remnants of land to the north would fall into the South End project area. As such renewal treatment would be "more closely related to the proposed program for the South End than it could possibly be to any program in Lower Roxbury from which as a practical matter it will be severed by the Inner Belt."⁶⁸

This boundary revision was merely an adjustment to part of the regional highway system which had not been well determined in 1960.

⁶⁷ For further analysis of GNRP proposals see Appendix A.

⁶⁸ B. R. A., Roxbury- North Dorchester GNRP (1965), op.cit., GN-201(f), pp. 2-3.

A year later in 1966 the Madison Park project was defined to include portions of both Lower Roxbury and Highland Park. In addition to the Campus High School, this would enable the B.R.A. to achieve another important objective --the realignment of Dudley Street to connect with the Inner Belt. Since a project in Highland Park seemed remote at that time, a portion of the area was combined with Madison Park.

Future treatment of the North Dorchester area is uncertain. It is an enormous district of over 650 acres, somewhat larger than Washington Park and with similar problems. Although a few sub-areas can be identified their treatment as separate projects is highly unlikely. The area does not lend itself to precise subdivision, neither physically or socially.

The Model Cities Area

The Demonstration Cities program was conceived primarily for ghetto areas in serious need of physical and social renewal. In Boston the South End and Roxbury were easily identified as sections most qualified for such aid. However, together they encompassed some 20% of the city's population --double the amount permitted under the new program. Therefore it was necessary to select a smaller area of approximately 65,000 people.

Since both the South End and Washington Park were already under treatment for physical renewal, these project areas were excluded from the program, though reluctantly. Attention then focused on the Greater Roxbury- North Dorchester area. Planners decided that rather than take a cross-section involving both

predominantly Negro and white ethnic neighborhoods, the demonstration area should be confined to the Roxbury sector in greatest need.⁶⁹ The northern boundary of the GNRP was adopted as well as the New Haven Railroad on the west. However to the east, Columbia Road was disregarded, and instead the Midland Branch railroad was chosen as the boundary. (Fig. 9) Significantly, the Model Cities proposal included all areas of the GNRP programmed for renewal in 1965, and likewise excluded the Uphams Corner district. It extended southward along Franklin Park to Harvard Street (an area under rapid racial change) and also covered a portion of Jamaica Plain (the Mayor's home district). This horseshoe-shaped area, saddled over Washington Park, was soon changed to a "donut" including Franklin Park which increased the overall acreage but not the population. The Zoo and other park facilities might thereby become an integral part of the program.⁷⁰

The Model Cities Area has emerged as an expanded GNRP, extending southward from the Inner Belt route sandwiched between the two railroad lines, and flanked on either side by Irish Dorchester and Jamaica Plain. The cut-off point at Harvard St. stops short of a more logical division at Franklin Field, but the overall population limit (a bureaucratic constraint) could not be exceeded.

The boundaries proposed have stretched the Demonstration Cities concept to the limit. Such an area will require a disproportionate input of social resources as it actually embraces

⁶⁹ Edward Logue, at a conference with M.I.T. students (Apr. 7, 1967)

⁷⁰ Ibid.

a population of nearly 100,000. An estimated \$20 million would be required to carry out the program, but this seems hardly adequate if extensive physical renewal is intended. Renewal in Washington Park alone has required nearly \$30 million of public funds. That project area was excluded to circumvent the "unreasonable" population limit, but it is anticipated that residents of Washington Park will nevertheless benefit from social services provided under the program. And according to astute observers, their needs are considerable.⁷¹

Although the Model Cities Proposal has yet to be approved, planners regard it hopefully as a means of extending neighborhood renewal on a broader scale --to Highland Park, North Dorchester and beyond. With selective clearance, rehabilitation incentives and effective code enforcement provided for, decline could be arrested throughout the vast ghetto area. Coupled with concentrated code enforcement areas already defined in Dorchester and Jamaica Plain, the entire sector of Boston might qualify for federal benefits to property owners and for public improvements.⁷²

This progression of boundaries --from renewal project, to Model City area, flanked by code enforcement areas --actually constitutes a strategy of neighborhood improvement. Various ad hoc federal programs are pieced together to achieve an overall

⁷¹ In 1965 a controversy arose over location of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, as part of the poverty program. The B.R.A. and residents of Washington Park wanted it included in the project area to support physical renewal and rehabilitation already underway. However ABCD regarded the service area east of the project to be in greater need; the Center was located on Blue Hill Ave. Sam Thompson and the Snowdens, among others, have expressed alarm over intensifying social problems in Washington Park despite urban renewal.

⁷² Interview with Andrew Olins, B.R.A. (March 14, 1967).

objective. The idea might prove workable, but for two problems: (1) coordination of three programs, each under separate administration and on its own inflexible timetable, and (2) gaps in continuity between the program areas. The latter merits further explanation.

The concentrated code enforcement areas were delineated in relatively stable sections where urban renewal treatment is unnecessary but signs of neglect have begun to appear. (Fig. 9) In Jamaica Plain the chosen area is contiguous to the proposed Model Cities boundary. However in North Dorchester there remains a sizable gap. This intervening area cannot qualify for federally aided code enforcement nor for urban renewal. Its problems are too serious for the one program but not serious enough for the other.⁷³ Thus an extended area flanking the Midland Branch of the New Haven Railroad from Uphams Corner to Franklin Field will remain vulnerable to "blight" --with no federal aid for rehabilitation loans or public improvements. The railroad may appear as a strong physical boundary in plan, but it cannot hold back the effects of widespread deterioration or proposed renewal action in the ghetto area.

A more comprehensive level of renewal planning is obviously needed.

⁷³ Francis W. Gens, op.cit.

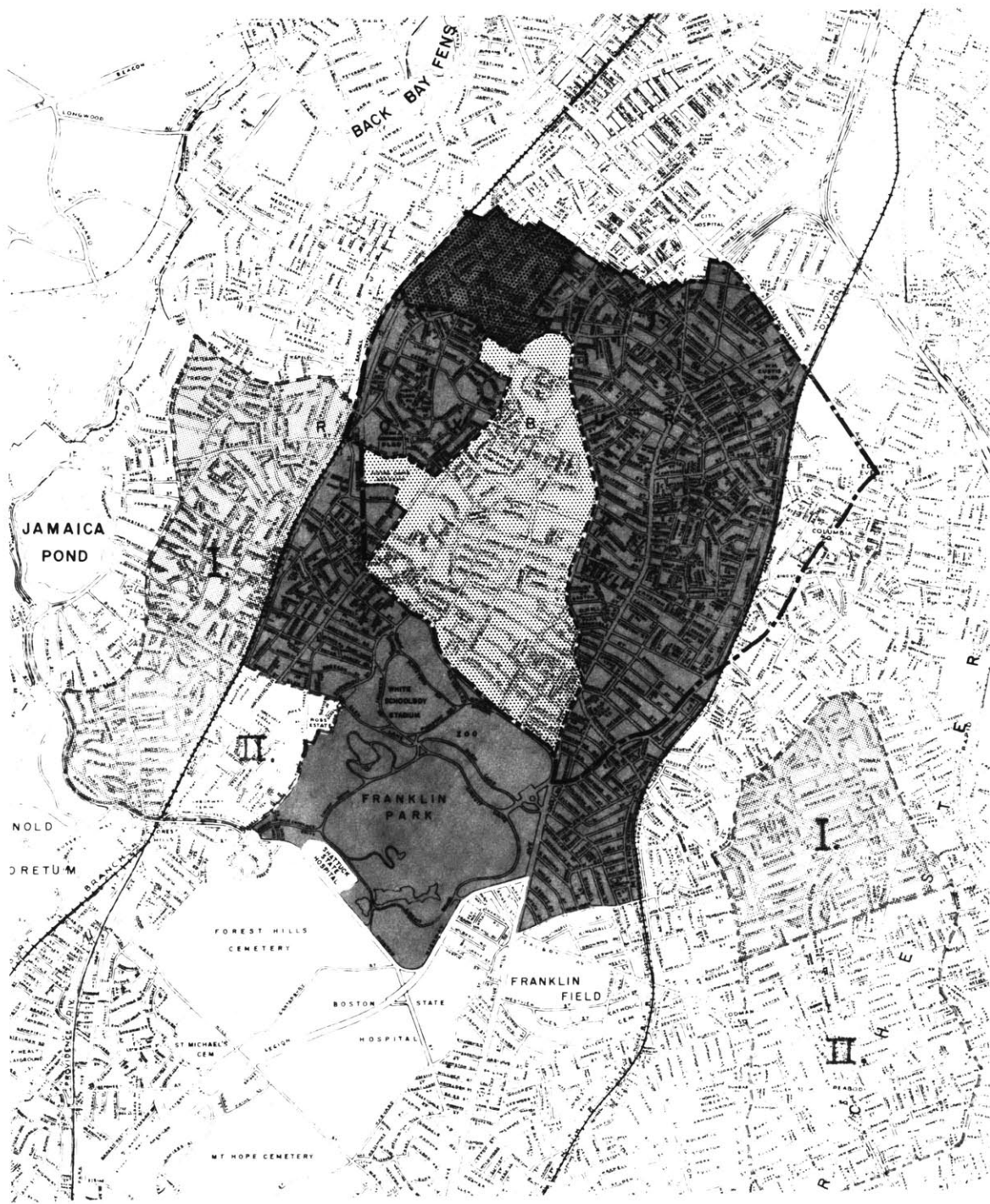






FIG. 9 - BOUNDARY DEFINITION

-  GNRP Boundary
-  Urban Renewal Projects
-  Code enforcement Areas
-  Model Cities Area

III. IMPACT of the WASHINGTON PARK PROJECT

Government intervention through urban renewal may have a significant effect on adjacent areas --favorable or unfavorable, depending on both the extent and nature of renewal action. By far the greatest impact is felt in the project itself, where buildings are cleared or rehabilitated, land use and density are altered, and new housing or community facilities will be provided. As the physical environment is changed, there may be rapid transformation in social character and economic patterns as well. However these are not confined to the project area, except in most isolated cases.

Secondary effects are soon to be felt in adjoining neighborhoods or more distant areas. Since original settlement, complex functional relationships have been developing among neighborhoods. Living patterns, work centers, shopping facilities, and transportation routes have adjusted to the needs and desires of a changing population over the years. Visual continuity has long existed between an Urban Renewal Area and its environs. The housing market operates freely through entire sectors of the city. It accommodates new residents and releases old ones. Changing demand is balanced by new construction, demolition, conversions, or price adjustments. The larger market responds inevitably to any substantial reduction in supply, though it be confined to a segment of the area. Families redistribute themselves in pursuit of comparable or better housing at a cost they can afford. However their choice may be limited by race as well as income,

and social handicaps may frustrate their adjustment to another environment.

Government policy through urban renewal can generate new opportunities and reverse decline in one area while precipitating less favorable change in other neighborhoods. It is a political program and subject to political consequences which respect no boundaries. Recent experience in Roxbury attests to the broader implications of urban renewal --far beyond the New Washington Park.

A. Functional and Visual Effects

The most obvious changes effected by urban renewal are visual ones. Over a thousand buildings were taken down in Washington Park, and now with reconstruction a new environment is emerging. Street after street of old three-deckers have been replaced with modern two-story row houses or garden apartments, complete with off-street parking and instant landscaping. A sprawling new shopping mall has been erected on land formerly occupied by a hundred houses. And a broad new boulevard slices through the heart of Roxbury, where devious narrow streets led before. Open space is abundant and much will remain even after all the new housing and community facilities are built.

Such is the nature of change in Washington Park, but what has happened in North Dorchester or Highland Park? Nothing. There has been demolition alright, but not according to plan. One by one, buildings are abandoned, vandalized or burned. Many are declared hazardous, then destroyed. And the neighbors go on living in the midst of the rubble. Even along Warren Street, opposite the new shopping mall, there is little evidence of change. A couple new stores have appeared, but all the others are shabbier than before. Fewer people are to be seen on the street; they are inside shopping at stores on the "Mall" or perhaps at meetings or games in the new YMCA. A few short years have made a big difference in Washington Park.

Circulation and Activity Patterns

Urban renewal has made no major changes in the circulation pattern of Roxbury. The new cross-town Boulevard is but one-third

finished and even when completed to Washington Street it is not likely to carry much traffic. As part of a regional system it will eventually function as an arterial, but not until extended through North Dorchester and Highland Park. Now the Boulevard serves more for parking than for through traffic, particularly between the shopping center and YMCA. Dozens of cars may be seen along the divided street while the new parking lot north of the center stands nearly empty. Pedestrian activity clusters inside the shopping mall and at the entrances on both ends.

Traffic flow on Warren Street has not changed appreciably, however congestion has been redistributed. Prior to urban renewal it was flanked by businesses on both sides for 3/4 mile from Dudley Square to Townsend Street --with much the same mix of uses that characterizes Blue Hill Avenue today. However the project plan totally eliminated one side of this commercial strip and provided for a single ten-unit shopping center, with off-street parking. Businesses appear to be thriving along Warren Street opposite the new center.¹ There is a concentration of both pedestrians and cars, parked and moving. However to the north activity tapers off sharply.

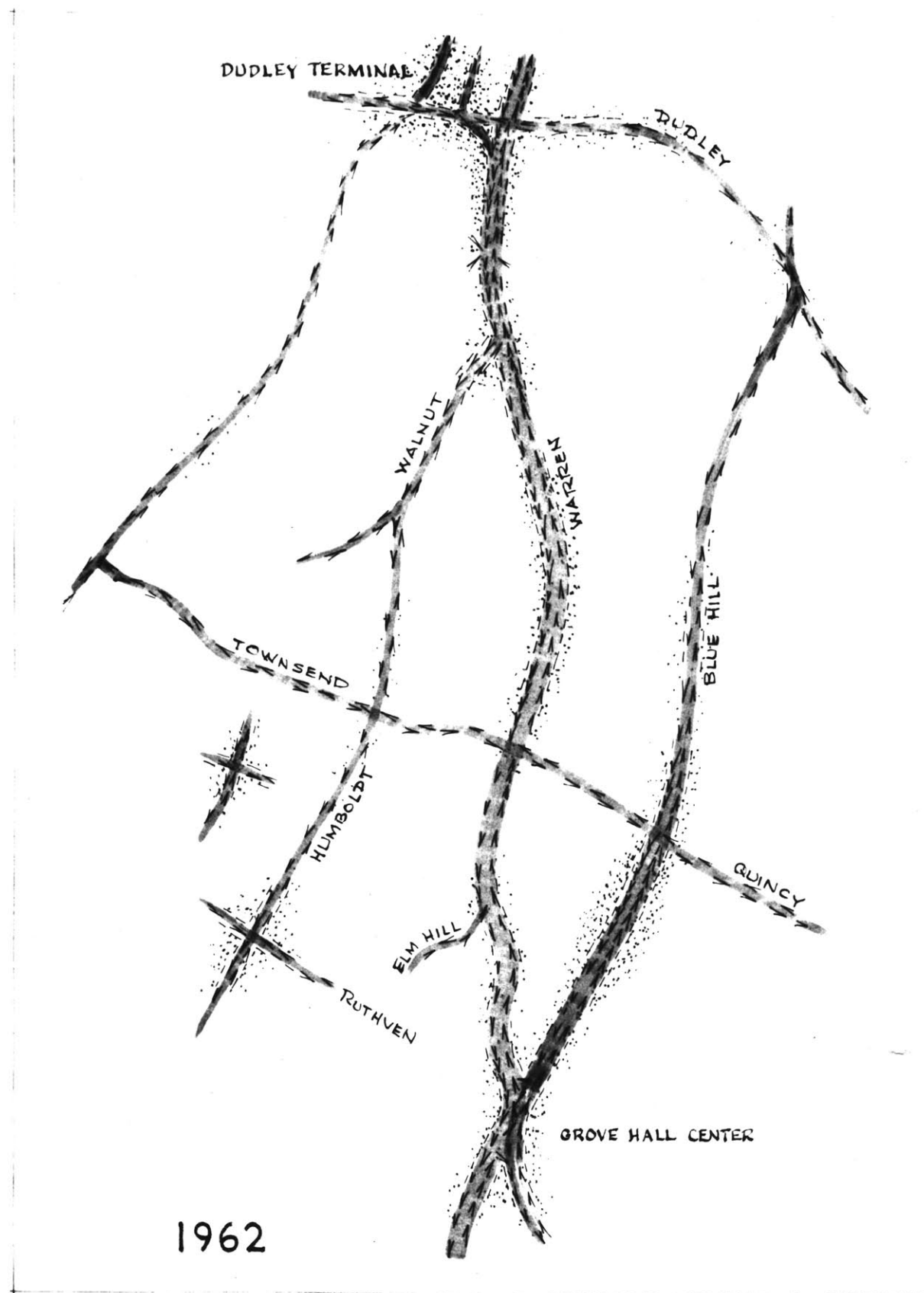
At Walnut Avenue, a main route into Washington Park, vehicular movement is considerable and many people are to be seen walking alongside. New housing will be built along Warren at that point, and the angular intersection is to be changed to 90 degrees, thus breaking the flow of traffic onto Walnut.

¹ However at the intersection of Washington Park Boulevard, the block lying in the path of the street extension is mostly vacant --for obvious reasons.

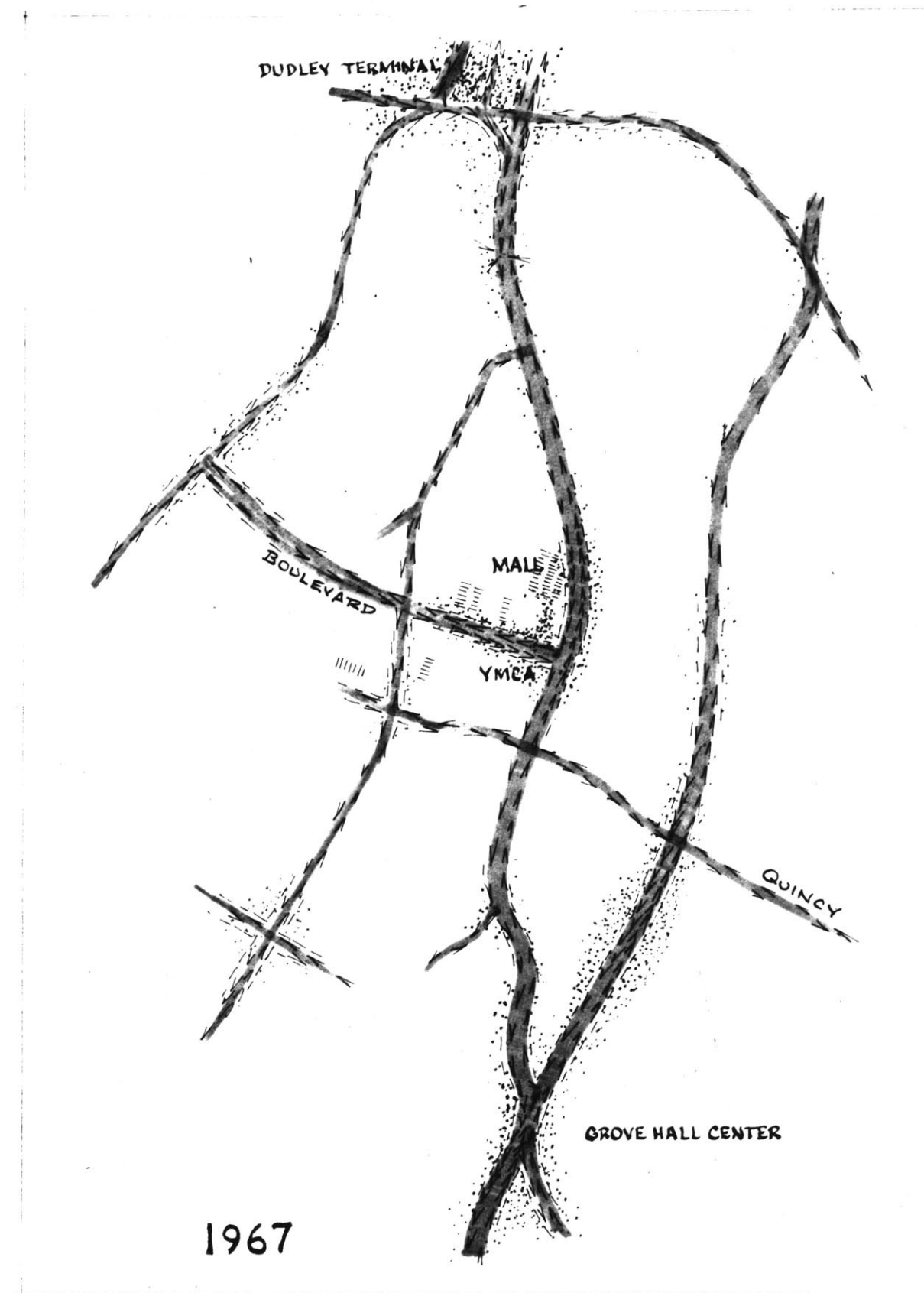
There is some congestion at Moreland Street (a six-way triangular intersection) near Dudley Square, but little sidewalk activity. In the few remaining buildings on the west, stores are vacant. Approaching Dudley St. there lies a vast open space of several acres cleared for the proposed Civic Center. Construction is underway on the Roxbury Boys Club to the south. The low structure will be well set back with off-street parking, similar to the proposed municipal service building, courthouse and library. Prior to urban renewal some 25 businesses lined Warren Street, with housing behind. It was part of the thriving shopping district around Dudley Terminal. There were restaurants, barber shops, laundries and a variety of retail stores. Now it is quiet with free-flowing traffic and little competition for parking spaces.

With completion of the Civic Center, visible activity will return to the area, but never at its previous intensity.

In Upper Roxbury, circulation has not changed at all, but commercial activity has been reduced along Humboldt and eliminated on Harold Street by demolition. The intersection at Ruthven St. continues as a small but lively shopping strip, the principal focus of activity in Upper Roxbury. Also on Upper Warren St. a cluster of stores remains at the intersection of Elm Hill (and also a church). From this point to Grove Hall Center congestion increases; the street is narrow and winding. The renewal plan has effected no real change in this area. However future widening of Warren St. is proposed in the GNRP for the opposite side, now lined at points with brick apartment buildings.



1962



1967

FIG. 10. - ACTIVITY PATTERN

pedestrians
 traffic flow
 moving vehicles
 parking

During the course of renewal in Washington Park, Blue Hill Avenue has experienced little, if any change. Activity is very intense between Intervale and Quincy Streets with heavy traffic congestion. Unlike the new Warren St., parking is at a premium and the sidewalks are crowded. Cross traffic on Quincy St. is light and intermittent as before. North of that intersection, activity on Blue Hill Ave. practically ceases, but for scattered shops and the Kasanoff Bakery farther down.

In summary, urban renewal in Washington Park has had little effect on traffic patterns in the area, although it has significantly changed pedestrian activity, shifting centers of congestion --particularly along the project boundary where land use was altered.

Visual Character

The "New Washington Park" has transformed the visual image of Roxbury. District character was radically changed by widespread clearance and redevelopment, particularly along the periphery where it is most apparent. Prior to urban renewal the Washington Park area consisted of four or five residential areas, each of which could be distinguished by its visual character --topography, street pattern, building type or detail. One such district extended from Dudley Square southward to Dale Street. It contained no sizable open space and few focal points --only churches. Most of the housing had been built before 1900 and large trees shaded the sloping streets.

Now, that old district has been fragmented. Over half was cleared, and a large school site separates what remains. The spatial character and land use at Dudley Square has been totally changed. The old frontage of contiguous brick stores and apartments is gone, along with an old church and wooden houses behind. In its place a new Civic Center will be built, consisting of modern free-standing structures well spaced and set back from the street.

At the intersection of Walnut and Warren Streets, a cluster of new housing will be built, and another to the west along Washington St. Contrast between the new and old creates different patterns than existed before. Surviving portions of old districts have merged together; they are now perceived as islands surrounded by new development.

Between Warren St. and Walnut Ave., the old district has completely dissolved. Formerly Warren was lined on both sides by businesses and apartments. The street was integral with adjacent neighborhoods as Blue Hill Avenue is today. (See Fig. 11) However redevelopment along the west side has opened up acres of space, accentuating the "wall" of buildings on the east --a continuous edge penetrated only by narrow streets. In a sense it appears as a shabby old backdrop for the new architecture of the shopping center and YMCA.

The Washington Park Boulevard extends westward through the project, leaving a jagged edge along the south, opposite the park. It is flanked by new housing which forms subdistricts of unique character --both in form and material. However west along Townsend Street, the modern design of Marksdale Gardens has fit into

an older district, well camouflaged by trees and landscaping.

Little change has occurred in Upper Roxbury. For a few blocks south of Townsend, Humboldt Avenue will be flanked by a new school and two churches. Redevelopment will break the continuity of cross streets, thus separating adjacent districts. Along upper Warren St. at Crawford, clearance for a parking lot has exposed Freedom House to view. This new landmark has special significance to the people of Washington Park.

The accompanying maps (Fig. 11) show a composite image of the area before and after renewal. The path system has changed only with the cross-town Boulevard (reducing the importance of Townsend St.), but district character has been drastically altered -- particularly in Middle Roxbury. In contrast, the Blue Hill district north to Dudley Street remains the same. A strong edge has appeared along Warren St., now spatially open on the west. Also Highland Park is set off more strongly by redevelopment along Washington Street. New landmarks have appeared and some old ones have lost their meaning. Jewish synagogues in Upper Roxbury (and one on Blue Hill Ave.) remain as empty symbols left behind by past residents. Protestant churches have adapted to a new membership and continue as important elements in the neighborhood image.

To illustrate the effects of urban renewal along a project boundary, Warren Street has been chosen for special analysis. Figure 12. indicates the change in space and sequence. A progression from Dudley Square south to Grove Hall Center reveals the

Warren Street
1967



Washington Park
Mall (left)



Inside the Mall



THE NEW WASHINGTON PARK

Washington Park
Boulevard (east)



Charlame Park
(left)
Marksdale
Gardens (right)



Humboldt Avenue



THE NEW WASHINGTON PARK

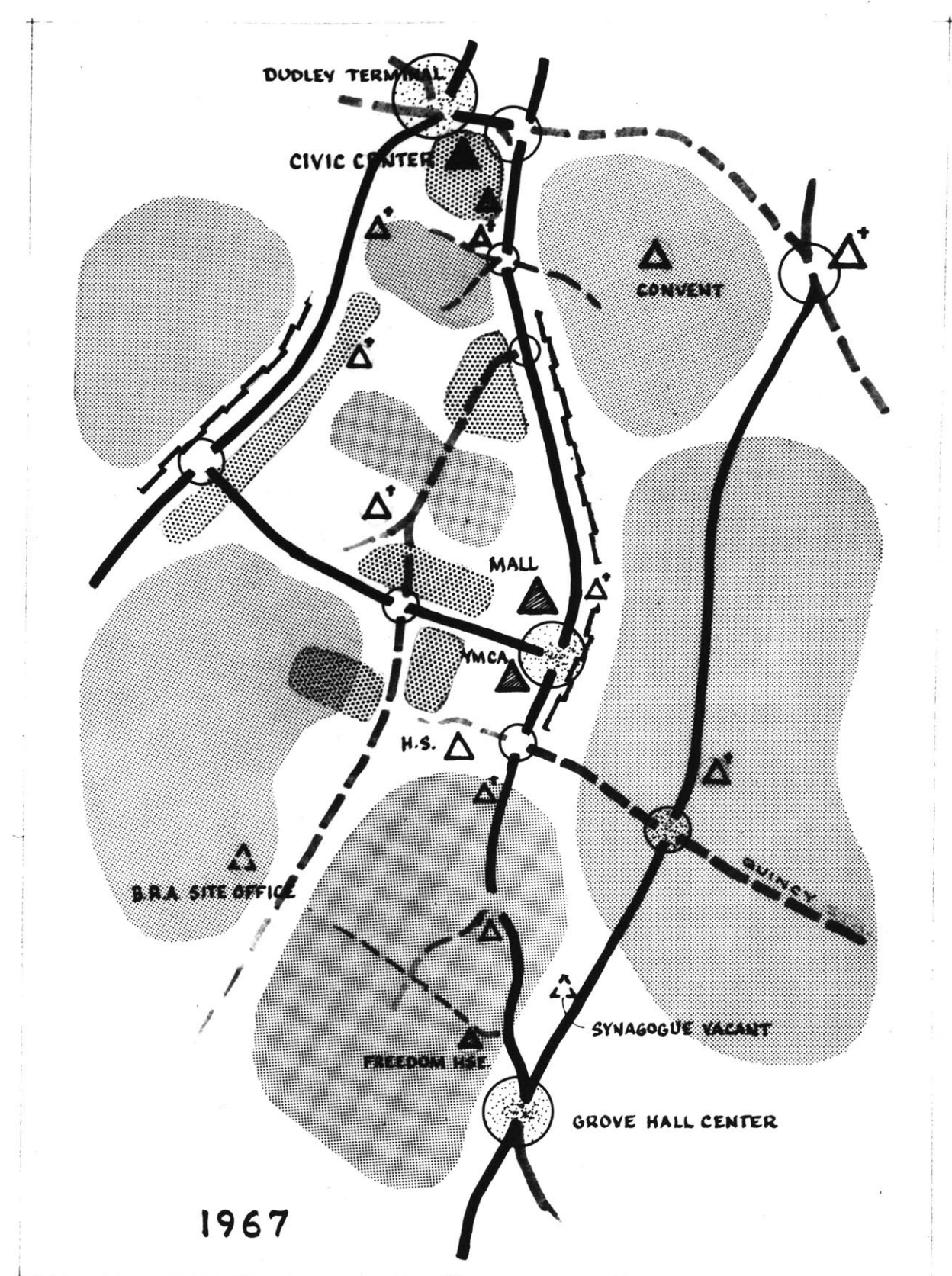
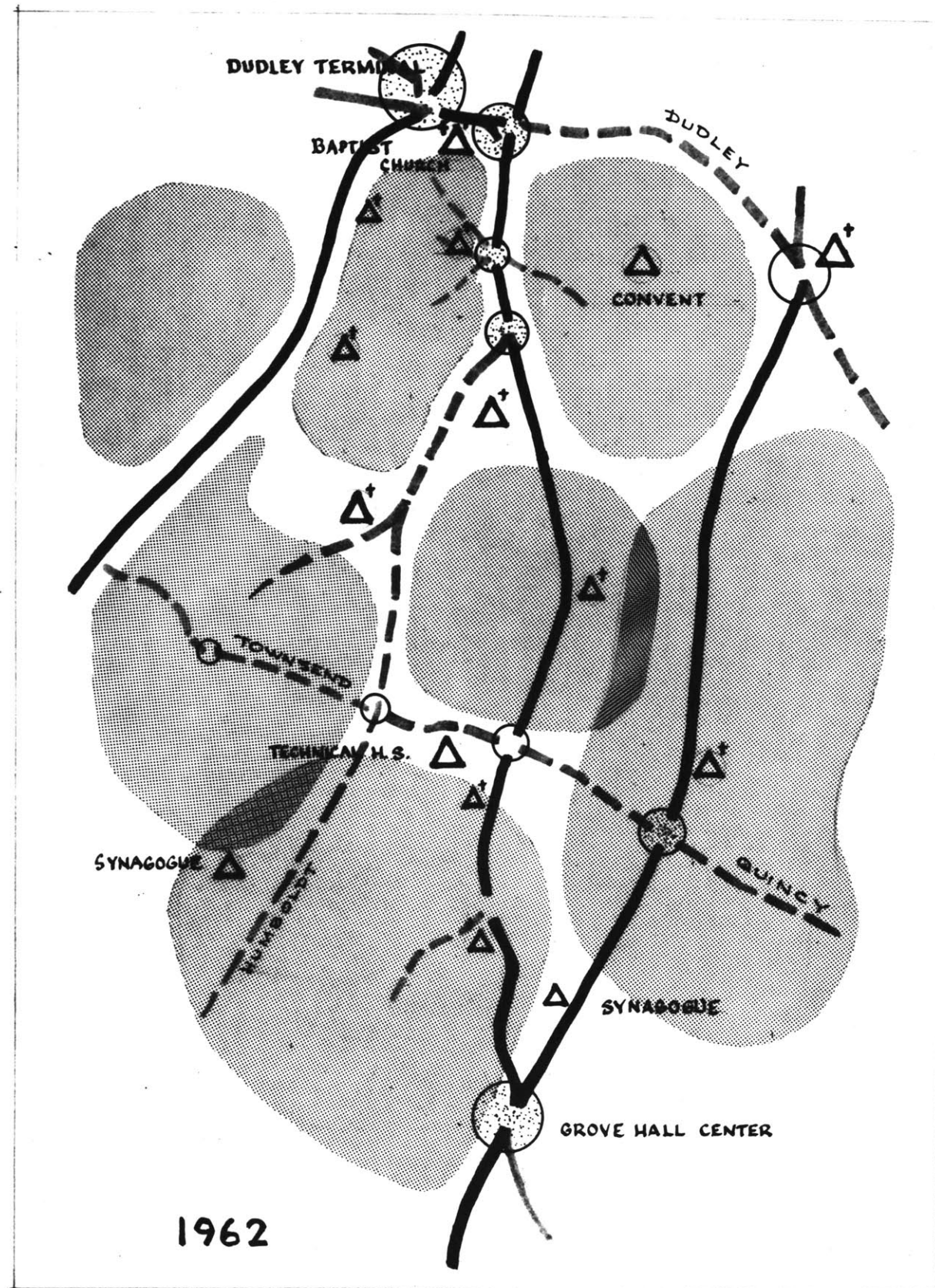








