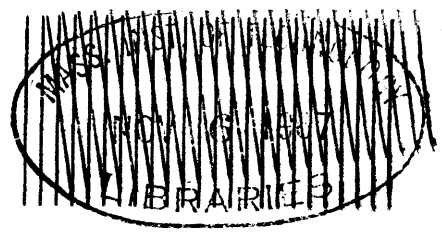


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PUBLIC HOUSING IN BOSTON: CHANGING NEEDS AND ROLE

by

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May B. Hipshman

Submitted to the Department of City and Regional Planning, M.I.T., on May 19, 1967, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of City Planning.

Abstract

Boston's public housing program is plagued with problems, both social and physical, some of which are common to housing authorities throughout the country, and some of which are unique to Boston. The Boston Housing Authority has been under attack from civil rights groups for racial discrimination, and from other liberal groups for its out-moded policies and philosophies. The members of the 5-man Authority have been criticized as unqualified, politically-motivated, and lacking in understanding of the special needs of the problem families who are increasingly the inhabitants of public housing. In spite of a waiting list of 4,500 families, no new family public housing has been built in Boston in 13 years. Although several new programs -- leased housing, turnkey, rehabilitation, rent supplement -- have been tried, none is operating with maximum effectiveness. Increasing vandalism, crime, disrepair, and tenant complaints about indifferent managers, indolent maintenance men, and unreasonable tenant regulations, all attest to a need for re-evaluation of the program.

This thesis is, in essence, a case study of the Boston Housing Authority. It examines the organizational structure, the policies, and the operations of the BHA, and describes the people who run it: the Board, the Administrator, the department heads, the project managers, the staff. It analyzes present BHA programs, and assesses their effectiveness in the face of today's needs. It identifies those inadequacies which are the result of internal BHA management and structure, and those which are the result of state and federal legislation over which the BHA has little direct control. It attempts to evaluate the extent to which political patronage and nepotism -- in selection of tenants, in hiring of employees, in appointment of Authority members -- affect the program and its operation.

In the concluding sections, recommendations are made for changes that seem indicated: Those which could be made within and by the BHA itself, those which could be made only by the Mayor of Boston, and those which would require legislative action at both state and federal levels. In brief, the thesis asks, "What is wrong with Boston's public housing program?" and suggests what could be done to improve it if the citizens of Boston want a more vigorous and viable program.

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PUBLIC HOUSING IN BOSTON:

An Analysis of Changing Needs and Role

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INTRODUCTION

The public housing program in the United States is going through a period of painful re-appraisal, with a growing awareness that a changing world is changing its traditional role. The middle-class families in temporary financial straits, which the program originally housed in Depression days, are being replaced in rapidly increasing numbers by a different kind of tenant -- the "permanent poor" -- a population largely made up of the aged, welfare recipients, broken families with many children, and minority races. These are, by and large, a troubled and often troublesome group, for whom many traditional public housing policies may be both inappropriate and inadequate. Reports from many parts of the country indicate that tenant and public dissatisfaction with public housing is increasing, as are both physical and social problems -- vandalism, crime, unrest -- within housing projects themselves. Major criticisms are almost too familiar to need recounting: the institutional appearance of most projects; their physical and psychological isolation; the social stigma attached to living in public housing; the often heavy-handed and unreasonable regulations imposed by management.

Boston's public housing program reflects many of the problems reported from other cities. The Boston Housing Authority has been charged with maintaining a pattern of racial segregation in its projects, and with unfair and discriminatory practices in the selection of tenants.

Tenants themselves complain of indifferent and insensitive management; managers complain of vandalism, unsupervised children, and the increasing numbers of "problem families". Many of the projects are in disrepair and in need of major rehabilitation.

Regardless of these criticisms, the waiting list at the BHA continues to grow -- in April 1967 it was estimated at 4,500 families. With an annual turnover averaging only about 1,850 apartments out of the city's total of nearly 15,000 public housing units, many of these families will wait years before they are placed. Despite the need which this waiting list demonstrates so vividly, no new family public housing has been built in Boston in the past 13 years. It is significant that Columbia Point, the grim fortress-like project that typifies public housing to many Bostonians, was the last to be built. Housing for the elderly, which is more acceptable in the community and therefore politically "plus", has fared a little better -- some 700 units have been built since 1962, and another 1500 are being planned.

