WASHINGTON PARK SINCE URBAN RENEWAL:
AN EQUILIBRIUM COMMUNITY?

by

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Washington Park Since Urban Renewal: An Equilibrium Community?
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This is a paper about what has resulted from the effort of
public intervention; neighborhood renewal and rehabilitation, where
diverse black social classes are compartmented in a changing neigh-
borhood. The neighborhood is Washington Park in Middle and Upper
Roxbury, the black ghetto section of Roxbury located in Boston,
Massachusetts. Urban renewal in Washington Park was to bring about
physical change: clearance of dilapidated housing, rebuilding,
rehabilitation and neighborhood conservation. More importantly,
renewal was a tool which would provide equilibrium, a balance among
the class groups, in a physical setting where social class groups
are found in class distinct districts.

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INTRODUCTION

Did urban renewal provide an equilibrium condition for the black class groups in the two class distinct sections of Washington Park? Equilibrium for the purposes of this discussion is the existence of a balanced class system that maintains itself in a changing community. The changing neighborhood selected is Washington Park, an area carved out of Upper and Middle Roxbury by Boston Redevelopment Authority planners, located in Boston, Massachusetts. Washington Park is no different from other changing neighborhoods in black ghettos: there is a mixture of black class groups in proximity to each other. Upper Roxbury is the 'gilded ghetto' section and the goal of urban renewal was to preserve this neighborhood.

This paper defines class groups in the general construct and a black construct. The black construct defines black social class groups generally and those found in Washington Park. A section on housing has been included to illustrate the dynamics of a ghetto housing market. The third section focuses on the crucial period before renewal and during transition in Washington Park. The final section analyzes demographic changes in the neighborhood between 1960 and 1970, using the indicators of income, occupation and education.

Renewal was to provide equilibrium and physical change in Washington Park. In the beginning, the renewal process was to balance class groups, but now as a closed renewal project,
this process has transformed itself into a vehicle which has accelerated their concentration of middle income earning families.

Rain does not fall on one roof alone. Even though there are differences between the middle and the working and the lower-class, all class groups are found in the black ghetto. Social problems which effect the ghetto touch each household, whether it be middle or lower class. Thus, a scenario of Washington Park.
CHAPTER I

SOME CLASS ISSUES AND DEFINITIONS: BLACKS AND WHITES

This chapter constitutes an overview of aspects of a general class construct, and an analysis of blacks as a subsect of this general class construct. I have utilized two types of variables in studying class: attitudinal and quantitative. The attitudinal variables are attitudes and expectations toward desired and realized life-style, and perceptions toward providing for the future. Quantitative variables are social indicators, income, job, education, family and race. Class groups to be analyzed in the general construct are upper-, upper-middle, lower-middle, working and lower-classes. In the subsection specifically focusing on black class groups; the new and old upper-, middle-, working and lower-classes are discussed.

Blacks differ from whites in class terms absolute numbers and in perceptions and attitudes toward life-style. Social class definitions among blacks in this discussion will not parallel the general social class construct of the dominant society. This is attributed to the dynamics of race, and the manner in which race affects the determination of class for blacks.

Class Characteristics in the General Class Construct

On the subject of class, Joseph Kahl contends that:

"... a stratified society is one marked by inequality, by differences among people that are evaluated by them as being higher or
lower. A family shares shares many characteristics among its members that greatly effect their relations with outsiders: the same house, the same income, the same values. If a large group of families are approximately equal to each other and clearly differentiated from other families, we call them a social class.  

Another author, Edward Banfield, suggests that class is determined by a psychological orientation toward providing for the future. An individual's orientation toward the future will be regarded as the function of two factors--ability to imagine a future and the ability to discipline oneself to sacrifice present satisfaction for future satisfaction--the more distant the future the "higher" is his class.  

Harold Hodges states:

"...there are many differences among human beings...differences (which) are dictated by heredity: mental capacity and sex...but many are not innate but are socially acquired and socially defined. Expected ways of behavior are known as 'social rules;' and such age rules and sex rules and occupational rules are forms of social differentiation. Each is a way of classifying people and their functions, of proscribing which sorts of people should do what sorts of things... Within all societies, people are classified into categories... These categories are ranked from lower to higher: they are stratified. Social stratification, like age division and sex division, is another form of social differentiation. And inherent in this nearly universal process of stratification is a graded hierarchy, a series of 'superior' and 'inferior' ranks. Each of these divisional units constitutes a social stratum -- an aggregate of people who share qual or roughly equal ranks and prestige."  

For the purposes of the discussion of class here, class will
be defined as those social indicators--income, job, education, and race--and those attitudinal variables--prestige, expected and realized life-styles, and perceptions toward providing for the future. The general class construct applies to all groups in the American society, but more specifically to the dominant white society.

The Upper-Class

The upper-class is the aristocracy--if there is such--of the social strata in American society. These individuals have inherited their money, prestige and social standing from the family line, most of whom made their money during the industrial revolution and now reap the benefits from controlling their interests in family business and corporations in the form of dividends. Many of the upper-class who are independently wealthy choose to work in their own private organizations or in high level governmental bodies devoted to social causes, while others continue to work in the family business. The rich tend to be highly educated in the best preparatory schools and colleges in the United States and abroad, and their lifestyle is one of well-worn wealth, leisure and comfort.

The income of an individual is not the sole criteria for his qualifying as a member of the upper-class, but rather his gaining acceptance from other upper-class members of a community. Acceptance into the upper-class is facilitated either by one's forebearer being members of the elite group or by position in a commercial hierarchy.
Money is a prerequisite -- but not a means in itself -- and it must be respectable money. In an urban community the upper-class tends to be a small, organized, cohesive group in a closed society.4

There are two basic types of upper-class individuals: those who have inherited wealth and position from the efforts of a previous generation, and those who are self-made in a single generation, who have profited by their talents and have climbed to the top. The latter group are the most unlikely to be readily accepted into the upper-class by the old elite.

There is a noticeable difference in values, life-style, and manner between the "nouveau-riche" and the old elite.5 The values of the established family are a basic attitude toward life. Robert Kahl states:

"This attitude is based on membership in a family line that has been established for at least one, and preferably two or three generations as members of the upper-class. Only by being born into such a family can one fully learn its manners and mores. Such a family has a sense of permanence and of position; its members are 'somebody,' have been for a long time, expect to continue to be for a long time... Because money is taken for granted, it seems to be of less importance. For the old elite it appears crude and boorish to display one's wealth or even to talk too much about it. The important thing is not the money nor the skill with which it was earned, but the style in which it is spent."6

The life-style of the upper-class is generally either one of setting standards--which other class groups imitate--or being completely eccentric, deviating from the expected mode of life. Self-
expression\textsuperscript{7} also ranks high as a characteristic, and this is exhibited in upper-class attitudes toward developing self, and in tolerating or even encouraging what would be considered unconventional behavior in politics, the arts, or whatever.

The Middle-Class: Upper and Lower

The Upper-Middle Class: Career Motivation

For the purposes of this discussion, I will subdivide the middle-class into two groups: the upper-middle class and the lower-middle class. The upper-middle class are composed of highly trained individuals in business and industry and highly trained salaried bureaucrats. These individuals are trained technicians in business and professional fields who are career oriented; their consumptive behavior, their sense of accomplishment and respectability, the source of much of their prestige with others depend upon success in a career.\textsuperscript{8} These upper-middle class individuals are almost entirely white and American-born (second or third generation at least), those who are born of immigrant parents tend to obscure their ethnic associations and stress associations with nonethnic Americans.\textsuperscript{9} The upper-middle class has many newcomers--some individuals climb each generation from the lower-middle and upper levels of the working class. However, being born into the middle-class enhances an individual's possibilities of climbing to the ranks of the upper-middle class.

While the upper-middle class spends a considerable amount of
time involved in community work, this activity is limited to their own community. Community work is, in part, a way of safeguarding whatever status and influence they have acquired in their hometown area (Kahl).

In terms of beliefs, they tend to believe in themselves--their perceptions of the world--and in organization. On author, Kahl states: "They stress individual initiative combined with smooth group functioning...anything can be accomplished with this combination." The upper-middle class believes in the American way: accomplishment, organization, and respectability.

**Lower-Middle Class: Respectability**

The lower-middle class consists of those persons who work for the upper-middle class in semi-professional capacities (Kahl). These individuals are not as well educated as the upper-middle class. Many finished high school and hold occupations that are semi-professional or semi-managerial, while others are factory workers who, by the nature of their steady, moderate income, can live comfortably and respectably in the middle-class. One author asserts, "They (the lower-middle class) accept many of the career values of the upper-middle class and are constantly striving to get ahead; yet most will never get very far, and after they have out-lived the romantic dreams of youth, they know it." They tend not to stress career because their occupations have a limited climb up the promotional ladder; rather they cling to the respectability and relative
stability of their job as it is superior to the infrequent employment of the working class.

Respectability is expressed in terms of their emphasis on education, religion and homeownership. Education is highly valued as it is the means to possible upward mobility on the job. Lower-middle class parents encourage their children to go on to college and will make financial sacrifices to send them. In terms of religion, these individuals tend to be loyal church members, and religion plays an important role in family morality. Divorce is generally frowned upon and loose sexual morality is supposedly non-existent except in class strata above and below them. Having a home is a symbol of stability and family togetherness, and they tend to "keep it up," constantly making improvements on its exterior and interior.