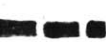
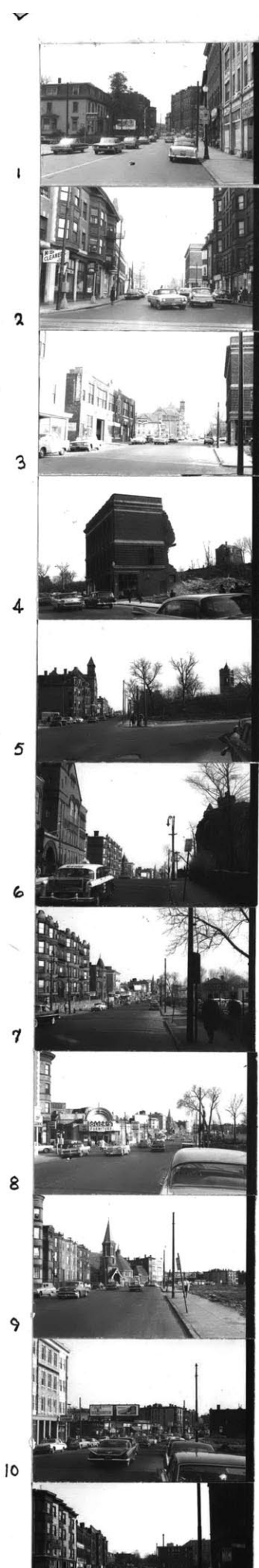
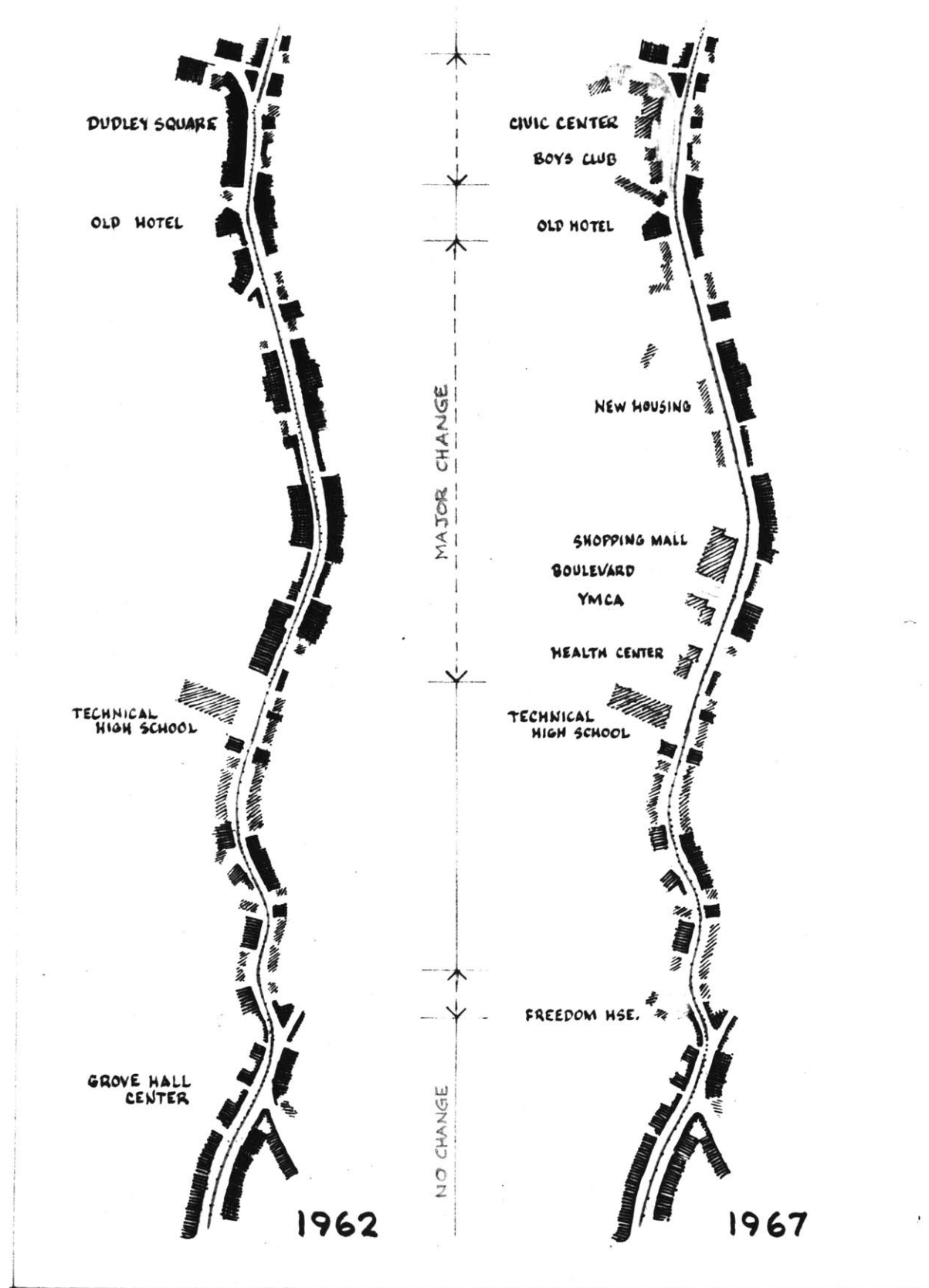


FIG. II. - VISUAL CHARACTER: COMPOSITE IMAGE

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|---|----------------|
|  | old district |  | old landmark |  | traffic node |
|  | new district |  | new landmark |  | activity node |
|  | strong edge |  | main path |  | secondary path |



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SEQUENCE 1964



SPACE - MOTION

FIG. 12 - STREET SEQUENCE:
WARREN ST. SOUTHBOUND

- slow → fast
- ▬ strong spatial definition
- ▨ weak definition (setback)
- ← - - - → major change

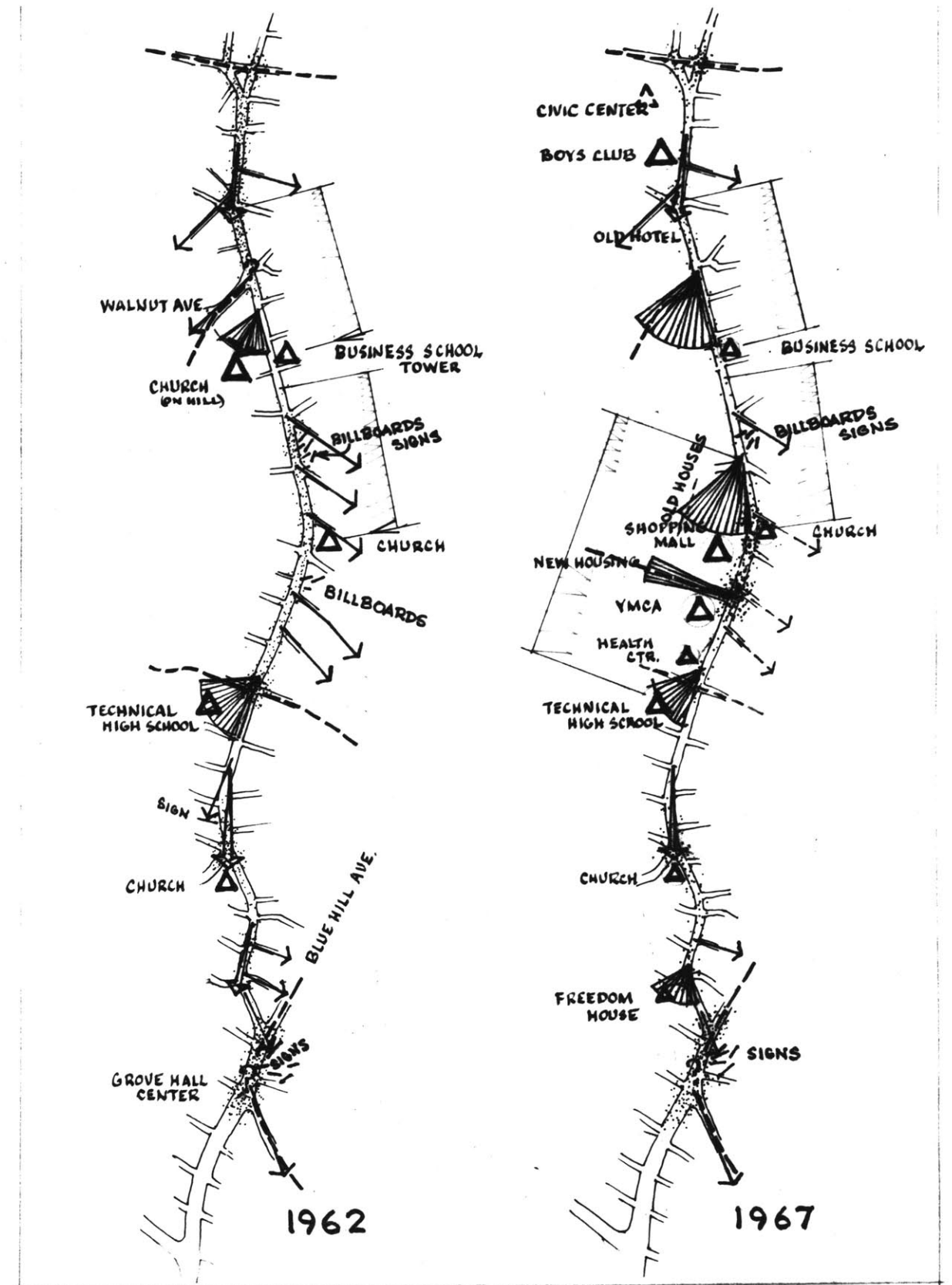


IMAGE DISCLOSURE

- ▬ approach
- ▨ panorama
- side view
- cross path
- ▨ congestion
- △ landmark

tremendous impact of renewal in Washington Park on one side, as opposed to the static facade of North Dorchester on the other. A new image is revealed to the passer-by with focus on the new shopping center and YMCA. Also the old Technical High School is prominently exposed to view.

Four thousand feet of frontage along the west have been totally changed through redevelopment; along the east, nothing has been touched. Through ample setback, new construction in the project will permit widening of Warren Street between Dudley and Townsend. Already traffic is flowing freely. However, through Upper Roxbury there is little evidence of change. The congested shady street winds up to Grove Hall Center through an attractive but aging neighborhood, undisturbed by urban renewal.

Perception of Change by Residents

Sudden and drastic change in the environment has provoked mixed reactions among the people. Some see it as progress; they delight in the new housing and community facilities. The YMCA and cross-town Boulevard are repeatedly mentioned with pride as symbols of the newly emerging Washington Park. Yet the agonizing process of renewal has drawn continued criticism. A recent survey by the Christian Science Monitor revealed the following complaints:²

- Widespread objection to the turmoil and filth caused by land clearance and construction.

- Lack of communication between the redevelopment authority and the ordinary residents of the community.
- Concern about an increase in crime since urban renewal began.
- Criticism of the city government for not providing adequate public services.
- Apathy and lack of concern for the overall renewal program.

Despite these current problems, there was an underlying expectation of better things to come --particularly among neighborhood leaders. Homeowners, having a stake in the future of the area, tend to be more tolerant of the dirt and inconvenience than tenants. Those living in sections nearly rebuilt are more optimistic. However the majority of residents were appalled by the magnitude and rapidity of destruction and the utter slowness of rebuilding. Most had little idea of the overall plans or how near the project was to completion. Even those living in areas of extensive clearance seemed to know only what they saw. "At best they repeat rumors they have heard about what is to happen."

To many people the emphasis on "rehabilitation" lacks credibility. They resent the demolition of so many "good buildings" and the proportions which clearance has assumed.³ In Middle Roxbury massive displacement has broken down social controls and rendered the area vulnerable to a host of new problems.

² "Renewal Complaints Pile Up", Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 24, 1966, p. 1. This report was based on 90 interviews in the Washington Park area, including tenants, homeowners, shopkeepers and businessmen.

³ Familiar "places" disappeared overnight and people's image of the area was disoriented. For example, one long-time resident complained that "They should not have torn down the Dudley St. Baptist Church for a courthouse. The church was a landmark." Ibid., p. 22.

A homeowner explains it as follows:

"When the B.R.A. started moving people out that belong in the community, things have gotten worse. The masses of people have been moved, therefore the community is destroyed. Prostitution is moving into this neighborhood." ⁴

Such tremendous physical change has been disconcerting to residents, particularly those who had been established in Middle Roxbury for several years. To them it was a trying experience as the very fabric of the neighborhood was destroyed. People "disappeared" en masse leaving scores of vacant buildings which were soon razed. Vast rubble-strewn open spaces remained for months or years before being rebuilt. With many of their friends or relatives uprooted, those who survived in the midst of it all felt helpless and disturbed. ⁵

The unlighted vacant areas instilled fear in the minds of the people as street crimes became more commonplace. Most residents avoid shortcuts through vacant lots, although children enjoy the new play space they offer. ⁶

As perceived by people in the area, the renewal process has lacked continuity. The old neighborhood image was suddenly fragmented and a new image is slow in taking its place. Long-time residents were disoriented by the abrupt turn of events; few had participated in the planning process, nor could they understand the B.R.A.'s illustrative plans.

Perception of change by residents of adjacent areas is more difficult to gauge. To the east of Warren Street, people are

⁴ Ibid.

aware of renewal action but have even less knowledge of the plans. Project improvements (and construction sites) are visible for a few hundred yards along nearby streets, however Blue Hill Avenue is too far removed. The alignment of streets and topography cut off the view of new construction more between Dudley Square and Dale Street; however, opposite the new shopping center and YMCA the visual penetration is much greater. This visibility pattern is mapped in Figure 18. Visual proximity may tend to orient residents more to the New Washington Park rather than the Blue Hill strip. However psychological awareness of renewal has apparently stimulated no property improvements. In fact, buildings in the "obvious" path of the new Boulevard have suffered a loss of tenants who anticipated inevitable displacement. Investors or lenders will not touch such insecure property.

On the other hand, residents and shoppers within the project are much more exposed to the visual obsolescence of North Dorchester, pointed up by the static facade along Warren Street. This dichotomy between new and old seems to emphasize the necessity or imminence of renewal treatment beyond Washington Park to the east.

⁵ Eric Svenson, (April 1967), preliminary findings from 20 interviews in the renewal area. (PhD. Dissertation, Dept. of City and Regional Planning, M.I.T.).

⁶ Ibid.

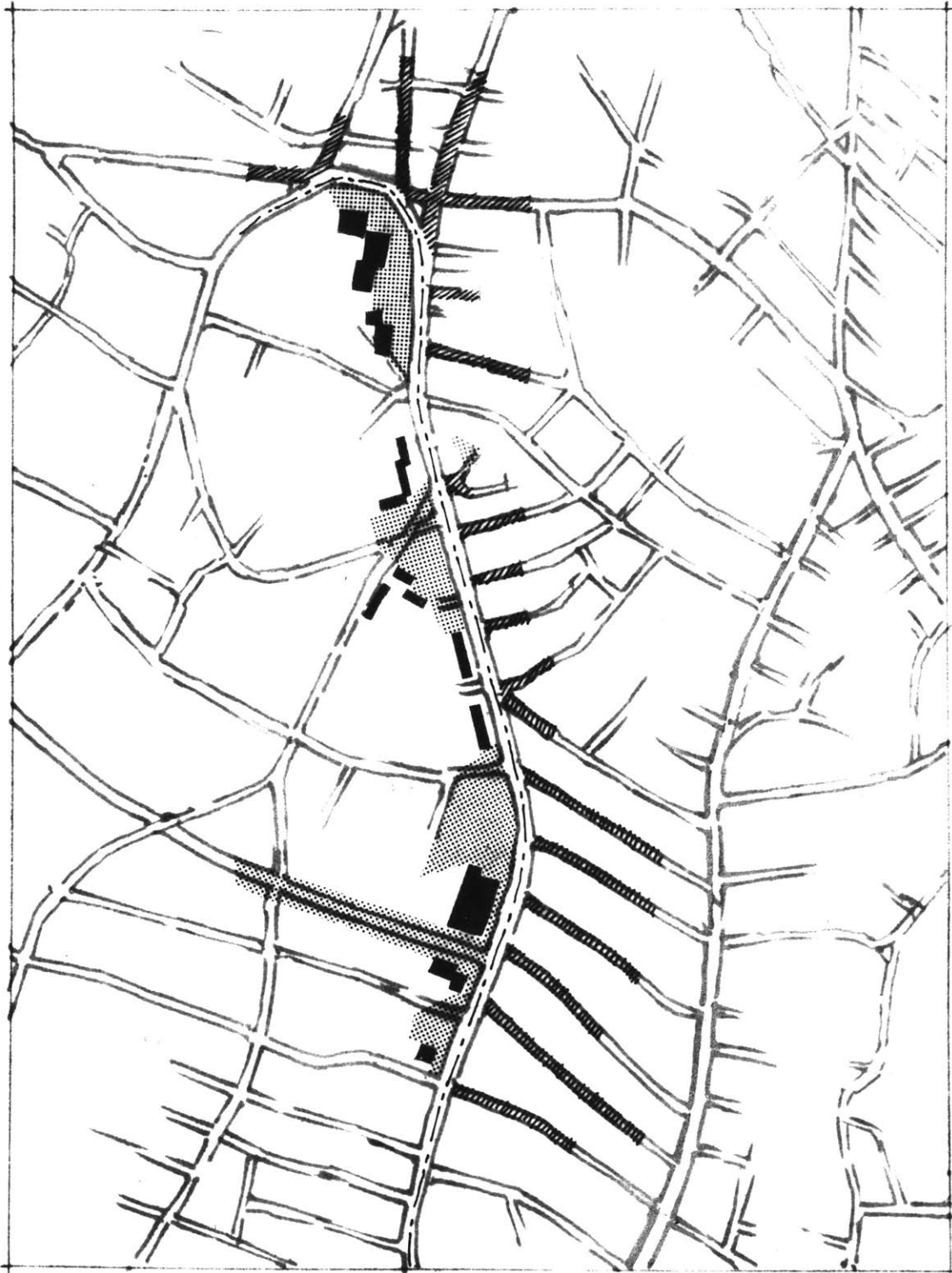


FIGURE 13. - VISIBILITY PATTERN

--- project boundary
 ■ new construction

▨ project improvements as seen from N. Dorchester
 ▩ N. Dorchester as seen from project

B. Economic Effects: The Housing Market and Local Business

Whereas the functional and visual impact of renewal was confined generally to the project boundaries, economic and social patterns of a much larger area were affected. However the economic impact of urban renewal can be measured only in relation to other forces already at work in the city, and market trends prior to project development. Housing shortage and racial change are not new phenomena in Boston, but when compounded with massive relocation in a restricted market, new effects are bound to result.

The Context of Relocation: an Expanding Ghetto

During the past decade the Negro population of Boston increased by more than 50%. In 1960 it amounted to about 10% of the city's total; however the vast majority of Negroes lived in a narrow sector through the South End and Roxbury. (See Fig. 14) Since then the so-called "ghetto" area has extended into Dorchester in the wake of a Jewish exodus and is expected to reach Mattapan within several years.⁷ It is flanked on both sides by stable ethnic neighborhoods, predominantly Irish.

During the Fifties, the South End and Lower Roxbury served as the main reception areas for low-income Negro migrants from the South and other cities. Housing was cheap with monthly rent

⁷ B.R.A., "Report on Distribution of Negro Population, 1950-1960, projected 1970" (Boston 1966), pp. 1-3. Based on an analysis of past migration and ethnic patterns.

from \$30 to \$40; however conditions were substandard and the environment was rapidly degenerating. Hundreds of structures were demolished for code violations; in Lower Roxbury alone, some 1500 dwelling units were eliminated through the decade. Those that remained suffered from neglect; maintenance was minimal and hazard increased. In the face of a dwindling housing stock families moved on to Middle Roxbury or North Dorchester where rents were only slightly higher.

The South End was losing population at the rate of nearly 1500 persons a year. As many Negro families were leaving as whites, but it was a selective migration. During the 1950's some 6200 whites moved out, presumably to outer sections of Boston such as Hyde Park or West Roxbury, which recorded population increases. However the thousands of non-whites found housing in the expanding ghetto of Roxbury and North Dorchester.⁸

It has been estimated that in-migration from the rural South and other cities reached its peak in the early 1960's, but actual figures are unavailable. These newcomers were accommodated in a dynamic market, already affected by internal movement within the Negro area. A 1964 survey for the Boston Regional Planning Project revealed that over 5000 families had entered Roxbury since 1959, fifty percent more than during the entire previous decade. In the same five-year period nearly as many moves occurred within the area.⁹

⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹ Data file BRPP 01, M.I.T. Computation Center. (Survey conducted by Wilbur Smith and Associates, primarily for transportation planning purposes) This source was also used by ABCD in a detailed demographic study, "Migration Analysis of the Proposed Model Cities Area in Roxbury-North Dorchester," by Wm. [unclear] [unclear] 1967



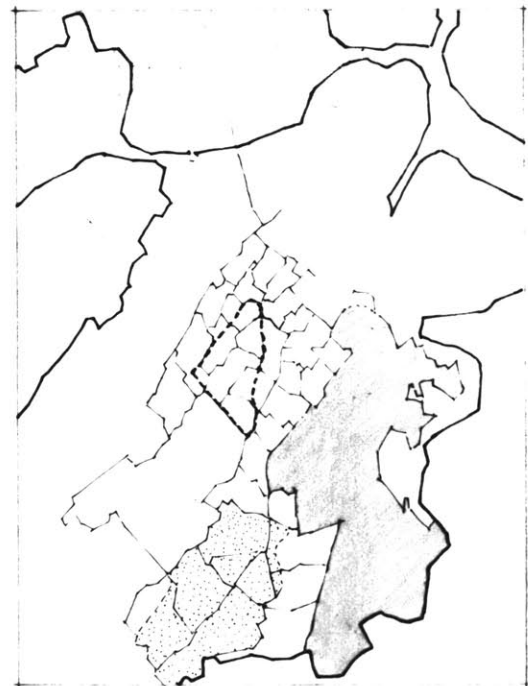
AREAS OF NEGRO CONCENTRATION
 % OF CITY'S TOTAL IN THIS AREA:
 1950 - 92.2% 1960 - 86.6%



CENSUS TRACTS WITH 40% OR
 MORE NEGRO POPULATION:
 ■■■ IN 1950 ■■■ IN 1960



TRACTS IN WHICH THE NEGRO
 POPULATION IS EXPECTED TO IN-
 CREASE SIGNIFICANTLY 1960-70



ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN 1960
 ■■■ PREDOMINANTLY JEWISH
 ■■■ IRISH, CANADIAN, ITALIAN

FIGURE 14 - NEGRO MIGRATION PATTERNS

The Housing Stock: 1960

According to the 1960 Census of Housing, conditions in the Roxbury-Dorchester area varied greatly. Widespread deterioration was found in most of the tracts, but peripheral sections to the south and east had maintained much better quality. Rents were depressed in Highland Park, Lower and Middle Roxbury where vacancy rates were highest. In the prosperous neighborhoods near Franklin Park, rent was substantially higher and vacancies at a minimum. Homeownership throughout the area is below the Boston average; it is highest in Dorchester east of the railroad and in Jamaica Plain. The main sector of Negro influx has rental occupancy in excess of 75%; in Lower Roxbury it averages 95%.

These variables have been mapped to show the pattern before urban renewal in Washington Park. (Figures 15-18) In this analysis, the housing stock of 1960 is regarded as the context for family relocation. Included is the ghetto area of Roxbury and its immediate environs. Due to racial constraints the Negro housing market can be identified distinctly from the rest of the city.¹⁰ The vast majority of families to be displaced by renewal were non-white; few whites remained in the heart of the ghetto.¹¹ Their choice in relocation was limited only by income; they were in a different market.

¹⁰ It is assumed that reverse migration back to the South End would be negligible. In fact real estate values are rising significantly there, driving up rents and accelerating the out-migration of lower-income families.

¹¹ B.R.A., "Family Relocation - 1963" (by Patrick A. Thompkins), pp. 2-3. Relocation experience during the first year was reported as over 90% non-white.

Characteristics of the housing stock have been correlated to identify several sub-areas. In each of these, census tracts are combined according to condition, vacancy rate, rent level, and tenure. (Fig. 19) Although the sub-areas were chosen by physio-economic criteria, they in fact reflect social patterns as well. In part they conform to project planning areas of the GNRP, but further breakdown was necessary in North Dorchester.

For the purposes of this analysis, tracts flanking the non-white sector have been excluded. No significant breakthrough is anticipated into areas over 99% white. These are stable, predominantly Irish neighborhoods where homeownership is somewhat more prevalent. Relocation is essentially a rental market, therefore, it is likely to occur within the main sector where apartments are more common.¹²

The eight defined sub-areas are in a state of rapid transition. Population turnover is the highest in the city. Most affected in recent years is the vicinity of Blue Hill Avenue and east of Franklin Park. Change is less pronounced in the Egleston Square area of Jamaica Plain, but it is likely to increase.

Below, each sub-area is described according to its housing "profile" which relates condition, vacancy rate and average rent. Rental occupancy (tenure) was not further considered since it varies only slightly in the market sector. Data is taken from the 1960 Census of Housing, and conditions are described as of that date. The relocation "potential" for each sub-area is

¹² According to B.R.A. reports, only 12% of the relocated families purchased homes; the remainder sought public or private rental housing. re: B.R.A., "The Washington Park Relocation Story, 1962/1966", p. 28.

based on the following criteria:

- (1) The availability of "standard" housing which meets the B.R.A. requirements. (where sufficient vacancies already exist or high turnover is anticipated)
- (2) The availability of deteriorating units at lower rents for some self-relocatees. (Dilapidated housing is ruled out as a relocation resource).
- (3) The absence of concerted racial resistance in the neighborhood.

It is assumed that relocatees would prefer those areas not rejected by the market, where demolition rates were relatively low.

