URBAN DESIGN STRATEGIES IN Ghetto COMMUNITIES:

JACKSON SQUARE--A CASE STUDY

by

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 9, 1975
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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This thesis is an effort aimed at playing an instrumental role in an
ongoing urban design process.

Specifically, it deals with renewal efforts in Jackson Square, a
ghetto community. These renewal efforts are linked to the construction
of the relocated Orange Line, a major urban rail transit facility (the
Southwest Corridor). The location of the proposed route has been an area
of heated political controversy. During the 1960's, land paralleling the
Penncentral right-of-way was cleared in anticipation of the Southwest Ex-
pressway (I95). Because of the impacts of this clearance on the city and
its communities, Governor Francis W. Sargent declared a moratorium on all
highway construction inside Route 128. The roadway was officially removed
from the interstate system, and under the provisions of the 1973 Federal
Highway Act, its funds and lands were made available for transit and com-
munity development.

This thesis outlines a proposal for the development of a segment of
the Southwest Corridor, the Jackson Square station site, believed to be
in the best interest of the community. It is presented, not as an end in
itself, but rather, as a framework for further community discussion and
planning. To avoid ambiguity, the proposal is constructed in two parts.

The first, the core of the proposal, calls for the formation of an
urban land bank to be released for public development. The architectural
implications of such an entity are explored in a system calculated to
adapt to growth and change; and a high level of community intervention.

The second, endeavors to project a comprehensive plan for the com-
munity. The area of discussion concerns the neighborhoods most directly
impacted by the station location, and the key elements within them.
For the sake of clarity, the issues most salient to community inter-
ests are incorporated in the body of the text and its graphic information. Further analytical studies and documentation are included in the appendices. There has been an effort to communicate the essential information in a suc-
cinct and graphic manner, so that it can be freely distributed within the community.
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"I have some thoughts about the spirit of architecture. I have chosen to talk about the room, the street, and the human agreement."

Louis I. Kahn
1A THE SOUTHWEST CORRIDOR, BOSTON (1974)
This thesis is not entirely an attempt to propose a new theory of urban location and structure. Rather, it is an attempt to play a participatory and documentary role in an actual event. It is based on the notion that research, in terms of urban design, must be more attuned to the investigation of alternatives rather than to the resolution of decisions; and that the free distribution of information is the wisest course in public policy.

To the concerned reader, then, the most important section of this thesis is the analysis of the study area and the discussion of the proposal. The remainder of the thesis consists of substantiating studies, analytical and documentary, on a number of related issues, and is contained in the appendices.

This study was initiated at a key point in a long and heated political issue, the development of the Southwest Corridor. The Corridor was originally formed by the Department of Public Works' clearance of land parallel to the PennCentral alignment for a six-lane highway. The land was to be used for the Southwest Expressway, the I95 segment of the inner belt. The battle that halted this proposal was a well documented milestone in the establishment of community advocacy and local participation in urban decision-making. An unusual alliance between black Roxbury and white Irish Jamaica Plain was formed under the name of the Southwest Cor-
ridor Land Development Coalition to carry out this battle. In response to the communities' demands, Governor Francis Sargent, in November, 1972, declared that the plan for the Southwest Expressway (I95 South) had been cancelled and that a plan for the relocation of the Orange Line from the Washington Street elevated to the cleared land in the Corridor would take place. This marked the end of highway proposals and the beginning of an era of mass transit development.

Further, the governor called for the implementation of "...a program for the sound and sensitive redevelopment of the cleared land in the Corridor..." 2 The passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1973 tapped the Highway Trust Fund for Mass Transit. This made funds 3 ($700 million), allocated for the cancelled urban expressway system available for the substitute mass transit construction and community development.

This mandate has been continued by the present Dukakis gubernatorial administration, who continue to place a high priority on the development of the area. There are four components to the state strategy of economic development: 4

1. The use of the construction of mass transit facilities for economic development in low income communities;
2. The use of land cleared for a transportation facility for commercial development;
3. The prime opportunity for retail development around a transit station; and
4. The possible need for public control over that development, to insure that the benefits of that transit station will accrue to the local community.
There are three components in the implementation of this program: Development coordination, agency participation, and community participation.

A Development Coordinator was appointed to work closely with the Office of the Mayor of Boston and the Office of the Governor. The major agencies involved in the project would work with the Coordinator. They include, the Department of Public Works (DPW), the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA), the Metropolitan District Committee (MDC), and the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA).

Community participation has continued to emanate from the SWCLDC. Its office provides an arena for citizens, merchants and community development interests.

This study began early in 1975 in a climate of intense investigation and analysis of the potentials and ramifications of transit development in the Corridor. It has been coordinated with studies concerning other key areas affected by Corridor developments. I would like to thank all those who have been helpful in the development of this piece of the effort.
ANALYSIS

There are as many as twelve distinct neighborhoods that interface on what is known as Jackson Square. Each neighborhood is characterised by its own land use and population. Some begin to merge into a cohesive community, while others are distinctly divided, due to land use conflicts, embankments, and roadways. Other neighborhoods are divided by subtler social differences.

The present physical character of the site is influenced, to a great extent, by the remnants of a turn of the century factory complex. This collection of mills and workers' homes is not an uncommon reminder of the industrial revolution and its effect on many Northeastern cities, such as Boston. The characteristic relocation of industry to the outer edge of the urban network has subjected this community, like others, to a general deterioration. The process of gradual disinvestment has rendered these areas unable to realistically support uses greater than light industrial and warehousing; and low-income housing and its related development.

2A Located near the Penn Central Railroad embankment, the land in Jackson Square was relatively unmarketable for residential use. Nevertheless, it was chosen as the site of the Heath Public Housing Project in the earliest years of public housing. It was chosen again in the 1950's, with disastrous results, for the Bromley Park Housing Project. The distinction between a "project" and other forms of housing is one quite clearly expressed in the community. During the Washington Park renewal era, it was the site of Academy Homes.
The workers in the mills were Germans. Then came the Irish, Italians, Jews. The neighborhoods today are a primarily Black and Hispanic, but significant numbers of the previous populations remain as active neighborhoods. In the broadest of terms, the area is still functioning as a zone of emergence for the urban poor and working class. The functioning of the area in the future will depend, to a large extent, on the nature of the transit facilities and the manner in which they are used.

2B The area of the community that will be most impacted by the development will be the walk-in zone. This is the area generated by radius representing a 10 minute (1/4 mile) walk to or from the station. A secondary zone, about 1 mile in radius, represents the area from which the station is easily accessible by automobile or bus. From the inner radius, the Development Study Area was chosen.

2CDE The selection of the area was based, in part, on the availability of the land. Most of the area is held in large parcels. A significant amount of the land is held now by some public agency (DPW, BHA) or is land generated by the I95 clearance and held by the state. A significant amount of the land in the private sector is carried in a few key parcels. The selection was based, in part, on subjective information. Simply, there was an attempt to maintain an integrity of neighborhood, while providing for a continuity of community.

The key elements in the Study Area are:

Parcels 33 and 35. These two parcels run contiguous with either side of the PennCentral alignment. Between them, the proposed alignment will run in an open-cut channel. There will, doubtlessly, be unique engineering problems in the location of the channel. The restriction of existing
street heights may determine the depth of the alignment bed to be below the existing water line. The provision of the deck between the two parcels will also involve unique engineering. Its specific purpose is to serve as sound represser for the housing in the area. In addition, it is presently proposed that the deck function with parcels 33 and 35 to service B.H. as open space.

The proposal of this thesis (outlined in greater detail in the next chapter) suggests that in the engineering studies regarding the potential of air rights development above rail alignment at the site also be conducted. It would seem that the expenditure of public capital for the deck could be used to directly benefit the community. The creation of air rights developed above the alignment could turn a public liability into a public asset.

**Bromley Heath.** Bromley Heath is the conjugate of two housing projects. They are united in the Bromley Heath Tenant Management Committee, which is a tenant group which represents the interests of the residents. The complex has over 1,200 apartments (B732 H512). However, reliable information has indicated that the vacancy rates in both projects are as high as twenty percent.

The complex is owned by the Boston Housing Authority. Its densities are high, the units tend to be inadequate, and in a poor state of repair. There is a distinct lack of identity, and little opportunity for community. Bromley Park, due to its eight storey height presents a greater problem than Heath. However, an examination of the plans reveals that there is an excellent opportunity for rehabilitation within the complex. The construction is essentially concrete columns and slab cast in place. This structural system provides for a great deal of flexibility, both within the interior and on
the elevation. There is the potential to use this structural shell as the raw material for successful housing, responsive to the needs of the tenants.