What are the reasons for a lagging, problem-ridden public housing program in Boston? Is the public housing program itself outmoded in terms of meeting today's needs, or is it the administration and operation of that program that needs up-dating? Has the city reached the saturation point in public housing, as some critics state? If so, how are the thousands of families on the BHA waiting list, and other uncounted thousands now living in the City's slums,

going to be decently housed at rents they can afford? What of the families who are being displaced by Boston's urban renewal and highway programs at the rate of an estimated 1000 per year?

In an effort to reach towards answers to these very basic questions, this report has taken the Boston Housing Authority as a case study. Its structure, its policies, and its operations are analyzed in the following pages, in hopes of identifying the obstacles that stand in the way of a more viable and progressive public housing program. An attempt will be made to differentiate between problems which result from internal operations within the BHA itself from those which have their origins in State and Federal housing law and administrative procedures and philosophies. The local public and political climate will also be assessed to determine the extent of its effect on the program.

Some of the areas that will be investigated, and some of the questions that will be raised, include the following:

The Structure of the BHA

Is the present structure, headed by a 5-man appointed Authority and a paid professional administrator, the most efficient organizational set-up? What effect does the local political patronage system have on the calibre and function of Authority members, and on hiring practices generally? What is the effect of the state tenure system on general quality of personnel and general level of performance? To what extent are attitudes of Authority members reflected in

attitudes of employees at various levels of responsibility? Could one or more of the present functions of the BHA (planning, construction, ownership, management) be more effectively and economically performed by some other private or public body? How?

Policies and Operations of the BHA

Do actual procedures now in use actually conform to announced BHA policies? Which policies do tenants find most difficult to accept? Which ones do housing managers find most difficult to enforce? Does tenant selection now follow an objective and equitable procedure? What effect have recently announced policies of racial integration had within the projects? What is the quality of the project managers? What efforts are being made to improve tenant/management relations? What is the place of social services in present management? What is the quality of project maintenance?

Local Public and Political "Climate"

To what extent are the BHA and its staff accountable to the Mayor, and how much of its program and operation are dictated by him? How large a part does political influence play in the selection of tenants and in the hiring of staff? What is the attitude of the Mayor towards an expanded public housing program? On what basis does he make appointments to the 5-man Authority? How can the general public in Boston be stimulated to participate more actively in efforts to achieve a good low-income housing program for Boston? How can the City's suburbs be drawn into the program?

State and Federal Policies

Should present policies be modified to take account of the changing needs and role of public housing? In what way? Are present administrative and operational procedures hampering the present program? What legislative changes should be made to increase the effectiveness of the housing program?

Methodology Used in This Report

In the course of attempting to find answers to some of the above questions, numerous interviews were held with members of the BHA administrative staff, including the Administrator and several department heads; regular meetings of the Authority board were attended. An extensive questionnaire was prepared for the project managers (see Appendix A), and replies were obtained through extensive interviews with each of the thirteen managers employed by the BHA. Tenants were also interviewed, both individually and in group sessions. In addition, many other people interested in public housing were interviewed: staff members of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, representatives of Fair Housing, Inc., The American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the League of Women Voters, the Mass. Committee on Discrimination in Housing, the National Association of Social Workers, and meetings of those groups were attended. Meetings were also held with the Advisory Committee to the BHA both at BHA offices and elsewhere; all available reports and documents of the BHA were reviewed. Reports on public housing programs in other cities have been studied; information furnished by the National Association of

Housing and Redevelopment Officials has been helpful; and classic analyses of the U. S. public housing program by such professionals as Robert M. Fisher and Catherine Bauer Wurster have provided historical perspective.

Recommendations

The final section of this report contains recommendations for changes -- structural, administrative, legislative -- at various levels: within the BHA itself, within the political and public community, and at both State and Federal levels. The basic question that has guided the course of this study has been: "In what ways, and for what reasons, does Boston's public housing program fall short of being a vigorous, viable program, geared to meeting the physical and social needs of its low-income population?" The recommendations that conclude this report summarize certain changes in philosophy and operation that seem indicated if such a socially responsible program is wanted by the City of Boston, and is to be achieved.