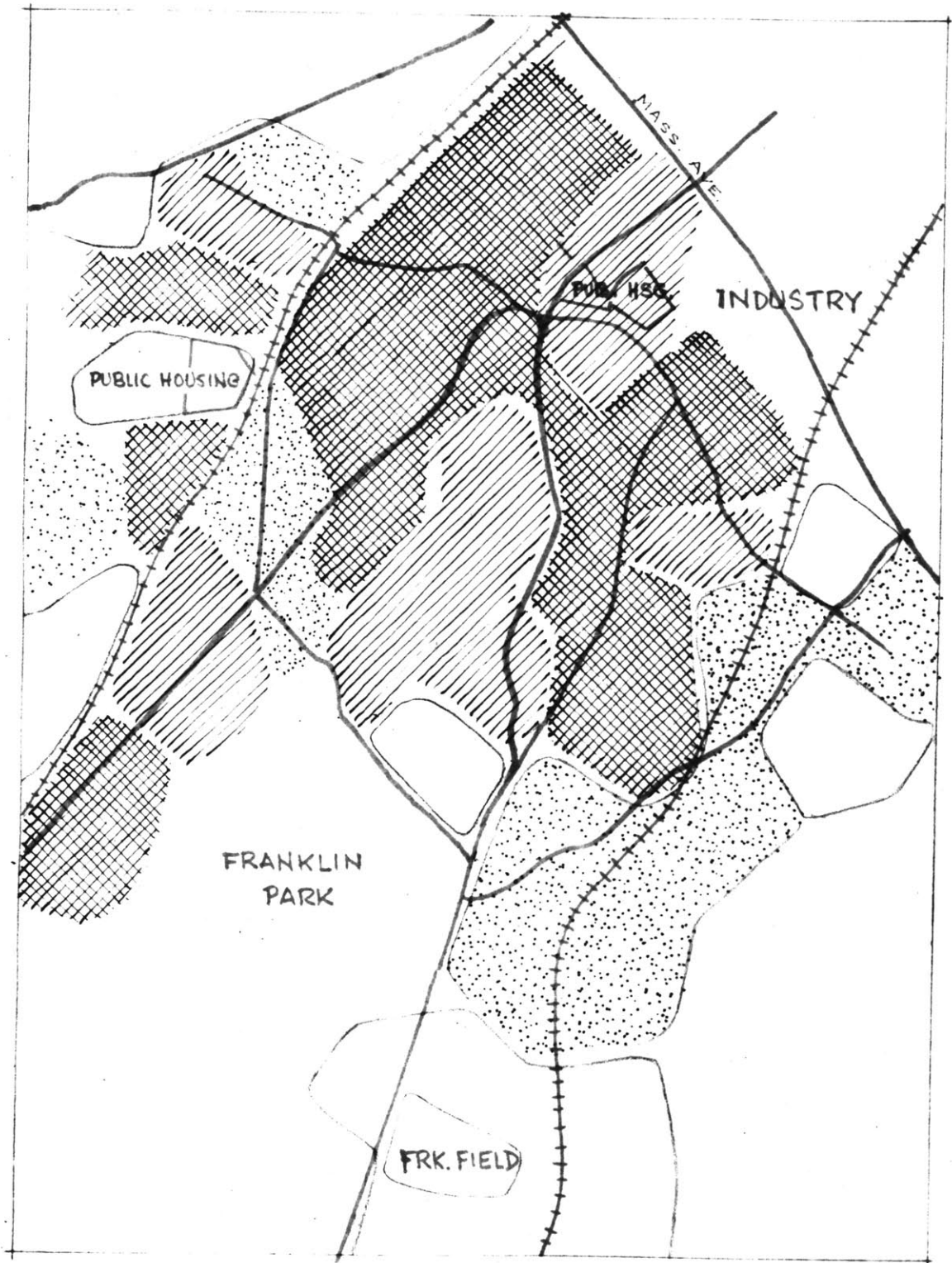
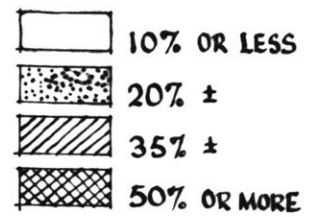


FIGURE 15. - HOUSING CONDITION 1960
DETERIORATING AND DILAPIDATED



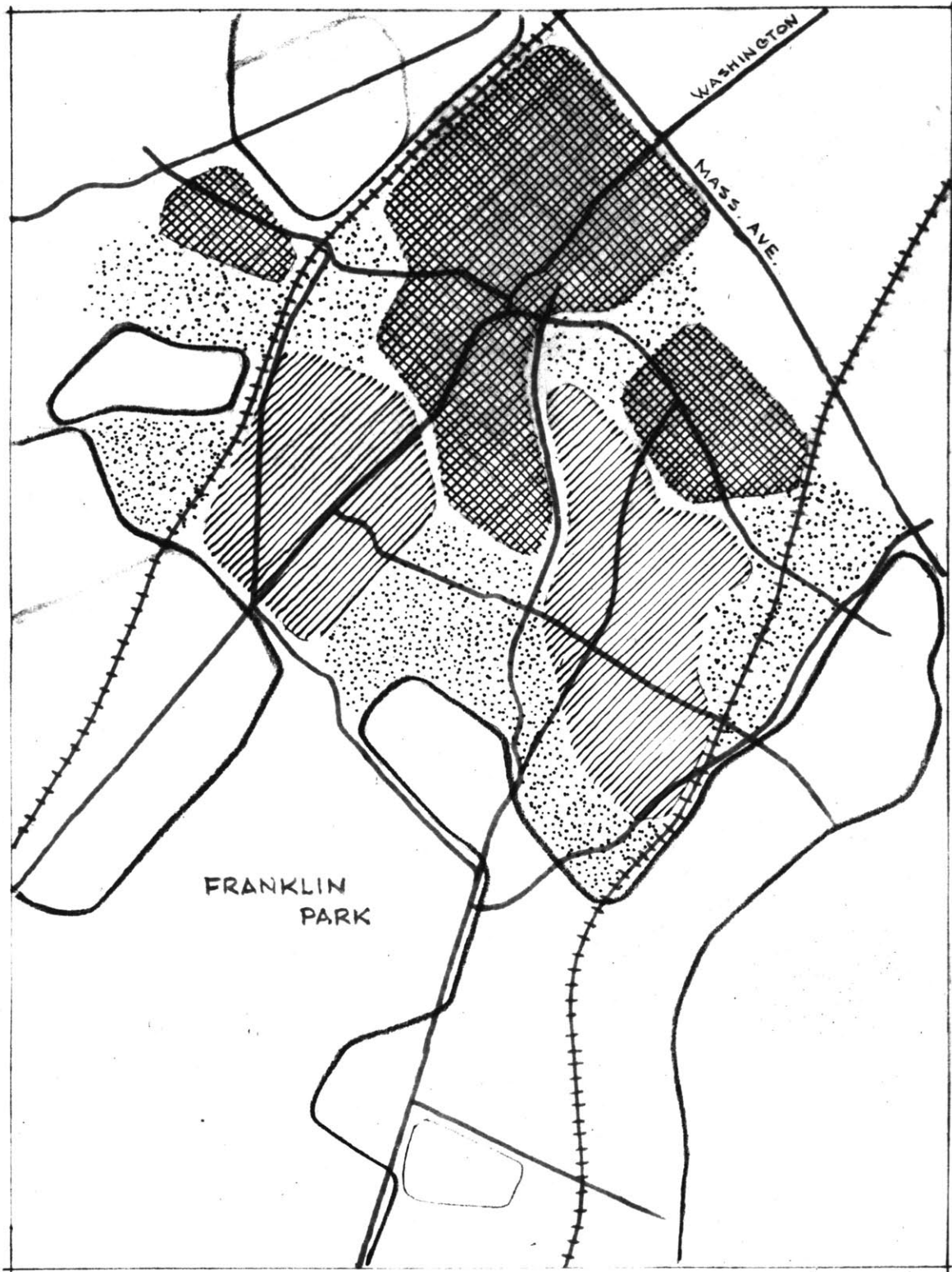
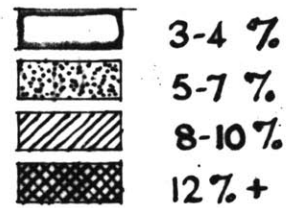


FIGURE 16. - VACANCY PATTERN 1960



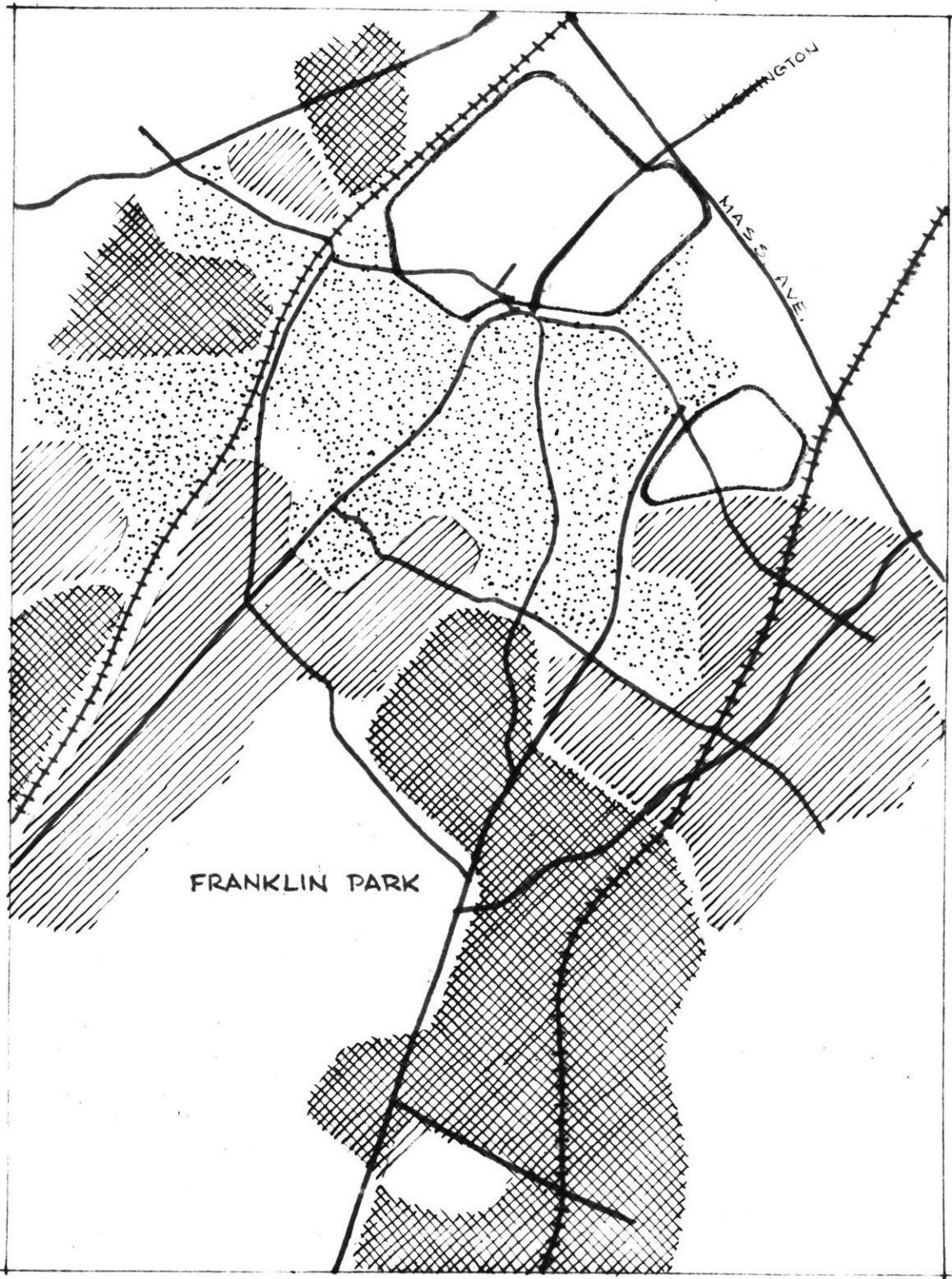
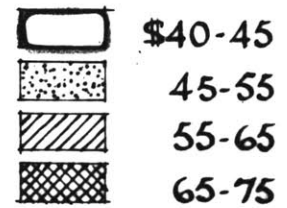


FIG. 17 - AVG. CONTRACT RENT 1960



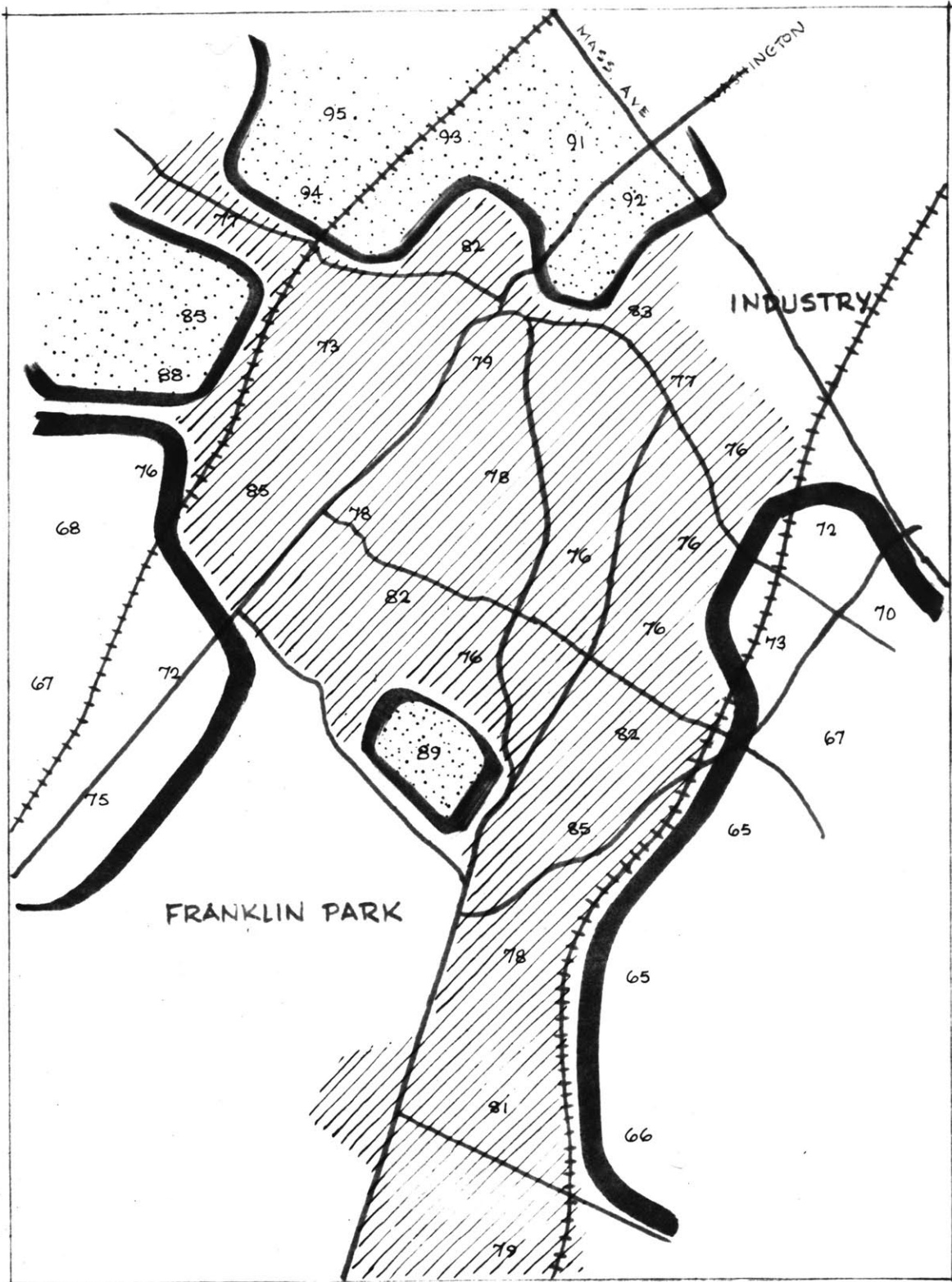
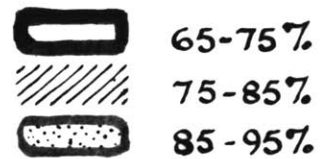
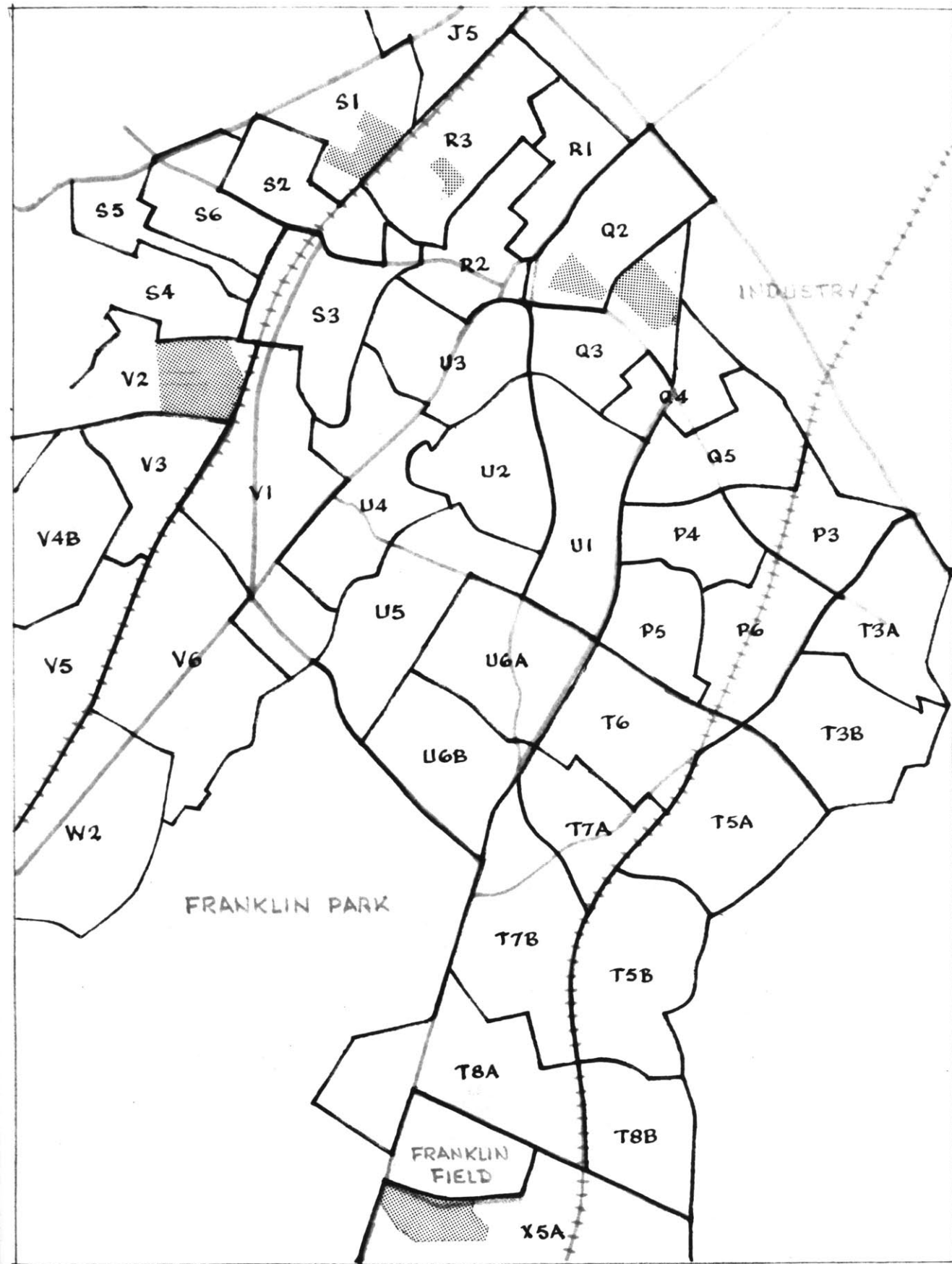


FIG. 18 - RENTAL OCCUPANCY 1960





CENSUS TRACTS AND PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS ■

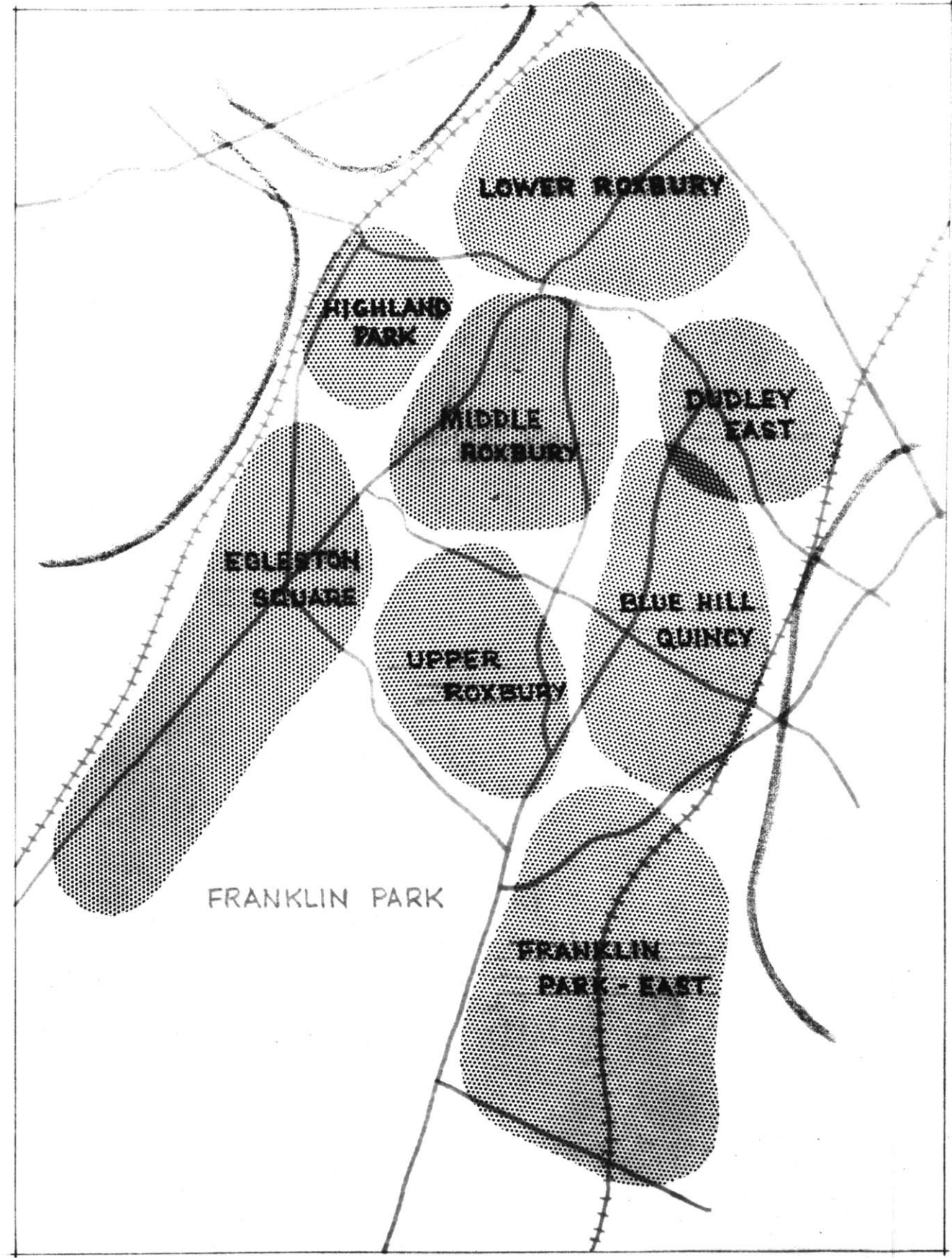
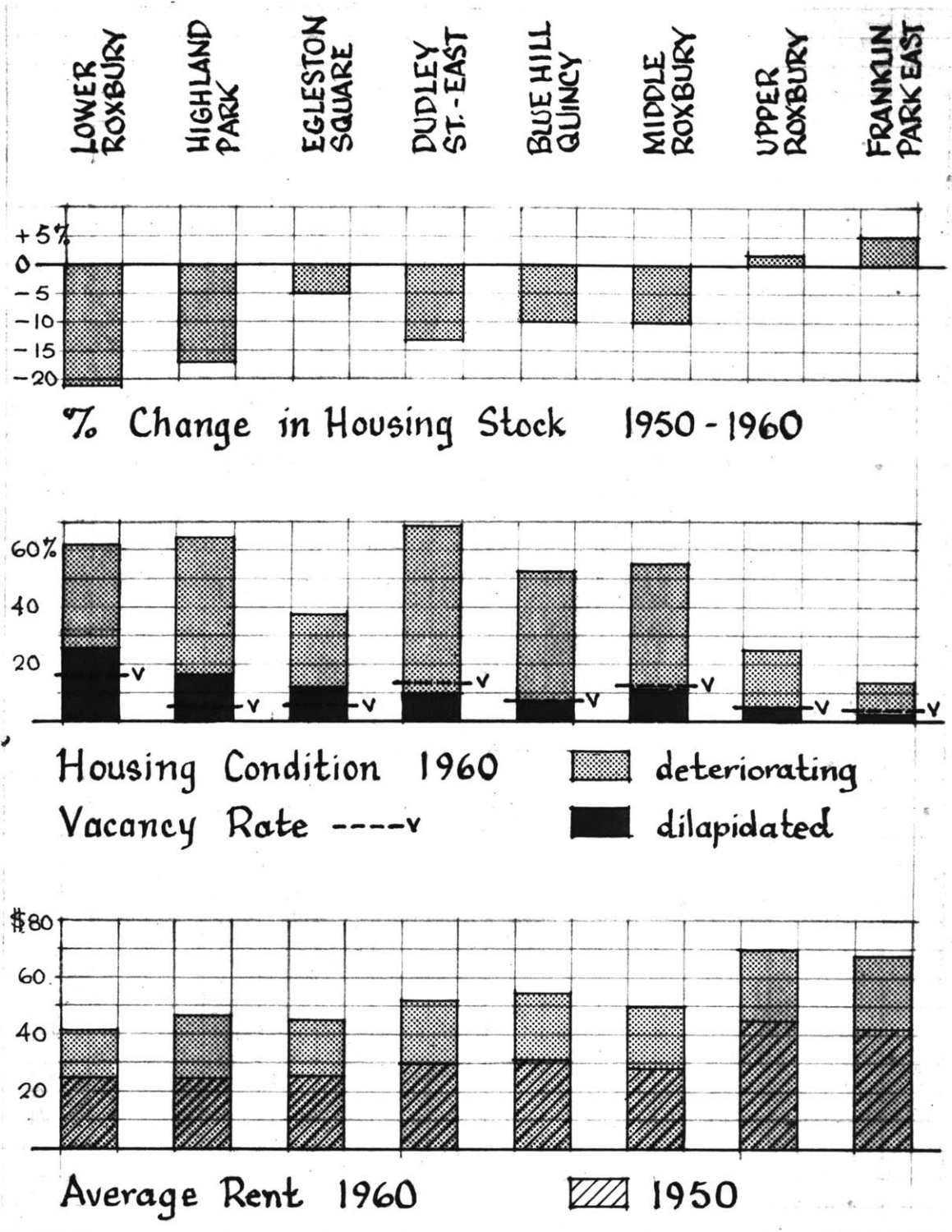


FIGURE 19 - SUB-AREAS IN THE HOUSING MARKET

- Lower Roxbury: In the Madison Park area northwest of Dudley Square, housing conditions are by far the worst, with 60% substandard. Despite demolition of some 1350 units during the 1950's, over one-quarter of the stock remains dilapidated. It can be assumed that vacancies (totalling 17 percent) were mostly in dilapidated units. Lower Roxbury is a low-rent district of the worst sort (averaging \$41 in 1960). It could certainly not absorb much relocation.
- Highland Park: This section is in a serious state of decline but could be restored as a fine neighborhood. Due to gross neglect the housing is over 70% substandard with 17% dilapidated. The vacancy rate is surprisingly low at 5%, suggesting that at least 150 families (or 13%) are living in dilapidated units. Average rent remained low in 1960 at \$47, which is to be expected considering the quality of housing. During the past decade Highland Park lost over 250 units through spot demolition. The area is struggling for survival and offers little potential for relocation housing.
- Egleston Sq.: South of Highland Park in Jamaica Plain is another low vacancy area (6%). Despite generally poor housing quality it has been moreless stable (due to Irish population in the lower tracts). Negroes have settled around the Square but few have penetrated farther down. Contrary to what is observed in Roxbury or Dorchester, housing to the south of Egleston Square becomes progressively worse. Overall it is nearly 40% substandard with over 500 dilapidated units of which at least half were occupied. Relatively little demolition has occurred. Not much relocation could be anticipated in this area.
- Dudley Street
-East: This section has been suffering from mixed industrial use and continued demolition (300 units last decade). The vacancy rate stands at about 14% including mostly dilapidated units but some deteriorating. 1960 rents averaged \$46. With over half the units substandard, the area is a poor resource for relocation housing.
- Blue Hill -
Quincy: Proceeding south through North Dorchester, housing conditions are little better. The vacancy rate stands at 8%, mostly in dilapidated units, with another 40% deteriorating. Average rent was somewhat higher at \$54. Despite the

loss of 400 units since 1950 (half the rate as in Dudley St.- East), over 5000 remain with 50% in sound condition. This area could absorb considerable relocation.

- Middle Roxbury:** This area was hardest hit by urban renewal, with nearly 2000 units acquired. In the previous decade about 400 had been demolished incrementally. Over half the housing was substandard in 1960 with about 12% dilapidated -- the same level as the vacancy rate. This would indicate that the worst units were unoccupied with nearly all the residents in sound or deteriorating dwellings. Rent averaged \$50, falling between that of Highland Park and the Blue Hill - Quincy area. Relocation potential in Middle Roxbury was minimal with nearly half its housing stock to be eliminated by the project.
- Upper Roxbury:** Proceeding south toward Franklin Park one enters a relatively high rent district (averaging \$70 in 1960). Housing condition was good, with 10-30% substandard. In tract U6B, which commanded rents of \$80, only 1% of the units were dilapidated. The vacancy rate was uniformly low at 5%. Demolition prior to urban renewal was minimal; the housing stock had actually increased by over 100 units during the 1950's. There was little new construction, but many conversions. Since only 10% of its housing would be lost in project execution, Upper Roxbury was destined to become a prime reception area for relocatees.
- Franklin Park-East:** From Grove Hall Center to Franklin Field some change was experienced even before 1960, as Jewish families began selling out to Negroes. Rents averaged \$68, similar to Upper Roxbury, and the vacancy rate was even lower (4%). Housing condition was progressively better moving southward. It ranged from 25% substandard at Grove Hall to less than 5% in the lower tracts, where virtually no dilapidated units were reported. The housing stock had increased by over 400 units since 1950, mostly through conversion of larger apartments. Demand was already rising, turnover was high, and prospects for relocation in this area were excellent.



**FIG. 20 - SUMMARY CHART BY SUB-AREAS
 PROFILE OF THE HOUSING STOCK 1960**
 (For breakdown by census tracts see Appendix C)

The above "Profile" correlates the variables discussed and reflects opportunities for relocation in the existing housing stock. Later experience has shown a tendency to avoid those unstable areas where the stock was diminishing rapidly through private demolition and vacancies were thereby high. Conditions were very poor with much dilapidated housing; there was no future in such neighborhoods.¹³ The worst areas were Lower Roxbury, Highland Park and Dudley St.-East. Between 13% and 21% of the units had been demolished during the past decade and the trend was continuing. In each case about three-fifths of the housing was substandard with a high incidence of dilapidation. With the exception of Highland Park the vacancy rate approached 20%, reflecting an absence of demand in these areas despite the low rent.

There was preference for areas where the housing stock (although not occupancy) was more or less stable and in generally good condition. Demand in such neighborhoods was already high with vacancies low (5%). In Upper Roxbury and Franklin Park-East, the rate of turnover was considerable as Jewish families yielded to incoming Negroes. Rents were somewhat higher which likely discouraged the poorest families from coming in. Lower rents prevailed in the Egleston Square area but there were few vacancies and little turnover. A stable Irish population resisted newcomers so few Negroes were accommodated.