Parcel 34x. It is presently held, in part, by the state (in conjunction with the clearance for I95), in part, by the city (for the Roxbury Public Works yard), and in part, by the private sector (two key landlords). It is presently zoned for light manufacturing. There are a few key buildings, and capacity for adaptive re-use should be studied (i.e., plumbing supply building, 1904, brick (10K s.f.). The parcel might find better use as a residential/commercial development, as indicated in the Housing Innovation, Incorporated Report on Corridor Use.

Bickford Hill. This mill was constructed in the late 19th century as a brewery. It remains in use today as a multi-purpose center for the community. In addition to light industrial and warehousing functions, it serves as supplier of space for housing, retail, entertainment, and community service needs. It could supply as much as 50K s.f. floor on 4-6 floors of useable space. Preliminary surveys indicate that there is a single owner for the entire building.

Centre Street Stop and Shop. This is the primary retail outlet in the area. Its clientele is varied, and it extends beyond the present capacity of the establishment (10K s.f.).

Connolly Park. This is presently the only community playfield of significant size in the community. It rests in a natural bowl below Fort Hill and provides a flat meadow capable of supporting most organized athletic activities. For this reason, there has been interest expressed that it serve as a playing field for the proposed RCC.
Today, Jackson Square, as part of the Southwest Corridor, is representative of the renewed interest in the development potential of the inner city. This potential is increased by the location of the proposed transit improvements. The choice of alignment for the new Orange Line was the PennCentral embankment, which runs north to south across the center of the site. It is significant that this is not an unusual choice.

The row of the railroad runs through the Stony Brook Valley to service downtown Boston from the outlying areas. In part, the natural topography has always dictated this row. In the earliest times, this valley and the brook served as a road to bring farmers' goods to markets. Roxbury Crossing was the site of the chief marketplace. During the early industrialism of the 19th century, the brook also serviced the great breweries of the area.

The stream was formed by glacial action, which cut the ridge of an existing moraine. The remnants were Parker Hill (an eskar) and Fort Hill (a drumlin); they formed a natural gateway to the ismuth of Boston, which ran along Washington Street, the route of the present Orange Line. They rise 130 feet above the valley floor, and from Mt. Parker, the harbor and outer islands are visible on clear days. Fort Hill once served as a Revolutionary battlement in the Siege of Boston, and it later served as the site of a stand pipe instrumental in the early municipal water supply.

Stony Brook once fed the Muddy River into the Back Bay. It was subject to Atlantic tidal storm floods through the Fenway, before the great land filling. Today, the stream is culverted parallel to Washington Street. It runs beneath the ground to join the Muddy River in the Back Bay Fens park.
There are a number of highly vocal interest groups operating within Corridor communities. They represent existing merchants' associations, tenant groups, and community development corporations. In addition, there are a number of incubator interests, groups not fully mobilized but nevertheless, capable of exercising significant political clout. A brief array represents the more important interests capable of exerting influence on development strategies.

Roxbury Action Program (RAP)
Lower Roxbury Community Corporation (LRCC)
Circle, Inc.

The Roxbury community is represented by the above community development corporations. They represent a significant degree of community leadership in the construction of low and moderate income housing; in retail and office development; and neighborhood rehabilitation efforts. They are generally sponsored by OEO grants.

Jamaica Plain Community Development Corporation (JPCDC)

There is significant impetus for the formation of such an entity, but it does not yet exist, in fact.

Hyde Square Merchant Association

The retail district of Centre Street from Jackson Square to the intersection of the Green Line at Hyde Square roughly defines the limits of this organization. The interests of this group concern development control at Corridor station sites, and relocation opportunities within the Corridor.

Dudley Station Merchants Association

The retail district in the Dudley Station area has been the object of
heated debate within the Roxbury community. It is presently the subject of a parallel MIT study, conducted to ascertain the impact of Corridor development.

Bromley Heath Tenant Management Association  
Academy Home Tenants Association  

These are spokesmen groups that represent the tenants of all the major housing complexes in the area. They provide an excellent window to ascertain the needs of a significant percentage of the local population.

Roxbury Community College (RCC)  

It is proposed that a community college be constructed on Corridor land, presently held by the state, to serve the needs of three to five thousand students. The campus would extend linearly from Jackson Square to Roxbury Crossing, adjacent to the present Campus High School. It would be programmed to serve as a vocational training center, in conjunction with Campus High. It might require the use of Connolly Park for athletic facilities, as well as the general Jackson Square area to serve, in part, its student housing needs.

Endemic to any plan of action is the necessity for interdependence among the various interior groups in the Corridor. The ghetto is essentially an economic condition, and therefore, requires an economic solution. However, in addition to being income-poor, the communities of the Corridor are capital-poor. This means that clear community decisions must be made regarding the nature and staging of development, both at the proposed sta-
tion sites (Jackson Square, Roxbury Crossing, Ruggles, etc.) and at existing centers (Dudley Station, Hyde Square, Egleston). As an aftermath to the highway battle, there remains a dialogue between most interest groups within the community. However diverse their individual goals may be, there appears to be the common perception that realistic assessment and careful coordination of development is necessary to insure a vital community.
2A JACKSON SQUARE: PANORAMA FROM THE PENN CENTRAL EMBANKMENT
2B SITE ANALYSIS: JACKSON SQUARE
2C OWNERSHIP ANALYSIS: JACKSON SQUARE
2H TOPOGRAPHY ANALYSIS

GEOLOGICAL SECTION: JACKSON SQUARE
STONY BROOK VALLEY

Penn Central Embankment

STONY BROOK (culverted)
The exact nature of the development potential is still in the process of being defined by the community and its spokesmen in an active planning process. The exact nature of this potential is not altogether clear, but there appears to be a consensus on certain priorities:
1) It is generally felt that the site is a key residential district and there is a recognized need for new good housing in the community;
2) it is generally felt that the unique land characteristics of the area make it a key link in the city open space network; and 3) it is generally felt that there is a need for job-producing activities within the community.

3A Based on these needs, I have made the land use recommendations proposed in diagram 3A.

The key concept of this thesis is the creation of an urban land bank, to provide for a use of land at the Jackson Square site that would be in the best interest of the general welfare of the community.

The concept is applied in two different sets of circumstances. To avoid any ambiguity, one is followed to a reasonable level of sophistication, while the other remains in an embryonic form. The first deals with the parcels 34 and 35; and the deck that joins them. It is presented as a development proposal in this chapter, and its architectural implications are discussed in the next.
The proposal for parcels 34 and 35, because of its relation to the transit station, provides the core for the development potential of the area. The analogy can be used in another sense. In a sense, this first application provides the core of the concept, and must be tested to prove the validity of other applications. The second application deals with the parcel 34x, and other key developments within the district; and other parcels outside the study area, such as 31 or 32.

Again, it is the recommendation for parcel 33, parcel 35, and the deck between them that provides the core of the land use proposal. The other recommendations are an effort to provide a comprehensive plan for Jackson Square community. An analogy might be that of a stone dropped into a still pond. Like the ripples, the degree of certainty of the recommendations are highest toward the center. However, the location of emphasis within the community will doubtlessly change over time. In a sense, new stones will be cast as the community develops.

***

I propose that in the best considerations of the general welfare, the provision of an air rights land bank, an urban land bank, be created for local community public development. This land bank is to be generated by a joint venture investment in the development of air rights potential over the Orange Line Southwest Corridor alignment between parcel 33 and parcel 35. This action will turn a potential public liability into a
public asset.

An air rights urban potential can be generated in coordination with the removal of the present rail embankment and the construction of the new open cut alignment. Its creation would then become a joint venture between a) a sponsoring agency, and b) a constructing agency (i.e., MBTA or DPW). In the proposed construction, footings capable of supporting a structural framework would be provided in conjunction with the transit station and the proposed deck. The air rights created by the framework (with their potential value) would be released to a development agency. This management agency's purpose would be to tie the value of such a development to place, and to redistribute it to the local community.

***

The concept of land banking is an established fact. It was widely used to distribute the frontier of this country. However, its contemporary application to public development is a matter which has not been fully tested in the courts. There has been, to this date, no definitive legal opinion on the character of a land banking organization, but the climate appears to be favorable. The leading example of a contemporary land banking occurs in Puerto Rico, which has the largest land bank in America. Land can be acquired in a general purchase; purchase by installments, public auction, or acquisition by lease; exchange, gift, or eminent domain. The only restriction is that when land is acquired by eminent domain for public works or social welfare needs, it must be re-
leased within fifteen years, keeping the market volatile. The Puerto Rico Land Administration was challenged in the courts, but its authorization was upheld. In the case of Jackson Square, the city would have to take action to approve the formation of a land bank. The passage of the Home Rule Bill of 1967 has created the potential for such action, and the impetus for the passage of a new state legislation concerning land banking is growing and gaining support.