The Working Class: Getting By

The typical working class individual is a semi-skilled or unskilled factory worker who tends to seek full-time, consistent employment, but, because he has no particular skill to sell, he frequently shifts from one job to another. According to Kahl, in this class group, the individual's basic orientation is simply to "get by."12 The working class individual does not invest heavily in the immediate or distant future because of this orientation of just getting by.13 In terms of job mobility, there are few differences in pay or responsibility from job to job, from year to year.14
lack of any indication of future job mobility with an increase in income contributes to the attitude toward an actual acceptance of only getting by. They feel that there is no point in working hard to get somewhere, for there is no place to go.15

The attitude of getting by on the job effects other areas of life-style, with the family exhibiting a casual attitude toward home, community, education and self. Individuals feel they are at the mercy of fate or some obscure "power structure" and other unde-finable, uncontrollable forces.16 Having these values minimizes the possibility of climbing the social class strata for young working class individuals -- they could become members of the lower-middle class -- the drive and ambition to climb is not there.

Lower Class: Apathy

The lower-class individual is at the lowest stratum of the class construct. He is characterized by abject poverty. It has been observed that

"lower-class persons themselves react to their economic situation and to the degradation in the eyes of respectable people by becoming fatalistic; they feel that they are down and out, and that there is no point in trying to improve, for the odds are all against them. They may have some desires to better their position, but can not see how it can be done."17

They feel that their situation is fated and beyond their control, and that belief is manifested in feelings of self-contempt, inade- quacy and apathy.18 They feel that they have no capacity to control their lives and, in fact, they don't. Life for the lower-class is
one of helplessness, deprivation, insecurity and limited or nonexist-
tant opportunities and alternatives.

Black Class Construct Dynamics in the General Class Construct

Class determination of any human being is defined by socio-
economic indicators, mainly income and education, which, to a great
degree, affects the level of one's attainable job classification. When studying black class groups specifically, within the general
class construct matrix is the indicator of race and color, an indi-
cator which permeates the vertical mobility of blacks in this class
construct composed mainly of whites. Because of the factor of race,
blacks are relegated to a lower strata in the general social class
construct. No parallels will be found between the two class con-
structs, except in the lower class. Because of stereotypes held by
members of the white American class construct, most blacks are
regarded as lower-class, even if their income, education and life-
style are middle-class by general class construct standards. Re-
cently, upward mobility for blacks has been influenced by laws
enforcing equality in institutions which formerly practiced discrimi-
nation, resulting in some changes in white attitudes and perceptions.
While relegated to a lower position in the general class construct,
blacks have adopted certain norms and values of the general class
construct (Hare). For example, middle-class blacks and whites hold
similar values for themselves and their communities. The difference
between them is the relatively limited opportunity blacks have for
job mobility with coinciding income increases. There are far fewer
middle-income blacks than whites, and those blacks tend to hold
jobs of lower caliber than their white counterparts. At each class
level except the lower-class there is this inequity.

Lower-class blacks and lower-class whites are the only class
groups which parallel each other in terms of income, education and
life-style. Class groups among blacks generally parallel class
groups among whites, except for the effects of racial discrimina-
tion, a special feature reflecting black history and survival.19
Racism is the institutional fiber which nurtures these class con-
struct differences. Blacks evidently may become equal to whites in
wealth, in education, in opportunity to control the government of
the state; in short, culturally equal. Yet blacks and whites will
still be unequal -- unequal, obviously, in color.20

Past studies have not made an exact delineation of the number
of blacks in particular class groups. Drake and Cayton, however,
in the Black Metropolis, a 1940 study of Bronzeville, an upper-
class suburb of Chicago, researched class percentages by using the
indicators of education, rent and occupations as criteria and
estimated that about five per cent of the black families of Chicago
could be considered upper-class, 30 per cent middle-class, and 65
per cent lower-class. Another social researcher, Billingsley,
estimates that in the 1960's, in urban areas, 10 per cent would be
considered upper-class, 40 per cent middle-class, and 50 per cent
lower-class.21 The American caste-class system has served, over the
years, to concentrate the black population in the low-income sector of the community. In 1961, six out of every ten Negro families had an income of less than $4,000.00 per year while among whites just the opposite was true; six out of every ten families had over $4,000.00 yearly at their disposal. This income gap is largely the result of job discrimination relegating blacks to unskilled blue-collar jobs.

A caste system exists among whites and blacks. The white caste is in a superordinate position and the black caste in a subordinate social position. A caste line, according to Dr. Oliver C. Cox, runs diagonally crossing all class groups of blacks, as this diagram illustrates.

According to Dr. Cox, during slavery the caste line was horizontal (line A B) representing a segregation condition, but with the advent of cultural progress and the changing attitudes of whites, the line rotates to the right (line X Y). If line XY rotates to the left towards line AB cultural progress has lessened to a segregation
condition. He further asserts that his caste system will continue
to maintain itself, and since man cannot change his racial deline-
tation, a white caste and a black caste dichotomy will remain indefi-
nitely. Under a condition of a non-existing caste system, black
classes and white classes would be one of the same.

According to St. Clair Drake, social class systems in black
communities have been shaped by an income gap and job ceiling,
making this class structure "pyramidal," with a large lower-class,
a somewhat smaller middle-class and a tiny upper-class (composed of
individuals who, in many cases, would be considered only middle-class
in the white class structure); the white class structure tends to
be diamond shaped, with a small lower and upper class and a large
middle class. A recent Time Magazine article editorialized that
a slim majority of black Americans are moving into the ranks of the
middle-class. The article uses the data from another essay in
Commentary Magazine which indicates that more black families were
entering the middle-class by (1) both parents working, (2) a higher
number holding better paying jobs, (3) more young men and women
graduating from high school and, (4) more attending college. The
article readily credits black progress to American liberalism;
however, the number of lower-class blacks on public assistance also
increased. This suggests that St. Clair Drake's pyramid has not
changed; that while the number of middle-class blacks has slightly
increased, the number of lower-class blacks has increased as well.

The quantitative differences in black class groups are
minimal, the upper and middle classes are similar in terms of income, education and family stability; the variable of income being slightly higher among upper-class blacks. Working and lower-class blacks constitute the majority in the black social class construct, with similarities in income, level of education attained, and relative family instability.

Class Definitions: Upper, Middle, Working and Lower-Class Blacks

The upper-class will be defined here as two subclasses; the old and the new. The old upper-class are those blacks who are distinguished by not only income, occupation and life-style, but who come from families which had a strong foundation in the middle-class. These individuals are judges, physicians, dentists, high level governmental officials, educated ministers of large congregations, college presidents, professors and high level administrators, wealthy businessmen, insurance company executives, bankers and wealthy real estate brokers. They have had the privilege of a head start from their middle-class parents, a head start in terms of inherited money and property and the exposure to education and achievement.

The new upper-class are those who have reached this status in one generation through education, special talents, or shady dealings. Some of the new upper-class are entertainers and athletes. The differences between the old and the new upper-class is largely the number of generations through which families have maintained
the income, status, and prominence within that class or the middle-
class. The life-style of both the old and the new upper-class is
one of opulence and conspicuous consumption, having all the material
objects which would indicate upper-class status.

The upper-class, and mainly the old upper-class, have tra-
ditionally played the role of "race leaders" in the black community. They have been chosen either by the masses of blacks in the community or by whites to represent the interests of blacks in achieving civil rights and equal opportunity. These individuals have been the organizers and presidents of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League. Within these organizations frequent financial support is received from upper-class whites, contributing to a minimal social interaction between upper-class blacks and upper-class whites.

There is a great disparity in income between upper-class blacks and upper-class whites. Upper-class whites' income, inherited money and property, are far greater than upper-class blacks'. Also upper-class whites have had money handed down through the family line longer than upper-class blacks. Upper-class blacks would be comparable to a great degree to upper-middle class whites, if upper-class blacks were white. But in the construct of the black class strata, upper-class blacks are a stratum above middle-class and working class blacks as a result of having had the middle-class family foundation, income and education.

Middle-class blacks are those distinguished by a relative
stable family income and the education of the family heads. To a
great extent, those who comprise the bulk of the black middle-class
are middle-level managers, school teachers, social workers and a
significant number of postal, construction and assembly workers.
But, by and large, the middle-class are professionals; their two
main indicators are income and respectability. Many older members
of the middle-class did not have the opportunity to obtain a higher
education or could not use their higher education because of job
discrimination, but they were able to find middle-income paying
jobs which were restricted to them because of race.

The conspicuous consumption of the upper-class is to a lesser
degree exhibited by the middle-class. Their level of consumption is
limited by the amount of income and degree of credit individuals
have. But, like upper-class blacks, the middle-class attempt to
have all of the material objects which indicate their class stratum.
A strong characteristic of the middle-class is respectability --
being respectable in behavior, having a stable family, and living
decently. Some members of the middle-class look down upon the
lower-class because they do not live up to the standards of
respectability in terms of behavior and life-style.

The working-class are frequently less distinguishable than
the group of non-professional middle-income individuals. But they
(the working class) are those who live barely above the poverty
level, and, because of a poor education (many did not finish high
school) and job discrimination, they are frequently unemployed.
They are the black working poor. The black working class is comprised largely of those who are blue-collar and unskilled but who are employable. They are generally not concerned about respectability because they are preoccupied with "making ends meet."