¹³ In the more "favorable" areas, the vacancy rate approximated the percentage of dilapidated units, and both were reasonably low. This was indicative of stability --where the worst housing was unoccupied and not much demolition going on.

The intermediate zones of Blue Hill- Quincy and Middle Roxbury had relatively poor housing but advantages of proximity and low rent. In these areas demolition had claimed 10% of the housing stock during the 1950's, and urban renewal was to greatly affect Middle Roxbury. Nevertheless relocation opportunities were considerable, particularly east of Warren Street in the Blue Hill area.

When urban renewal began in Roxbury, the area was undergoing tremendous change. Negro in-migration reached its peak in the early 1960's and decent housing was in short supply. Private demolition through the Fifties had eliminated some 3000 units and the remaining stock was rapidly deteriorating. The ghetto area had solidified as whites moved out and competition was great for the housing they left behind.

The Project in Execution: 1963-1967

Family relocation from Washington Park was well underway by 1963, and demolition began a few months later. Displacement was to be staged over a four-year period involving about forty families per month. However original B.R.A. estimates were exceeded by nearly 50% as the relocation period was compressed to 40 months and the caseload increased by unforeseen demolition. During the first year some 700 families were moved, averaging about sixty per month. By March of 1966 over 2300 families had been relocated with very few remaining.¹⁴

¹⁴ B.R.A., "The Washington Park Relocation Story, 1962/1966", op.cit., p. 28.

The pattern of relocation was rather concentrated, with over 80% in the ghetto area. B.R.A. records show the following distribution:¹⁵

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| Washington Park | 24.5 % |
| Roxbury (remainder of GNRP) | 27 |
| Dorchester | 29 |
| Jamaica Plain | 7 |
| South End | 1 |
| Downtown Area | 1.5 |
| Other sections of Boston | 3 |
| Suburbs & other cities | 7 |
| | 100.0 % |

It can be assumed that nearly all families accommodated in Roxbury were Negro; those moving to Dorchester were confined to the area along Franklin Park included in the housing analysis. Most of the families entering Jamaica Plain were probably white. Scatteration to other parts of Boston and beyond was minimal (less than 12%).

The tendency for displaced families to relocate near their old place of residence is confirmed by studies throughout the country. The majority of relocatees have found housing within a mile or so; many moved only a few blocks.¹⁶ Negroes may be subject to racial constraints which confine them to the ghetto. But regardless of race, families have strong ties and social dependence in their immediate neighborhood --particularly among

¹⁵ Ibid., Appendix 7., "Areas into which Washington Park relocatees have moved", p. 28.

¹⁶ Chester W. Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Nov. 1964, p. 268.

lower-income groups most affected by urban renewal.

Unfortunately, relocation statistics available from the B.R.A. offer little insight on detailed distribution of families. Although street addresses are recorded, this information is not plotted on a dot map or by sub-areas. No distinction is made between whites and non-whites in aggregating data. Patterns of relocation are rarely uniform; Negroes will tend to cluster where areas "open up" to them, particularly on the fringe of a ghetto. On the other hand, white families may follow more of a "shotgun" pattern, seeking out the best housing deal. In Dorchester and Jamaica Plain this is apparently what has happened.

Only one attempt has been made to map actual destinations of relocatees in Boston. It was prepared by the Regional Office of the Urban Renewal Administration in 1964, tracing movement from both Washington Park and the Castle Square project. (Fig. 21) Although only a small portion of the families is included in that study, it presents a pattern typical of overall relocation.

According to actual records there was little overlap in reception areas for the two projects. Families displaced from Castle Square were over 75% white; only 150 were Negro. Most of them moved to the South End or South Boston, and about 12% relocated in Roxbury. Dorchester and Jamaica Plain received even less. In contrast, over 90% of relocatees from Washington Park were Negro. Only 1% moved to the South End and practically none to South Boston.¹⁷

¹⁷ B.R.A., "Family Relocation - 1963", op.cit., pp. 2-4. During 1963 virtually no families were reported moved from Washington Park to South Boston, East Boston, Charlestown, South Cove, Back Bay or the North End.



FIGURE 21. Relocation from Washington Park and Castle Square

- White families
- Negro families

When related to the housing analysis by sub-areas, the dot map is remarkably consistent. Upper Roxbury and Franklin Park- East proved to be prime reception areas, as well as the Blue Hill section. Lower Roxbury and Highland Park received few families, and Negroes made little headway into Jamaica Plain beyond Egleston Square. Clusters of black "dots" occur at public housing sites. These projects accommodated nearly 300 families.

As hundreds of Negro families relocated in the greater Roxbury area, the exodus of whites continued, but at an accelerated pace. The "tipping point" was passed in Upper Roxbury prior to 1963 as Jewish residents abandoned the area en masse. Preservation of an interracial community was a long lost hope. Housing turnover was high before renewal, but an additional 500 families had to be absorbed in three years. About 500 moved into North Dorchester, which had more vacancies but inferior housing. Nearly 700 sought better housing to the south along Franklin Park, where the vacancy rate had been very low (3-4%). Property changed hands at an unprecedented rate. In a single year (1965) more than 500 sales were recorded as the ghetto pushed southward. Population changed from 80% white to 80% non-white in a few short years.

The impact of relocation did not cause such change, but it contributed significantly to existing pressures. Negro migration to Boston during the 1950's averaged about 500 families annually, but it was an upward trend.¹⁸ Shortly after 1960 the influx

¹⁸ B.R.A., "Report on Distribution of Negro Population, 1950-1960, projected 1970", op.cit.

reached its peak, stimulated by civil rights activities in the South and job opportunities in New England. It had dropped off by 1963 when urban renewal commenced in the heart of the ghetto. Then 700 families were displaced annually for three successive years. They competed in the same restricted market, compounding an already acute demand for housing.

Response of the Market

Rents had been rising steadily in Roxbury for many years at an inflationary rate, as in other parts of Boston. During the 1950's average contract rent increased \$20 to \$25 per month. The 1960 Census indicates a broad range --from \$38-44 in Lower Roxbury to \$64-79 in tracts of Upper Roxbury. With the neighborhood in transition, rents were rising more rapidly, particularly in the early Sixties with increased Negro in-migration. Also tax increases had been passed on to tenants until 1960 when the rate leveled off; however demand was higher than ever.

In late 1962 Early Land Acquisition began in Washington Park, impelling sixty more families per month into the market. During the ensuing 40 months, real estate brokers received thousands of calls from the B.R.A. Case workers inspected units throughout the area, offering families up to three alternatives in "standard" rental housing. Meanwhile new 221(d)(3) housing was being built to allow broader choice in relocation. Marksdale Gardens was ready for occupancy in late 1964, with Charlame Park shortly thereafter. Together the projects provided nearly 200 units. Over a year later Marksdale II. was completed and Academy

Homes opened up 200 more units.

Due to their low income over three-quarters of the displaced families were deemed eligible for public housing. This was regarded as a primary resource for relocation and the Boston Housing Authority was committed to give preference to relocatees from urban renewal sites.¹⁹ However larger apartments were in short supply; only 7% of the total inventory had four and five bedrooms, and people waited years for these. Also many projects were either too remote or segregated. An average time lag of several months discouraged many applicants; they moved into private rental housing --often substandard.

The plight of the large family has been a desperate one. It has worsened under urban renewal, which failed to replace but a fraction of the large units it destroyed. The problem has been frustrated by exclusionary market practices, notably through conversions, sometimes under the guise of rehabilitation, with FHA loans.

¹⁹ B.R.A., Urban Renewal Plan, Washington Park Urban Renewal Area, (Project No. Mass. R-24, Jan. 1963), Chp. V., "Displacement of Families". To meet federal requirements, estimates were made on the "availability of relocation housing" during the projected 48-month displacement period. The public housing inventory was assumed to provide some 5720 accommodations through turnover of existing units and new construction of some 1000 units (which were never built). Only 1275 of these might be "required" for eligible relocatees. (This same resource was double counted for relocation from other renewal projects currently underway. Actually less than 300 families from Washinton Park entered public housing; larger units were particularly scarce.

New construction of moderate income housing was listed at 1100 units (of which only 460 had been completed by 1967 to be occupied by some 200 relocatees). Vacancies (totalling 8469) were projected in the private rental market throughout Boston and the Metropolitan Area. Difficulty to be encountered by non-white families (92% of the total) was hardly recognized. The B.R.A. was to give "special attention to this problem". There was no relocation analysis of the ghetto area.

While the B.R.A. was demolishing substandard structures containing hundreds of large apartments, real estate investors were busy splitting up big units into smaller ones. Many owners refused to accept families with three or more children; they were all too often noisy and destructive. Thus the Redevelopment Authority found a "less than enthusiastic response" on the part of landlords. They were often unwilling to make repairs necessary to qualify as "standard" housing. Owners found these requirements to be unreasonable; their "substandard" apartments could be easily rented to other clients. Some unscrupulous landlords would take large families into deteriorating buildings, charge them high rents and neglect all maintenance. Overcrowding has also occurred.

Despite optimistic reports by the Redevelopment Authority, there is serious question as to whether the situation of displaced families has really been improved. As echoed by the official line repeatedly, over 90% lived in substandard housing before relocation, and afterward 97% were in standard housing. But critics denounce such reports as either a compromise on "standards" or grossly inaccurate records. On one point there is agreement: these families are paying much more for housing than they were before. According to B.R.A. calculations, their average gross rent increased from \$65 to nearly \$90, the guideline limit of 25% of income.²⁰

²⁰ B.R.A., "The Washinton Park Relocation Story, 1962/1966", *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. It was admitted, however, that "no distinction was made in the Washington Park records between gross rent and net rent (not including utilities)". This is no minor difference; heating alone can run \$20-30 per month. Such an oversight is indicative of poor administration and reflects the accuracy of official reports by the B.R.A.

Review of prevailing market rents in 1966 would suggest that a majority of families are paying \$80-90 without heat or utilities. Their gross housing expense may well be exceeding a rent/income ratio of 25%.

Prior to urban renewal, between 1950 and 1960, rent levels had increased by about 70% while income rose only 50% in the study area. During the same period median family income in the state of Massachusetts increased by nearly 85%.²¹ As reflected by rent/income ratios, Roxbury residents experienced a heavier burden of housing expense through the 1950's --a trend which continued through the renewal period at an even greater rate. (See Figure 23) Meanwhile in other parts of Boston, the rent/income ratio has remained moreless steady at about 12-15%. (net)

Rent-Income Change: 1950-1966²²

| Sub-area | Increase 1950-1960 | | Rent/Income Ratio | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|------|-------|
| | Contract rent | Gross Income | 1950 | 1960 | 1966* |
| Lower Roxbury | 68% | 32% | .160 | .195 | -- |
| Highland Park | 88 | 54 | .120 | .145 | .195 |
| Egleston Square | 71 | 61 | .130 | .140 | -- |
| Dudley St.-East | 78 | 53 | .115 | .135 | .170 |
| Blue Hill- Quincy | 74 | 56 | .135 | .170 | .195 |
| Middle Roxbury | 72 | 50 | .140 | .165 | .200 |
| Upper Roxbury | 52 | 46 | .180 | .195 | .225 |
| Franklin Park- East | 62 | 53 | .155 | .165 | .200 |
| Overall average | 71% | 51% | .142 | .164 | .198 |

*Income for 1966 is projected at the 1950-1960 rate of increase. 1966 rent is taken from realty listings. (See Appendix D)

Significantly, families in the chief reception areas (Upper Roxbury and Franklin Park- East) paid a much higher percentage of their income for rent, largely due to an influx of lower-income people. If heat and utilities were added consistently to "contract rent", these ratios might be increased by .05 or more.

Negroes are at a particular disadvantage in finding adequate housing at rents they can afford. According to studies in other cities,

"...the effects of discrimination make decent relocation housing more difficult and expensive to obtain for non-whites and force them to pay high rents, even for poor housing ...the most unsatisfactory relocation results reported in terms of increased rents and the high percentages of families who relocated into substandard housing, were in predominantly- or all-Negro areas." ²³

Roxbury is no exception. Negro families moving into apartments vacated by whites invariably paid from \$10 to \$15 more. In some buildings where conversions had been made, 3-room apartments rented for as much as 5-6 rooms previously. Many an investor nearly doubled his return as Negroes were "willing" to pay far more than whites. In fact many Jewish families moved out because of rising rent rather than racial frictions. ²⁴

²¹ 1966 Statistical Abstract of the United States, p. 338.

²² Based on 1950-1960 data from the Census of Housing. (aggregated for sub-areas by census tracts; see Appendix D) Low rent/income ratios are based on contract rent, not gross rent. Heat and utilities would be excluded in many cases. In 1959, the average gross rent/income ratio for "City Workers' Families" in Boston was about .20 (re: 1966 Statistical Abstract of the U.S., p. 359).

²³ Hartman, op.cit., pp. 273-274.

Relocates were not the only ones who suffered from higher rents; the entire ghetto area was affected. The trend had been set before 1960; there was no respite. Until 1963 demand rose steadily. Then real estate brokers were deluged with calls from relocation aids in Washington Park and Castle Square. Their phones rang for three years and hundreds of families were placed. Then business tapered off and rents stabilized for nearly a year. Now calls are beginning to come in from the South End relocation office.

"The sudden and large-scale increase in demand for low-rent housing caused by major renewal projects clearly is a key factor in causing higher rents, particularly in areas of housing shortage." ²⁵

As turnover is accelerated rent increase is inevitable. It is normally between tenants that a landlord adds \$5 or \$10 and relists his apartment. Low rents are frequently associated with length of residence. When landlord-tenant relations are good, occupants may help with maintenance and the property is more secure. However new tenants involve greater risk and income may be lost through interim vacancies. Thus rent is raised at every opportunity so long as demand remains high.

Urban renewal in Washington Park precipitated over 2000 additional moves and at a time when the housing market was in its period of greatest flux. New construction lagged greatly,

²⁴ Interview with Carter Kimbrel, Roxbury broker, (Mar. 15, 1967). Negro families would pay the higher price for apartments because "they had no choice".

²⁵ Hartman, op.cit., p. 273.

and by the end of the displacement period only 460 units had been added to relieve pressure on a diminishing housing stock. Private demolition in adjacent areas continued at an unprecedented rate, eliminating hundreds of substandard vacant structures.²⁶

Figure 22. indicates the staging of project displacement and rebuilding, as well as estimated migration into the Roxbury area during the renewal period.²⁷ Net household formation is not included for lack of data. (The annual relocation schedule is interpolated from B.R.A. reports. See Appendix E.)

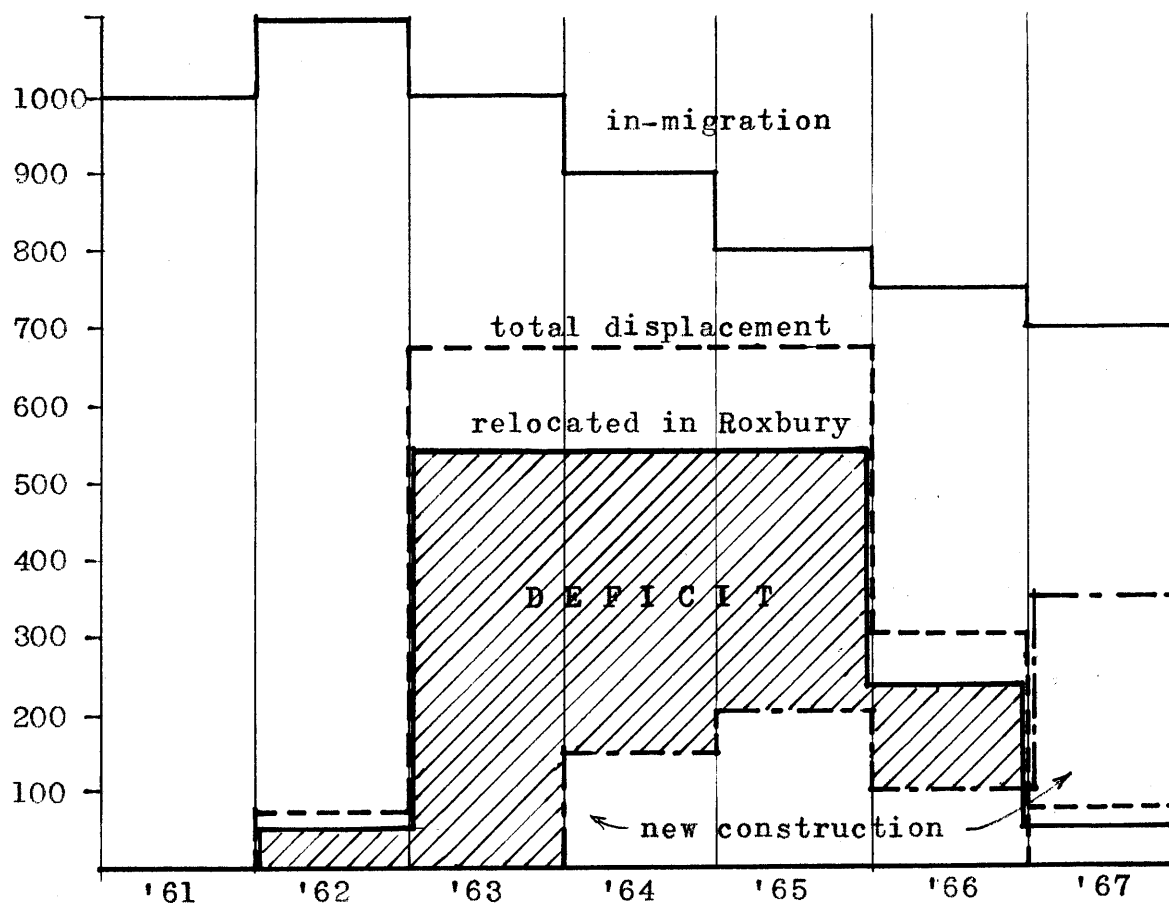


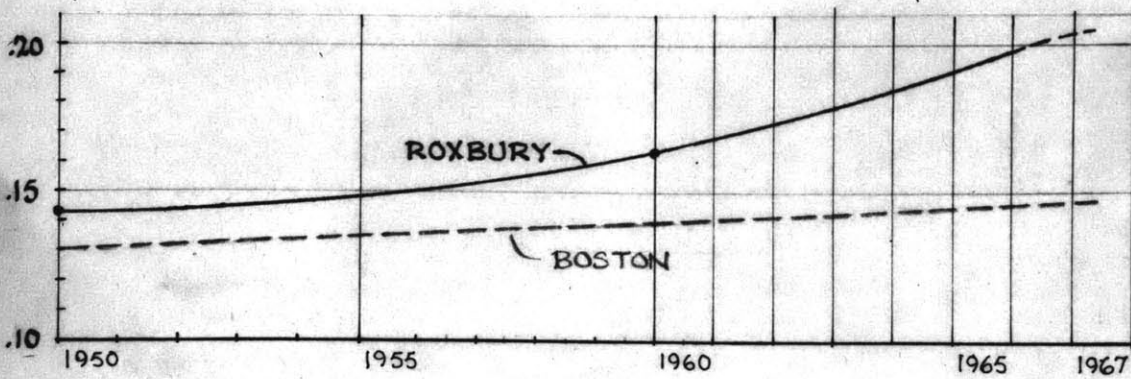
FIGURE 22. Profile of In-migration, Project Displacement and New Construction in Roxbury: 1961-1967

Between 1963 and 1966, renewal displacement amounted to nearly two-thirds the estimated level of in-migration. Altogether some 4000-5000 families were seeking accommodations; less than 400 units of new housing were built to absorb the added pressures. Although public housing took in some 200 relocatees in the area, this did not appreciably reduce overall pressures. For each unit obtained by the B.R.A. another eligible family was diverted to the private rental market. Some 200 families purchased houses in Roxbury or Dorchester, generally from whites.

By the end of 1966 there was a net reduction of some 2000 units in Washington Park, of which about 10% had been vacant before renewal. Only through a more rapid exodus of whites from the area could this tremendous deficiency be relieved. Hundreds of Negro families had to be accommodated within the ghetto; housing opened up to them, but at a price --in both racial tension and higher rents. It can be argued that rent increased more during the renewal period than at any time in the history of Roxbury. Below in Figure 23. the change is plotted by sub-areas, based on Census data of 1950 and 1960, with realty listings in 1967.

26 During the 1950's about 300 units per year were demolished in the Roxbury-Dorchester area. Between 1960 and 1966 demolition permits more than doubled. See Fig. 24.

27 In-migration is based on data from the Boston Regional Planning Project (1959-1964). During that period over 5000 households entered the area, averaging about 1000 per year with a peak about 1962. It is assumed that the influx then dropped off to about 700 in 1967, comparable to the level during the late Fifties. However the impact of urban renewal in the South End may soon be felt in Roxbury as hundreds of Negro and Puerto Rican families are displaced. Relocation of some 3500 families is to be staged over a seven-year period. Preliminary studies show that about two-thirds are Negro (most of whom would prefer to remain in the South End). re: B.R.A. Central Family Relocation Office, May 1967



RENT-INCOME RATIO 1950-1966
 (based on "contract rent", not gross rent)

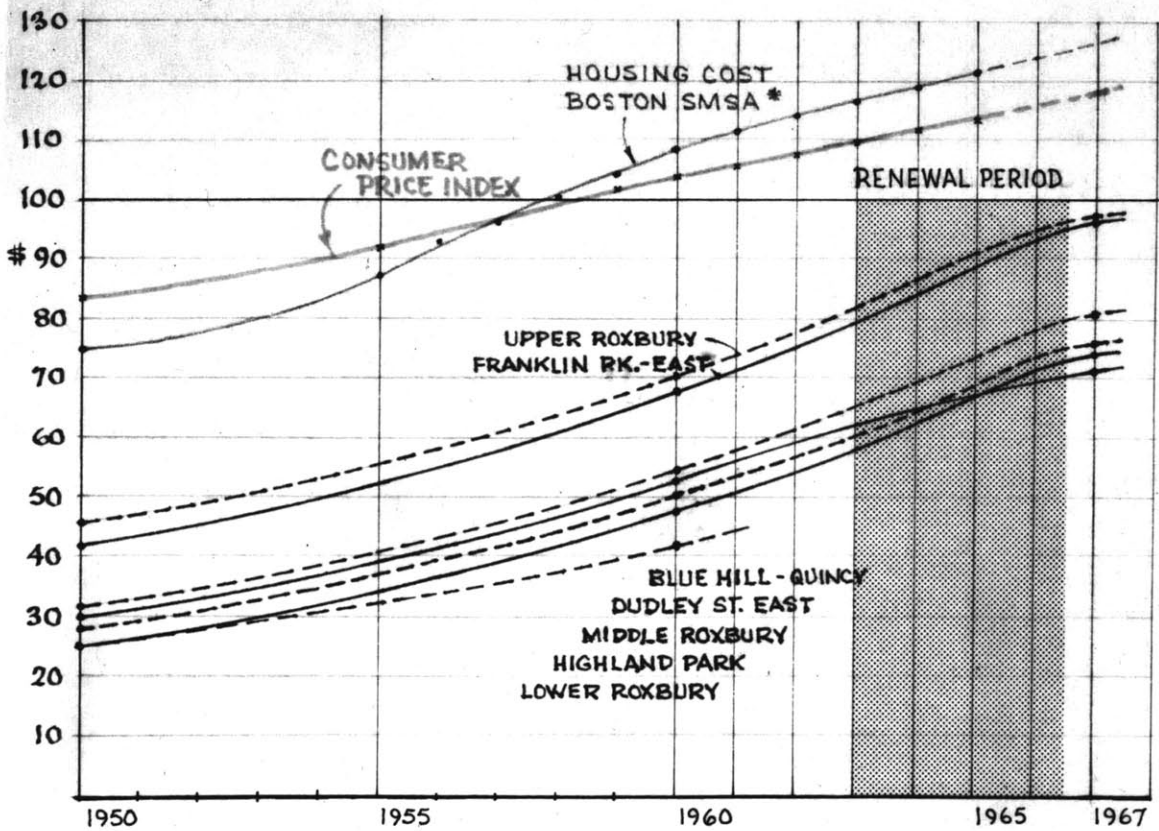


FIGURE 23. RENTAL CHANGE 1950-1966

(1966 projection based on realty listings in Roxbury)

*Housing cost index for Boston from the U.S. Statistical Abstract

The rental index for the Greater Boston Area is shown for comparison. Increase was moderate until 1955 when wartime rent controls were removed. It rose faster until 1960, then leveled off at a steady rate of 2% per year through 1965. In Roxbury change was similar until 1960 when rents continued upward at an even faster pace. Not until 1966 did they level off --after project displacement in Washington Park was complete. Significantly, increase was greatest in areas of highest demand such as Upper Roxbury, the vicinity of Blue Hill Avenue, and south along Franklin Park. A slightly lower rate of increase is observed in marginal areas of Highland Park and Dudley St.-East.

According to most realtors, there has been little change in rent since mid-1966. Prior to that a sustained demand, coupled with tax increases drove the level up.²⁸ For years Roxbury had offered a bargain in housing, but that era has passed. Rents in older apartments have surpassed those of the new moderate-income projects. Low-income families who supposedly could not afford the 221(d)(3) units are now paying even more in substandard housing. Their base rent of \$70-80 plus \$20-30 for heat will easily exceed \$100 per month, well within the rent schedule for Marksdale Gardens where a 3-bedroom apartment runs \$95. In short, poor people are paying middle-class rents as old and new housing fall in the same range.²⁹

²⁸ In 1965 the Boston tax rate reached an all-time high of \$115, giving landlords an opportunity to hike their rent, but in 1966 when the rate dropped to \$101, rents went even higher -- due to an insatiable demand.

Such a market situation should offer tremendous opportunities for new construction, but in fact private building has been stimulated only through federal subsidies to lower land cost and interest charges. Many middle-income families are willing to pay considerably more for good housing, but little is available in the ghetto area. Homogeneity in rents pools the more affluent with the poor.³⁰

A recent survey by the Boston Welfare Department showed that over three-quarters of welfare recipients in the Roxbury area were exceeding a \$75-80 allowance for housing. Nearly half were paying over \$90 for gross rent, with many over \$100. This city-wide study revealed a substantial inequity between rents in Roxbury and other parts of Boston, where most families on welfare were still living within their housing allowance.³¹ (For breakdown see Appendix F.)

Families on welfare are among the poorest in the community, so it can be assumed that the average family has paid considerably more for housing. It is difficult to reconcile such reports with B.R.A. records showing an average gross rent of \$77-91 for all relocatees. This would seem to be a minimum.

Housing expense has become a greater burden for most families. Some have been obliged to spend less for other essentials

²⁹ Concensus of a dozen realtors in Roxbury indicates that new 221(d)(3) housing has given them little competition, even though the rent levels are about the same. The new projects have a waiting list of five families for every vacancy; demand has been so high that inferior old buildings rent just as well.

³⁰ Interview with Mrs. Sacks, Director of Fair Housing, Inc. (May 4, 1967). Based on a 1963-65 report, Negro registrants preferring rents of \$140-150 in predominantly white areas, actually ended up paying about \$100 in Roxbury.

such as food and clothing, whereas others are living in crowded conditions, paying the same for much less space. Many families remain in substandard housing but pay much more than a few years ago.

Such has been the market impact of urban renewal displacement along with substantial in-migration to the ghetto area. The Washington Park Project aggravated a severe housing shortage at a time of acute demand and rising rents. New moderate income housing might have softened the impact of relocation, but it came too late and too little.

31 Interview with Willie Sheriff, Community Liaison and Planning Aide, Boston Welfare Department. (April 6, 1967) The AFDC rent study was conducted in the summer of 1966, covering a 15% sample of the total caseload in Boston (about 10,000). For those families exceeding their housing budget, rent supplements up to \$15 per month were allowed. A disproportionate share went to Roxbury.

The basic rent formula is as follows:

| <u>family size*</u> | <u>unheated**</u> | <u>heated</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 4 or less | \$55.80 | \$68.40 |
| 5 or more | 69.80 | 83.70 |

* Median family size is 4 persons

** An additional \$24.50/mo. was provided for heat through nine months, averaging \$18.50 over a 12-month period. This has proved to be inadequate in a majority of cases.

Real Estate Values and Investment Climate

Despite the dramatic rise in rent levels, there is little evidence that urban renewal in Washington Park has had a favorable effect on real estate in adjacent areas. To the contrary decline has actually accelerated; property values have been further depressed and demolition has increased considerably throughout the Roxbury area. Only east of Franklin Park have prices risen in response to a high demand for sales housing.

The investment climate in most parts of Roxbury is very poor. Vast areas are blacklisted by lending institutions and fire insurance companies. Only within Washington Park have these benefits been restored, and even there reluctantly. The uncertainty of urban renewal in the GNRP has had a detrimental effect on real estate values. Investors are "milking" their properties and neglecting maintenance, especially in Highland Park and North Dorchester, where sales are at an all-time low. Owners can scarcely get the assessed value for their property. Houses which sold for \$15,000 in 1960 now sell for \$10-12,000 and then there are few buyers.

However, south along Franklin Park it is a sellers' market. Since 1960 prices have gone up by 20% or more. Sales transactions in Ward 14 have spiralled upward, topping 500 in 1965 -- the highest in Boston, except for two outlying wards. With conventional financing still available, Negroes are buying three-deckers from whites, then recovering their investment by renting the upper flats. Of the families relocated from Washington Park

136 bought homes in Dorchester, contributing to this overall demand. Only half as many purchased in Roxbury, presumably in the project area, and some twenty home-buyers chose Jamaica Plain. Thus with the extension of the ghetto there has been a shifting demand for sales housing. The accompanying chart on "Mortgage Deed Transactions" well reflects this pattern by wards. (Figure 24) The effect of urban renewal has been indirect, stimulating sales in Wards 12 and 14, both of which recorded an increase (1964-1965) during project execution. Ward 11, including half of Highland Park and Jamaica Plain, recorded nearly 200 sales during the same period. This was higher than average for the city. Lower Roxbury and the Dudley area fall under Wards 8 and 9, which also include the South End. In this depressed section the market was practically paralyzed; however a revival has begun in the South End. Ward 13 between Blue Hill Avenue and the railroad has been avoided by investors. Rapid decline in this area is reflected by a 25% drop in sales between 1964 and 1965. Thus Renewal in Washington Park has certainly not stimulated real estate values to the east.