3B The concept of a land bank is not inconsistent with previous entities of land distribution. A classic urban example was the division of New York City by the Commissioner's Plan of 1811. The plan laid a uniform grid over the island, opening up the possibility of large-scale land speculation. The land bank entity as the concept of this thesis, although within the spirit of such a process, would be significantly different.

The most immediate difference between the two would be that of scale. The New York plan consists of large parcels covering the upper two-thirds of the island. The land bank at the Jackson Square transit station would consist of a structural framework above the alignment and station. It would also use parcel 33 and 35 to serve as service and pedestrian easements. Land, or to be more specific, space, within the framework would be controlled and released by the developing/managing agency.

3C VERTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF RENTS
The concept of land, in this case, becomes non-Euclidean; that is, not tied to a plane but projected in space (diagram 3C). A vertical scale of rents would distribute the value of the basic resources of the site (i.e., light, air, etc.). The nature of the scale would encourage a certain level of development chosen as satisfactory to the community. The economic rent for occupying the levels of volume proposed would increase as height increased. Space should be distributed by a managing agency in small increments (as small as 500-1,000 sq. ft.).

In the case of Jackson Square, or in other areas of the Corridor, a developing/managing agency with a degree less authority than the Puerto Rican land bank, could be created. Its purpose could be to receive land 1) held by the state now, 2) land to be acquired by the state, or 3) air rights in state-held property. This agency could release the value of the land bank to the community by the 1) sale or 2) lease of public provision of space development within the air rights framework.

This paper discusses the potential of such an entity in architectural rather than institutional strategies. However, there are obvious possibilities for the implementation of such a project. The most realistic and possible the most accessible would be the capital available from the opening of the highway trust fund. This capital could be made available to the MBTA first 1) for preliminary engineering studies to determine the feasibility of air rights develop-
ment and 2) for construction financing, upon the completion of the necessary support studies (EIS, etc.)

Other financing mechanisms could be made available to either 1) the sponsoring agencies, or 2) the developing/managing agency so that it could participate directly in the scheme. These include capital mobilized through local banks or an Urban Redevelopment Bank similar to the one proposed for use in Lynn. If the managing agency were to have a character similar to the Urban Development Corporation of New York state, it might be able to float bonds to directly support development (especially under the weight of recent events, many feel that an Urban Redevelopment Bank is a more reliable entity).

Again, there are some obvious possibilities for the formation of a managing agency. There are a number of CDC with proven leadership ability active within the area. RAP, LRCC, and Circle have proven their ability to initiate and manage projects within the area. Jamaica Plain is presently considering the formation of a CDC. There are merchant associations, both in Roxbury (Dudley Station) and Jamaica Plain (Hyde Square). Further, there are tenant management organizations such as that of the Bromley Heath Housing Complex. The value of air rights development might be released to any one or a coalition of these or additional interests.

The developing/managing agency might be empowered to acquire further land or interests in land in the area. This might be for the purpose of 1) acquiring land for an approved Open Space Plan, 2) acquiring property for the expansion of commerce or other job-producing ac-
tivities, 3) acquiring of land for the construction of low and moderate income housing, 4) acquiring land for the purpose of preserving unique historic sites or buildings, 5) the acquiring of ecologically sensitive natural resource areas.

The expansion of the managing agencies' power of acquisition might be easily substantiated for two reasons. First, is the unusual pressure on land value that would result from the location of a transit station. This action should give an immediate catalyst to the process of land speculation. This speculation, if not properly controlled, would, in turn, mean a loss of potential value to the community. Second, is the general character of the existing development. Although not entirely blighted, there are key areas that demand immediate renovation due to the initial clearance for I95. However, these areas tend to be outside the interests of private development. The control or acquisition of such areas might be critical in the development of a comprehensive plan for the neighborhood.

The exact character of this managing agency is worthy of quite a bit more study. Its make-up is quite an important issue. It will control the release of the benefits accrued by the capital investment and the formation of a land bank back to the community. The degree to which such an agency may intervene in the public sector is a critical issue, not fully approached in this thesis.

The manner by which the value accrued by the land bank could be distributed is the critical question regarding the operation of such
an entity. The entity requires a great deal of intervention, but it is becoming most apparent that, in present economic conditions, a certain amount of intervention might be required to stimulate a particularly stagnant market. A further study should be carried out regarding the exact definition of the general welfare, as well as the limits of governmental intervention, in this case. It is clear, however, that the ideal proposition would involve a proper mix of both public and private interests involved in an approved development that would tie the benefits of this development to place and directly serve the community.

3D This element, the formation of an urban land bank, again, is the hard core of the proposal. The architectural implications of such an entity are discussed at length in the next chapter. The remainder of this chapter is an effort to establish a comprehensive plan.

There are a number of key arguments regarding the formation of this plan. They center around the realistic perception that in the long run, transportation-related development is synonymous with the creation of new communities. Briefly, these arguments are: 1) the creation of the marketplace, 2) the creation of residential districts, 3) the creation of linkages, and 4) the re-use of existing elements in the community.
The introduction of major transit nodes and modal change points
gathers existing neighborhoods and links them directly to the urban net-
work. This network provides a link to the major urban marketplaces for
goods and employment, and it therefore creates another marketplace.
This new marketplace must provide for free access and exchange on all
levels of interaction. It must be the place where ideas, as well as
goods, are available, and therefore, must reflect community, as well as
mercantile, use.

It is the analogy of a marketplace that contributed a key notion
to the formation of the core of the comprehensive plan.

The marketplace, in its general definition, is the traditional
center for urban life.

It has been said that the forces that initiate urbanization are
man's desires to trade, worship, celebrate and educate. In a similar
manner, the marketplace must represent more than just the opportunity
for the commercial exchange of goods. There must be that opportunity
to explore, exchange, and distribute, both ideas and information. The
marketplace must also include the opportunity for neighborhood facili-
ties and the delivery of community services. Such an arrangement is
not unlike previous models for the marketplace. The stoa or its local
equivalent, Quincy market and Fanueil hall, have always been the cen-
ters of community life. They were centers of commercial trade and cen-
ters for political activity, both valuable traditions.

It is clear that in Jackson Square, the highest use of land at
the core of the development district provides for the best use of land
throughout the remaining area. This is especially true, in light of
the priority placed on creating a residential district in the area.

The creation of residential districts is a traditional goal in
town planning and requires no great leap of faith to accept. It is im-
portant that areas of quiet and safety be provided for the residents
of a neighborhood to share and enjoy. There must be areas in which to
raise children and carry on the general pursuits of life. This con-
cept was fundamental in the establishment of zoning and remains an ac-
nowledged necessity.

The most important feature of these districts must be the preser-
vation of the existing neighborhoods, their residents, and their charac-
ter. In any urban residential area, the most important aspect is plur-
ality, the ability to pursue diverse and unique life styles. Jackson
Square is the interface for a number of distinct urban neighborhoods.
These neighborhoods are the result of the various migrations of nation-
al groups throughout the area. The integrity of these groups should
be encouraged by the planning effort for the area.

The successful transfer of people, goods, and information de-
pends on the linkages available to a particular locus in the urban
structure. In the case of Jackson Square, there are a number of
traditional foci. These are based, in part, on existing automobile
and bus traffic serviced by the street network of the city. In addi-
tion, there is the myriad of pedestrian paths that run throughout the
site. These paths are a product of existing centers of activity, the shops, homes, play areas that serve the neighborhood; and the topography. It is the unique character of the land forms in the area that tend to channel the flow of pedestrian traffic across the site. The ridges of Parker and Fort hills provide a shoulder to direct the flow of movement, as well as providing excellent vistas of the surrounding area. Parker Hill provides vistas from which one can see out to the harbor, and it provides a point from which one can truly perceive Boston as a collection of islands. Further, there are the regional links to the Fenway; Franklin Park; and Harris and Washington Parks in Roxbury.

The more accessible path of pedestrian movement, the channel of Stony Brook Valley, is the less used. Columbus Avenue and the heavy traffic that accompanies it makes the path unsafe and unpleasant. Further, because of the extensive clearance in the Corridor, there is little attraction for activity in the area.