Recent innovations in federal housing legislation demonstrate that, at least at top levels, housing officials recognize the need for change, and are liberalizing federal programs to allow more flexibility and innovation. Boston needs to get in step.

TODAY'S ACUTE HOUSING NEEDS

Every week, an average of 72 low income families and individuals file new applications with the Boston Housing Authority; the current active waiting list stands at an estimated 4,500 families. The BHA recently estimated that if a freeze were placed on applications today, and turnover followed its present rate of about 1,850 apartments each year, the last of the present applicants for one-bedroom units would not be accommodated for sixteen years, and those wanting five bedrooms would not all be housed for ten years. It would take from one to three years to place families requiring intermediate-sized apartments.^{1/}

There are many thousands of other families who are eligible for public housing, on the basis of income, who are either not applying, or have moved out of public housing. According to the 1960 Census, approximately 26,000 families in Boston had annual incomes of less than \$3,000; 18,000 had less than \$2,000. A recent survey in the South End-Roxbury-North Dorchester areas reported median family income of \$4,224, as compared to a national figure of \$6,300.^{2/} Applying the generally accepted rule that a family should pay a maximum of 20% of its income for rent, a family with

^{1/} The Leasing Program: a statement submitted to the Boston City Council by the BHA on Feb. 17, 1966.

^{2/} "Sub-Employment in the Slums of Boston", Survey by U. S. Dept. of Labor, February 1967.

an income of \$4,200 should pay no more than \$71; with an income of \$3,000, no more than \$50; with a \$2,000 income, a maximum of \$33. The virtual impossibility of finding any housing at these rentals -- let alone standard, decent housing -- is known all too well to anyone who has tried to find it. Tenements in advanced disrepair rent for \$80 to \$100 and more. Rentals of so-called "moderate-income housing", built on low-interest government loans under the 221(d)(3) programs, start today at \$85 for a one-bedroom apartment in Boston and rise to \$125 for a five-bedroom apartment. (To support such rents, and keeping within the 20%-of-income formula, a family of two would need an annual income of \$5,100 for a one-bedroom apartment; and a family requiring five bedrooms would need an income of \$7,500.) Even public housing, with minimum rents set in Boston at \$45, is still out of reach of the very lowest income group. Those who are receiving welfare assistance can manage, but it is generally recognized that a high percentage of those qualifying for public assistance are not getting it. (In New York, it was recently estimated that fully 50% of eligible families are not receiving welfare.)

There is a critical shortage of low-rent housing in standard condition in Boston. In 1960, the U. S. Census reported that some 55,000 housing units in Boston, or one in five of the City's housing stock, were either dilapidated or deteriorating, or lacked essential plumbing. Regardless of their inadequacies, however, these units offered shelter to many

of the City's poor. It is estimated that since 1960, about 13,000 dwelling units have been demolished -- 6,345 by urban renewal projects, and the rest by highway construction, private construction, or by natural decay and abandonment -- and that an average of 1,000 more will be demolished each year between now and 1970.^{1/} By the very nature of urban renewal, it can be assumed that the majority of these units were dilapidated, and were inhabited by families of low income. During the same period, an estimated 10,000 new dwelling units have been built in Boston, but the majority of these are in the middle and upper rental ranges.^{2/} It seems reasonable to deduce from the above that the total supply of low-income housing in Boston has decreased since 1960, although there are those who reason that since the population of Boston has also decreased during those years, more housing stock of all kinds is available for those who have remained. What the true housing picture is in Boston, and the range of rentals prevailing, must wait, apparently, for the 1970 Census.

A critical shortage exists in the Metropolitan region as well.

The "1965/75 General Plan for Boston and the Region" cites the need for 20,000 units of new or rehabilitated low rent units in the Boston region by 1970, including 5,000 units of public housing "for the elderly and some of the city's low-income families and individuals"^{3/} and 15,000 moderate-rent

^{1/} Unofficial figures provided by the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

^{2/} Ibid

^{3/} 1965/75 General Plan for Boston and the Region, Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1959.

units. Chester Hartman, in his "low Income Housing in the Boston Area", makes a more drastic assessment of the need, and calls for the construction of 10,000 new units annually between 1964 and 1970.^{1/} Little progress has been made towards either of these goals.