Meanwhile deterioration continues unchecked throughout the community. There has been a dramatic increase in building condemnation due to safety and fire hazards, and many owners have demolished vacant structures to relieve their tax burden. Also the city has taken more and more tax dilenquent properties. There has been virtually no new construction outside Washington Park, except for a liquor store along Warren Street displaced by the project. A single proposal for housing on vacant land in

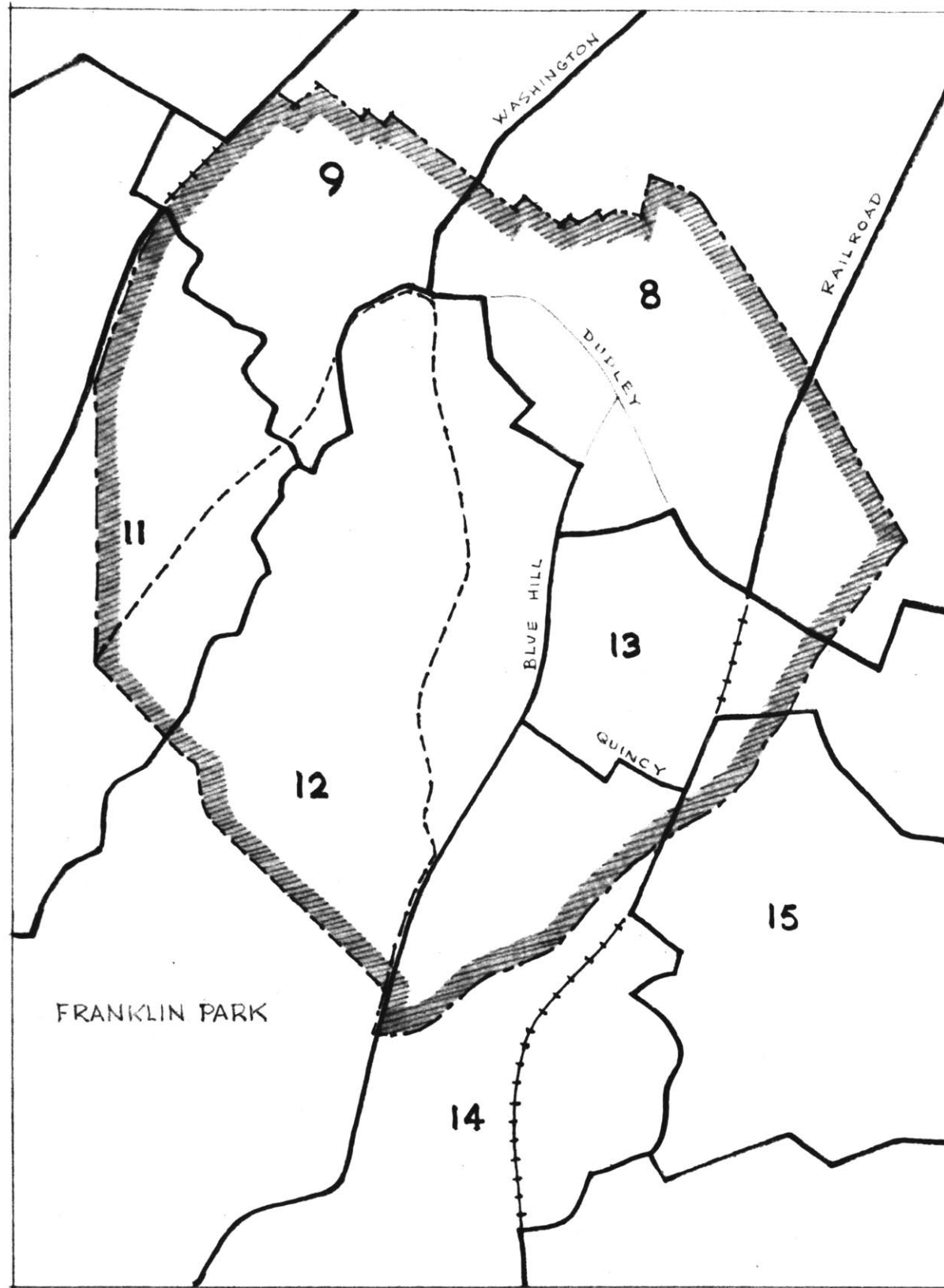
North Dorchester has been held up by the FHA.³² Rehabilitation (other than conversions) has been minimal, although many property owners have expressed interest; neither loans nor technical assistance are available to them.³³ However a few private non-profit corporations have attempted rehabilitation on a demonstration basis.

Demolition has continued unabated, indeed at an accelerated pace. Prior to urban renewal the City Building Department issued an average of eight demolition permits per year in Wards 11-14. However by 1966 this rate had tripled. Ward 12 has been hard hit with an increase from seven annually (1961-1963) to thirty in 1966, mostly in the section flanking Washington Park on the east. Each permit represents from one to several structures, all under the same owner. Demolition in Ward 9, including Madison Park, is at an all time high --up 300% from the early 1960's; Ward 8 has been affected somewhat less.³⁴

³² "Nonprofit Housing Planned by Freedom House", Boston Globe, August 8, 1966. This proposal for 221(d)(3) housing (all one- and two-bedroom apartments) in conjunction with a super-market on Columbia Road has been awaiting FHA approval for nearly a year. The site lies in a deteriorating section around Intervale Street, and is the only sizable piece of unbuilt land in the GNRP. According to Otto Snowden, Freedom House could not legitimately sponsor housing within the project area so it had to go outside. (Interview, March 13, 1967)

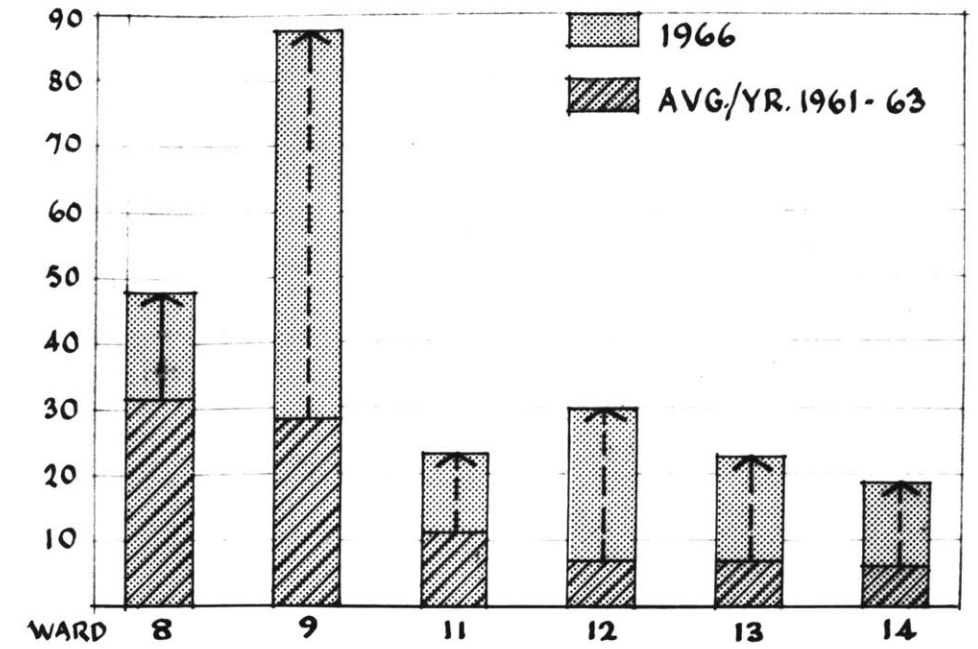
³³ Both the B.R.A. site office and Freedom House have received numerous calls from adjacent areas requesting rehabilitation assistance, but this service stops at the project boundary. Even residents along Warren St. have been denied help; the B.R.A. jurisdiction is strictly delimited. (Interview with Sam Thompson, March 15, 1967)

³⁴ Interview with Dick Grenara, City Building Department (March 27, 1967).



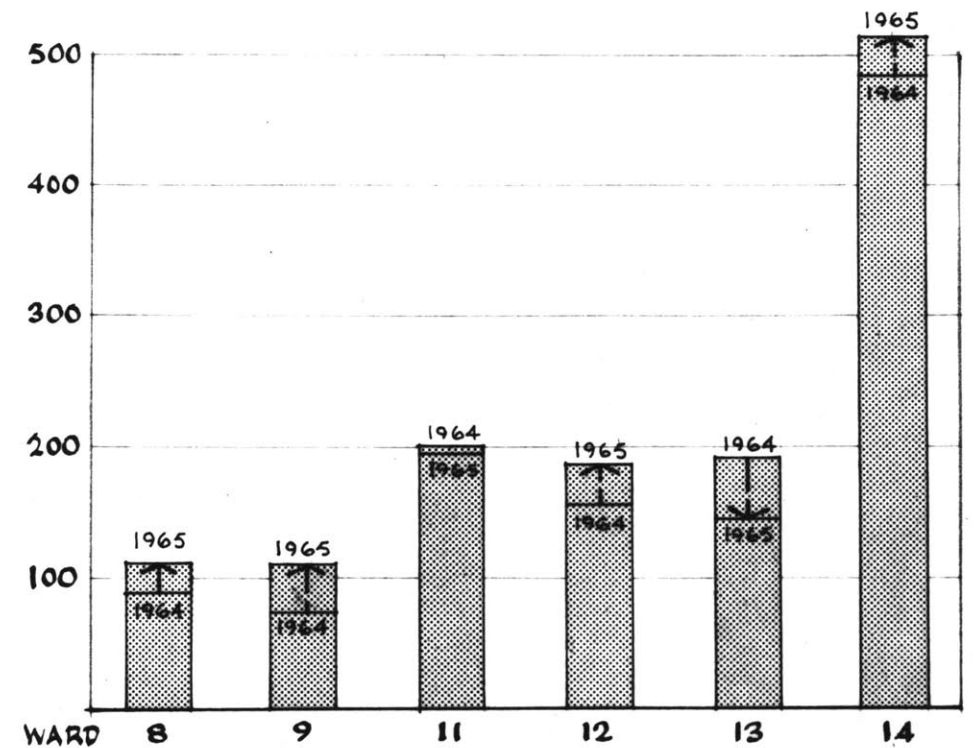
WARD MAP - ROXBURY AREA

--- GNRP BOUNDARY
 - - - WASHINGTON PK.



DEMOLITION PERMITS BY WARDS 1961-1966

(urban renewal demolition excluded)



MORTGAGE DEED TRANSACTIONS 1964-1965

FIGURE 24. PROPERTY SALES, DEMOLITION

(Based on data from City Assessor's Ofc. & Building Dept. See Appendix G.)

If the rates of private demolition and property sales are any measure of neighborhood decline, urban renewal in Washington Park has had no positive effect on real estate in adjacent areas of Roxbury. If anything, it has accelerated decline. Only in Dorchester along Franklin Park has the market responded favorably in terms of sales demand, but even there demolition has increased.

Effects on Local Business

Except for the sizable shopping area around Dudley Terminal retail business has traditionally developed in strips along along major streets, formerly served by streetcar lines. For many years there had been a mix of small food and variety stores along with service establishments such as barber shops, laundries and restaurants.

With the advent of supermarkets in the Grove Hall district several years ago, people's shopping habits began to change. Many older residents (predominantly Jewish) and some lower-income families continued to patronize the small neighborhood grocers since they valued the personal service and occasional credit. However with the rapid Negro influx of the 1950's, merchants had to adapt to a new clientele. Some white shopkeepers lost rapport with their customers and moved out of the area.

As in other parts of the city, people were becoming more mobile and less dependent on local shops. Neighborhood retail business suffered a steady decline, but service activities con-

tinued to prosper. Although turnover in stores increased somewhat during the past decade and sales dropped off, overall vacancies did not rise markedly. New uses such as storefront churches appeared and other marginal enterprises (selling used furniture, etc.) came in to serve the new population. With rapid racial change came many real estate brokers, mostly Negroes, who located along Warren or Blue Hill. Now there are no less than forty in the vicinity. Thus the mix of local business was gradually changing -- from retail to services.

Prior to urban renewal Warren Street was an active commercial strip rivaling Blue Hill Avenue. Now its western half is gone and ten new stores are clustered in a shopping center. Some 175 businesses were displaced from the Washinton Park Project. Many of them disappeared or moved out of Roxbury, while others relocated in adjacent areas. Most were small and oriented to local trade. As many of their former customers were also displaced by renewal, surviving firms had to establish a new clientele in another neighborhood under the burden of higher rent and operating costs.³⁵

However several have prospered in their new locations, particularly insurance agents, real estate brokers and liquor stores. A few moved directly across Warren St. and continued without disruption. Over a dozen relocated on Blue Hill Ave., taking vacancies between Quincy St. and Grove Hall Center.

³⁵ Basil Zimmer, "The Small Businessman and Relocation", in Wilson (ed.), Urban Renewal: the Record and the Controversy, pp. 380-403. This study in Providence, R.I., showed that 40% of firms displaced by urban renewal discontinued business; "...least likely to survive displacement were those businesses that had a close and frequent relationship with their customers. Such units largely served a neighborhood-type market."

Few, if any, firms moved to Highland Park; from loss of population the Eliot Square center is rapidly being abandoned. Activity on Dudley St. is also declining.

However the Blue Hill strip continues as a prosperous local shopping area serving both Washington Park and North Dorchester. Despite the loss of Kosher markets, etc. following the Jewish exodus, it has been reinforced by firms from the renewal area and also by social agencies and civil rights organizations. The latter have occupied several buildings, and some have been remodeled. The anti-poverty program has indeed supported Blue Hill Avenue through its Multi-Service Center, employment office, nursery school and other functions. Related activities such as CORE, EXODUS, and the American Friends Service Committee have been attracted. Most of these have concentrated in a three-block section between Quincy and Intervale Streets, known as "Agency Row".

A current B.R.A. study has shown reduced vacancies in that district since the 1950's. However just north of Quincy Street, business drops off sharply with over half the stores vacant, particularly in the path of the proposed cross-town Boulevard to be extended from Washington Park. There has been high turnover with many marginal businesses.

Overall, the Blue Hill "Strip" has held its own against competition from new supermarkets and discount stores. It continues to rely on a walking clientele; no off-street parking is provided. Car ownership is very low in the vicinity; only one

family in three has a car.³⁶ Therefore more distant shopping centers offer little competition. The new Washington Park Mall, due to its proximity, (see Fig. 25) may adversely affect Blue Hill north of Quincy, but population loss in the neighborhood is a more important factor.

Warren Street, or what is left of it, seems to be holding its own -- particularly in the vicinity of the New Mall. On the east side nearly all the same firms are operating as before renewal, but some are beginning to suffer from competition with Zayers or Blairs. Improved traffic flow and lower pedestrian density may also hurt some of them, as congestion was formerly a stimulus to business. Sudden depopulation of the area has taken away so many customers that smaller shops may not survive till new housing is built.

Thus far, urban renewal has had no appreciable effect on upgrading business along its boundary. A displaced liquor store rebuilt across the street and two other buildings were remodeled by relocated firms. Otherwise the same shabby storefronts remain; only one has been repainted. Broken windows are replaced with plywood as an uncertain future discourages repairs. (Anymore insurance companies are reluctant to cover glass breakage). Warren Street has suffered the same fate as North Dorchester behind.

³⁶ According to a 1964 survey for the Boston Regional Planning Project, *op.cit.* In North Dorchester car ownership varied from 20% to 50%. However the "new population" in Washington park is more auto-oriented. The 221(d)(3) housing provides parking on a 1:1 ratio and nearly all the spaces are filled.

New business in the renewal area is concentrated in the Washington Park Mall which opened about six months ago. There is also a small "neighborhood center" on Humboldt Ave. which contains four stores with offices above. Two vacancies remain in the Mall, and all the firms are absentee-owned, mostly by large chains. Blairs supermarket and Kemps Hamburgers appear to be doing well, but sales at Zayers have been disappointingly low and shoplifting a continual problem. The firm is committed to a long-term lease and hopefully as the area is rebuilt more affluent customers will return.

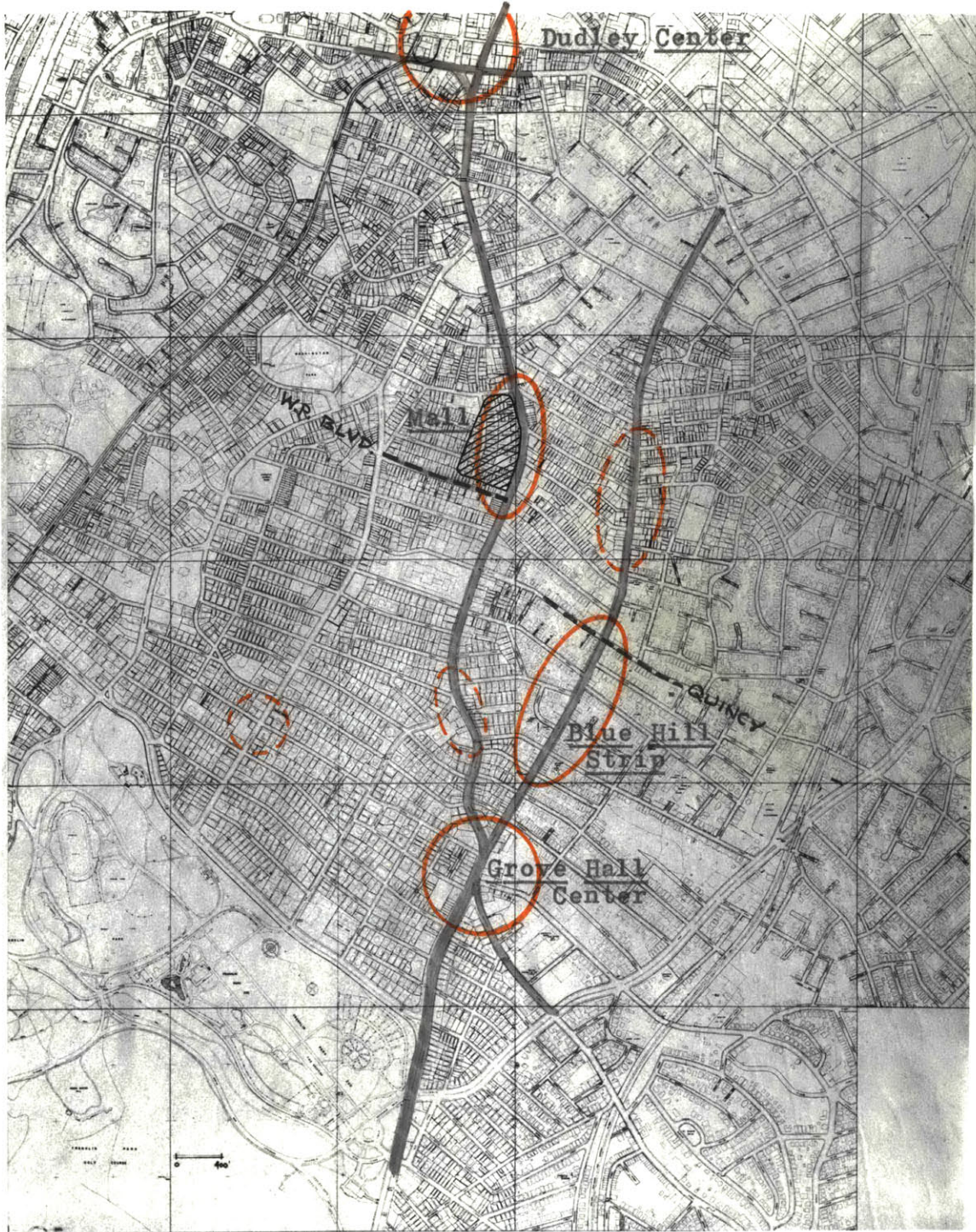




FIGURE 25. Local Business

-  Major districts
-  Minor districts

C. Social and Political Implications

Patterns of social change in Roxbury have been already described as a function of racial trends and relocation from urban renewal. Within a few short years, the ghetto has advanced and solidified. The departing white population has left behind its housing and institutions --some of which are adapted to the newcomers, and others that are discarded.

It is not the first time the area has changed hands. Before 1900 it served immigrant Irish and Yankee suburbanites; later the Jewish predominated. But the most profound change has occurred in recent years and is still in process. Sam Warner, a historian, views the present in terms of the past:

"Most of the problems of Roxbury today are not primarily housing problems, but the problems of urban society as a whole. The houses of Roxbury are but the vestiges of an earlier, rapidly changing society which built to the measure of the moment and then left its remains for others to use as best they could." 37

Urban renewal has come in the midst of a turbulent period, imposing drastic physical change upon a fermenting social crisis. The families most affected were the least prepared for readjustment due to inadequacies both personal and financial. The large majority of migrant Negroes to Middle Roxbury earned less than \$3000 annually and belonged to the "culture of poverty". They were alienated from social institutions (except for possibly the storefront church) and were involved with a day-to-day struggle

³⁷ Sam B. Warner, Streetcar Suburbs, p. 116.

for survival. Many were "multi-problem families" which produced a "mounting number of unwed teenage mothers and anti-social teenage gangs." ³⁸

These lower-income Negroes had no real expectations for urban renewal; they did not participate in the planning. Their relationship may be described as follows:

"In terms of what urban renewal could or could not do for the Black Proletariat, it must be kept in mind that most of these newcomers settled in Washington Park during the 1950's for one reason, rental opportunities to Negro families of low income.

"If renewal could provide better housing at equal or lower rents, the process would benefit the Black Proletariat. If on the other hand renewal cut back on the supply of low-cost housing within the Negro community, the rehabilitation game would exacerbate the problems of a group already well stacked with troubles." ³⁹

Now it is no wonder that serious social problems persist. Roxbury was a chief target of the anti-poverty program in Boston and later was designated a Model City Area, in desperate need of new resources and innovative programs. Urban renewal made no pretext to solve the mounting social problems of the Negro community but it did succeed in shifting them, which was actually an implicit goal of the Washington Park Plan. ⁴⁰

Relocation was orderly and humane; there was a sincere attempt to find suitable housing that the displaced families could afford, although on BRA terms. It provided a unique opportunity to assess family needs, other than housing, and to offer

³⁸ Keyes, op.cit., pp. 374-375.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 375.

appropriate help to those who would not otherwise seek assistance. Many chronic problems were "uncovered" by relocation and there were innumerable referrals to social and welfare agencies on matters ranging from unemployment and home management to psychiatric aid. But of all their problems the most serious were financial ones, and these were intensified by urban renewal. Higher rent was a burden for all. Overcrowding resulted for some families as they took too small apartments or doubled up. Increased welfare assistance helped, but a multitude of new "programs" made little impact.

With massive displacement of "disadvantaged" families from Washington Park, the social service area has shifted with them --to the southeast. Virtually all the new agencies have located on Blue Hill Avenue. Warren Street and the project area have received none, despite a rising alarm about problems in Upper Roxbury. There the effects of relocation have been increasingly felt; in fact some leaders fear that the gains through urban renewal may be in jeopardy if social anarchy continues to plague the area. Crime and vandalism have risen sharply in Upper Roxbury, with house-breaking much more frequent.

About 1960, crime rates were highest in Middle Roxbury. In the area hardest hit by clearance nearly one-tenth of the male population had faced court action each year for offenses committed. In Upper Roxbury the rate decreased considerably south toward Franklin Park. In Tract U6B it was one out of twenty. East of Warren St. was about the same, except the Intervale area which produced nearly as many offenders as Middle Roxbury.

South toward Franklin Field the rate dropped to one out of forty males.⁴¹

With redistribution of the criminal "element" from Washington Park and migration of undesirables from the South End or Castle Square, offenses have shifted more into Upper Roxbury and the vicinity of Blue Hill Avenue. Robbery of businesses there has increased markedly. However Highland Park has also experienced a great rise in crime. Police protection is inadequate and in many sections street lighting is poor. Throughout Roxbury demolition has created many vacant lots which people fear as unsafe at night.

Vandalism and arson have increased somewhat, especially in areas of numerous abandoned houses. Some landlords will admit a family rent-free in order to keep a structure occupied. A vacant building will be stripped of its plumbing overnight and often vagrants accidentally set fires as they take refuge in such places.

Juvenile delinquency has increased along with other criminal activities, and generally in the same pattern. It appears to focus on the Blue Hill Strip where high school dropouts and the unemployed hang out. Prostitution continues unabated, although police have been instructed to pick up suspected "white

⁴⁰ Publicly-subsidized housing offered the only real solution for low-income families, but every proposal of low-rent construction (even on scattered sites) was bitterly resisted by status-conscious participants in the planning process. Rent-supplement housing was somewhat less objectionable, although less than 40 units were provided for in the project.

⁴¹ ABCD, The Boston Youth Opportunities Project (1963), Appendix D., "Male Court Appearances by Census Tracts, 1959-1961."

hunters" on the streets.

Blue Hill Avenue is characterized by marginal businesses, eating places with jukeboxes, liquor stores and rooming houses. It draws a diverse clientele from mothers with children shopping to derelict men and drunks. Music is blaring from record shops and sidewalk activity is intense.

In contrast, the "New Washington Park" has generated a quite different social life, centering on the YMCA and shopping Mall. The Blairs Foodmart draws mostly adult shoppers, while the Kemps Hamburger Stand attracts teenagers. They stand at opposite ends of the Mall (a long "corridor") with less active stores in between. (Zayers comes to life only on weekends). "Muzac" plays quietly throughout. Outside, people are to be seen more in cars than on foot.

The religious life of the Roxbury community centers on Washington Park where virtually all the established Protestant churches are located, except for one east of Grove Hall Center. This uneven distribution leaves peripheral neighborhoods without the direct social benefits and influence of the church. Traditionally Negro culture has been closely tied with religion. As the population shifts into Dorchester, spurred on by urban renewal, people become increasingly dissociated from the churches left behind in Washington Park. On Blue Hill Avenue there is but one Catholic church and an abandoned synagogue. Also in North Dorchester are a couple other Catholic churches --each with its enclave of parishoners and parochial school. But Negroes are not easily assimilated. Aside from racial implications,

they are generally from Protestant backgrounds and do not readily change their religion. However extremist elements have supported the Black Muslim movement; a temple was established on Intervale St. to serve a growing sect in that area.

In Lower Roxbury many church buildings have changed hands. For example, years ago Jewish leaders bought a huge German Baptist church on Shawmut Avenue and later sold it to a Negro congregation. Some of the older Protestant churches continue to be patronized by non-residents, but most have successfully integrated or become all-Negro. Others are too large, of the wrong denomination, or in the wrong place. The Negro middle class remains staunchly Protestant, whereas some of the lower class have become Catholic. During the 1950's there were numerous storefront churches which served as one of the few social contacts for the immigrant Negroes. Now most of them are gone; over a dozen were displaced by urban renewal and they failed to move with the shifting population.⁴² Some of the established Protestant churches have tried to serve this missionary function, through special programs, but were unable to reach the transient low-income group.

Nevertheless the clergy in Roxbury have been an extremely important agent of communication between the disparate groups of residents. In 1963 the Clergy Committee on Renewal was formed

⁴² Interview with Charles Adams, Acting Project Manager, Washington Park Site Office (May 4, 1967). These small "enterprises" had few committed members and little financial support; ministers were generally unordained and transient as the population they served. Having paid only \$40-50 monthly rent for storefronts in Washinton Park, they could not afford more expensive space in the Grove Hall area. One displaced tabernacle is rebuilding on a site outside the project, but with financial assistance from its national denomination.

to support efforts of Freedom House and the Redevelopment Authority. It included Protestant and Catholic ministers both white and Negro, of small storefront enterprises and large churches. At public hearings clergymen were among the most dedicated proponents of urban renewal. They presented a united front in support of the program and there were few dissenters.

However during the Madison Park controversy three years later some of the chief opponents were ministers. B.R.A. proposals for North Dorchester drew criticism from some Protestant leaders although Catholic priests were generally in support. Since Washington Park there has been no united front. Extension of urban renewal in the GNRP area cannot depend so much upon a concerned and cooperative clergy.

Political Implications

Urban renewal in 1962 was a new concept for Roxbury. The West End approach had long since been abandoned and conservation-rehabilitation was offered as a panacea to the declining neighborhood. Both planners and residents were inexperienced in applying these new techniques. The implications were not fully understood. Yet with a vision of a "New Washington Park", the community leadership was eager to get started. They generated considerable support for the project; many people were optimistic. Others stood by with cautious skepticism; few were opposed. At the final public hearing attended by hundreds, only six people raised objection to the proposal. It was a popular program.

By 1966 with project execution well underway, people began to realize what it was all about. As the new housing and community facilities appeared, some saw the benefits of renewal, but at the same time others suffered its consequences. For some families relocation had opened up new opportunities, perhaps in buying a home, while for others it meant social disruption and economic hardship.

As distinguished by James Q. Wilson, there were two types of citizens in Washington Park: the "community-regarding" and the "private-regarding" in terms of their political ethos.⁴³ The former may have been more enlightened with greater perspective and willing to undergo material sacrifice for community improvement. However those to be most affected by urban renewal had a private-regarding ethos; they were caught up in a day-to-day struggle for existence, too preoccupied with personal and immediate problems to see the ultimate benefits for Roxbury. These were the low-income Negroes, unorganized and inarticulate. They were not involved in project planning in 1961, nor did they have spokesmen to defend their interests. This group became the "object" of renewal action and soon bore the brunt of clearance for the New Washington Park.

While 150 acres fell prey to the bulldozer and 2000 families found another place to live, a reaction began to set in. Cleared land lay idle month after month awaiting new construction, and disillusionment developed. Finally new housing appeared but

⁴³ James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, November, 1963, p. 245.

too little and too late. The shopping center and YMCA were built; however public improvements were at a standstill. School sites lay vacant and the Civic Center at Dudley Square remained a dream.

Disappointment turned into resentment among many observers as to why the B.R.A. had torn down so much, so long before it could be rebuilt. While the new YMCA symbolized a proud future for Washington Park, the vacant land lay as a grim reminder to past residents. Urban renewal had not fulfilled its promises and people became openly critical.

By 1966 the Redevelopment Authority was ready to proceed with the GNRP, but it encountered resistance --first in Madison Park, then in North Dorchester. The people had seen the effects of massive displacement in Washington Park and were wary of "BRA tactics". In late spring there was a rally, ironically in the new YMCA, to mobilize opposition to proposed plans and assert neighborhood rights in the planning process. It was a manifestation of discontent as greivances were aired by embittered residents. With professional support from Cambridge advocates, the indigenous Roxbury leadership adopted a militant attitude which has characterized their subsequent dealings with the B.R.A. Civil rights activitsts appeared on the scene as spokesmen for the unorganized Negro majority. Black Power politics had come to fruition and urban renewal would continue in Roxbury only on the neighborhood's terms.

The Madison Park proposal was to face a prolonged struggle and ultimate compromise. In North Dorchester plans were com-

pletely dropped.⁴⁴ A public hearing set for June 8 was postponed until late July, after the Democratic political convention. It was thought by some astute observers that Mayor Collins in his quest for the U.S. Senate nomination wanted no renewal controversy to emerge before the convention.