3F The provision of the new Orange Line and the station at Jackson Square will be an important new source of pedestrian accessibility. In addition, it is critical that it function as a diverse modal changing area where bus, automobile, and pedestrian traffic can exchange easily and safely. An analysis of linkage potential is presented in diagram 3F. It becomes evident that the intersections between first, Heath and Columbus, and second, Centre and Columbus were the previous foci for the neighborhood. However, the introduction of a major new element, the Orange Line, will contribute a major impetus to relocate these foci and achieve a greater accessibility to rail transit. The new foci should
be accessible to the greatest variety of transit choices and important consideration should be made for the pedestrian and his safety. Footbridges, tunnels, arcades and other forms of pedestrian service should be examined.

The re-use of existing elements is a dual consideration. First, is the consideration of the existing character of the neighborhood. At the turn of the century, Jackson Square was an industrial center, which used the waters of Stony Brook for breweries and tanneries. There exist a number of significant mills, some still in use. The traditional masonry construction of many is in good repair. These mills were served by workers who lived in the immediate vicinity. The housing stock is generally representative of the needs of the worker and his family (triple-deckers in fair condition—capable of rehabilitation). Less obvious elements in the existing environment might be the granite of the embankment or the pieces of the existing Elevated. Certain efforts must be made to insure the productive re-use of these elements.

Both the existing mills and the housing stock provide irreplaceable character to the neighborhood. They quite clearly provide a sense of heritage, a link to the past. Forgotten in previous urban renewal efforts, this link has often, as in the case of the West End, been, unfortunately lost.

The second consideration is clearly a realistic one. It is becom-
ing quite clear that the cost of material and labor required in construction, at this point in time, are becoming prohibitive to many types of construction. It is clear that it is impossible to replace the existing structures in a manner which would match their craftsmanship and care in detailing. There are important economic reasons that can be presented for their rehabilitation and re-use.

Having examined the general arguments, I shall move on to the specific elements of the plan. The comments addressed to diagram 3A, a photograph of the proposed site.

1. The participation of the Bromley Heath housing program in the comprehensive affords a great deal of opportunity in the comprehensive plan. Quite clearly, the complex is now, there is a severe shortage of open space. Population density in the complex is, clearly, too high.

There is a stated public policy in Boston that there be 5 acres of open space required for every 1,000 people, 1.5 acres for planning, 1.5 acres for playfields, 2.0 acres for parks. The present facilities, about 1.5 acres, serves as many as 2,000 residents.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of residents. There is a tenant management agency, which has apparently been a great aid in the stabilization of tenant management communications. However, the representatives of this agency were reluctant to deal with students. It was their opinion that the tenants were, in a certain sense, resentful of academic studies. It seems that too often they assumed that action from
DISCLAIMER

Page has been omitted due to a pagination error by the author.

( Page 35 )
these studies would immediately benefit their present condition. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

Basing my opinion on casual neighborhood surveys, I feel that great care and discretion should be used in dealing with these people. Too often, the Black proletariat has been ignored in renewal efforts. This was, in fact, the case with previous renewal efforts during the Washington Park Renewal.8 It is generally the middle class who see the most positive benefits of renewal, and who are, therefore, in support of it, regardless of the particular needs of the urban poor.

There is the possibility that the ownership of the complex could be transferred into a tenant cooperative, adding the key incentive of home ownership to the poor. The exact nature of this transfer, as well as the definition of the limits of the cooperative is not approached in this thesis. At this point in time, there are major legal issues being argued in the courts regarding the nature of tenant holdings within a cooperative.9

Irregardless, there are a number of immediate steps that can be taken to improve the physical environment of the complex. The present vacancy rate within the complex is 20 percent. This fact clearly indicates that there is the opportunity to remove a number of underutilized buildings.

Such a policy would decrease the density on the site, and complete a space link between Fort Hill and Parker Hill. Further, the planting or landscaping of the link could provide a wind break; a key to improving the microclimate in the site.
The remaining buildings provide an excellent opportunity for renewal and renovation. A typical plan is presented in diagram 3H. It reveals that construction is a concrete slab and column structural frame. The units are constructed within this frame of non-load-bearing partitions. The units now are small in area and do not provide a secure, identifiable home for the residents. However, in a renewal effort, the housing could be stripped to its essential element, the structural frame, and rebuilt in a much more human configuration.

Further, in a renewal effort, the existing vacancy rate within the complex can be used to an advantage. The process of renewal can occur in a round-robin fashion, relocating some families, still within the complex, while renewal work was taking place in other buildings. This renewal work, in fact, could engage tenants from the complex, in a manner that would turn this labor into real equity.

The key perception in this renewal effort must be that housing is more than just a simple commodity. Rather, it is a complex collection of goods and services. There are obvious services, convenience shopping and laundries, recreation facilities, clinics, and so on that should be included directly within the complex. Further, there is a less obvious collection of services such as security, identity, status, and so on. Truly successful housing must include a balance of all these very real commodities. Finally, there must be a high degree of tenant interaction in the process that delivers these commodities.
2. PARCEL 34x

This element presents a second opportunity for the use of the urban land bank concept in a somewhat different form.

It is now a parcel of land held, in part, by public interests (the land held by the state from the clearance and the DPW workyard held by the city), and in part, by private interests (two key land holders hold the remainder of the parcel). It is presently zoned (M1), light manufacturing. However, because the parcel is surrounded by the residential districts of Fort Hill, this use may be construed as not conforming to the character of the neighborhood.

If, in fact, this is the case, it provides an excellent opportunity for additional housing in the area. The present cost of land (about $2-6 a s.f.) would certainly not exclude housing as a reasonable use. However, once the process of speculation due to development potential has begun, it is doubtful that the price of land will remain static. This process might, in fact, exclude the development of housing, the use for which the site seems best suited.

The formation of a land bank to acquire and hold this key element would preclude the process of speculation, and provide for a high level of community intervention in the development of parcel 34x. It could allow for the incremental release of land, to correspond to the capital resources of community-based entrepreneurs. This would insure that the benefits of development potential at the site be tied to place.
The incremental release of land would have a number of other key advantages. It would provide for a gradual development of housing to supply needs as they arise. In this manner, the actual commodity, the individual home, would be more responsive to individual needs. This is not unlike the process that developed the character of the existing housing throughout Roxbury. The turn of the century homebuilder was first a member of the community. He understood the needs of its residents and, in the choice of housing types, he could respond to meet these needs. The fact that this process produced a human as well as a highly marketable commodity, is endemic to the argument.

The proposal suggests a street configuration and a scale of unit very much like that which the community now offers. In addition, the preservation, re-use, and renewal of key structures on the site is recommended.

3. CONNOLLY PARK

Connolly Park must remain an important piece of open space. As the Corridor develops, it must be available to more than the neighborhoods it presently serves. There is the capacity for its use as an athletic facility, to be used in conjunction with the proposed RCC. Further, it could serve as an important segment of the open space link between Fort Hill and Parker Hill.

4. BICKFORD MILL

The flexibility and unique character of the space within the Bickford Mill invites further study in adaptive re-use. Its present
use suggests that a mix of housing and commercial development is both feasible and marketable.

5. CENTRE STREET STOP AND SHOP

It is assumed that, given the opportunity for relocation within the area, the owners will choose to release the now overburdened facilities. Given the possibility of major commercial development in the area in relation to the transit station, there would be the opportunity to provide for relocation. This creates, as in the case for parcel 34x, the possible formation of a land bank for housing development.

6. PARCELS 33 AND 35

The discussion of the elements returns to the core of the development. Partly in response to the concept of the marketplace, and partly in response to very real considerations, the core should provide for a high intensity of development.

Although it is clear that air rights development provides for the best use of land at the station site, this type of construction is costly. Therefore, the type of use permitted at the site should be able to support this cost. The use of retail and office facilities will guarantee a higher rate of return than housing, for instance. Further, this sort of use is not out of character with the intensity of activity generated by the modal changes at the site, or with the concept of marketplace.

Remaining with this concept, the site should provide a two-fold advantage to the community. First, it should provide for a retail-of-
office complex and related parking facilities in easy access to the station. Second, it should provide an arena for community dialogue and the delivery of social services.

It is clear that in order to respond to the long-term needs of the community, the advantage of development potential at the core must be distributed in a continuous process of incremental staging. The possibilities of such a process are outlined in diagram 3K. It is based on a gradual completion and infill of the air rights structure. A definitive program would, of course, be subject to the interdependence of the Corridor, as a whole. However, for the sake of investigation, a possible program is presented below:

1. a. transit station and deck  
   b. pedestrian bridges  
   c. community facilities 20K sq.ft.  
   d. farmers' market (urban plaza)

2. retail office--galleria 1 40K sq.ft.

3. parking 180 cars/super market 15K sq.ft.