The lower-class are the black poor. They, along with the working-class, comprise the bulk of the black population. These are the blacks who tend to show up in welfare and crime statistics, because they have not been able to make use of what limited opportunities exist in the areas of education and jobs. They are the disadvantaged portion of the black population who, because of fear, and more frequently, misinformation, do not make use of what few governmental programs are designed to minimally help them. And, oddly, those programs are designed to maintain them in their low-income status rather than to help them move upward through the social strata. There exists little family stability; many households are large and overcrowded with only one head as provider.

Lower-class culture strongly manifests itself psychologically as self-hatred, distrust and feelings of self-inadequacy, culminating in acts of violence among its members. Individuals feel, justifiably, that they are unable to provide for themselves in their existing situation. The desire for a better life is constant, but there is, however, no means by which to fulfill this desire. The slum becomes a closed street-corner society, one of poverty, of conditioned incapacity to function in a bureaucratized and industrialized society and of powerlessness and stigmatization. When
this condition prevails in the immediate family structure, the coming generation often becomes trapped within the cycle.

Blacks generally tend not to definitely fit into social class groupings, as do whites. A working-class black may have a blue-collar job which earns a middle-income salary, but have a working-class life-style and perception on life, or vice versa. The same case might exist with a middle-class black; a middle income salary is earned, but the life-style is working class. In every class case, blacks in all social class groupings stress respectability, getting ahead and general betterment, even those who are caught in the web of the lower-class. Children of these class groups are expected to achieve and get ahead further than their parents. Because of the mixture of different class groups in black communities, life-styles of different class groups are distinguishable. Working-class and middle-class blacks may live in similar neighborhoods, sometimes side-by-side, without a difference in maintenance in homes. Being middle-class for a black is not an end in itself. Blacks seek to make middle-income salaries, for this increases their potential buying power; they are middle-class only in that they seek respectability and betterment for their families.

A major purpose of this paper is to examine through a case study the social class models defined in this section in a physical, community setting with a goal of determining how and if black social classes can exist within the same neighborhood given their diverse
goals and motivation discussed in this chapter.

My concern is with the way in which class norms and values sort themselves out or are sorted out within the spatial confines of the black urban ghetto.
CHAPTER II

DYNAMICS OF THE GHETTO AND A CHANGING COMMUNITY

This chapter contains two sections overviewing key issues about the ghetto and community. The first section is devoted to: immigration of blacks to the North from the South during the First and Second World Wars; the process of Northern ghettoization; the dynamics of a black housing market and housing opportunities for the black middle-class in the ghetto market. The second section is a theoretical discussion of the concept of community: the dynamics of a neighborhood community; the characteristics of a stable neighborhood community; social class conflict in changing neighborhoods and equilibrium in changing neighborhoods. The analyses in this chapter are designed to highlight theoretical concepts against which to analyze the case study developed in Chapters Three and Four in which the role of public policy in creating a viable urban black community is considered in detail.

The Urbanization of Blacks

Massive black immigration from the South to Northern cities began with the First World War. Until World War I, heavy concentrations of blacks were primarily in the South, particularly in the rural South. But by 1960 only 25 per cent of the black population remained in the rural South. Population in the South has steadily decreased during and after World War I. Data suggests an increasing percentage of blacks residing in the urban South, and these blacks
are migrants from the rural South. But the greater percentage of the immigration has been to Northern metropolitan areas into center cities. Massive moves from the South to the North were primarily precipitated in the 1940's by expectations of work in the commercial and industrial arms making centers, and an expectation of a range of good, sound housing. Between 1940 and 1960, the black population in the South increased by 1.4 million, but the increase in the North was by 4.6 million. In 1960, 6.5 million blacks were living in Southern cities and more than 7 million in Northern cities.

Black immigrants from areas of the rural and urban South to the North were initially the better educated, but their level of education did not sufficiently increase the overall educational level of blacks in the urban areas where they arrived. These educated immigrants who came into metropolitan areas tended to have higher levels of education, but the disproportionate number of poorly educated, indigenous blacks offset those in higher education categories. Along with this level of education, these blacks had the potential to earn middle-income salaries, but in many cases because of job discrimination, they were restricted from those kinds of occupations.

In 1910 there were no metropolitan areas which had black populations of over 100,000 but by 1960 there were 18 such metropolitan areas (Langendorf). These population increases were partly the result of immigration and partly the natural increase of the resident black population. Between 1910 and 1950, the black population increase in metropolitan areas was primarily attributable to
immigration from the South, but since 1950, the population increase has resulted from the natural increase of the resident population and first generation new, Southern immigrants. Blacks, once they moved to the North, were concentrated in the center cities of metropolitan areas.

Who Migrates

Blacks, like other ethnic groups in the population, are a mobile group. They have moved from the South to the North, and recently from the East to the West. Of the nine million blacks who were added to the population between 1910 and 1960 more than eight million were concentrated in the center cities of the nation's two hundred and twelve metropolitan areas (Langendorf). The center cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas accounted for nearly fifty per cent of the population growth, increasing their share of the black population from less than two per cent in 1910 to more than 25 per cent in 1960 of all the blacks in the United States (Langendorf). Some characteristics of black immigrants in 1960 are:

- those who are likely to move, move short distances
- the excess of births over deaths account for a larger proportion of the population increase than does net immigration
- in no large metropolitan areas is half the total number of blacks native (born) to the South
- less than half of the immigrants to the major metropolitan areas arrive from non-metropolitan areas
- the immigrant is frequently young, educated, and better qualified to take on a white-collar job than his former or present black counterpart (the
The net effect of immigration is to lower the socio-economic level of the environment which he leaves and raise it in the area which he arrives. The immigrant tends to live in the suburbs, where suburban opportunities exist; where these opportunities do not exist, he is likely to settle in established ghettos in metropolitan areas in center cities.

The Process of Ghettoization

Kenneth Clark states:

"Ghetto was the name for the Jewish quarter in sixteenth century Venice. Later, it came to mean any section of a city to which Jews were confined. America has contributed to the concept of ghetto the restriction of persons to a special area and the limiting of their freedom of choice on the basis of skin color. The dark ghetto's invisible wall has been erected by the white society, by those who have power, both to confine those who have no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness. The dark ghettos are social, political, educational and above all economic colonies. Their inhabitants are subject peoples, victims of greed, cruelty, insensitivity, guilt and fear of their masters." 8

Living areas began to have finely drawn boundary lines with the migration of large numbers of rural and urban Southern blacks to Northern metropolitan center city ghettos. Those blacks who first came to Northern cities lived in areas which formerly housed first generation white immigrant groups. In contrast to the assimilation pattern of white immigrant groups, the black has remained socially and culturally isolated from American society. His caste-like position is responsible for the restraints that have kept him separated from other groups. E. Franklin Frazier in The Negro in the United States characterizes blacks in American society as "a
nation within a nation," Robin Williams in *Strangers Next Door* contends "a world in the showdown" and James Sliver in *Mississippi: The Closed Society* as a "closed society."

The ghetto as a physical entity came alive only as the numbers of the new black immigrants increased. Indigenous black populations in Northern urban centers tended to be dispersed throughout the general community because they were a small group, but as they increased, restrictive residential boundaries became finely drawn. These boundaries became finely drawn because whites had and used power to restrict black moves (Weaver). As the black population became more concentrated, blacks living throughout the general community tended to gradually move to these new black residential centers. Dispersed black residential populations could no longer find areas to live except in the ghetto.

The black Northern ghetto was a phenomenon created as a result of immigration to the North which, in turn, caused a misconception by the majority white resident population who perceived the new black immigrants as being uneducated and lower-classed. Thus, the ghetto became automatically tinged with the assignment to lower-class status in the social system. Along with assigning the area to being lower-class, all who lived there were also regarded as lower-class, even though frequently immigrants had achieved middle-class status in the South through education, income and life-style. This assignment of lower-class status to the ghetto has alienated it from the larger society, white America, which is basically a
middle-class society. This status effects all black class groups, particularly the upper and the middle class. As a result of this status, the ghetto is a pathological place to live for blacks who earn high salaries. They seek to leave, but there exist few options for them because of their skin color.

The ghetto institution has tended to reduce the socio-economic opportunity of its residents. It effects the level of educational attainment, options for jobs with an increased income, and limits the number of housing choices. Because of frequent overcrowding, ghettos tend to be areas which breed disease and crime. As a social institution, however, the ghetto has manifested social entities of organized social life similar but in a subordinate caste position to the larger white society. At the matrix of the social institutions in the ghetto is the church; a meeting place not only for religious activities, but a place where organization and leadership come to bear on the community. Schools have played the role of expressing cultural and educational interests of the community. Libraries, hospitals and community organizations also add to the fabric of the ghetto.

Black capitalistic enterprise in the ghetto is marginal and smaller in relation to white businesses in the ghetto and outside this area. Black businesses purport to represent black interests in the community, but in fact, these businesses tend to be inferior to similar enterprises outside of the ghetto. Because of crime and the nature of small marginal businesses, patrons pay higher prices
for goods and services which are frequently inferior in quality. The owners of these businesses, though, feel ghetto residents should patronize them because of 'race pride' and that they are rendering a service to their race. In many cases, however, this does not hold true.