Meanwhile city services in the area hit an all-time low and police protection was increasingly ineffective. Lower Roxbury had become a veritable dumping ground for Greater Boston; garbage collection and street cleaning were totally inadequate. During the summer of 1966 following a series of "bonfire demonstrations" sponsored by SNAP (South End Neighborhood Action Program), State Representatives of the South End and Roxbury presented an ultimatum to the Mayor. They demanded immediate clean-up of rubbish-strewn land, demolition of derelict buildings, removal of abandoned cars, new recreational facilities and restoration of neglected municipal services.⁴⁵

Although the city responded in part to these demands, there was growing dissatisfaction throughout the area. The stage was set for the Senate primary in September at which Mayor Collins suffered his greatest political defeat. Unlike previous elections, Negro voters rejected his candidacy by an overwhelming majority throughout Roxbury. Ex-governor Peabody upset Collins

⁴⁴ According to Mr. Logue, the B.R.A. did not proceed with renewal in North Dorchester for lack of federal funds. (at M.I.T. April 27, 1967) But other explanations are offered in the area. Consensus is that there will never be another project like Washington Park. Not until it is substantially rebuilt can the B.R.A. regain the confidence of peripheral neighborhoods.

⁴⁵ "City Cleanup Brings New Unity", Bay State Banner, August 6, 1966, pp. 1-2. In July the Banner had launched a "Fight Filth" campaign eliciting support from all civic, religious,

in his own city, polling a three to one plurality in the ghetto area. A third contender, Thomas Adams (a Cambridge liberal) had run on an anti-renewal platform and made his strongest showing in Washington Park. In precincts of Wards 12 and 14 (notably Upper Roxbury, North Dorchester and Franklin Park East) he nearly matched Collins' vote, whereas city-wide Adams polled only one-sixth as much. The mayor's popularity had reached an all-time low of 10-20% in the area most affected by renewal; in Boston as a whole he received nearly 40%. A Globe reporter assessed the unexpected results as follows:

"Few political analysts had accurately gauged the apparent intense anti-renewal feeling, and such issues as 'the lack of adequate police protection' and garbage collection."⁴⁶

The September 1966 election may well have been the turning point for urban renewal in Boston. Collins had made this program the key policy of his administration. Vast public resources had been concentrated in project areas, perhaps to the detriment of municipal services in other declining neighborhoods.⁴⁷ Now political reaction had set in and future proposals for renewal would be met with suspicion and hostility.

and social organizations in the Negro community. (July 23, 1966), p. 5.

⁴⁶ As quoted by the Bay State Banner, (Sept. 17, 1966, p.1.

⁴⁷ Interview with Franklin Holgate, State Representative from Roxbury (March 21, 1967). According to Rep. Holgate (who has been pro-renewal) the September 1966 vote reflects more a general dissatisfaction with the Collins administration than with urban renewal. Despite inputs of "federal money" to Washington Park, the state of municipal services in Roxbury was deplorable. Collins had not put any more "city money" into the area through better cleanup, street lighting, and police protection. The emphasis had been on new buildings, while the people really wanted improved services.

The decisive anti-Collins vote culminated a period of growing disaffection between Negro citizens and their city government. Migration trends coupled with urban renewal have had a substantial effect on voting patterns in the Roxbury area. Change can be traced back to the 1959 mayoralty election when Collins entered the executive office by upsetting the favored candidate, John E. Powers, by a small margin. In that year Collins polled 56% of the vote city-wide and slightly under half in Roxbury. In predominantly Negro precincts he fared worse, particularly in Lower Roxbury and the Intervale Street area which gave him only 40%. (See Figure 27.) Urban renewal was no real issue at that time, although preliminary planning was underway for Washington Park.

By the 1963 election, the project was in execution and portions of Middle Roxbury had been cleared. People were optimistic about the renewal program as its impact was yet to be felt. Collins' popularity reached an all time high, after successfully reducing taxes and launching the "New Boston". He polled 60% of the vote, defeating his Italian opponent Gabriel Piemonte from the North End. Collins did well in the Negro sector; he carried the entire area except for a few precincts flanking Warren St. in Middle Roxbury. Perhaps some reaction was developing in the clearance area, but there were also some Italian residents in that section. Piemonte had been highly critical of the B.R.A. program but most voters in Roxbury were still willing to give it a chance.

However the political fortunes of John F. Collins then took a turn for the worse. After four consecutive years of tax reduction the rate began to climb again. In 1965 it topped \$115. His ambitious renewal program had suffered setbacks in Charlestown and Allston, and criticism was mounting in Washington Park. The Madison Park controversy was in its prime, and a summer of discontent made matters worse. There was growing resentment in the Negro Community over second-class treatment by the city government, as well as bitterness among those who had been "victimized" by urban renewal. Confidence in the Collins Administration was lower than ever, and distrust pervaded the ghetto. The political reaction was overwhelming despite a light voter turnout. From Madison Park south to Franklin Field most precincts recorded from 20-30% less support for their Mayor than the rest of the city had shown. He even failed to carry some of the peripheral Irish districts of Dorchester and Jamaica Plain.

Urban renewal was but one of the issues, and it is difficult to weigh the others. However we can safely conclude that the positive improvements in Washington Park were insufficient to offset the negative conditions of the larger area, and the entire Negro Community was disaffected.

The project had not only induced migration within the area, but also altered political constituencies. Ward 12 suffered a loss of some 2000 families. New construction would replace only a third that number. As spacious row-houses take the place of crowded three-deckers, net density is reduced. Also dozens of

acres have been converted from housing to community facilities. The State representatives of the district view this with concern as they see their constituency diminished.⁴⁸ (See Fig. 26)

On the other hand adjacent areas are gaining population through new construction on vacant land. Much of the 221(d)(3) relocation housing lies outside Ward 12. Academy Homes with over 450 garden apartments falls in Ward 11 with Jamaica Plain. Politically these Negro families will have little influence with the Irish majority.

To the southeast in Ward 14, a changing racial composition has brought the district to the verge of Negro control. Last fall Negro candidates entered the legislative race for the first time. They were defeated by a narrow margin. The next election may very well be different. As migration continues southward political change will accompany social change. The process began long before urban renewal, but it reached its climax in the mid-1960's with massive displacement from Washington Park.

⁴⁸ Holgate, op.cit. In Wards 9 and 12, most affected by urban renewal, the voter turnout in September 1966 dropped sharply, relative to other areas. Only 30-35% as many voted in that primary as in the previous mayoralty elections. (compared with 65-70% in adjacent wards)

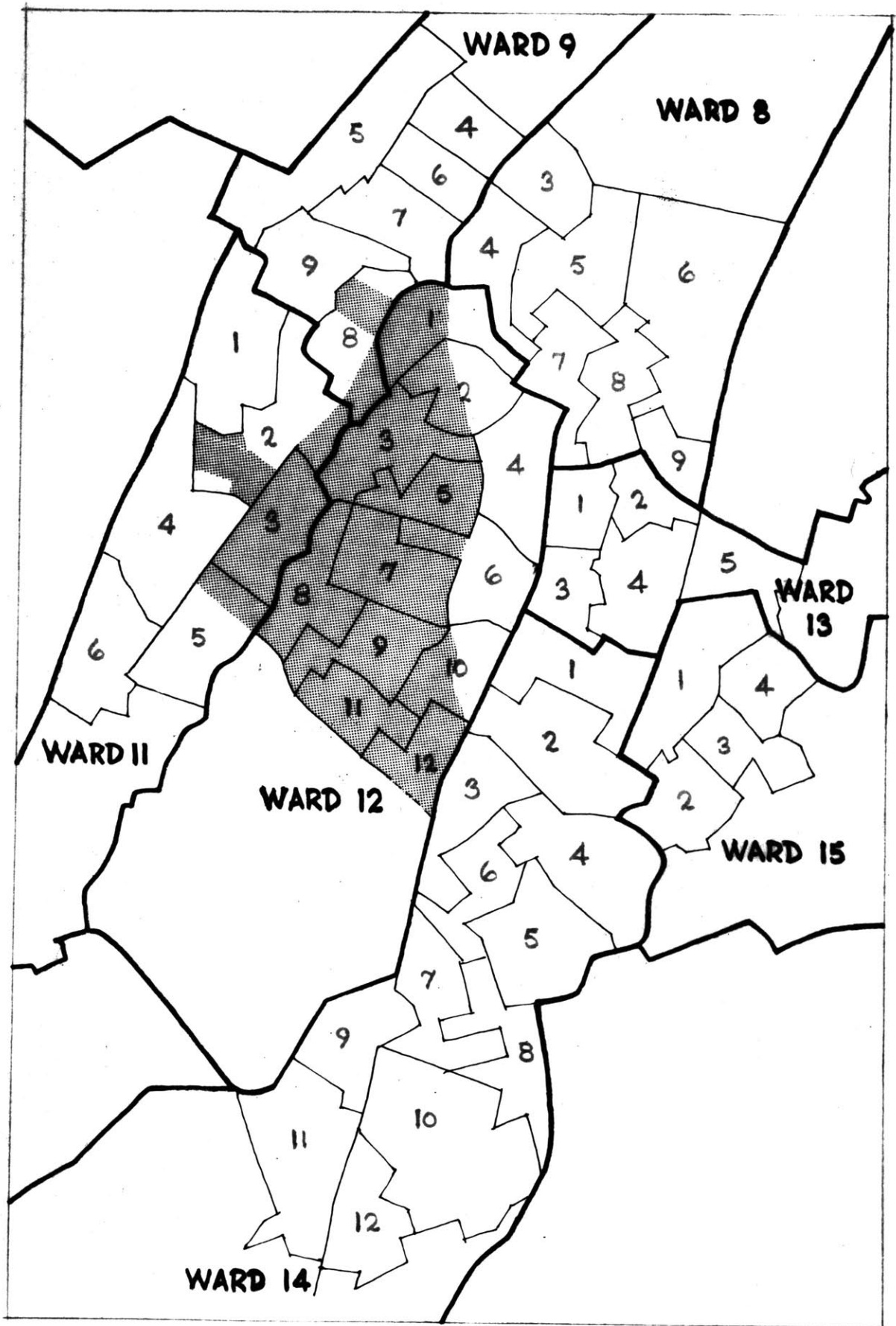
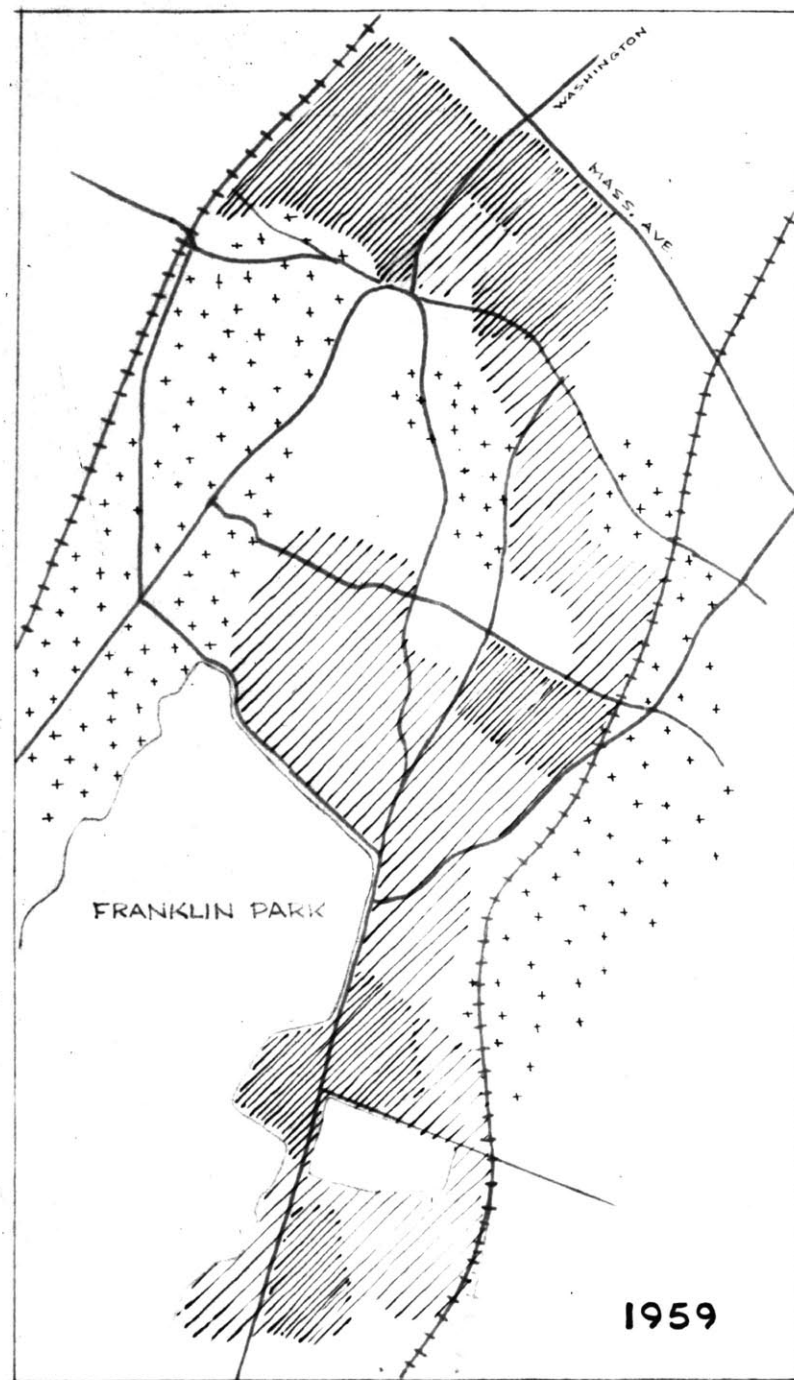
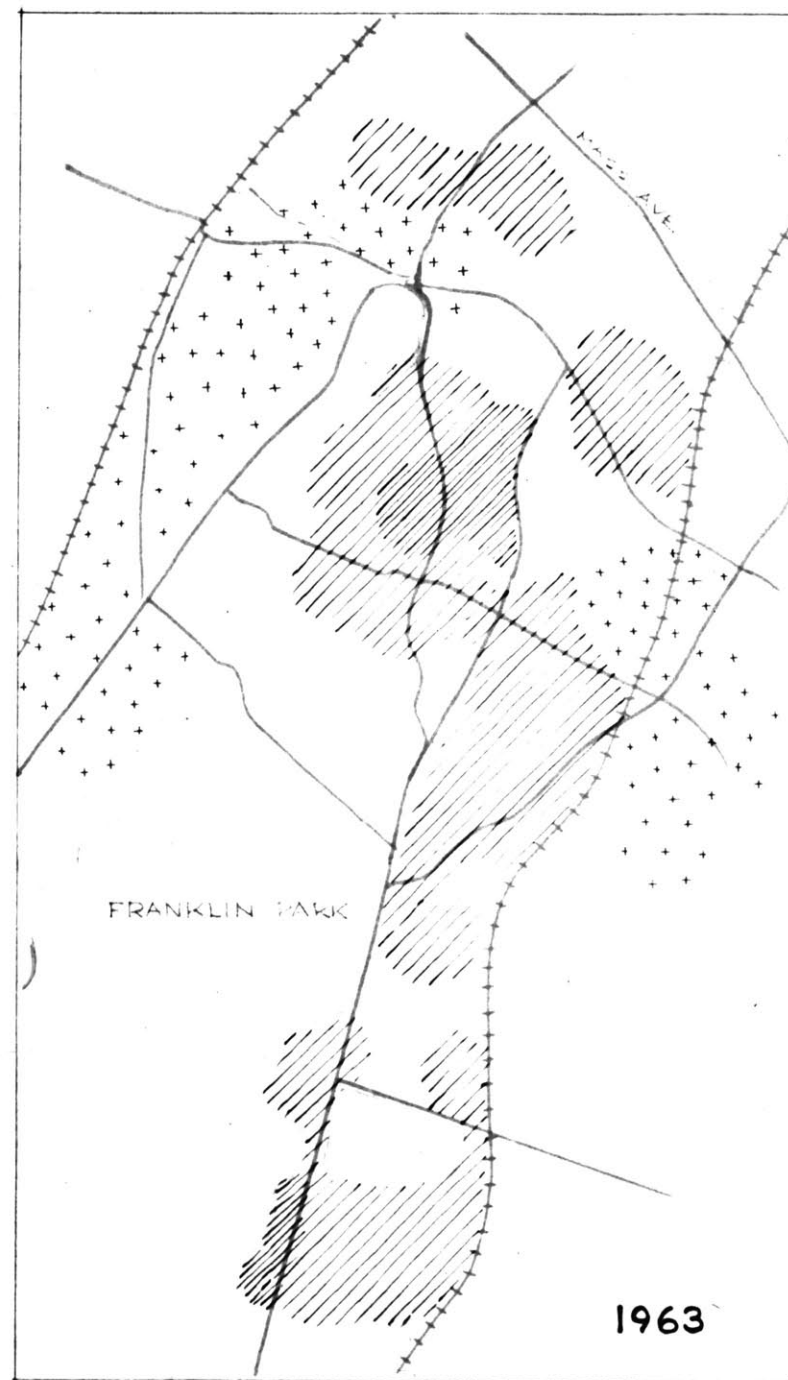


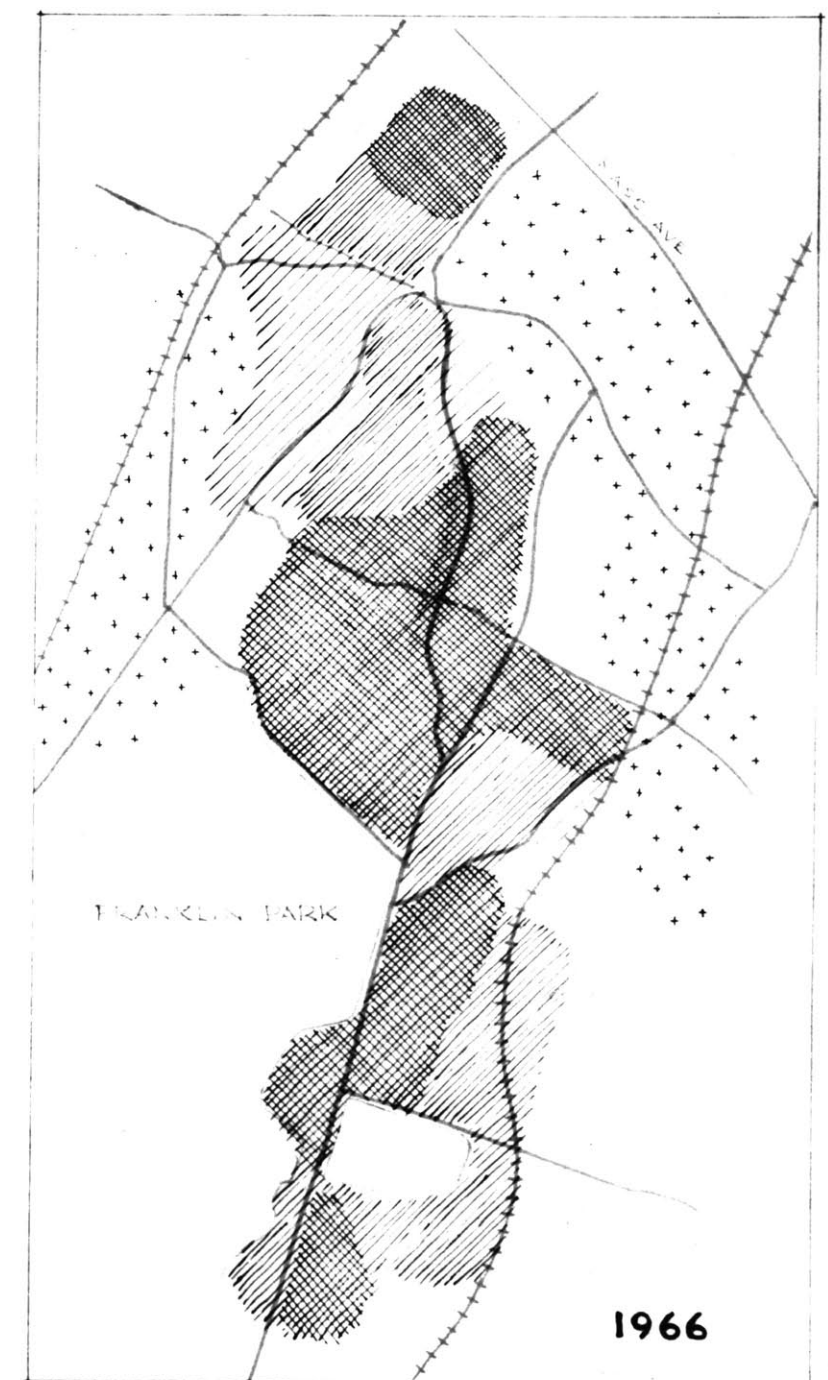
FIGURE 26. Wards and Precincts



MAYORALTY ELECTION (CITY-WIDE VOTE 204,356)
 COLLINS - 56%
 POWERS 44%








MAYORALTY ELECTION (CITY-WIDE VOTE 181,691)
 COLLINS - 60%
 PIEMONTE 40%



U.S. SENATE PRIMARY (CITY-WIDE VOTE 128,181)
 PEABODY 55%
 COLLINS 38%
 ADAMS 7%

**FIGURE 27. - POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS: 1959 - 1966
 COLLINS' VOTING STRENGTH IN ROXBURY**

**LEGEND - DEVIATION FROM
 COLLINS' CITY-WIDE VOTE**

-  positive
-  0-5% negative
-  5-10% negative
-  10-20% negative
-  20-30% negative

D. Summary and Conclusions

Urban renewal in Washington Park, Roxbury, has had far-ranging effects in the larger community, principally in terms of the housing market and social patterns. However, direct visible change is apparent only in the project itself and along the boundaries with little penetration beyond.

Alteration of land use, density and circulation has affected the activity pattern, particularly along Warren Street, and new construction has accentuated the visual contrast with North Dorchester to the east.

The economic impact of urban renewal has been felt throughout Roxbury and portions of Dorchester subject to Negro influx. Massive demolition in the project area combined with market trends to produce a substantial rise in rents, especially in those sections most affected by relocation. The housing supply was reduced by over 2,000 units at a time of high demand, and turnover was increased as whites abandoned the area in response to rising pressures of the Negro population.

Washington Park has had no positive effect on real estate values in adjacent areas of the GMRP. In fact, decline has continued at an accelerated pace, in terms of housing condition, sales and the rate of private demolition. However, renewal has helped to stimulate demand for sales housing to the south along Franklin Park, contributing to a rise in property values as the ghetto expanded.

Local business has continued to thrive in North Dorchester along Blue Hill Avenue, reinforced by social welfare agencies and firms relocated from Washington Park. Renewal has had little effect on business at the project boundary, aside from focusing activity on the new shopping center and adjacent blocks.

The social impact of the project has been felt most in areas absorbing relocation, particularly Upper Roxbury and North Dorchester south to Franklin Field. Urban renewal helped to accelerate racial change as displaced Negroes sought housing in predominantly white neighborhoods. Some families have benefited through this forced filtering process, but all too many have been adversely affected by relocation. Social problems have in no way been alleviated by physical renewal; in fact they have been intensified. The project merely redistributed "problem families" to adjacent areas where they faced readjustment, overcrowding and greater economic hardship.

Social contacts through churches have been disrupted and welfare agencies have had little impact on the transient group. Crime and delinquency have risen significantly throughout the community moreso--but with the shifting "criminal element."

Renewal is producing a class differential between Middle Roxbury and adjacent neighborhoods. It has created a new environment for social life, centering on the Washington Park Mall and YMCA, whereas the character of Blue Hill Avenue remains unchanged. Thus Roxbury residents can now choose between the traditional business strip and a new auto-oriented center.

Important political implications have emerged from the Washington Park experience. Initial enthusiasm for urban renewal has given way to disillusionment and reaction. The lag in new construction and hardships of relocation, coupled with neglect of routine public services, have provoked political opposition to the Collins administration. The 1966 Senate primary dealt the Mayor his biggest defeat in Roxbury, as voters demonstrated their concern for better municipal housekeeping and police protection rather than urban renewal.

The unorganized Negro lower class, which had little part in the planning process for Washington Park, is now defended by spokesmen from both within the community and outside. Effective leadership through civil rights activists and professional advocates has come to the aid of this heretofore "exploited" group.

Subsequent project proposals have met mounting resistance and a wary, defensive attitude pervades the area. Thanks to the Washington Park experience, future renewal in Roxbury will have to overcome generally adverse public opinion, and satisfy demands by indigenous leaders for the power of decision.

Perhaps it is yet too early to appraise the full impact of urban renewal in Washington Park. As reconstruction proceeds, confidence may be restored among the citizens of the area, but the scars of drastic government intervention will remain for years in the minds of the people if not on the landscape. Although substantial benefits have been realized through renewal, they are

outweighed by the massive social disruption and economic hardship caused in no small measure by the project. At this point the balance stands negative, and while Washington Park has stimulated no improvement in adjacent areas, it has reduced the chances for even moderate renewal treatment in the future.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS for PUBLIC POLICY

Experience of urban renewal in Washington Park, Roxbury, has clearly demonstrated the inadequacy of the "project" approach in achieving long-term improvement in a declining neighborhood, and the unfortunate consequences of massive government intervention on adjacent areas--in terms of physical, social and economic impact.

There is definite need for some new strategy of neighborhood improvement, that can be applied to entire sectors of the city on a continuing basis, without rigid constraints of timing and administration. The concept of total physical renewal within a strictly defined project area, executed over a short period of time is not only incompatible with the social and economic forces in the area, but is also unrealistic and impracticable to administer. A program which effects sudden and drastic change in the environment cannot help but conflict with its own objectives, where eventual improvement of the overall community is desired. The success or failure of a "project" will ultimately depend upon the larger context of which it is an integral part.

In Roxbury, adjacent areas bore the brunt of project relocation, but they were in no way prepared to deal with consequent effects. Years of "planning" for the GNRP area utterly failed to check decline in the larger community; deterioration was in fact accelerated, investment curtailed and maintenance neglected

--both public and private. The GNRP served to prolong uncertainty and frustrate citizen concern or involvement, while contributing little or nothing to the extension of renewal action beyond Washington Park.

In effect, slum problems have merely been shifted from one place to another, and very likely intensified rather than ameliorated. It is increasingly evident that both environmental and social problems must be treated incrementally where they exist--with more flexible tools and broad-scale programs. Resources must be applied through a long-range strategy rather than a patchwork or projects lacking in continuity and efficacy. It is high time that Congress recognize this in federal legislation.

Among both planners and administrators there is a growing discontent with the "project approach" to neighborhood renewal. Edward Logue has complained of the cumbersome federal procedures it entails, inhibiting a rational and continuous local program. At the 1964 ASPO convention in Boston, he called for a "continuing grant to be fitted in wherever in the city it is needed."¹

Recently this concept has been embodied in the Philadelphia Community Renewal Program, which designates a single all-inclusive "improvement area" covering sections of the city in need of renewal treatment. A "distributive approach" would then apply

¹ Edward Logue, remarks in his Keynote Address at the annual convention of the American Society of Planning Officials, Boston (April 5, 1964).

renewal powers and programs selectively to each area according to need. It represents a dramatic departure from current practices of intensive action in a few small project areas while other sections are ignored until their turn comes up.² The CRP report states that:

"action will take place in many neighborhoods, giving each the particular kind of assistance needed and appropriate, focused directly on areas which are likely to be readily responsive or in which public or private market forces are clearly favorable."³

It is anticipated that this flexible new approach will foster better citizen involvement as the program is tailored to the particular needs and desires of residents in each area.

As suggested by the Philadelphia study, the Community Renewal Program offers a most promising technique for achieving neighborhood improvement within a broad framework. According to David Grossman of the Urban Renewal Administration,

"it is hoped that the CRP will prove to be a useful device in a transition from project-by-project assistance to a more flexible approach whereby federal assistance can be given to a continuing local program of renewal action."⁴

² "Philadelphia Renews Renewal," Architectural Forum, March 1967 p. 65. The CRP report, released in January, recognizes that the current approach simply has not been adequate. If renewal were to continue at the present rate, "conservation and clearance projects could not be extended throughout the problem areas in less than 100 years.

³ Ibid.

⁴ David A. Grossman, "The Community Renewal Program, Policy Development, Progress, and Problems," AIP Journal, Vol. 29, No. 4. (Nov. 1963). p. 268.

This same objective is put forth by housing analyst William Grigsby, who suggests that "in jettisoning the project approach, the federal government would be well advised to develop a comprehensive strategy of its own; ...grants for slum clearance, conservation programs, code enforcement, and the like could be effectively disbursed without requiring cities to specify the exact areas in which these funds would be used. Other government programs attest to this fact."⁵

Although such an approach may be appropriate in Philadelphia, few cities are blessed with such responsible local government and competence in planning. A continuing local program would depend on staff continuity and long-term political support, often lacking in central cities undergoing rapid racial and economic change. Block grants of federal money with no strings attached might rely too much on the discretion of local officials. Graft and corruption might be fostered, and it would be more difficult to evaluate accomplishments of the program.

Politicians generally have but a four-year perspective, so a renewal program must produce quick results. As contended by Edward Banfield, comprehensive planning is incompatible with political reality, although "project planning" stands a better chance.⁶ Furthermore, professional planners have such high

⁵ William G. Grigsby, Housing Markets and Public Policy, excerpts in J.Q. Wilson (ed.), op.cit., p. 659.

⁶ Edward Banfield, Political Influence, pp. 324-326. Also see Banfield and Wilson, City Politics, Chp. 14.

mobility that they can best follow through on short-term projects.

An incremental renewal program would require a substained and highly sophisticated intelligence and feedback system. Cost-benefit analysis has only recently been applied in a handful of large cities; these techniques for urban renewal are yet to be understood, particularly by smaller municipal governments. All too many cities rely on outside consultant services for renewal planning.

These and other problems would have to be overcome if the neighborhood renewal program is to be liberated from present constraints.

Despite its drawbacks, project treatment has served some useful purposes in administering urban renewal. It has facilitated land assembly and redevelopment, enabling cities to rationalize street layout and combine disparate plots of land into marketable sites. This would seem to be the unique advantage of the project approach, where a totally new pattern is desired within a short period of time. Since planning and effectuation ultimately focus on indentifiable parcels of real estate, renewal activity can be logically organized on an area basis.

However, where rehabilitation and long-term upgrading are desired, it makes less sense to fix precise boundaries. If

renewal is to be applied over large areas with a range of objectives, the time scale and nature of the program will be entirely different. Although some direct intervention would be necessary, such a program relies largely on the police power of the municipality, along with financial incentives for property owners. Moreover public facilities can be provided outside of the project context, with necessary site acquisition through traditional powers of eminent domain.