4. retail office--galleria 2 60K sq.ft.

5. office tower above parking 6 floors @ 10 s.f./ft. 60K total sq.ft.

It is clear that any attempt to predict market forces over ten years in advance is futile. Therefore, the area represented in the program is a response more to what the site is capable of carrying than to what the market will bear.
Having examined the specifics of the plan, discussion must approach the question of phasing. It is imperative that this proposal be coordinated with the continuing work on the actual alignment. Assuming that the construction of the new Orange Line is to begin in 1977, efforts to create the land bank entity must begin immediately.

It is clear that the provision of air rights potential will require considerable engineering study. However, this study is not outside the capacity of engineering studies presently being conducted on the nature of the alignment. This thesis strongly urges that these studies be coordinated with immediate efforts to define the nature of the air rights potential at Jackson Square, or other areas of the Corridor.
3D COMPREHENSIVE PLAN: JACKSON SQUARE
3E MARKETPLACE CONCEPT: STOA
3F ACTIVITY PATTERNS OF CIRCULATION: JACKSON SQUARE COMMUNITY

The site is representative of a field of activity, location, and movement through space.
3G REMOVAL PLAN: BROMLEY PARK
1. New crosstown street complete, easement for crosstown traffic.
2. Construction of new Orange Line begins.
3. Construction on roadway south of Ruggles begins.
5. Construction on roadway south of Ruggles complete.
6. Remove EL, Forest Hills to Dudley, operate existing
7. Replacement service in operation
8. Remove EL, Dudley to South Cove.
9. Remove Dudley station structure (proposed staging, Tony Pangara)
   ○ Construction stage
   □ Development stage (see diagram 3A)

31 Staging of Orange Line Construction and Development Phasing
THE ASSEMBLY: A PLAN FOR ACTION

The success of the "core" of this concept is, to a large extent, keyed to the success of the physical assembly to meet the demands of the land bank entity and the community for this marketplace assembly.

The "building" must be capable of a highly dynamic response to change and local intervention. The term, building, is, in fact, used only in its broadest meaning; that is, the union of structure and activity. It is consistent with the theory of the building as a representation of the process of human action. As a term, it represents simply the delineation of space and the structure required to support it. It must be able to respond, as an organism, to the need for growth, diminution, and change.

What I propose is a two-part assembly: 1) a framework; and 2) a kit of parts.

The proposal assembly is, in part, based on the concept of the land bank, and in part, on the constraints of the site. The leading analogy was that of the marketplace.

Quite clearly, the capacity for air rights development will be created by the construction of air rights potential above the transit facilities. To remain in the general, I call this capacity the framework.

Moving to the specific, this capacity might be a structural frame (It perceives architecture as the union of space and activity), or merely footings to provide the potential to build a structural frame. The nature
of the framework is to be subject to a great many factors. The exact locus of the framework elements would be subject to both external and internal constraints. The exact nature of such factors as land, lease, and easement holdings surrounding the framework; or the relation to the earth and its elements, would affect the position of the framework's elements of assembly. The exact nature of its internal activities and their special requirements would further affect the elements of its assembly.

Two maps of the location of two alternate frameworks are presented in diagram 4A and 4B.

Alternate A presents a framework whose external organization would involve the transfer of land in some manner from the Bromley Heath housing development, in addition to D, 34 and 35; and the air rights and deck between them. Alternate B presents a framework whose external organization requires only parcels 33 and 35 and the air rights of the parcel between them. The internal organization of both frameworks are identical.

The framework represents the outer limit of the activity that can be delegated to it. It is meant to portray the area in which development is possible. In a sense, it is an architectural gameboard. The manner in which areas of the gameboard are distributed will be determined by a community planning process. In the game, the benefits of development will be weighed against the benefits of community service; or the benefits of open space; and so on. It is assumed that by clearly portraying the alternatives, a decision-making process can be generated in a rational manner. There is certainly the argument that planning process is not ra-
tional. In this case, the decision-making process would, at least, be generated in a climate of open discussion based on a freedom of information.

Essential to the benefit of the community-at-large is the careful phasing of growth. The added potential for retail growth at the individual station sites (such as Jackson Square) must be coordinated with a general plan for the growth of other station sites, as well as existing retail centers (Dudley Station, Hyde Square, etc.).

Growth should occur at a continuous and incremental manner. It should occur at a small scale for two important reasons. The first is to maintain a human proportion within the framework. It is most important that the character of the development invite human participation at every level. It is important to remember that it is replacing a long-standing wall between two communities. For this reason, the development should become a living event that will invite the cohesion of neighborhoods into a new community.

The second is a very realistic reason. The existing community is capital-poor as well as income-poor. For this reason, the increment of growth must be small enough to meet the needs of local community participation in the process of development. There must be the capacity to set up a small shop and, as a merchant, to grow within the community as it grows.
This growth could be accomplished by the utilization of a Kit of Parts within the framework.

The purpose of this selection is to provide a variety of potential construction techniques in a highly visible, understandable manner. It is an attempt to demystify the process of architecture. The pieces represent the key elements within a traversed building system. Such a system was chosen because a field of columns provides the greatest flexibility in interior partitioning. Further, a field of columns most closely represents the greatest freedom of movement and location within a structure.

A brief analysis on the mode and direction of growth is indicated in diagram 4E. A more realistic representation is offered in the plans.
and sections. These are not construed to be a strict representation of the building, itself. Rather, they represent an analysis of potential spatial relationships. These relationships are, in part, based on the interior organization (the concept of activity spine defined by an interior gallery); and in part, on the exterior organization (represented in diagram 4F, a brief analysis of community activity patterns).

The nature of the activity delegated to the assembly indicates the relation of interior space to exterior space and is of particular importance. An effort has been made to create a complex with a variety of arenas capable of responding to a variety of activities and microclimates. The provision of galleries, arcade, courtyards, piazzas of characteristic size, shape, enclosure, thermal mass, and orientation creates a choice of comfortable human location. Landscaping and natural growth is used to enhance the microclimate characteristics, as well as provide visual enhancement.

There has been an attempt to provide a number of dualities internal to the complex. A path of distinctly urban texture transverses its south end, while a landscaped open space link transverses its north end. The east elevation (Columbus Avenue) is characteristically porous, while the west acts to minimize heat gain. Tower Street facade is characteristically regular, while the west elevation expresses fully the potential for diversity within the framework.
The capacity for change allows the choice to retrofit the assembly with the widest variety of configurations and necessary devices. As a device, itself, the assembly must seek to 1) delineate space in light, 2) provide the most information regarding its operation. As an artifact, the assembly must seek to provide the subjective experience indicative of 1) relations of man, and 2) character of its zenith. Essentially, it is a great ship cradled in the earth.

Having examined the argument for the specific, it is time again to return to the general. The assembly, for it does not represent a static building, is meant to offer a highly dynamic alternative for community growth. It is essentially a framework for action and change, capable of responding, both to the needs of the land and, through it, to the needs of the community. It is an effort to communicate the possibility of alternative strategy for urban design.

The exercise of this alternative expresses a rather unique role for the architect in its process.

The practice of architecture is essentially a craft. As such, architects carry no mystical insight with which to conduct the process. Rather, one brings the value of experience, which enables him to proceed on a path of critical analysis.
The long-term role of the architect in the process that I have outlined in this thesis would, however, be expanded to deal realistically within the context of urban design. The architect must be educator and advocate, as well as craftsman.
framework A

4A FRAMEWORK ALTERNATIVE A
KIT OF PARTS
& FRAMEWORK

4C FRAMEWORK AND KIT OF PARTS
1A transit station and dec.
1B pedestrian bridges
1C community facilities
20,000 sq. ft.
1D farmers market
urban plaza

2 galleria
retail/office
40,000 sq. ft.

3 parking (180 cars)
supermarket
15,000 sq. ft.

4 galleria
retail/office
60,000 sq. ft.

5 office tower
6 floors
@ 10,000 sq. ft./floor
60,000 sq. ft. total
4F SIENNA: INCREMENTAL GROWTH

C. ALEXANDER; THE OREGON PROGRAM
LEVELS 1 & 2
5

FOOTNOTES

1. Alan Lupo; et.al.; Rights of Way: The Politics of Transportation in Boston and the U.S. City; L&L

2. Gov. Francis W. Sargent; Policy Statement on Transportation in the Boston Region; Office of the Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts; November 30, 1972


5. Tony Pangaro, a planner with the New York Urban Development Corporation was appointed to the post in August, 1973. He and his office have been invaluable in the preparation of this thesis.