The ghetto has a particular cultural milieu which mixes Northern and Southern black influences together. A critical issue for this paper is the fact that the ghetto constitutes an involuntary class mixture of blacks: the uneducated next to the educated, and the poor next to the well-to-do. The ghetto is a place where social class groups are hemmed-in by institutional barriers which segregated whites from blacks. Some seek to escape, while some seek to change its physical body and still others, because of apathy, don't care. The ghetto has many different moods: there is movement, immigrating blacks moving in to find housing; there is distrust and fear of one black towards another; there is desire for escape by middle-income blacks who are living in an area which the dominant society - white America - designates lower-class status; there is hatred, visible by crimes of violence against family, friend, foe, outsider and self.

**Black Housing Dynamics**

The supply and condition of housing in the ghetto is linked to the metropolitan housing supply (Langendorf). The elasticity of the supply of housing for blacks is in large part dependent upon
options open to whites. Housing vacated by whites on fringe areas of the ghetto increases the supply of housing for blacks (Langendorf). This kind of activity is evident from 1940 through 1960 during heavy immigration from the South. For example, between 1940 and 1950 the white population in the central cities increased slightly; the black population increased substantially and because of the war there was little new housing to meet black consumer demand (Langendorf). Blacks tended to stay in centralized segregated 'black belts' under dense living conditions. Conversion of dwelling units increased the number of rooms available, and the level of overcrowding. During the period 1950-1960 substandard housing was reduced substantially in major metropolitan areas, however, where substandard housing was occupied by whites, blacks occupied a substantially higher number of units.

The supply and condition of housing in the ghetto is also linked to issues of black housing dynamics. They are institutional barriers which restrict blacks to the center cities of metropolitan areas, interacting and frequently conflicting black class groups' values in the ghetto community, and the internal dynamics of the ghetto housing market itself.

Ghetto housing conditions have been maintained by barriers which restrict blacks to a particular area of a city. Historically, these barriers have been (1) community, neighborhood and individual opposition to 'colored' neighbors; (2) race restrictive housing covenants; (3) arguments, practices, and code of ethics among real
estate boards and operators; (4) FHA acceptance and perpetuation of real estate discriminatory practices; (5) neglect of the black housing market by private builders and financial institutions; (6) local government's fear that adequate or more housing would encourage black immigration; (7) local political action to restrict blacks to particular given areas; (8) development of exclusive one-class neighborhoods for blacks.10

The main deterrents to adequate housing within the ghetto has been the lack of available land space, and the commitment of financial institutions to finance new small and large scale developments. Financial institutions discourage blacks from moving out of the ghetto housing market by not making loans available for houses in white neighborhoods. These institutions also discourage mortgages for large scale housing developments for blacks in white neighborhoods.11 Because blacks have, in a great degree, lower incomes than whites, financial institutions tend not to finance new construction, but paradoxically, these same institutions will finance white investors who buy property in the ghetto for speculation.

The justification for restricting blacks into the ghettoes of metropolitan centers can be viewed as an economic function to maintain housing values in other areas around the center city. The general belief held by real estate brokers and white residents is that blacks will decrease the value of property in a neighborhood. This belief produces a self-fulfilling price behavior. However, in truth, according to Robert Weaver:
"The effect of (black) occupancy upon property values varies from one section of the city to another and from one time to another. Within a given area, the initial result of the arrival of a new (black) people may be imperceptible or it may lead to panic among white occupants; the arrival of a few (blacks) may be the signal for a great decline in selling prices or it may lead to an appreciable increase. Much depends upon the state of the housing market and the manner in which (blacks) enter an area, prices may fall with large scale Negro introduction only to recover again as the transition is completed. Out of all these possibilities, a separate and obviously incomplete theory of the relationship between racial occupancy and property values could be formulated. No such theory would be sound. There is no universal effect of (black) occupancy upon values."12

According to Dr. Weaver's theory the manner in which blacks affect property values in particular areas is dependent upon: (1) black income distribution, (2) business conditions at the time of entry into the area, (3) long run trends of value in the area before entry, (4) how black entry into an area occurs. But the perception held by whites and financial institutions, that blacks 'lower' property values is enough to encourage them to maintain the ghetto housing market for all blacks of any income. Perceptions held by these groups become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In the ghetto housing stock there is a frequent occurrence of interaction and conflict between black class groups. Upper, middle, working and lower-class groups live in close proximity of each other because of segregation. Where stable middle-income residential districts exist conflict is somewhat reduced; but such situations are few. As pointed out in Chapter One, middle-income blacks, as a
general rule, tend to be more economically stable than other black class groups. Adopting the normative patterns of the dominant society, middle-income blacks tend to integrate themselves into the professional and occupational life of their community -- the ghetto -- and the larger community -- the city -- but working and lower-class blacks tend not to take interest in these area.

This case of stability versus relative instability, and difference in values between the middle-class black and the working and lower-class black creates an abrasive situation in the ghetto. There is difference in value, preference, expectation and outlook on community. These differences help to facilitate the desire of the middle-class to escape from the ghetto. But there is a dilemma for the middle-class; there have historically been few if any options open to them except the ghetto market.

Thus, because of the particular characteristics of the black housing market, the black ghetto has become a place of housing serving several classes: the 'gilded ghetto' and lower-class districts.

At present, middle-class blacks are a growing income group: incomes are continuing to rise commensurate to whites, occupations are diverse, life-styles and status needs are changing and housing is desired which meets their class group expectations. Family residential requirements are continuing to change. Housing once was desired in the 'gilded ghetto' but now along fringe areas and outside the ghetto. Recent fair housing policies have changed
racial restrictive covenants and altered discriminatory real estate practices, but subtle, informal discriminatory practices by individual brokers, have continued to reduce the ability of the black middle-class to buy housing outside the ghetto. The black middle-class in the ghetto are diverse: some who are older are financially trapped in an area tinged with lower-class status; some are content to stay because housing size, quality and status needs are met; and still others who are younger, move to the fringe areas where their life-style and status needs can be achieved.

The case study which follows will highlight the difference of values and life styles of black families compacted into a central city neighborhood, and the role of public policy in attempting to stabilize that ghetto for the black middle class. The problem of class mixture as a function of housing dynamics and class will be the focus of this analysis.

The Dynamics of Community

Jane Jacobs points out in The Life and Death of Great American Cities that there are three basic types of communities within a city: the street area on which people live, the district neighborhood with which people identify and which is big enough to get what its people need from City Hall, and the metropolis itself. Another author, James V. Cunningham, on community, relates it as a place where "... lines of people and institutions and interwoven...human needs are served and links to the metropolis provided." If there
is a section of a city where people live without communication, without organization, with few shops, churches, gas stations and schools, with each household an isolated unit from which its members range out into the metropolis with little knowledge or care about what goes on in the surrounding streets...such a section (of the city) according to Mr. Cunningham is not a neighborhood community but a mere residential section.\textsuperscript{15}

An ideal stable neighborhood community would have a majority of the following components:\textsuperscript{16}

1. Adequate facilities and services to meet certain immediate needs - attractive well maintained housing selling and renting at fair market prices.

Convenient super markets, laundromats, bars, parks and playgrounds designed and run to serve the particular needs of the local people.

Vital church organizations of local people active in the life of the neighborhood.

Excellent schools which are able to educate and draw out the talents of neighborhood children.

Adequate well run public services; police and fire protection, water sewages, garbage collection, street sweeping and lighting, all of which would contribute to order and cleanliness.

2. Forces contributing to a sense of community - an interesting community paper which would provide communication on community issues.

Neighborhood political and civic organizations which could serve as a political
vehicle for getting resources for the community from City Hall, the State or Federal government.

Responsible families who will promote the resources in the community, and have local pride and identity.

3. Links to the metropolis - accessibility by street, expressways and public transportation to other parts of the metropolis.

Working relationships between neighborhood leaders and government and metropolitan resources.

A perspective and outlook toward the whole metropolis by neighborhood leaders.

4. A mixture and integration of all kinds of people from the metropolis - acceptance of new neighbors on their merits.

An awareness of different ethnic groups and class groups and the diversity they can provide in a community.

Some communities, however, are caught in the enveloping gray zones of blight with a chosen few starting down the long urban renewal road toward ordered rearrangement, much like the case we will be discussing in detail, Washington Park. But a viable community must be able to provide and support its own commercial enterprises, swing political weight with City Hall and able to support and actively get involved with its community organizations. Such a model community would have the ability to arrest problems such as blight, disinvestment in property by absentee landlords and public disinvestment in streets, sewage, lighting, garbage collection and police protection,
factors which contribute to stability and unstability in a community.

Changing Neighborhoods

Class and income group turnover is not a new phenomenon in black neighborhoods. What is today a 'gilded ghetto' middle income section of a black neighborhood today can transform, with rapid turnover, into a lower-class slum. One such case is the Woodlawn section of Chicago, Illinois. This is also true in other Northern ghetto areas. There is cyclical turnover in black neighborhoods because of life style differences and the existence of new housing opportunities on the fringe and outside the ghetto. When new housing options open, the middle-class tend to be the first class group economically able to take advantage of these opportunities. They move to maintain their middle-class life style. With the move of the middle-class, the 'gilded ghetto' shifts to this new area. The middle-class are motivated to move because not only is the ghetto assigned lower-class status by the dominant society, but also it exhibits characteristics of working and lower-class life styles and values toward community.