Therefore, in developing a new strategy for neighborhood improvement we should distinguish between the redevelopment function and conservation treatment on a continuing basis. The conventional project approach could possibly be retained in the former, but it should definitely be abandoned in the latter. The concept of the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan should by all means be discarded and emphasis placed on city-wide renewal planning (through the CRP or comparable methods).

Objectives of the program are proposed as follows:

- To create an adaptable environment which meets the needs of current residents and offers flexibility for future change.
- To restore confidence in the future of the area (among residents, businessmen and investors).
- To incrementally upgrade the housing stock and renew community facilities.
- To coordinate physical renewal with social programs, eliciting citizen participation in both planning and implementation.

Neighborhood improvement would attempt to combine existing market forces with concerted government action. It would employ the following elements:

(1) Rehabilitation incentives - The stock of existing housing may be regarded as the chief constraint in renewal planning, but also as a strong social asset. Whether renovated or in its present condition, old housing accommodates groups unable to compete freely in the market for new construction. It must be preserved until such time that the poor can be accommodated in new or better housing. Particularly in a ghetto area, old housing represents a scarce resource for minority families handicapped by both low income and racial discrimination.⁷ Thus conservation and rehabilitation would be the key element in a program for neighborhood improvement.

A gradual upgrading of existing structures could be achieved by systematic code enforcement supported by liberal financing and technical assistance to property owners. Initially standards would be set, somewhat above minimal health and safety levels to assure adequate quality both interior and exterior.⁸ To avoid undue hardship for owners of buildings with numerous deficiencies,

⁷ Bernard Frieden, The Future of Old Neighborhoods, pp. 148-153.

⁸ To the extent that exterior improvements represent an unreasonable demand upon the property owner, some public subsidy might be applied, then later recovered through increased tax assessment if property values rise.

code requirements could be enforced incrementally over a period of years, with most serious violations to be corrected first. By staging compliance in this manner, owners might better sustain the costs of rehabilitation without incurring new debts or raising rent. Under current urban renewal practice, all property must be brought up to standard simultaneously or face condemnation.

New financing techniques have already been developed through 1965 legislation, providing for rehabilitation loans and grants. (However, restricted to designated renewal or code enforcement areas.) Ideally all areas of the city should be made eligible for such aid, and wherever FHA is reluctant to insure mortgages, the municipality might guarantee loans with local resources, rather than suffer a steady erosion of its tax base. Tax delinquent properties would have to be acquired, brought up to standard, and then resold. Losses could be recouped by subsequent increase in assessed values, stimulated by environmental improvement. Similarly home ownership might be encouraged through interest subsidy and credit backing.⁹ Through

⁹ Such a plan has been introduced in Congress by Senator Charles Percy of Illinois. It provides for local non-profit housing associations which would undertake rehabilitation for sale to participating families unable to obtain ordinary financing or meet down payments. Re: "Housing: Percy's proposal," Christian Science Monitor (April 18, 1967), p. 1.

these and other incentives, rehabilitation can be made feasible-- extending the life of old housing and improving the environment on a broad scale.

(2) Selective redevelopment - While saving the bulk of existing housing, it will nevertheless be necessary to replace structures which are obsolete or beyond repair. Clearance would be first done in spots to eliminate fire or safety hazards and then extended to areas of high vacancy rejected by the market. In conservation neighborhoods it would be carefully scheduled over many years at about the same rate as new construction on cleared sites, or somewhat faster where a surplus of vacant structures exists. Depending on building types, residential density might be held stable or moderately changed. With Family displacement controlled in small increments, relocation would be little problem, although assistance should be offered (preferably through a central office sponsored by the city). Gradual rebuilding would provide new housing, contributing to the overall stock and widening choice for residents of the area with rising incomes. This would activate the "filtering process," opening up older units to low-income families. Mixing new and old housing in a fine-grained pattern would promote diversity in an area rather than the homogeneity so characteristic of most redevelopment projects.¹⁰

¹⁰ Frieden, op.cit., pp. 126-127

Such a program would be administered under a permanent planning agency; staff continuity is very important. Housing condition and occupancy surveys would be continuously updated. An inventory of cleared sites would be maintained to allow flexibility in rebuilding. Interim usage might be for parking, recreation (e.g. tot lots or playgrounds with portable equipment) and a variety of organized or spontaneous activities--depending on their location, character and adjacent uses. Temporary lighting and maintenance must be assured by the city.

Developers or "sponsors" for new housing would be offered a choice of sites, with preference given to neighborhood associations, churches or tenant cooperatives. The rate of "write-down" in land cost would be geared to the type of new housing, with emphasis on low and moderate-rent units.¹¹ Design review could be applied to assure compatibility with existing neighborhood character.

Redevelopment for non-residential uses would be permitted according to plan--with little or no writedown for more lucrative commercial enterprise, but considerably more for social, cultural or recreational uses such as clubs and churches. These non-profit functions, as well as some local shopping facilities, could be encouraged by indirect subsidy.

¹¹ Likewise some public housing could be accommodated on small sites through the "turnkey" approach, whereby private builders sell completed units to the Housing Authority. Tenants should be given the option to purchase when their incomes rise.

(3) Municipal capital improvements-- Public investment would reinforce gradual rebuilding efforts and help to restore confidence in declining areas. Old schools must be replaced and parks expanded according to comprehensive plans, subject to constant review and change as new circumstances arise. Capital expenditures would be budgeted by the various city departments but coordinated through the planning agency, which had complete information on potential sites. Priorities should be set in conjunction with the renewal program, to concentrate new facilities in certain areas where greater impact is desired. Where necessary, land acquisition would be through eminent domain by the city. All public facilities can be handled in this way. Street improvements and changes in layout must be carefully planned to service other new development. For example, a superblock concept might be implemented over the years as gradual rebuilding occurs. Such a framework would guide site planning for each parcel of new housing. This implies the need for a new approach to urban design which could develop far-reaching concepts in limited stages.

As municipal improvements stimulate a rise in property values, some owners may hold out for speculative gain while deferring maintenance and repair. Where such speculation is encouraged rather than investment, strict code enforcement and tax penalties might be applied. This and other problems can be dealt with in each locality through methods acceptable and appropriate for particular areas.

(4) Public services - To support renewal efforts throughout the community, a high level of public services must be maintained. Recent experience in Roxbury has demonstrated the vital importance of municipal housekeeping and adequate police protection, without which the very objectives of renewal are in jeopardy. Neglect of these services not only reduced amenities of health and safety in the area, but had adverse psychological effects, discouraging private maintenance and improvements. Where millions of dollars are channeled into physical renewal, a portion of this budget should be allocated to improve routine municipal services. They must be regarded as complementary, not independent programs. The federal government is already beginning to subsidize local schools, social services and crime prevention. Such grants could be more directly applied to support renewal objectives, as under the Demonstration Cities concept.

The entire program of neighborhood improvement outlined above presupposes a built-in review process to guide the scope and pace of renewal and to monitor changes and effects induced by it. This has been conspicuously lacking in the B.R.A. program, which fails to recognize social and economic consequences and repeats its own mistakes. A feedback mechanism should be incorporated as an integral part of the planning process.

It is assumed that total resources available for renewal will not be substantially increased over current levels. Therefore,

each community must determine the optimal distribution of its funds and planning competence. It must choose between a concentrated effort in selected problem areas or dispersion of benefits to the entire community. These two alternatives are elaborated below.

1. Concentration of government resources in designated problem areas.
2. Broad-scale distribution of resources on a city-wide basis.

To some extent the first alternative implies a modified "project" approach as a vehicle for administering the program. Concentrated action generally necessitates the drawing of lines, due to the inevitable question of where to stop. However, to minimize this problem of area delineation and fringe effects, a hierarchy of boundaries might be applied. For example, clearance sites would be precisely defined within a larger more flexible code enforcement area.¹² Thorough and detailed planning could be undertaken and action stepped up with vastly increased inputs of personnel and financial backing. However, under the concept of gradual rebuilding, displacement and new construction must be very carefully staged so as not to cause hardship in relocation. If code enforcement were imposed too strictly in the given area, but not in others, it might be contested as unfair treatment under the law. Also a disproportionate share of

¹² At the least, these treatment areas would be considerably larger than current renewal projects.

capital improvements within the renewal area might arouse objections in other parts of the city. Such "inequitable" treatment could cause political repercussions.

The "distributive approach" to neighborhood renewal would avoid most of these problems. Within the city limits, no specific boundaries or treatment areas need be defined, and there would be no danger of too rapid action in any one area. Nor would legal or political issues be raised. City-wide planning might be strengthened and an overall "intelligence" system developed. As all areas received attention, potential problems in even better neighborhoods might be identified. Uniform code enforcement and rehabilitation incentives in marginal as well as poor areas would help prevent decline, thus reducing ultimate costs of redevelopment.

However, dispersion of planning efforts and capital resources while benefiting the community as a whole, might make little impact in more serious problem areas. The pace of redevelopment may be insufficient to restore confidence in the face of rapid deterioration. If clearance sites were not determined in advance, unknowingly property owners could make improvements, inflating the ultimate acquisition cost to the public. On the other hand, prior announcement of clearance will discourage even routine maintenance. Therefore, minimal code standards must be vigorously enforced, with perhaps some compensation to owners for inevitable value losses in doomed areas.

A policy of concentrated action would seem more conducive to citizen involvement in both planning and implementation, whereas dispersion of resources without defined areas would likely frustrate community organization and support for rehabilitation or necessary clearance. The renewal program might lack focus.

There would also be differences in administration of the program. With the former approach, control could be consolidated under an area administrator, offering better opportunities for coordination of social programs with physical renewal (the Model City concept). At the city-wide level such coordination would be more difficult due to diffusion of programs and personnel, and a broader range of objectives.

The above problems must be considered in the allocation of resources. It is not the purpose of this paper to offer a definitive solution, but instead to explore the alternatives in effecting long-term neighborhood improvement.

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VI. APPENDICES

VI. APPENDIX A.-- Analysis of the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan

This section reviews the GNRP planning process in Roxbury and its relation to project development in Washington Park and Madison Park. Following is a critical evaluation of the very concept of General Neighborhood Renewal Planning, as conducted in Boston.

The original Washington Park Project formed the core of the Roxbury- North Dorchester GNRP area established about the same time, under provisions of the Housing Act of 1956. Altogether ten such areas were proposed in Boston. Federal approval was granted in 1960 for planning funds. GNRP surveys on building condition, existing land use and circulation in Roxbury contributed to project planning, but were then set aside as attention focused on Washington Park. Traffic analysis (by a consultant) indicated the need for a lateral route through Roxbury, tying into the regional system. This was incorporated into the renewal plan as a cross-town boulevard. Meanwhile the project had been expanded to Seaver Street for reasons already described.

A small staff of five or six began GNRP planning about 1961 but it was not carried through; some of the staff left the BRA or were shifted to other projects. Later there were a couple "task forces" assigned to complete certain studies, involving ten or twelve staff members for a few weeks of concentrated work. 1960 Census data was analyzed for the area and correlated with field surveys. Some renewal proposals were made regarding future land use and population densities. This material was put together

in June 1963 for preliminary submission, along with a community facilities plan (based on the city's Capital Improvement Program) and circulation plan. According to Arnold Schucter, who supervised the work, GNRP planning was severely handicapped by the lack of any comprehensive plan for the city.¹ At that time the 1975 Plan for Boston was in its early stages of development.

The 1963 GNRP was regarded as "far too superficial" by Bob Rowland who took charge of it a year later. In the summer of 1964, planning was resumed "with more thorough intent."² All ten GNRP's were to be completed in 1965 for city council approval and submission to the federal government. Most of them were rush jobs involving little staff time, but far more attention was given to the Roxbury- North Dorchester study. Three or four full-time planners worked several months to prepare it. Data had to be accurate and complete. The entire area was re-surveyed for both land use and building condition.³ Detailed studies for "Contemplated Treatment" were made with "Delineation of Clearance Areas." (Figure 28.) New school sites, parks and playgrounds were precisely shown, as well as sites for new housing. (Fig. 29) Urban designers assigned to the project prepared an illustrative site plan for the area showing visual relationships with new development in Washington Park.

¹ Interview with Arnold Schucter (March 1964).

² Interview with Bob Rowland (August 11, 1964).

³ Unfortunately building condition was mapped by different categories than were used in the 1960 survey. Therefore it is difficult to compare change over the four-year period.



FIGURE 28. Proposed Treatment: 1965 G.N.R.P.

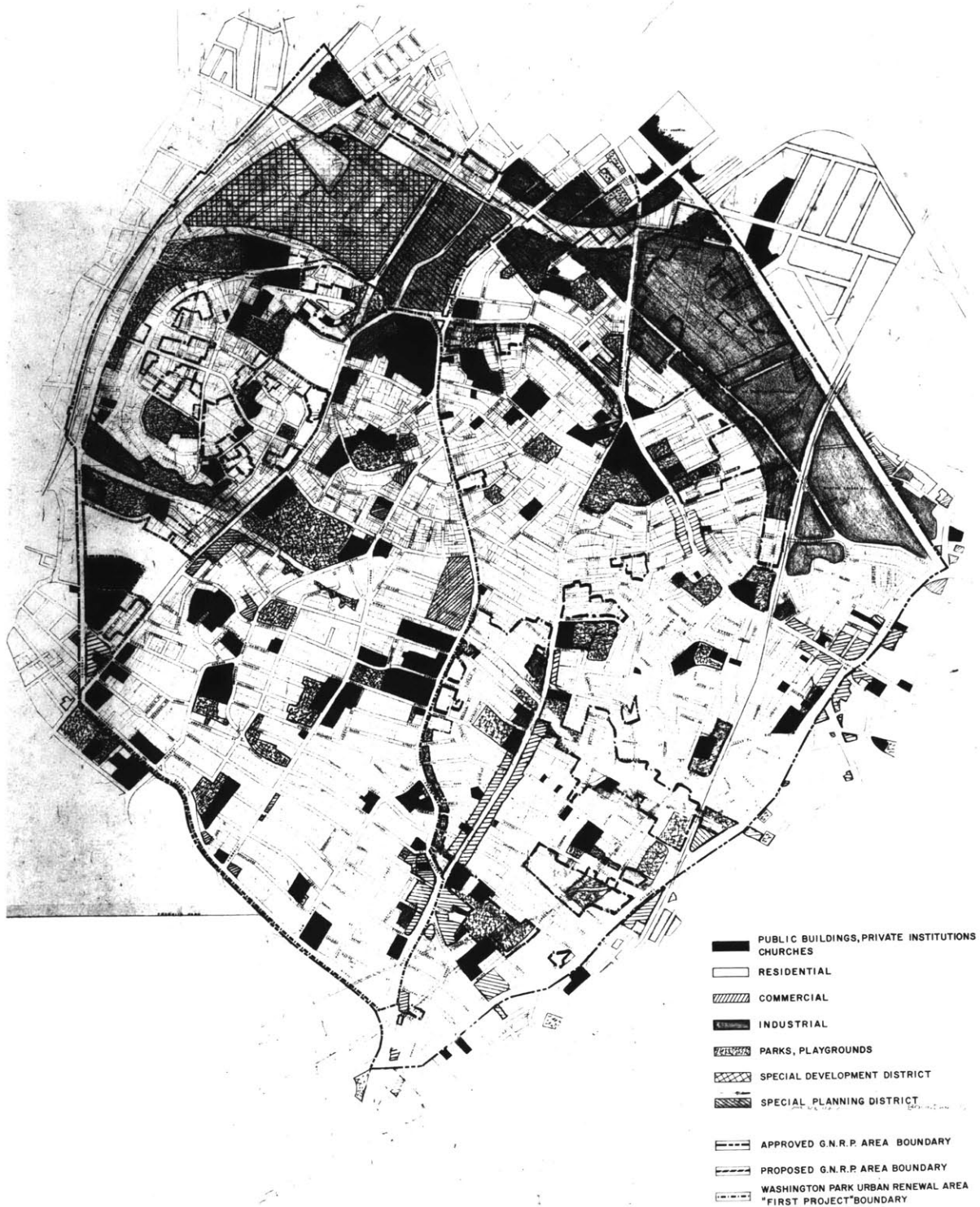


FIGURE 29. Proposed Land Use: 1965 GNRP

A report preceding the plan itself emphasized "an increasingly urgent need for extending urban renewal action beyond the boundaries of Washington Park." It continued as follows:

"Experience in this 'first project' within the GNRP Area clearly demonstrates that existing neighborhoods can be saved and that rehabilitation can work." ⁴

Such an appraisal of the situation in 1965 seems overly optimistic. But the B.R.A. was eager to proceed with additional projects in Roxbury --in part to reinforce improvements in Washington Park. Continued decline of adjacent areas might jeopardize the progress in that "first project."

To implement renewal action in the GNRP, three Title I. projects were proposed, (1) Lower Roxbury, (2) Highland Park, and (3) North Dorchester. The Uphams Corner area, east of the New Haven Midland Branch Railroad was excluded because of its lack of "extensive or incipient blight" as well as physical and social isolation from the Roxbury community.

"Uphams Corner represents a distinct and different community, far more closely related in character, condition, and community needs to the larger Dorchester district." ⁵

The extent of land acquisition and clearance proposed for the three project areas is summarized in the following table. Resulting displacement of families and businesses is included. ⁶

⁴ B.R.A., "Proposed Program for Extending Urban Renewal Action in the Roxbury- North Dorchester GNRP Area," op.cit., pp. 1-2.

⁵ B.R.A., General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (March 1965), Sec. GN-201(f), p. 3.

⁶ Ibid., Sec. GN-201(d), pp. 1-2; Sec. GN-202(c), pp. 1-2.

| Title I. Proposals | Lower Roxbury* | Highland Park | North Dorchester | Revised GNRP less Wash- ington Park |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| Acquisition: | | | | |
| Total acres | 220.3 | 168.4 | 657.6 | 1046.3 |
| Acquire | 109.7 | 67.0 | 167.9 | 344.6 |
| | 50% | 40% | 26% | 33% |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| "Early land" | 62.8 | 38.7 | 45.8 | 147.3 |
| | 57% | 58% | 27% | 43% |
| Total structures | 728 | 984 | 3,873 | 5,585 |
| Acquire | 577 | 358 | 993 | 1,928 |
| | 79% | 36% | 26% | 35% |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| "Early land" | 321 | 110 | 230 | 661 |
| | 56% | 31% | 23% | 34% |
| Displacement: | | | | |
| Total families | 1,179 | 1,578 | 9,238 | 11,995 |
| Displace | 867 | 609 | 1,881 | 3,357 |
| | 74% | 39% | 20% | 28% |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| "Early land" | 517 | 260 | 489 | 1,266 |
| | 60% | 43% | 26% | 38% |
| Tot. businesses | 332 | 68 | 721 | 1,121 |
| Displace | 156 | 45 | 257 | 458 |
| | 47% | 66% | 36% | 41% |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| "Early land" | 98 | 26 | 64 | 188 |
| | 63% | 58% | 25% | 41% |

* Figures shown are for the proposed Lower Roxbury Project Area within the revised GNRP boundary. See Fig. 5 (pp. 29-30) for area delineation.

Not included in the above figures is land acquisition for the Inner Belt Highway through Lower Roxbury. For that project the Massachusetts Department of Public Works would take about eighty acres of land, displacing an additional 600 families and 250 businesses.

Proposed renewal action in the GNRP was even more drastic than that of the Washington Park Project where clearance was to have been about 30% and family displacement even less. However

the B.R.A. was serious in its intent, and in the spring of 1965 "binders" were prepared for the three projects and submitted to Washington along with the GNRP (however without approval of the city council). If and when a decision were made, the staff was ready to proceed with project development.

The 1965 GNRP was never presented to the community. Residents were unaware of this concerted staff effort until the spring of 1966 when "Early Land" proposals were put forth. However these plans differed significantly from the GNRP of the previous year. With a decision finally reached on the Campus High School site, the B.R.A. presented an Early Land plan for Madison Park; but Mr. Logue saw this as an opportunity to proceed with renewal in North Dorchester as well. Highland Park was not seriously considered since that area was already pitted against the University of Massachusetts, which rivaled B.R.A. in its power of eminent domain. Anticipating opposition to full scale renewal in the GNRP, Mr. Logue proposed an Early Land scheme with minimal displacement --along with advance relocation housing on vacant sites. The area was again surveyed to identify these sites; prior GNRP studies had been geared to full scale renewal so they were set aside. It was estimated that, aside from near-total clearance in Madison Park, only 200 families would be displaced in the remainder of the area, as opposed to 900 in the 1965 GNRP plan for Early Land Acquisition. And to make it even more acceptable, the B.R.A. provided for 1200 units of new low- and moderate-income housing on vacant land. Nothing was said about subsequent renewal action which would have reached massive

proportions.

The Early Land proposal was received by some neighborhood groups with enthusiasm, but others were skeptical of any scheme for "urban renewal", no matter how modest. Suspicions and resistance prevailed, and B.R.A. officials concluded that the neighborhood was not yet "ready" for renewal.⁷ The 60-acre Madison Park project of great "external" importance goes forward; federal approval is expected soon. The Campus High School must be built, but renewal of the remaining 1000 acres of the GNRP faces grave uncertainty.

Some hope is seen in the proposed Model Cities program encompassing most of the area, but whether urban renewal under this new guise can be made more palatable remains to be seen.

⁷ Daniel Richardson, op.cit. (see page 34).

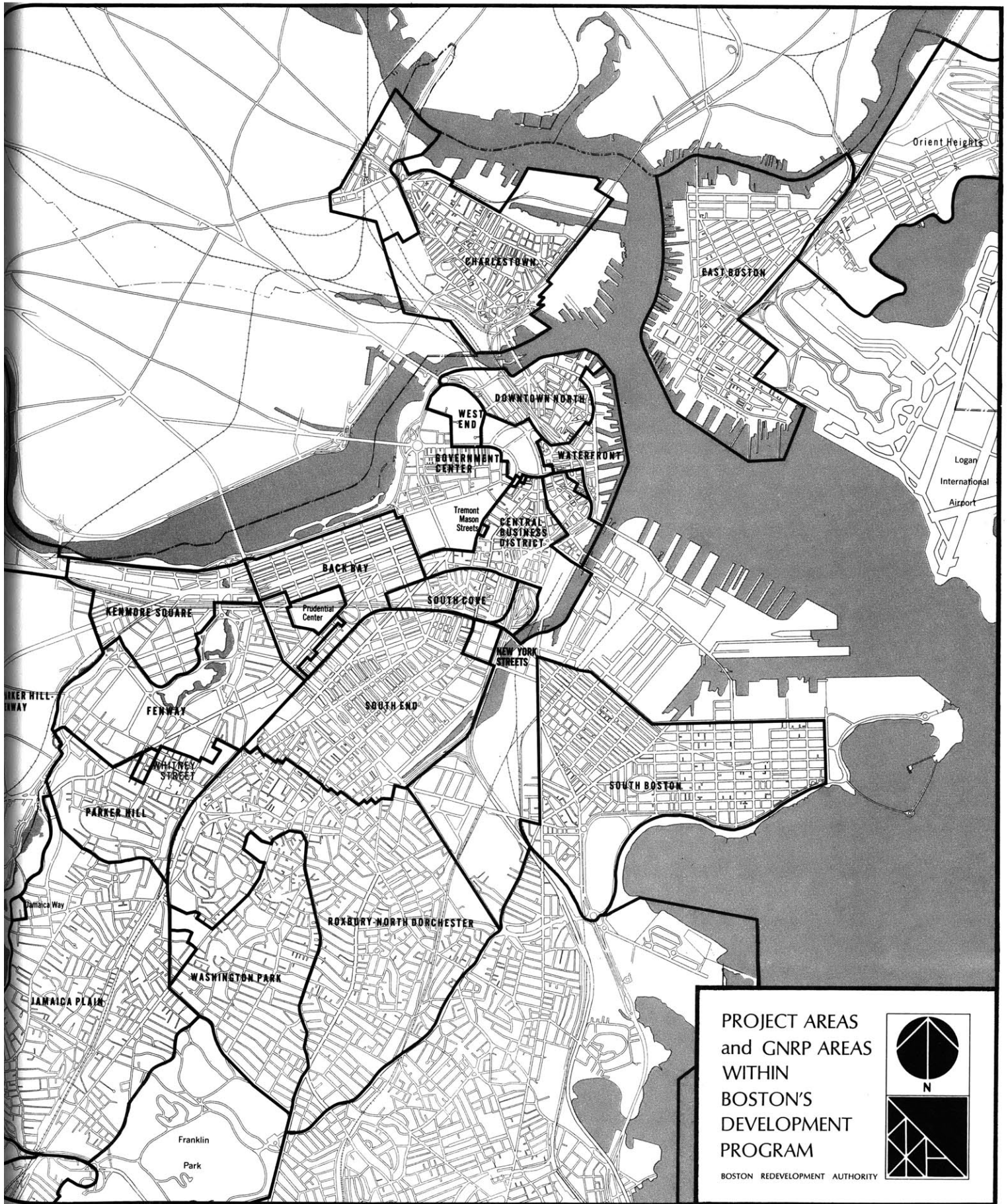


FIGURE 30. Project and GNRP Areas 1966

Concept of the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan

Since 1960 the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan has been a basic element in Boston's renewal program. In theory it has set the framework for project development and offered a means for staging renewal into the future. But its drawbacks have become increasingly apparent, causing both planners and citizens alike to question the very concept of the GNRP.

The preceding analysis reveals an inconsistency and ambiguity of GNRP studies and the irrelevance of the final product. In Roxbury- North Dorchester, planning was carried on intermittently over a period of five years, with little staff continuity and virtually no citizen involvement. Despite the concerted effort under Bob Rowland to produce a complete and workable GNRP in 1965, it served for little more than to meet federal requirements; a year later it was finally discarded for a more modest "Early Land" plan, thought to be more politically acceptable. The Madison Park project hardly depended on GNRP studies; it was conceived as simply a site for the Campus High School, not an integral part of a neighborhood renewal program.

If the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan has proved so futile, what real purposes have been served? First and foremost, it has provided a source of planning funds, advanced at an early stage to support general studies so important to the renewal program.⁸ Together, grants for the ten GNRP's approved in 1960 helped to finance the following projects:

- (1) An overall photogrametric survey (by Fairchild Corp.)
- (2) General traffic studies (by Wilbur Smith & Associates, March, 1963)

- (3) The Sargent Report on Boston Schools (1962)
- (4) Economic and market analyses (Larry Smith & Co.,
January 1963)
- (5) Engineering study of existing utility systems
(Charles Maguire & Associates, April, 1964)

These studies had city-wide significance and served as a basis for the 1965-75 Comprehensive Plan. They contributed likewise to the individual GNRP studies which in aggregate formed the core of the Comprehensive Plan. It was a simultaneous process and not by chance were all ten GNRP's finally submitted in 1965, the year Boston's Comprehensive Plan was published.

As seen by Bob Rowland, the primary value of GNRP planning has been "administrative", with political purposes served as well. As a declaration of intent toward city-wide renewal, it indicated the scope of the Mayor's program. The GNRP served to politically "prepare" each neighborhood for later project treatment. The mere announcement of a GNRP brought the area "one step closer to renewal." ⁹

⁸ City of Boston, "The 90 Million Dollar Development Program for Boston," Sept., 1960. Federal funds requested for GNRP planning totalled nearly \$2,000,000 as listed below:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| Roxbury GNRP | \$188,000 | Downtown GNRP.... | \$277,000 |
| Downtown North GNRP ... | 277,000 | South Boston GNRP | 213,000 |
| Back Bay GNRP | 277,000 | East Boston GNRP .. | 200,000 |
| Parker Hill-Fenway GNRP | 191,000 | Jamaica Plain GNRP | 193,000 |

In addition, for Charlestown and the South End funds (\$891,000) were initially requested for Title I. "Survey and Planning", but in 1961 the U.R.A. approved GNRP grants instead.

⁹ Bob Rowland, op.cit.

As an aid to project planning the GNRP studies can be helpful to the extent that specific project decisions depend on the surrounding area. During Washington Park planning the GNRP lay dormant much of the time, but when the project staff encountered a "roadblock" they turned to and/activated the GNRP for answers.¹⁰

Also in the execution stage it was used for frequent reference. Relocation case workers needed advice on probable clearance outside Washington Park so as to avoid repeated displacement of families. Hundreds of calls were also received from investors and businessmen in adjacent areas, wanting advance notice on future renewal. But as there was no official B.R.A. policy about divulging such information, staff members would informally discourage or reassure them.¹¹ However this might well be misinformation since GNRP "studies" are subject to change at any moment. To call it a "plan" is actually a misnomer since that term implies a finality which is never reached.

As explained in the Introduction, a GNRP contains all the components of an urban renewal project plan, but cannot be executed as such. The initial project must comprise at least 10% of the overall area, and it is conceivable that the entire GNRP could be made into a single "first project". This, however, would conflict with the very purpose of the GNRP which is to enlarge the context of project planning so that neighborhood renewal can

¹⁰ Interview with Frank O'Brian, B.R.A. Capital Improvement Programmer, (July 1964).

¹¹ Interview with Edward Teitcher, GNRP planner, 1964-66. (March 1967) All such plans are public documents on file at the B.R.A., but rarely do citizens request copies.

be staged and coordinated over a ten-year period.¹²

There is a basic fallacy in such a concept since that portion of the area not included in the first project, suffers up to ten years of uncertainty, during which real estate values decline and improvements cease. It is much the same phenomenon that occurs in renewal areas between the time of project announcement and actual land takings.¹³ But with the GNRP much more is at stake (1200 acres in Roxbury-North Dorchester) and the period of limbo is extended.

Not only is private investment discouraged, but property owners neglect even routine maintenance, and decline accelerates in the area. There is a cessation of public investment as well, and a gradual abandonment of services. At best neighborhood improvement is paralyzed as people await the panacea of urban renewal to solve their problems.¹⁴

Yet it may be years before anything materializes. False hopes turn into disillusionment, as reflected in a recent report by leaders of a Roxbury settlement house:

¹² In practice, even a ten-year period has proven inadequate for completing all projects in a GNRP. Less than a decade after passing the legislation Congress felt it necessary to amend it "to permit urban renewal projects undertaken in GNRP areas to be initiated within a period of not more than 8 years, in lieu of the prior requirement that such projects be carried out within an estimated period of not more than 10 years." Re: U.S. Congress, op.cit., "Highlights of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965," p. 22.

¹³ Philip C. Froeder, op.cit.