More and more, the central cities are housing an ever larger percentage of the poor, and Boston is no exception. Although the General Plan asserts that Metropolitan Boston's suburbs and towns must accept their share of housing for low and moderate income families, there have been no new metropolitan programs or policies devised to effect such a program. Nor have the suburbs shown any inclination to relax their traditional barriers against families of below-average income, even though many workers are now "reverse commuting" from the central city to the proliferating industrial plants along Route 128. Of the 26,125 public housing units in the Boston SMSA in 1963, 55.1% were in Boston.^{2/} More than half of the units outside of Boston are veterans' housing, built just after the war, and scattered among 34 towns; during the past ten years, only a relatively small amount of housing for the elderly has been constructed in Boston's suburbs.^{3/} Aside from this housing for the elderly, suburban towns have helped Boston's housing situation only to

^{1/} Chester Hartman, "Low Income Housing in the Boston Area." Housing Advisory Research Committee, for the Mass. Committee on Discrimination in Housing. July 1964.

^{2/} Ibid

^{3/} Unofficial BRA intra-agency report, 1966.

the extent that, as families have left residences in the City on their exodus to the suburbs, some of the dwellings they left behind have become available to lower income families.

The vacancy rate in the Boston area continues to be low.

Generally speaking, a vacancy rate of 4-6% is considered "healthy";^{1/} the vacancy rate in the Boston metropolitan area in 1960 was 2%, whereas in the City of Boston it was only 3% overall and only 2.7% in standard housing. Subsequent housing market studies by the F.H.A. indicate that the situation is relatively unchanged,^{2/} and the Boston Redevelopment Authority has unofficially confirmed this finding. The continued low vacancy rate is one more strong indication of the need for accelerated construction of all types of housing. Only in an active real estate market, with an ample stock of housing, can the "filtering down" process -- by which many poor families have traditionally obtained housing -- operate effectively.

The need for low-income housing is "selective", and solutions must be tailor-made. Although the population of the city of Boston has declined at an estimated rate of approximately 10,000 per year over the last decade, the population groups most dependent on public housing, or on some form of rent

^{1/} William Nash, "Public Programs and the Housing Shortage in Boston", Housing Advisory Research Committee, for the Mass. Committee on Discrimination in Housing, March 1963.

^{2/} The Leasing Program: a statement submitted to the Boston City Council by the BHA, Feb. 17, 1966.

subsidy -- racial minorities, the elderly, large low-income families, broken families, and families on welfare -- have increased, and will in all likelihood continue to increase. These are the people who are applying in growing numbers for public housing. The following figures show how these groups have grown in public housing nationally in recent years; figures for Boston are available only for 1966, but BHA officials say each group has grown in a pattern similar to that shown by the national figures.

Type of Tenants	Public Housing Population		Percent Total Public Hsg. Population, Bos.
	Percent of Total Public Hsg. Population, Nat'l		
Elderly	1960: 17%	1966: 30%	1966: 34%
Welfare Recipients	1964: 24% of non-eld'ly 39% of elderly		1966: 39%
	1966: 50%		
Negroes	1954: 43%	1966: 53%	1966: 25%
Broken Families	1957: 27%	1966: 36%	1966: 21%
Large Families (Over 4 minors)	1965: 40%		1966: 18%

From the foregoing, it can be seen that public housing will increasingly require 1-bedroom apartments for the elderly, large units for families with over 4 children, and units at minimum rents. In addition, the growing number of broken families and minority families indicates the need for increased social services and intergroup relations personnel. It is

further evident that with rents in the private market continuing to rise, and with rents of new moderate-income housing far above the means of people with below-average income, public housing, or some form of publicly-assisted housing, is at present the only way in which such families and individuals can be assured of decent living conditions.

CURRENT PROGRAMS OF THE BHA

Legislative Background

The Boston Housing Authority was established by the Mayor and the City Council in 1935 -- the same year that the U. S. Housing Authority Law, which provided for such authorities, was enacted. A decade later, Massachusetts launched a housing program of its own, and today is one of only three states in the Union with both a federal and a state-aided public housing program. Under provisions of both, the BHA is responsible for planning, building, and managing housing for families of low-income.