Changing neighborhoods frequently suffer from: an inadequate maintenance of a housing market for both low and moderate income and middle income housing with decent well-kept houses; the non-existence of a community based organization which has linkage with City Hall, the State and the Federal government that has the goals of aggregating resources which would continue the maintenance of
private and public services above slum standards; a personal commitment and investment of the private and public sector in the maintenance of property at both standard and at market prices which residents are able to pay.

Kenneth Clarke aptly wrote that:

"Housing is no abstract social and political problem, but an extension of a man's personality. If the Negro has to identify with a rat infested tenement, his sense of personal inadequacy and inferiority, already aggravated by job discrimination and other forms of humiliation is reinforced by the physical reality around him... a house is a concrete symbol of what the person is worth."18

The black working and lower class in changing neighborhoods live in the last cycle of the life of a neighborhood. Housing tends to be old, dilapidated and by this time overcrowded. Recent public policies have had a subsidized housing market alternative to old housing -- large scale injections of government funds filtering directly to profitable private interests in the construction industry -- with old housing replaced with cheaply constructed new housing. And the black working and lower class have traditionally received the residue of what was left behind by the black middle class in housing, along with the government subsidized housing. New, filtered-down housing for the working and lower class, in a short time, tends to character slum housing.

Equilibrium in a Changing Community

Equilibrium is the return to of a balanced mixture of incomes, classes, life styles and housing types to a neighborhood succumbing
forces of community homogenity. Urban renewal is the mechanism which brings about equilibrium. Within an equilibrium community there are sectors which must be for the middle-class, working-class and lower-class. These sectors are, however, not necessarily exclusive to only one particular income group. There is an equal immigration and out-migration of any one class group at any given time, contributing toward stability; at no point and time is there an unequal distribution of income groups. The neighborhood community is neither all middle-class nor all lower-class. Equilibrium in changing neighborhoods is difficult to attain because they tend to be homogenous in class and life style; and housing is in its last cycle of life. And, more importantly, the middle-class have moved in search of a new neighborhood which meets their class life style and status needs.

Equilibrium in changing communities is comparable to the condition of the 'tipping point' in changing neighborhoods. With equilibrium there is the existence of a balanced class system which maintains itself, with the condition of the 'tipping point' there is the existence of a balanced racial mixture. Crucial to both is a stable balance. Critical to achieving equilibrium is a mechanism, public intervention - usually urban renewal, which would provide a stable balance of class groups. In black-white changing neighborhoods the mechanism of balance found may not be a public tool but a formal organization involving community effort.

In a changing community equilibrium can be attained through
community effort and public intervention involving all of the class
groups within it. Equilibrium is difficult to achieve because in
frequent instances the middle-class have abandoned the community for
other neighborhoods where their life-styles are homogenous. The
crucial point of intervention in changing communities is before a
neighborhood has changed to one social class group, usually the
lower class. Without social class group heterogeneity, there is no
chance for community survival.

This chapter shed light on how a black community develops
into a ghetto, the mechanics of its black housing market and the
dynamics of community change. We will now see if these theoretical
applications hold true in the case of Washington Park in Chapters Three and
Four. Washington Park is a black changing neighborhood where public
resources were used to bring about equilibrium. These resources
were used to try to hold a middle class community. Equilibrium in
the community was viewed as a situation where the middle-class
community would be maintained. Renewal funds were used to rehabili-
tate the housing in middle-class sections of Washington Park, Upper
Roxbury making the area attractive to middle class life styles.
CHAPTER III
HISTORY, RENEWAL AND CLASS IN WASHINGTON PARK

Federal urban renewal has been the instrument used to solve the physical problems of blight, decadence and deterioriated housing in slum central city neighborhoods. In Washington Park, urban renewal was to not only create physical renewal in the working and lower-class district, but to stabilize a housing market for the middle-class. In this section, the case study will highlight the difference of life styles and outlooks in a central city neighborhood of diverse class values and the role of public policy in attempting to maintain and preserve the ghetto as a market place attractive to the different class groups. Renewal in Washington Park was to deal with the issues of race, conflicting class values and community in the context of an urban black ghetto maintaining its differing class groups.

The following is an analysis of what happened as a result of public intervention—urban renewal—in a changing neighborhood, in Roxbury, Massachusetts. The section is Washington Park, a 502 acre residential district dissecting Middle and Upper Roxbury (see Figure 1). The kind of public intervention was clearance, new construction and rehabilitation using federal urban renewal monies. Public intervention, for the purposes of this discussion, was used to achieve equilibrium: the maintenance of a balanced class system in Washington Park. There is heterogeneity among social class groups.
and they are in proximity to each other. Life styles and aspirations are diverse here providing for conflict and hostility. There is a mixture of housing types: single and two family, three deckers and apartments in each of the two sections of Washington Park. In this paper I will record the aspirations and expectations the black middle-class had for renewal in Washington Park and their immediate neighborhood, Upper Roxbury. The black middle-class of Washington Park—preceding and after renewal—are the leaders and decision-makers of Upper Roxbury. They encouraged Mayor Collins and the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) to take Washington Park on as a city renewal project. Their goals were to keep the middle-class in Washington Park and for physical change clearance and rebuilding in Middle Roxbury. As this story unfolds, we will see what has happened to the black class groups in Washington Park and the efforts of public intervention to keep them there.

The theory and concepts in Chapters I and II will be used in this chapter as an explanation for the dynamics of class and ghettoization in Washington Park, with the problem of class mixture as a function of the complex market situation the focus of the analysis.

**History of Class in Roxbury and Washington Park**

One cannot discuss Washington Park without referring to Roxbury. Roxbury is an area of Boston where the natural terrain is rocky and hilly; in early records Roxbury was found to be
Roxbury or borough. 1 Roxbury, until 1868, was a separate village to the city of Boston, and was predominated by farms and country estates of the upper-class of Boston. During the period 1870 to 1900 Roxbury remained in the hands of the Irish middle-class. But in the twentieth century the tide of fashion moved from Roxbury to Dorchester. The Roxbury highlands became first the home of emergent middle-class Jews in the 1920's and, subsequently, of emergent middle-class Negroes in the 1940's. 2

Three somewhat distinct socio-economic districts seemed to have evolved in Roxbury in the twentieth century: Lower Roxbury (that area which lies between the South End and Dudley Street) had a majority of the unemployed and the elderly; Middle Roxbury (which lies between Dudley and Townsend Streets) had a majority of the semi-skilled and unskilled and Upper Roxbury (the area between Townsend Street and Franklin Park) had the well-to-do (see Figure 2). 3 Questions have been posed as to the validity of the separation of income groups in the districts of Roxbury. There have been instances, however, where particular sections have a mixture of income groups; however fine the mixture it is for certain that Upper Roxbury is the residence of the middle-class and the housing is representative of their life-style.

Washington Park as a physical residential entity with particular neighborhood community characteristics never existed in Roxbury. Washington Park is actually a large park in Roxbury
which borders between Middle and Upper Roxbury. Upper Roxbury, before and even with the migration of blacks, was referred to as the "hill," and the hill meant high in price and status. This reputation was a historical pattern which began first with the middle-class Irish in the 1880's and 1890's and later with middle-class Jews in the 1920's. BRA planners created Washington Park as a physical entity for the purposes of defining an urban renewal area. The aim was to create a renewal project which would have 10 per cent clearance with a major portion of the renewal rehabilitation. Without the inclusion of Upper Roxbury, the renewal project would have caused about 30 per cent clearance in Middle Roxbury, a figure unpalatable to City Hall. In spite of Washington Park having two communities, Middle and Upper Roxbury, where two class distinct sections having distinctly different social class group values—the black working-class and lower-class in Middle Roxbury and the black middle-class in Upper Roxbury—the planners pursued a course of renewal for the community. Conflict would arise later during the renewal process because of the difference in the social class, lifestyle and expectation.

Black Migration to Washington Park in the 1940's

Two types of black migration phenomenon took place in Washington Park during the 1940's. There was the immigration of rural and urban Southern blacks to the North, and the migratory neighborhood moves of native black Bostonians. There was also the
out-migration of the last remaining Irish and Jewish middle-class.

Immigration to the North, in the broader scope, was primarily percipitated by expectations of work in commercial and industrial centers and an expectation of a range of good sound housing. Immigration to Washington Park, by Southern blacks, tended to be by those who were skilled, educated and were middle-class. Boston attracted the skilled worker into the trades and manufacturing enterprises. The educated came to escape the Jim Crowism and job discrimination found in the South.

Migration of native Bostonians into Washington Park was led by blacks of higher incomes. During the 1880's to the First World War, the center of Black Boston was in the West End, a section on the backside of Beacon Hill. But it was by no means uncommon to find two or three Negro families or even a solitary one entirely surrounded by white neighbors in other Boston neighborhoods. Migration from the West End, down along the arteries of Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street to the South End and later to Washington Park, was percipitated by the desire to move from neighborhoods which became less attractive to the middle-class. With each departure from an area, first from West End, second, the South End and, finally, Washington Park, the upper and middle-class accelerated the exit of their class group and other socio-economically able class groups. This movement was made primarily to escape from the lower-classes. The Charles Street Church, the oldest black church in
Boston, followed the migratory move of its black congregation from the West End to Upper Roxbury in 1939. The first blacks in Washington Park moved to Upper Roxbury. These people were of high income, well educated and middle-class. At one time Upper Roxbury had more black brains and money than any other neighborhood in metropolitan Boston. And because of the prestige of the area, middle-income and working-class blacks with middle-class life styles continued to move into Washington Park even until the end of the 1950's. Upper Roxbury was called the hill which referred to Sugar Hill in Harlem, and it was there that 'tiny cells' of streets became black upper and middle-class strongholds during the 1940's and 1950's.