6. Kennedy and Woods; The Zone of Emergence: Observations of the Lower and Middle Working Class Communities of Boston, 1905-1914; M.I.T.; 1962

7. Citizens for Rockport; Planning for the Future of Rockport; 1974; pp. 29-32


9. Coop City Residents Suit Raises Issue of Whether a Share is Like a Corporate Stock; New York Times; May 3, 1975

10. see appendix D

11. see appendix G
APPENDIX A

A city is naturally round. In the Anglo-Saxon world its nucleus is the "market" a downtown commercial and manufacturing quarter about which zone after zone is circling added as the population increases. The belt immediately about the business section, hemming it in, is given over to a circle of poor and crowded neighborhoods broken in one place by a downtown residential quarter illustrating wealth and social power. As additional territory is needed, the farms "beyond the walls" are invaded and disintegrated, or adjacent towns annexed. It sometimes happens that the walls between the city proper and the suburbs, avoided in the outward movement is neither city nor country, but gradually, by forward, sidewise, and even refluent pressures, intervening spaces are filled in and the city completes its characteristic outline.

Woods and Kennedy; The Zone of Emergence: Observations of the Lower and Middle and Upper Working Class, Communities of Boston 1905-1914; M.I.T.; 1962

This turn of the century description of the classic model of urban location has since been subject to some reexamination. Radial corridors, ring cities, and multi-nuclear development offer variations to the stricter circular growth model conceived by Park and Burgess in their definitive study of Chicago. But as a broad generalization the models maintains a degree of validity. Close to the marketplace and near the source of employment and cultural institutions exists the high rent district. At the edge of the city the suburbs offer proximity as well as private open space.

The tremendous growth of the suburbs, however, has concen-
trated a good deal more than the ammenities of open space in the suburbs. Well over one third of the nations population now inhabit this sector. With the population, has been a concentration of most of the "action"; jobs, education, and opportunities as well as an ample supply of housing has in a sense also migrated from the city to this sector. A number of key incentives have made this process possible; the postwar supply of cheap (FHA,VA) mortgages, the automobile and cheap energy, the Interstate Highway system.

However with the growth of the suburbs has come a certain abandonment of this middle ring. Abandonment comes in many forms; for the Roxbury community it meant a clear policy of disinvestment. There was in fact an established "redlining" policy by insurance and banking interests. The community was designated a "high risk" area, and mortgage funds as well as insurance coverage was unavailable. The effect was a self-fulfilling prophesy that the community become a ghetto.

To come to the point of this discussion. There has been a dramatic reinterest in this middle ring in recent years. A prime example of this phenomena is the redevelopment and renewal of Boston's South End. It is the product of a number of interdependant factors. 1) It has been
recognised that the demand curve of the wealthy and upper middle class for housing is subject to a curious aberation. That is it tends to avoid the middle ring and to choose housing opportunities ate either the inner or outer rings.

2) One of the primary rules of town planning is that that the inner urban modes of transportation limit the extent and therefor the population of a town. A corollary of this rule is that a pedestrian city has a population of about 800,000. Hwever, we no longer live in pedestrian cities. The world as we know it is rapidly becomming an extended elevator ride. Further, transportation options have given a wide range of housing and employment opportunities, to those within the range of accesability and mobility.

3) Let us examine this proposition. What have been the opportunities offered by mass transportation to the poor, those most dependant on it? A RAND study investigating the housing and employment choices in Chicago directly addresses this question. The initial hypoth4sis stated that urban households choose their housing locations and transportation modes in order to maximise their total real incomes, though possibly in an imperfect manner due to the segregation of the market. In the study it was found that

Non-whites purchase or rent more centrally located housing than they really desire and perhaps also pay more per unit for housing consumed. In general, the evidence suggests
that housing segregation imposes additional transportation costs on whites and additional housing costs on non-whites.

Myer, Kain, and Wohl: The Urban Transportation Problem; Rand Publications; 1965

The study goes on to draw a critical conclusion.

The housing and workplace location of non-whites is such that suburban extension of rail transit systems or the continuance of railroad commuter services hardly fill the needs of either many non-whites, or, for that matter, of most low income groups.

This conclusion establishes some serious doubts concerning the service capabilities of the new Orange Line. Further, I would contend that the new facility in some sense represents a threat to the stability of the existing community. This point demands further attention.

It was noted before that the housing demands of the upper, and middle income groups is "kinked" with preference shown to the inner and outer rings. The South End phenomena in fact represents a "filling" of this kink.

This phenomena has begun in the Roxbury community. Local spokesmen have noted that the process occurs in three distinct steps. The area is "colonised" by by alternate life style groups, then by young profes-sionals, and finally by the
speculators. In the past this process has been halted within the community by a combination of moral persuasion and economic clout.

However, future prospects indicate that the demand to fill the kink will greatly increase in the future.

The growth of the modern city has been controlled by two key factors. a) The bottleneck of growth is transportation. b) The bottleneck of transportation is energy. Quite simply, cities continue to grow until they can grow no longer. However, the availability of cheap energy has been increasingly called into question. Mass transportation, especially fixed rail systems as an alternative to the automobile represent a mode to support the apparent contraction of the city.

This then represents a serious paradox to the existing community. The new transit improvements do on one hand represent an opportunity for capital development as well as housing and work trip opportunity. Yet, at the same time they represent a major threat to the community in the form of rent increases, and land speculation.

A possible strategy, suggested in the RAND study, to deal
with this kink filling, is the emphasis on the delivery of housing, the commodity chiefly in question.

If then a coordinated and staged program of housing delivery occurs within the area most affected by the transit service, the community will be most able to adapt to this increased demand. This program further, should provide housing at all possible income levels to insure an equal distribution of community benefits.

In the case of Jackson Square there has been a high priority placed on the creation of "residential districts" in addition to commercial development at the station site. A program of renewal and rehabilitation of existing housing as well as the supply of new mixed income housing is necessary for the benefit of the Southwest Corridor as a whole.
APPENDIX B

A real discussion of planning must begin with an identification of one's metaphores. When one speaks of the city, does he speak in terms of texture, network, arena, charter, ...

Sam Bass Warner claimed that the three major sociological force at work in the growth of the Roxbury community were: 1) the concept of romantic capitalism, 2) the action of nostalgic nationalisms, 3) the concept of the rural ideal. The identical forces seem to be at work today. One wonders if history ever really changes.
APPENDIX C
DECISION MAKING

There are two key diagrams which represent the character of the decision making process used in deriving the program. They represent, in part, the dynamic action of change, and in part the uncertainty in prediction.

The first diagram, the ASSUMPTION MAP, represents the range and character of issues facing the community. In a certain sense they serve as the assumptive base for this proposal. Further there is an attempt to represent the strata of decisions over extended periods of time. The assumptions are not meant to be taken either as facts or predictions. They more closely represent the directions in which the community can place positive action to reach a desired goal.

The diagram is constructed to represent the dialectic base in a number of key issues. The outcome of these issues are events which the community will choose 1) to let happen by external forces, or 2) choose to make happen by its own volition. This is an important distinction.

Truth finds meaning only in action. Further action is the
result of either positive or negative force.

The philosophy of DIALECTIC MATERIALISM operates by regarding society as a living organism in a constant state of development. Its logic operates in the following manner:
1) In order to really know an object we must "embrace", study all its sides, all its connections, its mediators.
   We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all sideness is a safeguard against the mistakes of rigidity.
2) The logic demands that we take an object in its development; its self movement.
3) The whole of human experience should enter the full definition of an object as the criteria of the truth, and as a prctical index of the objects connections with what man requires.
4) There is no abstract truth; a truth is always concrete.

The second methodology, PROCESS MAP, based on the nature of the decision sequence, represents a process by which the selection of community priorities can be made subject to feedback. It represents in part the logical, and in part the subjective nature of the internal compromises in design. These compromises must be open information in
order to establish REALISTIC PRIORITIES based on actual needs.
APPENDIX D

The structured group activities that occur within any particular territorial system can be looked upon as games. These games provide the players with a set of goals that give them a sense of success or failure. They provide them with determinate roles and calculatable strategies and tactics. In addition they provide the players with an elite and general public that is in varying degrees able to tell the score.

Norton Long; The Polity; "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games"; Chicago; 1962

There's only one way to hold a district: you must study human nature and act accordin'. You can't study human nature in books. Books is a hindrance more than anything else. If you have been to college, so much the worse for you. You'll have to unlearn all you learned befor you can get right down to human nature, and unlearnin' takes a lot of time. Some men can never forget what they learned at college. Such men might get to be district leaders by fluke, but they never last.