The Federal Program. The 1937 Housing Act authorized a long-range, low-rent public housing program for families of low income, and established the Public Housing Administration to direct the program. Its aims were "to provide financial assistance to the States and political subdivisions thereof for the elimination of unsafe and insanitary housing conditions, for the eradication of slums, for the provision of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income, and for the reduction of unemployment and the stimulation of business activity....."^{1/}

Subsequent annual Housing Acts have broadened the scope and added new dimensions to the program. Notable recent additions are the Leased Housing Program, Housing for the Elderly, "Turnkey", and other programs which will be described

^{1/} U. S. Housing Act of 1937, As Amended.

later in this report. Since 1937, when the BHA built its first housing project (Old Harbor Village in South Boston) it has completed 10,653 units of public housing in the 23 developments referred to in this report as "federally-aided" projects.

The State Program. Following a 5-year program started in 1946 to build housing for returning veterans (regardless of income), the Commonwealth in 1948 launched a long-range program intended for low-income veterans. Under this program, authorized by Chapter 200 of the General Laws of Massachusetts, the BHA built 3,675 units (known as "Chapter 200" housing) between 1949 and 1954. None have been built since. Although priority is still given to veterans' families, at least one-third of Chapter 200 housing is now occupied by non-veterans. Chapter 667 of the General Laws authorized a special program of housing for elderly persons in 1953; 160 units have been constructed in Boston.^{1/} The total of 3,835 units completed under these two state programs are those referred to in this report as "state-aided" projects.

Financing the Programs. Although the basic way in which both federal and state programs are financed is the same, there are important differences in the amount of financial assistance given. Both programs provide for construction of approved units under long-term (40-year) loans, secured by

^{1/} The program has been hampered by the fact that, although an additional subsidy was authorized by statute, it was only recently made available.

the Housing Assistance Administration (formerly the Public Housing Administration) in the case of federal projects, and by the Division of Housing in the case of state projects. In both cases, an annual subsidy is given, which is intended primarily to pay debt service on the loans, plus an additional amount which, when added to income from rents, will pay operating expenses. The Federal program is more generous in its subsidy, and more flexible in its application, than is the State's. Annual contribution from the HAA is based on the "going rate" of interest on federal loans, plus up to 2% of the total development cost. An additional subsidy of \$120 per year per unit is given for housing for the elderly and for displaced families. Annual state contribution is limited to a fixed $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of development cost, with a $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ bonus recently made available for housing for the elderly. Projects completed after July 1, 1966 will benefit from a subsidy of up to 5%, authorized by the Legislature in 1966. Total State contribution to Boston's public housing amounted to approximately \$28 per unit in 1966.

Public housing is exempt from local real estate taxes, but the housing authority makes an annual payment in lieu of taxes, which is based on a percentage of rental revenue. In 1966, that payment to the City of Boston amounted to approximately \$629,000 for both federal and state projects.

Changes in Emphasis of the Federal Program. In the thirty years since the PHA was created, each decade has seen changes in the emphasis of the program. In the 30's, public housing was conceived as a means to create employment as well

as to provide temporary housing for the "unaccustomed poor" who were victims of a devastating economic depression. In the 40's, the emphasis was first on housing for war workers and later on housing for returning veterans. Construction surged in the early 50's, but in 1954, government funding of public housing programs was sharply reduced, and the emphasis was once again on housing families of low income. Increasingly, in the 60's, housing for the elderly has been stressed; construction of traditional family projects has been minimized, and various new programs of quite a different character have been introduced in an effort to lessen public criticism of the character of existing projects, and to interweave public housing into the fabric of the community.

Boston's Public Housing

Some 50,000 people in Boston, or over 8% of its population, are tenants in the 35 public housing projects managed by the Boston Housing Authority. The program's size is reflected in an operating budget of well over \$12 million (1966); the 14,488 units built under Federal and State programs represent a total development cost in excess of \$150 million.