Since Washington Park, as a renewal project area was partly in Middle and partly in Upper Roxbury, there was a socio-economic and class life style mixture of working, middle and upper class blacks. Class, life styles, status, and price of housing were different in Middle and Upper Roxbury. Housing in Middle Roxbury was by-in-large working men's homes while, on the other hand, Upper Roxbury was the home of the middle-class.

Pre-renewal: A Decade of Transition 1950-1960

Black migration increased in Roxbury in the 1950's and 1960's. In Roxbury-North Dorchester in 1950, the white population was 82.5 per cent and the black was 17.5; in 1960 the white population was 49.6 and the black was 50.4. In Washington Park in the 1950's the
white population was 68.3 per cent and the black was 31.7 per cent; during the decade of the 1960's a great change took place—the white population was 28.8 per cent and the black was 71.2 per cent. Roxbury, as a physical ghetto, took form as the number of black immigrants increased. Boundaries were finely drawn by external forces using institutional barriers to restrict blacks to this physical area within the city. White society has traditionally attributed lower-class status to the ghetto, and Roxbury found itself no different. Since there was a mix of housing types commensurate to socio-economic groups in Middle and Upper Roxbury, conflicting lifestyles were in proximity. Demand for housing increased more than supply with increased migration; there was overcrowding and conversion of some units to increase the supply of badly needed housing.\textsuperscript{10}

With each middle-income home vacated by Jews during the decade of transition in Upper Roxbury, middle income blacks tended to move in. As other ethnic whites vacated homes in Middle Roxbury, blacks of working class first and later lower class moved in. In Middle Roxbury there was a crowding and deteriorating housing phenomenon which took place in the lower and working class section of the black housing market.

Along with changes within the housing market there were changes in commercial enterprises which served the community. Many of these enterprises that lined Seaver, Warren and Blue Hill Avenues and were owned by Jewish merchants. As the Jewish population moved
out their enterprises followed them. In a majority of cases, the new residents of Washington Park, blacks, did not fill-in the void of commercial enterprises. Stores were vacated with no hope of new prospects.

Because of neglect and abandonment by some former, new tenants, and property owners, commercial and residential areas of Washington Park in the 1950's begin to show signs of blight. Blight first took form in Lower Roxbury in the deteriorated tenements, moved then to Middle Roxbury in the apartments, three deckers and two family homes, with the most abrasive section in Washington Park around the Dudley Station area and along Bower Street. Allowing blight to fester in sections of Middle Roxbury would run the risk of it spreading to Upper Roxbury. It was the middle-class of Upper Roxbury, a group of known community leaders, who started considering proposals for the area bounded by Dudley, Townsend, Washington and Warren Streets with the purpose of proposing an urban renewal project that would arrest physical blight and ultimately save Upper Roxbury from its encroaching movement (see Figure 3). To arrest blight in Middle Roxbury would save Upper Roxbury, and these community leaders had a 'stake' in Upper Roxbury because they lived there.

The Dominant Force in Washington Park

There were many forces at work in Washington Park during the crucial period of transition. These forces were migration, blight, overcrowding, differing class groups with conflicting life styles,
and the desire for neighborhood renewal by a select group of concerned residents.

Freedom House, a community institution in Upper Roxbury, emerged as the dominant force which would mobilize the community -- first Upper Roxbury then Middle Roxbury -- around the need for arresting blight in Washington Park. Freedom House is really the product of the work of Otto and Murial Snowden, two social workers who organized and founded this institution in 1949. The purpose of Freedom House is to identify and solve social problems which affect Roxbury. Freedom House is a vital organization in Roxbury which serves as an umbrella for many smaller groups and a political power based with contacts in City Hall, the State House and the U. S. Congress. And lastly, it was Freedom House who saw the need for renewal in Washington Park.

Freedom House is an institution of Roxbury, and so is the Roxbury Community Council. There has been a constant jockeying for political control of all of Roxbury between the two organizations. Both feel they can respond to the needs of Upper Roxbury. But it is Freedom House that has a political base. Freedom House won the confidence of the city and, as we will see later, handled the citizen participation component of the renewal program in Roxbury. Their agenda for planning renewal in Washington Park would be involving all class sectors of the community in the planning process. There would be citizen participation, citizens of Upper Roxbury and Middle Roxbury.
Urban renewal for Washington Park was to stop the movement of blight. In May of 1961, community leaders of Roxbury met with Freedom House and the Boston Redevelopment Authority at Freedom House to consider renewal plans for the Seaver-Dudley-Townsend Urban Renewal Project. This area, 186 acres, was the Northern tip of Roxbury, encompassing Middle Roxbury. This section was the embryo in the Washington Park Urban Renewal Project. The first proposed project, Seaver-Townsend-Dudley Urban Renewal Project, was construed by the BRA as a beginning of a broader comprehensive plan to renew the entire 1,000 acre tract of Roxbury (see Figure 4). The planning rationale for the two projects' areas, the smaller included within the larger, was simply the fact of availability of federal funds. At the time of announcement of the Dudley-Seaver-Townsend Urban Renewal Project, federal funding was assured. The funding of the larger 'grand plan' was another nebulous matter.13

The BRA chose the Seaver-Townsend-Dudley Urban Renewal Project as a part of a 'roll back the blight' campaign, and this section of Middle Roxbury that was the logical place to begin.14 The middle-class of Upper Roxbury were not at all displeased with the proposal of renewal in Middle Roxbury, for renewal could preserve Upper Roxbury. From that point on, the middle-class of Upper Roxbury remained totally committed to the urban renewal process. With the boundaries of the Seaver-Townsend Project approved in April 1959, and federal monies in the coffers with the City of Boston, the BRA and Freedom House began to consider physical
TARGET NEIGHBORHOODS
ROXBURY - NORTH
DORCHESTER

Figure 4
and social renewal proposals for the area.

When Ed Logue came to Boston as development administrator, he found according to Langley Keyes "... an already approved rehabilitation project in the middle of Roxbury, a local community council that had been able to muster 1,000 Roxbury residents for a public hearing and federally survey and planning funds waiting in the BRA coffers." Logue came with the renewal objectives for ten general neighborhood renewal projects of which one would be Roxbury, and that, starting with one small project within the larger scheme, would insure a total job of renewal. With a great deal of power jockeying between the Roxbury Community Council and Freedom House, Freedom House was given all of the community organization responsibility in the renewal process. Logue realized who held the reigns of power in Roxbury and made a well-calculated political decision of giving responsibility to Freedom House. He wanted to insure the success of the community component of the renewal program and with Freedom House performing the job this would be possible. Freedom House had long-standing relationships with enumerable organizations in Middle Roxbury and had developed with Logue a good working relationship.

On March 13, 1962, Logue made a statement of extending urban renewal boundaries from Seaver-Townsend to include all of Upper Roxbury. Freedom House welcomed and supported this extension because they had fought to have Upper Roxbury included in the renewal
process. According to Keyes on the Roxbury Community Council, "The Negro elite, many of whom during the 1950's had spearheaded the drive for a Roxbury renewal program under the Roxbury Community Council auspices, were far from displeased." The middle-class would now take on the reigns of leadership in the Washington Park Urban Renewal Project, with the inclusion of Upper Roxbury. Project extension plans were formally announced in July, and a steering committee of Middle and Upper Roxbury residents were formed in October which would renew plans unveiled by the BRA for the Washington Park Renewal Project.

Upper Roxbury, according to a survey and planning study would have little if any demolition performed by the BRA as cited in an early estimate. About 74 per cent of the units were in sound condition with only 7 per cent substandard. But in Middle Roxbury, 78 per cent of the units would either be demolished or in need of major repair.

After renewal plans were announced, some of the middle-class in Upper Roxbury decided to move. They perceived renewal to mean the in-migration of low-income neighbors and massive uncontrolled clearance. Otto Snowden stemmed their fears in block meetings by indicating that this would not be the case. A team of researchers from Brandeis University studied the housing conditions of middle-income blacks in Washington Park after renewal plans were unveiled to find if any were anticipating a move. The results of their
data indicated the housing of the middle-class in Upper Roxbury was much better than any other class group in the Washington Park renewal Project area and better than housing of middle-class blacks who lived in areas contingent to Washington Park. They tended to live in single, two family homes and spacious apartments. Those who lived in single or two family homes owned them by and large. The apartment dwellers were renters. The study concluded that the middle-class received their 'dollars' worth in housing because comparable housing in size and condition outside of Washington Park cost twice as much. Those who desired to move were young college educated couples with young children who found the quality of public school education unsatisfactory. This group tended to be renters, who were dissatisfied with the amount of rent paid in relation to the services provided by the landlord. Their general complaints about the community centered around neighbors who did not share their same life styles, insufficient privacy, and the lack of good quality shopping facilities.

But most importantly, the Watts Study found that those middle-class who intended to remain in Washington Park were older, had no grade-school age children, owned their homes, lived on the 'better blocks,' and because of their homeownership, felt they would remain in the community. These middle-class had long, close personal friends, their church and other social clubs which were the locus of their personal lives. The middle-class who stayed
felt they could achieve their life-style, lived in a quality home and attained their status needs.