George Washington Plunkitt; Plunkitt of Tammany Hall; recorder by William L. Riordon; New York; 1963
APPENDIX E

In the classic historic model of the city, the nucleus of urban life was the marketplace. In a more complex world, the "marketplace" has expanded to include education, transportation, health care, an array of goods services and opportunities. The supply of these goods is fixed, and are traded away among opposing groups in a dynamic highly politicised manner. The process thrives on irony and opposition for these very conflicts prevent the stagnation of exchange within the process.

Imagine, if you will a loose federation of warring tribes, joined together by common needs. This is the city.

In the process of urban design, their exists a certain friction between two mutually dependant but competitive attitudes. To accept this point of view one must first accept the notion that the essence of urban life is plurality. A variety of attitudes, cultural backgrounds, social, and class relationships must find a union in the diversity offered by the urban environment.

The two groups that comprise this relationship are not new, nor are they unique. The player change but the
interests remain the same. On one hand there is the group that accepts a scientific (technocratic) approach to the process. On the other is the group that seeks to maximise (to the winner go the spoils) the best interests of their interest group. In a sense the process become a game, where opposing players seek to gain an advantage over each other.

The events that generated the opportunity for this study are a graphic example of this process. The "inner belt" was a key goal of the technocratic planning interests. Endemic to this goal are the interests of the city as a whole for the highway, in theory, would serve the transportation needs of all of its residents. However, let us examine the legitimacy of this notion.

The need for highway expansion was based on mathematical models, drawn from empiric evidence. The selection of the route for the highway, however remains a political decision. Politicians tend to focus on wards with the least political clout. Planners, in the technocratic sense, are disposed to more scientific criteria: aging housing stock, high densities, mixed land use. Slums are perceived by local planning authorities as serious diseconomies to the rest of the city, and, as such they become the targets for
major capital improvements. The actual real value of an improvement like the Southwest Expressway to a ghetto community is almost negligible.

For that matter, who does a major improvement program serve?

Chiefly those who build it, in this case the highway construction interests. The relationship between public agencies and private developers is based on mutual interest and convenience. The end goal of planning is the GENERAL WELFARE, and, it is assumed that the normal profit making activities of private capital will promote the general welfare.

In fact, what has occurred in this sort of approach is a treatment of the symptoms rather than the disease. The slum is essentially an economic condition and its cure can only be an economic cure.

This symptom treatment in the planning process is not, of course, a recent event.

This method is called HAUSSMANN (and entails) making breaches in the working class quarters of our big towns, and particularly in those which are centrally situated, quite apart from whether this is done from considerations
of public health, or beautifying the town, or owing to traffic requirements... the result is always the same; scandalous alleys disappear to the lavish self-praise of the bourgeois on account of this tremendous success, but they appear again immediately somewhere else and often in the immediate neighborhood. The breeding place of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers, night after night are not abolished, they are merely shifted elsewhere.

Frederick Engels; The Housing Question; New York; 1935
A reaction to urban renewal, 1875.

The process of clearance and migration of ghetto populations is a historical fact.

It is central to the assumption of this thesis that the ghetto is essentially an economic condition. It is the internal irony of the ghetto, that these very condition that make it the target for clearance programs (aging housing stock, high densities, mixed use) also make it most attractive to its residents. The ghetto community, in this case Roxbury, despite its serious lack of public services and an attitude of disinvestment (redlining), offers an older housing stock which is generally roomier and less expensive. The mixed use nature of the community affords its residents a convenience to work places and an intensity of street life which clearly gives it its unique identity.
It is this very identity, a sense of turf, that local spokesmen find to be most important to community needs. The goal of neighborhood planning groups is not merely to make Roxbury a model community, but a model Black community.

Clearly we have the second player in the community planning process. The key purpose of neighborhood planning groups is not to promote the interests of the city at large, but instead to maximise the neighborhoods share of available benefits.

Again in this case, the inner belt was perceived by local planning groups as a threat to their very power base, the neighborhood. Through their activity and organization the construction of I95 was halted, but a more difficult task remains. Land cleared in the initial proposal (100 acres) offers the unique opportunity for major investment and development. However the coordination and control of this opportunity presents a number of key paradoxes.

1) The provision of new mass transit facilities will effect a new pattern of urban location. This relocation will tend to in fact, compete away from the present community the very advantages which it hopes to gain. There is a significant question as to who a rapid rail transportation system
actually serves, the inner city resident or his suburban counterpart.

2) There exists a question as to what constitutes integration. If in fact, genuine integration can only occur between cooperatively dependant groups, that is groups with equal political status, can Roxbury permit a significant racial mix in her population. The loss of minority concentration is in fact tantamount to a loss of political clout.

3) In addition to being income poor ghetto communities are capital poor. If the opportunities for investment and development do not in fact meet the capabilities of entrepreneur within the community, the advantages of development potential will be distributed, once again, outside the community.

4) Innovations dealing with the delivery of housing services within the city in the form of income or rental assistance will, in addition to providing the poor with a greater housing choice, will provide a greater mobility in the exercise of that choice. The program provides a reasonable alternative to the income segregation policies of producer subsidy, public housing. However, the
mobility of location may in fact act to distribute the ghetto population and weaken its political power base.

These paradoxes will be directly addressed in the following appendices, but they are not the chief emphasis of this thesis. It chief purpose is rather to investigate a strategy and its specific tactics for the development of Jackson Square, a key site in the Southwest Corridor.

The strategy operates on the twin concepts of SELF-DETERMINATION, and COMMUNITY BASED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT within the community.

The vehicle of this strategy is architecture; but this is not an end in itself. Rather it is used as a tactic for social change. This is a difficult proposition to accomplish, for at some point architecture must transcend rhetoric and become a built environment. That is to say, at some point the process of change an redeffinition must momentarily halt. Simply, architecture cannot be all things to all people.

The first step in the strategy is the clear deffinition of a geographic area. In doing this one begins to deal with what is essentially a fixed area and a specific
population. The organising technique then becomes based in part on land, and in part on population. The people that control this area must have the most voice in the process of change which effects it, the concept of self-determination.

The second step in the strategy is an emphasis on involving local capital either directly, or through a quasi-public agency such as a COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION. It is critical in the case of ghetto development that this capital be tied to place to insure the return of the benefits of development potential to the community.
APPENDIX F

For those who read the appendices I leave this anecdote.

A good deal of my research in the community was simply the time spent HANGING OUT, that is the time spent getting a real sense of what life is like in the community. While photographing one of those afternoons, I met two local residents apparently avoiding the hassle of being bussed to South Boston. We talked about the neighborhood, the school committee, my camera. The lankier guy asked me if he could use my camera ... he took off with it the moment it hit his hand. It took me half of a mile to catch him. While we were running, it occurred to me that we were engaging in capitalism in its purest form. It was a grand object lesson in market competition. He dropped the camera just as I was about to catch him, and took off. I have never seen him again, but I still have his photograph.
APPENDIX G

The major principles of ghetto economic development are based on the social overhead capital and directly productive activities theory. Endemic to the theory is the concept that the ghetto is essentially an economic condition. Therefore, economic measures must be taken to transform the ghetto into a viable and productive community.

As it exists now, the ghetto can be considered an island in economic terms. Although firmly woven in the urban network, it has been isolated by the lack of capital resources from the private market. In addition to being capital poor, the ghetto is clearly income poor, and unable to develop a viable development base without outside capital resources.

The low level of disposable income keeps the commercial potential below that of neighborhoods of equivalent population. Further, in the retail outlets available to ghetto consumers, prices are high. Ghetto residents are forced to shop elsewhere for quality and variety.

The housing stock is old and subject to a high rate of abandonment. Previous housing policies have relied on a "filtering process" (Grigsby, William; Housing Markets).
and Public Policy, 1963) to supply housing services to low income areas. This process clearly awards incentive to the producers of upper income housing and expects the poor, unaided by subsidies to seek out the older low rent housing stock. This policy has been one of the major incentives of ghetto formation. It, with previous policies of large scale public housing projects, have tended to concentrate the poorest families in the worst housing. The rents are low, but the irony in the process in that the poor are the least able to maintain the condition of this stock. Income poor and generally unable to receive rehabilitation financing from private sources, they have no choice but to let the houses fall into worse condition.

The accumulation of the poor in this process, leads to a variety of negative spillover effects. The neighborhoods become characterised by vandalism, broken families, vagrancy, and other social pathologies. If, on the other hand, the poor were distributed through a range of other income groups, it is believed that not only would the disadvantaged have better access to educational and employment opportunities and a better home environment, but, it would also help to modify antisocial behavior attributable to enforced ghettoization.
The present employment prospects within the ghetto are not much better. Traditionally ghettos tend to be located in the middle ring between the inner urban ring and the outlying suburban communities. This ring had served as the warehouse manufacturing district for the turn of the century industrial cities. However, modern industrial processing as well as containerization and access to interstate truck routes have tended to move these functions to the outer ring. With the industries have gone most of the blue collar opportunities.