Of Boston's current stock of public housing, roughly two-thirds is in federally-aided developments, and one-third in state-aided. Whereas up to 1954, all construction was in traditional family housing, no family housing has been built since that date. The comparatively small amount of public housing that has been developed in Boston in recent years has been limited to housing for the elderly, and to modest experiments with the various new programs recently authorized both by national and state housing acts. A description follows of each of the various types of public housing now in Boston, or planned for the future, together with an evaluation of how well they meet current needs.

<u>PUBLIC HOUSING STOCK, BOSTON, 1967</u>				
	Family Housing		Housing for the Elderly	
	<u>Projects</u>	<u>Units</u>	<u>Projects</u>	<u>Units</u>
Federally-aided	15	10,107	8	546
State-aided	10	3,675	2	160
Totals	25	13,782	10	706
Totals both programs: 35 projects, 14, 488 dwelling units				

1. Family Housing. Over 40%, or 6,000 units, of Boston's present stock of family public housing was built in the three-year period from 1951 to 1954. The last two projects of this type are among the largest: Bromley Park in Jamaica Plain, with 732 units, and Columbia Point in Dorchester, with 1,504 units. (It is interesting that these are two of the projects currently most beset with problems. In the case of Columbia Point, at least, the correlation between size and trouble is generally acknowledged.)

Despite the fact that about 2,700 of the current applications at the BHA are for family housing, while 1,800 are for housing for the elderly, only 72 of the 2400 units authorized by the PHA for Boston since 1959^{1/} are actually planned for family occupancy.^{2/} The rest are housing for the elderly. The BHA has stated that "non-elderly housing will be developed only under a closely-coordinated program with the Boston Redevelopment Authority and within the requirements of a city-wide plan for renewal, rehabilitation, and conservation."^{3/}

This de-emphasis on family housing is reflected nationally. The huge projects characteristic of the 40's and 50's have made communities highly resistant to having more built -- particularly in their own neighborhoods -- regardless of the

^{1/} 400 units approved 1959; 1,000 in 1961; 1,000 in 1965. This does not include the 1,000 units of leased housing that have also been authorized.

^{2/} These units are planned in the South End renewal area.

^{3/} Statement before City Council by Edward Hassan, then chairman of the BHA, Feb. 1964.

obvious need. In addition, housing authorities have not been anxious to build family units, especially the 4- and 5-bedroom apartments now in critical demand, because it is almost impossible to construct large units under present cost ceilings set by the HAA. Another deterrent is the fact that there is no provision for "write-down" on land taken for public housing, as there is for urban renewal projects. The increasingly prohibitive price of land thus makes it almost mandatory that public housing be built only in urban renewal areas -- and neighborhood opposition to having family public housing developments included in renewal areas has been both loud and effective. Neither the BHA or the Mayor, or indeed the Boston Redevelopment Authority, have shown any inclination to go against public opinion in this regard and to press for more family housing.

Because of the changing composition and size of public housing families, there is a striking mismatch between the size of existing units (the majority of which were designed for an average family of four) and the size required by the greatest number of applicants today. Whereas over 70% of existing units are two and three-bedroom apartments, they are in demand by only 40% of present applicants. The acute need is for one-bedroom units and for those with five or more bedrooms. Since annual turnover is lowest in apartments of the size most in demand, the situation is even more aggravated than the following figures indicate:

(See next page)

BOSTON PUBLIC HOUSING

Size of Existing Units Compared to Current Demand

Type of Unit	% of Total	Size of Apartments Requested by 5,976 Applicant Families in 1966
1-bedroom	22.1%	50.5% (of which 76% were elderly)
2-bedroom	41.5%	24.8%
3-bedroom	28.5%	14.6%
4-bedroom	6.6%	7.2%
5 or more	1.3%	2.9%

Because of the surplus of 2-bedroom apartments, elderly couples are occasionally permitted as tenants; because of the shortage of large apartments, very large families have sometimes been permitted to occupy two adjoining units. In a handful of cases, two apartments have actually been combined into one for families with many children, but this process has apparently been both difficult and costly. In one development, units were designed so that adjoining apartments could "swap" bedrooms, but this device has also been less than successful.