Renewal in Washington Park encouraged the exit of some blacks of the middle-class. Some would seek housing in the suburbs now receptive to them as a result of Fair Housing legislation. Otto Snowden urged the middle-class, though, to stay and actively participate in the renewal process. While on the one hand, the great majority stayed with high expectations for a renaissance; on the other, renewal gave the push that the slim minority needed to move out of Washington Park.

After Renewal in Washington Park

The greatest amount of renewal occurred in the original 186 acre section of the Washington Park Urban Renewal Project. Major clearance was along Washington Street, Bower Street and Warren Street where low-rent government subsidized apartments, a shopping center and a recreational complex were built. The recreation complex on Warren Street has the Boys Club, a YMCA and, further down, a police station and court house across from the Dudley Station MBTA. In Upper Roxbury approximately 6,500 units were rehabilitated. Together there were physical improvements: new residential and recreational structures and rehabilitation of existing structures. As a closed project, it is only eighty per cent completed. Only one of the three schools was built and educational facilities are badly needed. Scattered recreational parks in

50
neighborhoods remain undeveloped and are now havens for abandoned cars, rubbish and crime.

Once services were provided; city, deliveries from department stores, the post office and laundry, but now these services have been either entirely discontinued or deliveries and pick-up are only made. Delivery men, fearing robbery, no longer carry money on their person. According to a privately funded research report on the federally assisted projects in Boston, fire insurances have been cancelled in Washington Park. Street crime has increased to the point that one resident felt her freedom was severely restricted, especially at night.

Urban renewal did not cure these social ills. Physical changes have greatly effected the middle-class. First, there is the intrusion of strangers with lower-class life-styles. In many cases these families are female-headed households on public welfare. Secondly, according to a middle-class resident, the city has abandoned Upper Roxbury; city services are minimally provided. And thirdly, the sense of security once had in the neighborhood is no longer there.

The middle-class had expected renewal to rehabilitate their immediate neighborhood and arrest blight and construct housing in Middle Roxbury. They thought that the Washington Park they once knew would again come to life. But the renaissance did not come. Renewal was, for the middle-class, not only to create physical change but social change. They thought that with their participation in the process with the planners, mapping their new community would bring
about a change -- really a change to what Washington Park used-to-be -- but their hopes never became a reality. Those who remain are trapped by the financial investment in their home.

The Snowdens feel the community has been abandoned by the city. The renewal process, incomplete. Two schools planned have not been built. Twelve small play lots have not been completed. There are forty vacant lots for infill housing are now filled with waist-high weeds, garbage and abandoned cars. Sixteen vacant buildings are scattered throughout the area with no plans for reuse. Direct political mileage with City Hall is not with Mayor Kevin White. Logue, another political contact, is no longer development administrator. And lastly, with the black revolution, even the national emphasis has shifted from renewing black communities.

The middle-class are reluctant to stay; they perceive the community having no future of progress. With the Model Neighborhood area surrounding Washington Park, encroaching blight, deterioration and abandonment of public and private buildings continues like a malignant disease, proceeding virtually unchecked. According to the perception of the middle-class, renewal served to accelerate the concentration of low-income black families in Washington Park, crowding people and social problems. The area has achieved lower-class status physically and socially, and with all the social crises characteristics, crises physical renewal could not hope to solve. However, the demographic evidence in Chapter IV will indicate that
there has not been a concentration of low-income families.

The middle-class sought other areas of the city to achieve their middle-class life-style and to invest in a stable community. Another study\(^3\)\(^2\) using the Brandeis research team data found in 1968 that 75 per cent of the original group of 212 middle-income families had moved out of Washington Park, but 60 per cent remained within the confines of the ghetto of Boston. This illustrates a move of the 'gilded ghetto' from Upper Roxbury to Mattapan. The other 15 per cent moved to the suburbs.

The middle-class who moved have not found a 'happy haven' in their new neighborhoods. Crime and poor city services transcend ghetto boundaries. They have found that they have paid more housing dollars to suffer under the same social pressures.

The highlights of the Speigel data found:

1) more than 60 per cent of those not living in the ghetto were satisfied with their new neighborhood as compared to 18 per cent of those who remain in the ghetto,

2) only 28 per cent of the non-ghetto group were dissatisfied with schools as compared to 75 per cent of the ghetto population,

3) only 8 per cent of the non-ghetto group were dissatisfied with street noises as compared to 39 per cent of the ghetto group,

4) only 10 per cent of the non-ghetto group were dissatisfied with the kind of people around their neighborhood as compared to 29 per cent of the ghetto population,

5) only 2 per cent of individuals changed
their feeling toward their non-ghetto community, while 98 per cent of the ghetto group changed their feeling from high to low,

6) non-ghetto families reported street cleaning, snow removal and police protection greatly improved more often than ghetto families,

7) ghetto residents received improved garbage collection over the non-ghetto group by 90 per cent to 75 per cent,

8) in terms of all levels of city services the non-ghetto group reported improvements at 53 per cent as compared to 18 per cent of the ghetto group.

9) of the individuals who changed their service improvement scores from high to low, only 13 per cent were in the non-ghetto group while the ghetto group accounted for the difference of 87 per cent.

In summary, blacks of Washington Park are a mixture of class groups: lower, working, middle and upper class. Each class group has their own life style, and their own turf in Washington Park. The upper and middle class are the respectable, educated and middle income who live in Upper Roxbury. The working and lower class have a struggle in Middle Roxbury. The life style and social contact between the upper and middle class and the working and lower class are completely different; middle-class life styles predominate among the middle-income and lower class life styles among the low income. Because of dissimilar class life styles, there was conflict. And renewal, while a physical change mechanism can not resolve social class differences.
The upper and middle class of Washington Park are the educationally and socially distinguished of black Boston: the doctors, lawyers, professors, elected representatives and old families of Boston. They were the first families of Washington Park. Because of the little interaction between these differing class groups, when plans for renewal were unveiled class conflict developed. Renewal integrated class group participation and expectation. Because of the difference of life-style and expectation for renewal, social renewal ends were not achieved.

My concern in Chapter III was to analyze the role of urban renewal in achieving equilibrium, a balanced system of social classes in Washington Park. According to recorded perceptions of middle-class residents, there exists an imbalance of lower-income people and lower-class life styles. They attribute this phenomenon to urban renewal. In Chapter IV, demographic evidence between 1960 and 1970 using the indicators of population, income, education and occupation will demonstrate whether in fact urban renewal achieved equilibrium in Washington Park.
CHAPTER IV

WASHINGTON PARK: A CONTINUING ZONE OF TRANSITION

This section examines the social changes in Washington Park between the period 1960 and 1970, using the social indicators of population, income, education and occupation. Comparisons are made between the City of Boston, Roxbury-North Dorchester and two separate census tracts which encompass Upper Roxbury. These comparisons are used to determine if there are significant differences between Washington Park, the City of Boston and Roxbury-North Dorchester. The basis for analyzing the changes in Washington Park is to determine whether equilibrium was achieved through urban renewal. The following questions will be answered through this analysis: Did income, education or occupation increase or decrease in Washington Park commensurate to the City of Boston and Roxbury-North Dorchester? What evidence is there that equilibrium exists among class groups? Is Washington Park an equilibrium community?

Patterns of Change: Washington Park

Changes in the social indicators were in a large part due to urban renewal which in turn reduced density and shifted population. The Washington Park Urban Renewal Project area was a planning district of 502 acres, where in 1950 the population was 32,762 with 65 persons per acre, in 1960, 26,207 with 52 persons per acre and in 1970, 20,081 with 40 persons per acre. In comparing the year 1950 to 1970 there was a drastic reduction of density, a total
reduction of 25 persons per acre. Reduction of density was a goal of urban renewal.

Let us examine population changes during the period 1950 to 1970. The diagram below serves to illustrate racial population changes in Washington Park (W.P.), Roxbury-North Dorchester (R.N.) and the City of Boston (C).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.P.</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.N.</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**
- Ind. - Indian
- N-R - Not recorded

Rapid racial change from white to black took place in Washington Park during the pre renewal decade of transition between 1950 and 1960. This change can be attributed to the natural increase of the indigenous resident population in Washington Park, the movement of Boston's indigenous black population and Southern immigration. By 1970, Washington Park had a black population of 91 per cent indicating the formation of a center city black ghetto.

For the purposes of analyzing the social indicators income, education and occupation, they will be referred in class terms.

In family income between 1960 and 1970 the income of the lower-class was up to $4,000, the working-class $4,000 to $10,000, and the middle-class income was $10,000 and over. In Washington
Park, families earning lower-class and working-class incomes have decreased, families earning middle-class incomes have increased. This evidence indicates that there were less lower-class and working-class families in Washington Park in 1970 than in 1960. It further indicates that there were more middle-income earning families in 1970 than in 1960.

An assumption from this evidence is that urban renewal served to decrease the number of lower-class and working-class families, and accelerated the concentration of middle-income earning families. This data suggests that urban renewal was not a mechanism for equilibrium; there exists an imbalance of social classes in Washington Park.

In education in 1970, Washington Park had more high school graduates and more attending college, but less receiving their Bachelor degree and attending graduate school. This data indicate that residents are better educated but less are finishing college.