¹⁴ Interview with Francis W. Gens (March 21, 1967). As Director of Boston's Housing Inspection Department, he regards GNRP status as a "very disturbing influence" for a neighborhood. It creates complacency among property owners and offers no incentives.

"Whereas last year we felt sure that we would soon be designated as a project area within the total renewal area (GNRP), we are now in a state of limbo, with little or no information being given out as to the direction urban renewal will take. Moreover it seems that this recession of the 'spectre' of urban renewal has lulled many of the neighbors into a state of complacency about conditions in the neighborhood." 15

Citizen participation in planning is frustrated at the GNRP level. Only with great difficulty can planners reach consensus among the diverse factions of a community. In Roxbury there is a proliferation of neighborhood groups, representing a spectrum of opinion so broad as to discourage even the best of diplomats. At the beginning of the planning process, Lloyd Sinclair attempted to work through the Roxbury Community Council, a "federation" of such organizations. His strategy was to develop a broad base through existing neighborhood groups, settlement houses, and social agencies in the greater Roxbury area (GNRP). Although planning centered on Washington Park, Sinclair hoped to involve groups from outside the project area so that they might profit from the experience. And thereby understanding the renewal process, they could better cope with future projects in their own neighborhoods. 16

However this arrangement proved cumbersome and after 1961 the B.R.A. forsook the loosely structured Roxbury Community Council. It sought to develop effective citizen participation through Freedom House, a "small tight elitist operation" that was ready and able to move incisively in the Washington Park area. The

15 Denison House, 1963 Report, "Community Organization", p. 3.

16 Lloyd Sinclair, op.cit.

less representative tactics of Freedom House got results and the wholly unorganized "Black Proletariat" of Middle Roxbury suffered the consequences.¹⁷

Freedom House offered aggressive and capable leadership for the Negro middle class of Washington Park, but it had little concern for the larger GNRP. Until 1963 the Snowdens were fully occupied with planning in the project area, and later with the rehabilitation program.¹⁸ The Roxbury Community Conference on Urban Renewal, organized in 1966, has received little support from them.

Again in Madison Park, a small indigenous group, the LRCC, organized successfully to influence renewal planning. The project did not affect or involve the larger GNRP. When the B.R.A. proposed Early Land Acquisition in other areas it was presented unilaterally to many separate groups. Ultimately in developing citizen participation for the new Model Cities program, the planners face a dilemma, for lack of any broad-based community organization. There is a multitude of separate interest groups, geographical or social, and little communication between them. The planners must beware of spokesmen for the Community since no truly representative group exists.¹⁹

Since meaningful citizen participation at the GNRP level has been so ineffectual, the planning process has been one-sided, with only staff involvement. Logue's "planning with people" slogan apparently does not apply at this level of generality.

¹⁷ Keyes, op.cit., pp. 392, 439.

¹⁸ Interview with Mrs. Muriel Snowden, July 7, 1964.

Residents were not directly involved in development of the Roxbury- North Dorchester plan since it is "too general to permit lay understanding; the area is enormous." However at the same time it is specific enough to bring about havoc for some property.²⁰

Confusion and misunderstanding has resulted in the neighborhoods under study. In some areas even political reaction has been provoked. For years South Boston has been supersensitive to urban renewal in any form. In mid-1965 when that GNRP was presented for city council approval, a local newspaper published the plan and aroused tremendous hostility toward the B.R.A. Nearly two years later the issue erupted again at a Council hearing on the urban renewal program. Despite repeated denial by Mr. Logue of any plans for projects in South Boston or East Boston, his arch antagonist Councilor William J. Foley insisted that there were. Logue accused him of "misrepresenting a general neighborhood planning study, completed in 1965, as a bonafide renewal project proposal."²¹ For political reasons or otherwise, Foley had failed to distinguish between GNRP studies, and project planning. This illustrates how suspicion and mistrust can develop

¹⁹ Interview with Andrew Olins, B.R.A. staff (March 14, 1967). Since January 1967, Mr. Olins has been chief planner assigned to develop the application for the Model Cities program.

²⁰ Schucter, op.cit. Bob Rowland concurs that the role of citizen groups at the GNRP is minimal. At earlier stages only the key community leaders would be involved. Only in specific project planning or execution would broad-based community involvement be encouraged.

²¹ George B. Merry, "Logue Shelves Two 'Nonprojects'", Christian Science Monitor, March 8, 1967, p. 4.

when neighborhood residents are not well informed or involved in renewal planning for their area --at any level of generality.

It may be concluded that the concept of the GNRP is inherently fallacious. As applied in Boston it has contributed little toward the development and staging of renewal projects, while adversely affecting areas under study. The General Neighborhood Renewal Plan is indeed a dangerous instrument which has done more harm than good.

APPENDIX B. Proposed Capital Improvement Program
for Roxbury- North Dorchester

Source: Boston Redevelopment Authority, Renewing Boston's
Municipal Facilities: Capital Improvement Program
1963-1975, pp. 198-201.

Location of projects within the GNRP are noted
as follows:

WP - Washington Park
ND - North Dorchester
HP - Highland Park
UC - Uphams Corner

Table II

| ROXBURY-NO. DORCHESTER | | PROPOSED COMMUNITY FACILITIES (By Area) | | | | | Abandon/ Replaced | Disposition |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Year | Project & Process | Cost | Financing Titke #1 | Source City Funds | Other | | | |
| 1963 | Schools | | | | | M.G. Godvin Sch. | Sell to BRA | |
| ND | Winthrop JHS-Commun. Center | 2,550,000 | | 2,550,000 | | Uphams Corner Rec. Center | Vacate | |
| WP | Humboldt Elem. | 1,220,000 | | 1,220,000 | | W.L.P. Boardman Sch. | Sell to BRA | |
| ND | Devon & Normandy Elem | 1,220,000 | | 1,220,000 | | | | |
| | Parks & Recreation | | | | | | | |
| WP | Walnut Park Tot Lot | 2,500 | 2,500 | | | | | |
| | Ellis Playground | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | | |
| | Welfare Dept. | | | | | | | |
| | Temp. Home for Women & Children | 500,000 | | 500,000 | | Chardon St. Home | | |
| WP | Health Dept. | | | | | | | |
| | Washington Park Ctr. | 400,000 | | 400,000 | | Savin St. Unit | Sell to BRA | |
| 1964 | Schools | | | | | A. Davis School | Sell to BRA | |
| ND | New Winthrop Dist. Elem. | 1,220,000 | | 1,220,000 | | Winthrop School | Sell to BRA | |
| UC | Groom St. Elem. | 1,220,000 | | 1,220,000 | | | | |
| ND | Hawthorne Addition | 560,000 | | 560,000 | | | | |
| | Parks & Recreation | | | | | | | |
| WP | Washington Pk. C.C. | 500,000 | | 500,000 | | Cabot St. Recreat. Bldg | Sell BRA | |
| WP | Washington Pk. Addin | 120,000 | 120,000 | | | | | |
| ND | Winthrop JHS Plgd. | 150,000 | 150,000 | | | | | |
| WP | Washington Pk. Plgd. | 150,000 | 150,000 | | | | | |
| WP | Humboldt Ave. Plgd | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | | |
| ND | Devon-Normandy Plgd. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | | |
| WP | Eln Hill Tot Lot | 2,500 | 2,500 | | | | | |

Table II

ROXBURY-NO. DORCHESTER

PROPOSED COMMUNITY FACILITIES (By area)

| Year | Project & Process | Cost | Financing Source Title #1 | City Funds | Other | Abandon/ Replaced | Disposition |
|------|--|-----------|------------------------------|------------|-------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1964 | Library Dudley Civic Center | 370,000 | | 370,000 | | Mt. Pleasant Br. | Vacate space in Vine St. Muni. Bldg. |
| | Public Buildings & Cty. Services | | | | | | |
| | WP Roxbury Court H _o use | 2,000,000 | | 2,000,000 | | Old Rox Ct. Hse. | Sell to BRA |
| | WP Munic. Serv. Off. Wing | 250,000 | | 250,000 | | | |
| | WP Police Department Dudley Center | 700,000 | | 700,000 | | Police Sta. #s 9,10 & 13 (J.P.) | Sell to BRA |
| | ND Fire Department Blue Hill & Quincy | 350,000 | | 350,000 | | Warren & Quincy St. Sta. | Sell to BRA |
| 1965 | Schools | | | | | | |
| | WP Alpine Elem. | 820,000 | | 820,000 | | J.W. Howe Sch. | Sell to BRA |
| | HP Bartlett Elem. | 820,000 | | 820,000 | | Dudley, Dillaway Schs. | Sell to BRA |
| | Parks & Recreation | | | | | | |
| | WP Dale & Walnut Park | 20,000 | 20,000 | | | | |
| | WP Townsend & Humboldt Pk. | 80,000 | 80,000 | | | | |
| | ND Mt. Pleasant Plgd. | 150,000 | 150,000 | | | | |
| | UR Groom St. Pld. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |
| | ND Winthrop Elem. Plgd. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |
| | Bartlett St. Plgd. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |
| 1966 | Schools | | | | | | |
| | ND Winthrop JHS | 750,000 | | 750,000 | | Sherwin, Asa Gray Schs. | Sell to BRA |
| 199 | WP Harold & Seaver El. | 1,640,000 | | 1,640,000 | | Williams School | Sell to BRA |

Table II

ROXBURY - NO. DORCHESTER

PROPOSED COMMUNITY FACILITIES (By Area)

| Year | Project & Process | Cost | Financing Source | | | Abandon/ Replaced | Disposition |
|------|--------------------------|-----------|------------------|------------|-------|----------------------|--------------|
| | | | Title #1 | City Funds | Other | | |
| 1966 | Parks & Recreation | | | | | | |
| | WP Crawford S. Park | 240,000 | 240,000 | | | | |
| | St. James St. Park | 40,000 | 40,000 | | | | |
| | WP Alpine St. Plgd. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |
| | Cobden St. Small Pk. | 20,000 | 20,000 | | | | |
| | Health Department | | | | | Whittier St. Unit | Sell to BRA |
| | ND Fire Station | | | | | Centre St. Stat | Sell to BRA |
| | Dudley & Harrison | 350,000 | | 350,000 | | Dudley & Blue Hill | Sell to BRA |
| | | | | | | Dudley & Winslow | Sell to BRA |
| | | | | | | stat. | |
| 1967 | Schools | | | | | Sch. of Bus. Educ. | Sell to BRA |
| | HP Highland Park Elem. | 1,220,000 | | 1,220,000 | | Abby May Sch. | Sell to BRA |
| | UC Uphams Corner Elem. | 1,220,000 | | 1,220,000 | | | |
| | Parks & Recreation | | | | | | |
| | ND Campbell HhS Plgd. | 150,000 | 150,000 | | | | |
| | UC Uphams Corner Plgd. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |
| | Library | | | | | | |
| | WP Grove Hall | 370,000 | | 370,000 | | Memor. Branch Lib. | Sch. Dept. |
| | | | | | | Mt. Bowdoin Branch | |
| | | | | | | Lib. | Vacate Lease |
| 1968 | Schools | | | | | | |
| | HP Bartlett St. Addit'n | 400,000 | | 400,000 | | Bacon School | Sell to BRA |
| | Parks & Recreation | | | | | | |
| | WP Harold & Seaver Plgd. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |
| 1969 | Schools | | | | | | |
| | ND Roxbury JHS- Com Ctr | 3,300,000 | | 3,300,000 | | Vine St. Rec Ctr. | Sell to BRA |

Table II

ROXBURY-NORTH DORCHESTER

PROPOSED COMMUNITY FACILITIES (By Area)

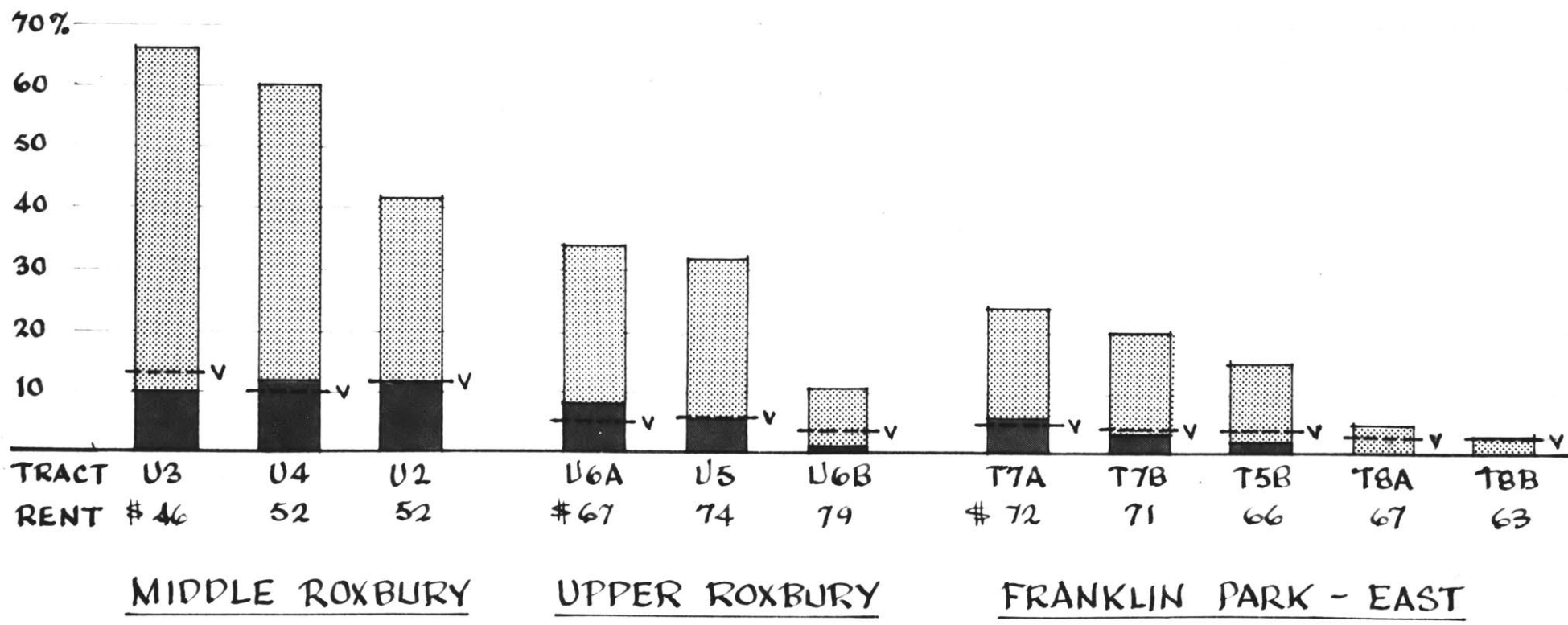
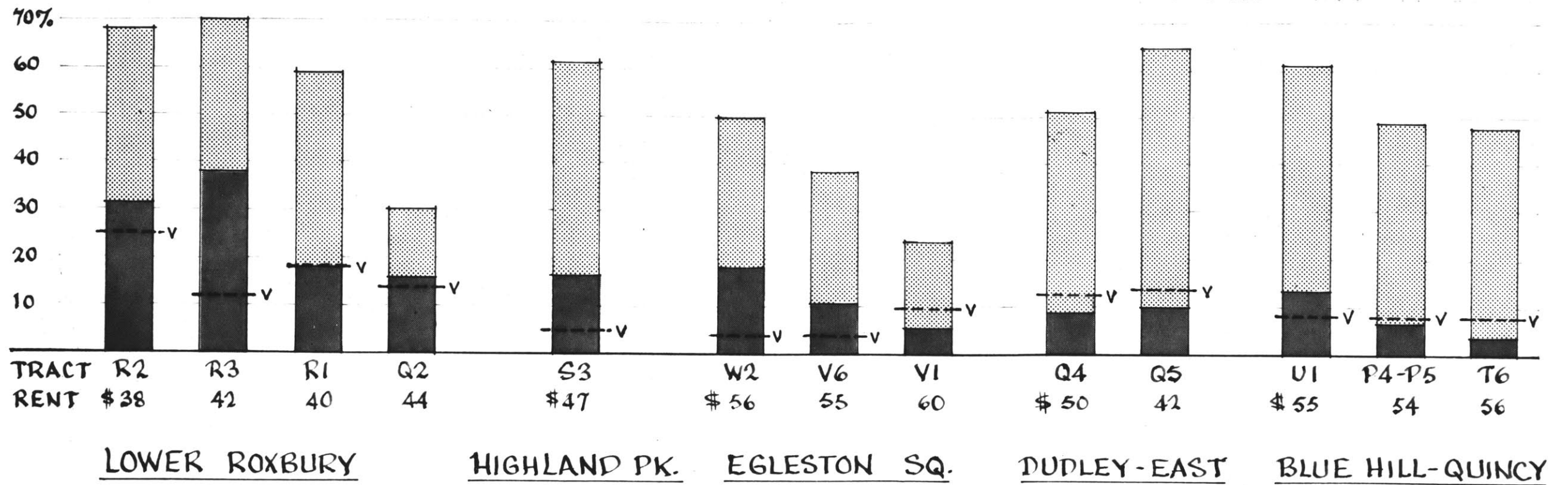
| Year | Project & Process | Cost | Financing Source | | | Abandon/ Replaced | Disposition |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------|------------------|------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| | | | Title #1 | City Funds | Other | | |
| 1969 | Library | | | | | | |
| | UC Uphams Corner | 350,000 | | 350,000 | | Uphams Corner Mun. Bldg. | Sell to BRA |
| 1970-75 | Schools | | | | | Fenwick, P. Brooks | Sell to BRA |
| | ND Ceylon St. Elem | 1,520,000 | | 1,520,000 | | | |
| | Marshfield St. El. | 1,100,000 | | 1,100,000 | | S. W. Mason Sch. | Sell to BRA |
| | Otis Field St. E. | 700,000 | | 700,000 | | Q. Dickerman Sc. | Sell to BRA |
| | ND Mt. Pleasant Elem. | 1,100,000 | | 1,100,000 | | Palmer School | Sell to BRA |
| | Parks & Recreation | | | | | | |
| | Marshfield St. Plgd. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |
| | Otis Field St. | 17,500 | 17,500 | | | | |

APPENDIX C. Profile of the Housing Stock, 1960
(Characteristics by Census Tracts)

Summary Table by Sub-Areas*

| Sub-Area | Change in Stock 1950-1960 | Condition | | Rent Level 1960 | Vacancy Rate 1960 |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Deterior- ating | Dilap- idated | | |
| Lower Roxbury | -21% | 35% | 26% | \$41 | 17% |
| Highland Park | -17% | 45 | 17 | \$47 | 5 |
| Egleston Square | - 5% | 26 | 12 | \$46 | 6 |
| Dudley St.-East | -13% | 49 | 10 | \$52 | 14 |
| Blue Hill-Quincy | -10% | 44 | 8 | \$54 | 8 |
| Middle Roxbury | -10% | 44 | 11 | \$50 | 12 |
| Upper Roxbury | + 2% | 20 | 5 | \$70 | 5 |
| Franklin Park- East | + 5% | 11 | 2 | \$68 | 4 |

* Sub-area data was aggregated by census tracts as shown in the following charts.



LEGEND
 deteriorating [stippled bar]
 vacancy rate [line with 'v']
 dilapidated [solid black bar]

FIGURE 31. - PROFILE OF THE HOUSING STOCK 1960 (% SUBSTANDARD)

APPENDIX D. Rent and Income Data

| Sub-Area & Census Tracts | Median Income | | % Annual Increase | Projected 1966 |
|-----------------------------|---------------|--------|----------------------|-------------------|
| | 1950 | 1960 | | |
| Lower Roxbury | | | | \$2750 |
| Q2 | \$1992 | \$2726 | 3.7 | 3150 |
| R1 | 1508 | 2176 | 4.4 | 2600 |
| R2 | 2090 | 2530 | 2.1 | 2800 |
| R3 | 1781 | 2247 | 2.6 | 2500 |
| Highland Park | | | | \$4650 |
| S3 | 2489 | 3838 | 5.4 | 4650 |
| Egleston Square | | | | \$6100 |
| V1 | 2640 | 3935 | 4.9 | 4700 |
| V6 | 3158 | 5454 | 7.3 | 6850 |
| W2 | 3411 | 5503 | 6.1 | 6750 |
| Dudley St.-East | | | | \$4900 |
| Q4 | 2658 | 3925 | 4.8 | 4700 |
| Q5 | 2669 | 4221 | 5.8 | 5150 |
| Blue Hill- Quincy | | | | \$4900 |
| P4 | 2831 | 3909 | 3.8 | 4500 |
| P5 | 2680 | 4802 | 7.9 | 6050 |
| T6 | 2700 | 3543 | 6.8 | 4650 |
| U1 | 2726 | 3799 | 4.0 | 4450 |
| Middle Roxbury | | | | \$4550 |
| U2 | 2485 | 3436 | 3.8 | 4000 |
| U3 | 2472 | 3295 | 3.3 | 4100 |
| U4 | 2429 | 4366 | 8.0 | 5550 |
| Upper Roxbury | | | | \$5100 |
| U5 | 2691 | 4011 | 5.8 | 4950 |
| U6A | 2936 | 4221 | 4.4 | 5000 |
| U6B | 3437 | 4643 | 3.5 | 5350 |
| Franklin Park -East | | | | \$5700 |
| T5B | 3101 | 5527 | 7.8 | 6000 |
| T7A | 3391 | 4656 | 3.7 | 5400 |
| T7B | 3143 | 4673 | 4.9 | 5600 |
| T8A | 3301 | 4464 | 3.5 | 5150 |
| T8B | 3121 | 5176 | 6.6 | 6400 |

| Sub-Area & Census Tracts | Monthly Rent | | | Rent/Income Ratio | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|------|------|-------------------|------|------|
| | 1950 | 1960 | 1966 | 1950 | 1960 | 1966 |
| Lower Roxbury | \$24½ | \$41 | -- | 16.0 | 19.5 | -- |
| Q2 | 24 | 44 | | 14.5 | 19.5 | |
| R1 | 26 | 40 | | 20.5 | 22.0 | |
| R2 | 25 | 38 | | 14.5 | 18.0 | |
| R3 | 23 | 42 | | 15.5 | 18.5 | |
| Highland Park | | | \$75 | | | 19.5 |
| S3 | \$25 | \$47 | | 12.0 | 14.5 | |
| Egleston Square | \$32 | \$57 | -- | 13.0 | 14.0 | -- |
| V1 | 33 | 60 | | 15.0 | 18.5 | |
| V6 | 31 | 55 | | 12.0 | 12.0 | |
| W2 | 33 | 56 | | 11.5 | 12.0 | |
| Dudley St.-East | \$26 | \$46 | \$70 | 11.5 | 13.5 | 17.0 |
| Q4 | 27 | 50 | | 12.0 | 15.0 | |
| Q5 | 25 | 42 | | 11.0 | 12.0 | |
| Blue Hill- Quincy | \$31 | \$54 | \$80 | 13.5 | 17.0 | 19.5 |
| P4 | 30 | 59 | | 12.5 | 18.0 | |
| P5 | 28 | 49 | | 12.5 | 12.5 | |
| T6 | 32 | 56 | | 14.0 | 19.0 | |
| U1 | 34 | 55 | | 15.0 | 17.5 | |
| Middle Roxbury | \$29 | \$50 | \$75 | 14.0 | 16.5 | 20.0 |
| U2 | 30 | 52 | | 14.5 | 18.0 | |
| U3 | 28 | 46 | | 13.5 | 17.0 | |
| U4 | 28 | 52 | | 14.0 | 14.5 | |
| Upper Roxbury | \$46 | \$70 | \$95 | 18.0 | 19.5 | 22.5 |
| U5 | 38 | 64 | | 17.0 | 19.0 | |
| U6A | 44 | 67 | | 18.0 | 19.0 | |
| U6B | 56 | 79 | | 19.5 | 20.5 | |
| Franklin Park-East | \$42 | \$68 | \$95 | 15.5 | 16.5 | 20.0 |
| T5B | 38 | 66 | | 14.5 | 14.5 | |
| T7A | 47 | 72 | | 16.5 | 18.5 | |
| T7B | 43 | 71 | | 16.5 | 18.0 | |
| T8A | 46 | 67 | | 16.5 | 18.0 | |
| T8B | 36 | 63 | | 14.0 | 14.5 | |

APPENDIX E. Profile of In-migration, Project Displacement and New Construction in Roxbury, 1962-67

| | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 |
|----------------------------|------|------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| In-migration | 1100 | 1000 | 900 | 800 | 750 | 700 |
| Project Displacement | 70 | 650 | 650 | 650 | 300 | 70 |
| Relocated in Roxbury (80%) | 50 | 520 | 520 | 520 | 240 | 50 |
| New Construction | | | <u>142</u> | <u>216</u> | <u>102</u> | <u>350</u> |
| Marksdale I | | | 50 | 32 | | |
| Marksdale II. | | | | 84 | | |
| Charlame I. | | | 92 | | | |
| Charlame II. | | | | | | 60 |
| Academy Homes I. | | | | 100 | 102 | |
| Academy Homes II. | | | | | | 248 |
| Misc. | | | | | | 40 |

For sources of data, see pages 83-83.

**APPENDIX F. AFDC Rent Study, Boston Welfare Department
(summer 1966)**

Percentage of Families Exceeding Allocated Rent Allowances by Districts:

| Total cases | Welfare Districts* | paying over \$75-85 | Amt. of overpayment | | |
|-------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| | | | \$0-9 (75-85) | \$10-19 (85-95) | \$20+ (95+) |
| 2600 | Grove Hall | 77% | 24% | 30% | 23% |
| 2200 | Hancock (N. Dorchester) | 62 | 32 | 20 | 10 |
| 1100 | Roxbury Crossing | 49 | 25 | 20 | 4 |
| 1000 | South End | 55 | 27 | 19 | 9 |
| 400 | Jamaica Plain | 38 | 22 | 12 | 4 |
| 350 | South Boston | 20 | 8 | 8 | 4 |
| 500 | North End | 16 | 5 | 7 | 4 |
| 400 | Charlestown | 14 | 9 | 5 | 0 |
| 400 | East Boston | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 |

* Districts having less than 350 cases are excluded.

Note: Data is adjusted for gross housing expense, including heat.

APPENDIX G. Mortgage Deed Transactions, 1964-1965

| <u>Ward</u> | <u>1964</u> | <u>1965</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1 | 214 | 233 |
| 2 | 112 | 100 |
| 3 | 167 | 207 |
| 4 | 182 | 183 |
| 5 | 393 | 396 |
| 6 | 160 | 148 |
| 7 | 173 | 153 |
| 8 * | 86 | 108 |
| 9 * | 74 | 111 |
| 10 | 151 | 151 |
| 11 * | 199 | 196 |
| 12 * | 156 | 188 |
| 13 * | 193 | 147 |
| 14 * | 483 | 513 |
| 15 | 239 | 215 |
| 16 | 324 | 296 |
| 17 | 362 | 333 |
| Outlying sections | | |
| 18 | 798 | 723 |
| 19 | 322 | 309 |
| 20 | 655 | 596 |
| 21 | 224 | 255 |
| 22 | 308 | 279 |

* Roxbury- North Dorchester Wards

Demolition Permits by Wards

| <u>Ward</u> | <u>1961</u> | <u>1962</u> | <u>1963</u> | <u>1966</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 8 | 34 | 30 | 32 | 48 |
| 9 | 41 | 19 | 27 | 87 |
| 11 | 8 | 19 | 8 | 24 |
| 12 | 9 | 14 | 8 | 30 |
| 13 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 23 |
| 14 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 19 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Totals | 105 | 98 | 85 | 231 |

APPENDIX H. Voting Patterns in Roxbury, 1959-1966

Nov. 1959 Mayoralty Election: Collins vs. Powers

Percentage of Precinct Vote Polled by Collins

| Pre- cinct | Ward No. | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| 1 | | | 61 | 54 | 49 | 42 | 61 |
| 2 | | | 63 | 62 | 52 | 50 | 59 |
| 3 | 42 | | 64 | 54 | 55 | 52 | 63 |
| 4 | 50 | 40 | 63 | 58 | 52 | 58 | 56 |
| 5 | 47 | 41 | 69 | 56 | 58 | 59 | |
| 6 | 57 | 41 | 62 | 56 | | 51 | |
| 7 | 50 | 47 | | 50 | | 47 | |
| 8 | 54 | 60 | | 52 | | 52 | |
| 9 | 60 | 58 | | 47 | | 43 | |
| 10 | | | | 50 | | 49 | |
| 11 | | | | 49 | | 48 | |
| 12 | | | | 49 | | 45 | |
| Total | 48 | 45 | 65 | 53 | 53 | 50 | 60 |

Nov. 1963 Mayoralty Election: Collins vs. Piemonte

| Pre- cinct | Ward No. | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| 1 | | | 61 | 60 | 58 | 55 | 62 |
| 2 | | | 64 | 51 | 57 | 52 | 61 |
| 3 | 53 | | 55 | 50 | 52 | 51 | 67 |
| 4 | 67 | 58 | 65 | 44 | 63 | 60 | 65 |
| 5 | 59 | 57 | 70 | 50 | 65 | 57 | |
| 6 | 35 | 50 | 65 | 52 | | 51 | |
| 7 | 57 | 61 | | 54 | | 56 | |

Nov. 1963 Mayoralty Election (continued)

| Pre- cinct | Ward No. | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| 8 | 53 | 62 | | 56 | | 54 | |
| 9 | 51 | 62 | | 57 | | 54 | |
| 10 | | | | 56 | | 54 | |
| 11 | | | | 61 | | 48 | |
| 12 | | | | 57 | | 51 | |
| Total | 55 | 56 | 66 | 54 | 65 | 55 | 61 |

Sept. 1966 Senate Primary: Collins vs. Peabody vs. Adams

| Pre- cinct | Ward No. | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| 1 | | | 45 | 28 | 33 | 10 | 42 |
| 2 | | | 29 | 29 | 39 | 23 | 52 |
| 3 | 59 | | 35 | 21 | 29 | 25 | 38 |
| 4 | 39 | 17 | 48 | 18 | 43 | 34 | 44 |
| 5 | 39 | 30 | 43 | 17 | 39 | 22 | |
| 6 | 54 | 16 | 44 | 15 | | 18 | |
| 7 | 44 | 24 | | 15 | | 16 | |
| 8 | 47 | 33 | | 17 | | 27 | |
| 9 | 40 | 29 | | 15 | | 17 | |
| 10 | | | | 12 | | 27 | |
| 11 | | | | 18 | | 22 | |
| 12 | | | | 8 | | 13 | |
| Total | 42 | 26 | 47 | 17 | 39 | 22 | 41 |

..... Collins' city-wide vote: 1959 - 56%
 1963 - 60%
 1966 - 38%