Some recent legislative provisions at both state and federal level may pave the way for new family housing in new forms. First, an amendment to the 1966 state housing law specifies that new housing developments shall be limited to 100 units (following recommendations made by both the Special Legislative Commission on Low-Income Housing and by the Boston General Plan.) Smaller projects, conforming to neighborhood character, should lessen community resistance, and hopefully will minimize problems arising from the sheer size and

impersonality of many existing projects. Second, the increased State subsidy for projects completed after July 1, 1966 should stimulate new programs, particularly since \$37,500,000 authorized by the 1966 Legislature has recently been made available.

2. Housing for the Elderly. Special developments for elderly tenants, first authorized by Massachusetts in 1954, and by federal legislation in 1956, have grown enormously popular in recent years. Reasons for their popularity are perhaps obvious: most of the projects are small, and therefore more acceptable within the neighborhood; most are of attractive design; elderly tenants cause none of the disturbance associated with families of many children; housing authorities view these projects favorably because they engender fewer management problems; since the majority are 1-bedroom units, they can more easily be built within set unit costs. In addition, both federal and state programs provide extra financial incentives for housing for the elderly: a bonus of \$120 per year per unit is given by the HAA, and an additional $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ subsidy is granted by the State.

There is no question of the need. Over 40% of the current waiting list at the BHA is composed of individuals and families with heads over 65, a total of approximately 1,800. About one-third of all existing public housing in Boston is presently occupied by the elderly: 706 units in special developments and an additional 4,255 in family projects. Some projects, such as Bromley Park, have buildings exclusively

for elderly tenants. An additional 1,500 of the new units now authorized for the City will be housing for the elderly, planned for construction in Dorchester, South Boston, Charlestown, the South End, and Washington Park. Of these, 102 units are now under construction in Castle Square in the South End renewal area; the balance are in various stages of planning and design. In addition, 400 of the 1000 units authorized under the Leased Housing Program are expected to be occupied by elderly tenants.

Annual turnover in existing units for the elderly is less than 1%, compared with a turnover rate of approximately 13% in family projects. (One applicant was told by a BHA staff member that there was little point in her applying, because "people stay there until they die, and you will never get in".^{1/}

It seems probable that this program will continue to flourish, especially since the proportion of people over 65 is rising both nationally and locally. In all probability, the State-aided program will be accelerated in Boston, particularly because of an additional \$25 million for housing for the elderly authorized by a 1966 amendment to the state housing law. The trend is equally noticeable in Boston's suburbs: in Brookline, 100% of the 200 public housing units now planned will be for the elderly; in Worcester, 87% of the 504 units planned are also for the elderly.

^{1/} CORE Public Housing Survey 1963

<u>Federally-Aided "Housing for the Elderly" in Boston</u>			
<u>Project</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Completed</u>	<u>No. of Units</u>
Bickford St.	Roxbury	1962	64
Jamaica Pond	Jamaica Plain	1962	44
Annapolis	Dorchester	1962	56
Ashmont	Dorchester	1962	54
Elm Hill	Roxbury	1962	86
Wm.J.Foley, Sr.	So. Boston	1963	96
Washington St.	Brighton	1965	82
Chestnut Hill	Brighton	1966	<u>64</u>
			546
<u>State-Aided "Housing for the Elderly" in Boston</u>			
Franklin Field #1	Dorchester	1962	80
Franklin Field #2	Dorchester	1964	<u>80</u>
			<u>160</u>
		Total units both programs	706

3. Leased Housing. Some observers see the new Leased Housing Program, initiated in the 1965 U. S. Housing Act, as the most promising of the new programs, particularly for housing large families. Under provisions of this Act, the BHA has been authorized to lease 1000 existing apartments anywhere in the City, and to enter into contracts with the owners for a period of one to five years. (The BHA has chosen to limit leases to 3 years.) Tenants, drawn from the BHA waiting list, pay landlords the same rent they would pay in regular public housing, with the Authority making up the difference between that amount and the contract rental agreed upon with the owner. Maximum contract rents now quoted by the BHA compare favorably with rents being asked in new 221(d)(3) apartments constructed at below-market interest

rates:

COMPARATIVE RENTALS, LEASED HOUSING AND 221(d)(3) HOUSING						
	<u>Studio Apt.</u>	<u>1 BR</u>	<u>2 BR</u>	<u>3 BR</u>	<u>4 BR</u>	<u>5 BR</u>
Leased Public Housing	\$85	\$92	\$100	\$110	\$125	\$135
221 (d)(3) Apartments	---	\$85	\$ 95	\$105	\$115	\$125

The program offers many advantages to both owner and tenant, as well as to the Housing Authority and the City; it also has a few potential or built-in limitations which are beginning to be recognized.