In occupation for 1970, there were increases in the number of individuals in professional, technical and managerial, clerical and sales, craftsmen and in private household and service worker categories. This indicates that there were more individuals holding higher caliber jobs and receiving higher salaries.

In 1970, Washington Park had a racial composition of 91 percent black who were high school graduates and attending college and were holding jobs as professionals, clerks, salesmen and craftsmen. The number of middle-income families had increased while the number
of lower-class and working-class had decreased. Evidence suggests that urban renewal did not significantly influence equilibrium in Washington Park; meaning renewal did not bring in a significant number of lower and working-class families to balance the higher number of middle-class families.

Patterns of Change: Comparison between Washington Park, Roxbury-North Dorchester and City of Boston.

Washington Park held its own in terms of income, education and jobs in comparison to City totals and the Roxbury-North Dorchester area. Lower-class family incomes in the City and Washington Park decreased, meaning those with income up to $4,000. Working-class family income, $4,000-$10,000, decreased in both the City and Washington Park. Middle-class family income, incomes $10,000 and over, in Washington Park and the City increased. But the most significant increase of middle-class families was in an area contingent to Washington Park, the Roxbury-North Dorchester area. There, the middle-class family income increased from six per cent in 1960 to nineteen per cent in 1970. This suggests that Washington Park may have lost middle-class families to this area.

In education during 1970, in each category from grade school to three years of college, Washington Park increased comparable to the City. There were more individuals who had finished high school and a significant number attending college. There was, however, a two per cent decrease in 1970 of individuals completing college in
Washington Park.

In the area of jobs, Washington Park had an increase in the number of professionals and managers, but a more significant increase was evident in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area. Clerical and sales occupations increased, higher than the Roxbury-North Dorchester area at 9.2 per cent as compared with 4.2 per cent. Craftsmen increased in Washington Park with a decrease in both the City and Roxbury-North Dorchester. Operatives decreased and service workers had a slight increase of 1.4 per cent. Washington Park, in spite of an increase, lost according to the data and my assumption, professionals to the Roxbury-North Dorchester area. Craftsmen, however, had a significant increase, higher than both the City's totals and the Roxbury-North Dorchester area.

According to this data we could assume that Washington Park had an increase of middle-class and professionals and so did Roxbury-North Dorchester. Craftsmen, a working-class occupation, however, increased, but their incomes along with the lower-class, decreased. Evidence suggests that renewal cleared the homes of the lower and working class attributing to the decrease of their number. The number of lower-class and working-class families have significantly decreased, and the middle-class, while their number had increased in Washington Park, they increased significantly higher in North Dorchester.

My evidence indicates that the lower-class and the working-class population decreased as a result of clearance during renewal
and the middle-class are increasing in Washington Park and Roxbury-North Dorchester. There are middle income families in Washington Park even though there are suburban options.

Conclusion

The purpose of this section was to analyze the efforts of public intervention in maintaining equilibrium in a changing center city neighborhood. According to the data, lower-class and working-class families decreased as a result of renewal, and the middle-class increased in number. Middle-class families are better educated, graduating from high school and attending college. Their incomes increased commensurate with better paying jobs, the result of their increased level of education. The working-class and lower-class decreased in number with a steady decrease in income.

An earlier study tracing the moves of 212 families in Washington Park found that 75 per cent moved from Washington Park, with 60 per cent to other ghetto areas in the confines of Boston. This indicates a movement of the 'gilded ghetto' from Washington Park to another section further up Blue Hill Avenue, in North Dorchester or Mattapan. But my evidence, however, does not support this assumption. The number of middle-class are increasing in Washington Park.

Renewal was perceived by the middle-class of Washington Park to equalize class groups there. But renewal, in fact, served to decrease the lower-class and working-class population and increased the number of middle-income families. Renewal was actually a
mechanism of disequilibrium, reducing working and lower classes and encouraging the increase of the middle-class population.

As a result of renewal there have been many physical and social changes in Washington Park. Dilapidated housing has been cleared and in its place was built government subsidized housing. Density was decreased from 52 persons per acre in 1960 to 40 persons per acre in 1970. New recreational and shopping facilities are now available in the community. Incomes and educational attainment of residents are diverse. With all of these physical improvements, many streets of Washington Park remain blighted, some property continues to deteriorate, public services are minimally provided even after large sums of public investments were filtered into the area. Otto Snowden contends that Washington Park is only 80 per cent completed; there are streets that need paving, two school sites ready for construction, and vacant undeveloped parks await development. The middle class have increased in Washington Park and some are moving to Mattapan and the suburbs where there is readily available housing. This leaves Washington Park as an old neighborhood with a 'gilded ghetto' past. There is class life-style conflict there even though evidence suggests an increase in the middle income. With these forces of change, can Washington Park survive?

Washington Park as an urban renewal project was defined by the planners' pencils. There existed at the time of renewal a distinct social class difference between the residents of Middle and
Upper Roxbury. Upper Roxbury today is no longer the only 'strong-hold' of the black middle-class. Families with working and lower-life styles have moved into apartments on the fringe areas.

Washington Park is a fragmented community where conflicting class life styles live as neighbors. In 1966 Melvin Miller, the publisher of the Bay State Banner, the local black newspaper responded in a Boston Globe interview that "Boston was one of the few areas where the older middle-class aren't fleeing in any great number." In 1973, the middle-class who remain in Washington Park are, in truth, the 'older' families who have made a substantial investment in their property. They are, in fact, prisoners of their homes.

An Implication for Public Policy

In the market dynamics of the Northern ghetto, equilibrium in class will take place when the ghetto assignment of lower-class status is removed by the institutions (private and public) in the market place of the dominant society. The ghetto is a place of cyclical change and conflict among class group life styles, values and attitudes toward their community shrouded by the threat of succumbing to slum status. The role of public policy should focus on the institutions of the market place forcing a non-assignment class status, allowing the ghetto to be a stable market dynamic for black class groups.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I


4. Kahl, op. cit., p. 188.

5. Kahl, op. cit., p. 188.


7. Banfield, op. cit., p. 49.


10. Kahl, op. cit., p. 201

11. Kahl, op. cit., p. 203


65


23. Drake, op. cit., p. 771

24. This definition of caste is W. Lloyd Warner's from "American Caste and Class," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. VIII, p. 234, stating that caste describe a theoretical arrangement of the people of a given group in an order in which the privileges, duties, obligations, opportunities, etc. are unequally distributed between the group which are to be considered to be higher or lower. This also describes class.


27. An income gap and job ceilings do not create social classes; social class is determined by economic circumstances, education and occupation, but the effect of the gap and ceiling determine class values realized.


30. Drake and Cayton in Black Metropolis define the old upper-class of Bronxville. Billingsley, building on their dimension, define the middle-class as having an upper-class foundation.


CHAPTER II


FOOTNOTES (cont.)


11. Weaver, op. cit., p. 216.

12. Weaver, op. cit., p. 293.


15. Ibid.

16. Concept and theory taken from James V. Cunningham, Resurgent Community, Chapter 2.


18. Clark, op. cit., p. 32.
CHAPTER III


8. Author's interview, Raymond Jarvis, April 1973, Boston Redevelopment Authority.


10. Author's interview, Raymond Jarvis.


FOOTNOTES (cont.)


22. Rapkin Report I, p. 3-4.


24. Author's interview, Otto and Murial Snowden.

25. Author's interview, Dr. and Mrs. Ronald Stokes, May 1973.


28. Author's interview, Dr. and Mrs. Ronald Stokes.

29. Author's interview, Dr. and Mrs. Ronald Stokes.

30. Author's interview, Otto and Murial Snowden.

31. See discussion in Chapter II under sub-topic "The Process of Ghettoization" to understand the dilemma of the middle-class black who live in the ghetto.

FOOTNOTES (cont.)

CHAPTER IV

1. See appendix for demographic charts.

2. Data will be derived from the Roxbury-North Dorchester General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (GNRP).

3. Author's interview, Otto Snowden.

4. This is an assumption because of an increased number of housing options open in Mattapan as explained to me in an interview with Ulysses Shelton.

Education - No School

KEY
C - City of Boston
W.P. - Washington Park
R.N. - Roxbury - North Dorchester
X > Census Tracts in Upper Roxbury

□ - 1960
□ - 1970

Education: GRADE 1-1
Education: GRADE 8

[Chart image with bars labeled 'C', 'WP', 'LN', 'X', 'Y']
Education: High School 1-3 Years
Education: High School 4 YEARS

[Chart showing bar graph with categories C, WP, RN, X, Y]
Education: College 4 Years or More
Income: $2,000 - $4,000
INCOME: $4,000 - 10,000
INCOME: 10,000 - 15,000
TAXONE: $15,000

[Bar chart with categories C, WP, RN, X, Y]
Occupation: Professional, Managerial and Technical
OCCUPATION: CLERICAL AND SALES
OCCUPATION: CRAFTSMAN, FOREMAN & KINDRED WORKERS

![Bar Chart]

- C
- WP
- R-N
- X
- Y
OCCUPATION: OPERATIVES

Bar graph showing different categories labeled C, W.P., R-W, X, Y, with corresponding counts on the y-axis.
Arnone, Nancy Rita, Housing Preferences and Prospects of Boston's Middle-Income Blacks.


"Complexity and Change in American Racial Patterns: A Social Psychological View," *Daedalus*, (Fall 1965)