Roxbury is a prime example of this process. The existing warehouse and industrial space is considered to be unaccessible and obsolete by modern industrial standards. Accordingly, a report published by the BRA in 1971, indicated that most employment opportunities for minority workers was not in the ghetto, and that existin manufacturers would prefer locations closer to the edge of the city.

The case however is not clearly against manufacturing development in the ghetto. Although the ghetto as a colony analogy cannot be accepted on the whole, it does have some attributes of a colony. It cannot be considered as an unexploited supply of cheap labor, it is a source of underutilised land. Further, it is in close proximity to most intraurban distribution
routes as well as mass transit.

The proximity to transportation facilities is clearly recognised as an opportunity for development potential in the location of the new Orange Line. The Dukakis administration has continued the mandate on the development of public mass transportation, and considers the project a high priority project. The process of creating development potential has four components in its strategy.

1) The use of the construction of mass transit facilities in low income communities for economic development.
2) The use of land cleared for transportation facilities for commercial development.
3) The prime opportunity for retail development around transit stations.
4) The possible need for public control over that development to insure that the benefits of that transit potential accrue to the community.

The actual realization of this potential is dependant on a number of factors but historically increased accessibility has meant an increase in retail growth. The measure of this growth will depend on 1) the ridership who pass through the station, 20 the attractiveness of the facilities, 3) the amount of disposable income available to merchants from both the
ridership and the surrounding communities.

As a major capital investment, transit facilities qualify as components of the social overhead capital (SOC), directly productive activities (DPA) based strategy. The strategy generally proposes that community reinvestment maximise the effect of public capital with local development, and that this capital be snowballed by careful choice of investment activities. The theory has five principles.

1) SOC should be invested in projects that will produce DPA investment. Briefly this calls for the use of capital investments to support economic organisms which support goods or activities, necessary to support consumptive or investment economic activities. The key element in this case is the construction of fixed rail transportation facilities. A corollary is the construction of a sound reducing deck and its use as a retail center to support the growth of the neighborhood retail base.

2) Investments must capture consumer expenditures for reinvestment and distribution back into the ghetto economy.

3) DPA must be aimed at import substitution and at backward linkage. This concept is based in part on the ghetto as colony analogy. Present economic structure calls for the importation of most goods and services consumed by the local residents. There is a ghetto exportation of both income and capital. Changing this economic structure means a
development of local economic activities that would halt this leakage. DPA would generate both income and capital for distribution and reinvestment in the ghetto. An example would be the development of a local building trades industry to capture the development potential in capital construction benefits.

4) Both private and public investment subsidy must be tied to place. The community must first carefully decide its boundaries and then insure that available capital be released within those limits. A possible key exception to this principle is housing. The possibility of rental assistance through income subsidy presents a possible paradox. The program provides an insured rent role for prospective developers and its advantages in this case would be tied to place. However this program seeks to maximise the housing choice of the poor. The possibility for relocation outside the base of political power is a paradox that local spokesmen will have to face.

5) First land development and then capital formation are used to trigger a sequence of investment. Simply land is the key to secure capital.

There is however a certain paradox in the use of transportation facilities as the catalyst for development. An good real estate developer uses as a rule of thumb the fact that realistic
market prediction cannot be made more than ten years in advance. There are simply too many variables: inflation, change in financing rates, change in priorities, and so on. However the planning and development period for transit improvements is by nature outside a ten year time frame, and so the paradox. It becomes most difficult to predict the market potential of a particular site in advance of construction.

How then does one operate within this paradox?

There are two basic tactical theories in the analysis and phasing of market potential:

1) critical mass
2) incremental growth.

The difference between the two is essentially in their attitudes toward the establishment of priorities in community development.

The first theory, critical mass, essentially analyses market potential and formulates a program of development based on the needs and goals of the entrepreneur. It establishes the concept that a certain level of activity or critical mass is necessary to insure financial success. It further suggests that a broad mix of uses, i.e. hotel, retail, high income housing, office space, be programmed to insure this level of activity.
In itself the program is well founded. A mix of uses is necessary to the success of any development. However, it tends to place its priorities on the average market rather than on the real needs of the specific community. (The Prudential Center is an example of such an attitude). Further, it requires a special developer capable of the extended capital resources necessary for such a large-scale development. Finally the purpose of such development is to capture the maximum market potential. This often tends to compete away the viability of existing development.

Returning to the context of this note, Jackson Square requires a much more restrained development tactic. If the real goal is a viable community and not merely an individual market success the existing developments throughout the Corridor (Dudley, Hyde Square) must be carefully assessed and sheltered from over competition.

This can be accomplished with a phased program of incremental growth. If in fact a strong infrastructure is developed at Jackson Square, activities can be initiated in a piecemeal fashion, and be tested for their viability. This infrastructure would consist of an institutional framework through the use
Community Development Corporations (CDC) as well as a physical framework (a structural skeleton). Activities would be installed to meet real demand rather than a demand artificially created. The initial cost of such a structure might be high in relation to useable space, but it would not be exclusive. It would certainly be better than a market failure, underutilised shells, which prove to be unnecessary capital sinks as well as an invitation to vandalism and urban blight, very real considerations. Further small scale incremental development best utilises the abilities of small scale capital resources.

Incremental growth would in fact allow for the growth of an organic order on the site. It is clear that all things are subject to change. No one can say with certainty that the priorities of today will be the priorities of tomorrow. An organism, or any living system can respond to change. If development is keyed to an infrastructure capable of adapting to growth and change it can respond to shifting priorities. In light of the extended growth period for transit facilities, the ability to meet this peculiar time frame is critical.

In conclusion it is necessary to outline an approach for the institutional framework which would provide for the implementation of this strategy. It is necessary that the community itself
guide its own potential and acquire the development of that potential. To insure the success of this venture the public sector might be used as a key partner.

There are a number of ways in which government action can be used to induce development and they vary in the type and degree of both intervention and capital.

1) restriction of alternative: The public sector can establish the nature of use required for particular parcels of land. In short this process is zoning, actually a fairly recent endeavor, established by legislation in 1922 to protect private property. This action does not provide the direct use of government capital but its cost to the public in the terms of opportunity cost is concealed. Further it is difficult to induce development by this method.

2) charge for benefit conferred: This action can be used in special assessment and improvement districts. Private market mechanisms are allowed to operate and the government then reimburses them for the benefits conferred, i.e. sidewalks. This action was the basis of "turnkey" programs for the production of housing. However in this process, although government capital is used the government has little direct control in the process.

3) government purchase: In this action the government becomes the direct source of capital to be used in development.
It can provide capital to private developers by either tax advances or through capital grants. It can become the developer and resell back to the private sector below development costs to insure growth.

4) removal of market impediments: Although not a direct capital action it is important that the government provide the opportunity to collect and assemble land for development. The condemnation of substandard structures its converse the relaxation of certain codes are two examples of this action.

5) criminal sanctions: The government might provide the legal necessity that certain development must take place. Although there is extreme reluctance to initiate such action in this country, it is fairly common in some cultures. At the present time, even spot zoning, the provision of unique land use situations on an arbitrary basis, remains unconstitutional.

The key to successful ghetto economic development is local control. The means to obtain this local control is through the formation of Community Development Corporations, that is through the formation of a joint venture partnership between community residents and the public sector.

Such a corporation should have the capacity to generate capital in order to finance development it feels necessary to support
community viability. Just as important is the ability to acquire and hold key parcels of land through development banks or land trusts. Specifically such a corporation should be able to:

1) mobilise outside capital, 2) invest as well as establish the criteria for investment, 3) own and manage projects, 4) promote and advise projects, 5) establish new institutions.

These investments may be new incorporated businesses owned either by individuals or CDC affiliates, producers or consumers cooperatives, and turnkey plants initially built with capital outside from outside the ghetto to be released to the CDC.

In conclusion, public ownership of land under public development would mean that increased value created by capital investments, as well as that development would accrue to the public rather than to private speculators. Further the scale of development could be matched to the capabilities of local capital, and that capital could be leveraged by a careful phasing of incremental growth.
In the University of Oregon master plan, C.E.S. implemented theories of development increments of under 10,000 square feet. The university’s original master plan on the right consists of large-scale development; the plan on the left illustrates the alternative effect of smaller development increments.