For the tenant, a much wider choice of building types and locations should be available, since the Housing Authority may lease new buildings or old, apartments in single-family or multiple-family buildings, from private owners or non-profit corporations. The tenant lives in a building which is not identifiable as public housing, and which is in a neighborhood setting. Since only a specified number of units in any building can be leased under this program, the "ghetto" effect is minimized.^{1/} One of the highly-touted features of the Federal programs is that when a tenant's income rises beyond limits permitted in public housing, instead of being required to move, he may stay, take over the lease, and pay the full contract

^{1/} In the state program, there is no limit in a building with 1-3 units; in a building with 4-8 units, two may be leased; in a building with 9 or more units one-fourth of the total units; in any block, 20% of the total units. In the federal program, 10% of any single structure of multiple complex may be leased, with some exceptions in two and three family houses.

rent to the landlord. (The BHA would then substitute another unit for a public housing tenant.) Although federal statutes include provision for eventual purchase by the tenant in cases where this would be feasible or desirable, BHA leases do not now contain any such provision.

For the owner, there is the advantage of guaranteed monthly income for the duration of the lease (even for periods during which the unit may be vacant, or when the tenant does not pay the rent), as well as protection against damage, since the Authority reimburses him for any such damage and assumes the responsibility of collecting from the tenant.

For the Housing Authority, there are several advantages. First, the program provides a supply of "instant housing", eliminating the lengthy process of planning and construction; it is flexible, allowing apartments to be added or subtracted as need fluctuates; it is equally flexible in that size of apartments can be matched with size of applicant families; it is financially advantageous -- the amount of federal contribution is the same as for new construction of comparable-size units, while management expense is virtually eliminated, since the landlord is responsible for general upkeep.

The City of Boston also benefits. First, buildings in which units are under lease pay full property taxes, instead of the lesser payment in lieu of taxes made for regular public housing units. Second, since the BHA will lease only apartments which meet code standards, it is hoped that landlords will be encouraged to make necessary repairs, thus increasing the supply of standard housing.

Limitations of the program are: (1) that only 10,000 units were authorized for the whole country by the 1965 Housing Act, with expansion of the program possible only under future amendment. Since one-tenth of the country's total has already been allocated to Boston, it seems unlikely that the BHA would be given any further allocation under the current program, and at present they anticipate making no further application: (2) that the program does not add to the stock of housing units except insofar as sub-standard units are rehabilitated; (3) the success of the program is dependent on a good supply of standard housing.

Boston's experience with leased housing to date has been of only limited success. By March, 1967, almost a year after federal approval had been received for 1000 units, only 70 units had actually been leased and occupied -- 44 of them in new 221(d)(3) housing in the Castle Square renewal area, and 26 in the community at large. Another 150 are under contract, according to the BHA, and are being readied for occupancy. The goal of the Leased Housing department -- to have 500 units under lease by the end of July 1967, a total of 750 by the end of 1967, and the balance in 1968 -- seems highly over-optimistic in light of present rate of progress.

Delays are due primarily to two factors: first, that the Leased Housing department, ably headed by Mr. Frank Powers, is severely under-staffed, with only one assistant and one secretary, and second, that suitable units are not being offered in any quantity. The program has so far been publicized in only a very limited way, through small ads in neigh-

borhood papers and some contact with real estate agents. Owners to date appear rather wary. Many are hesitant to accept public housing tenants (especially in today's market where they have no difficulty in finding tenants of their own choosing), and the rents offered by the BHA are not high enough to offer real financial incentives -- especially if owners must repair or remodel apartments. According to Mr. Powers, calls from owners are now increasing, and apartments now being offered are generally more acceptable than those offered at first, which tended to be undesirable units which they had been unable to rent to anyone else. In an effort to speed acquisition of suitable units, the rehousing staff of the Redevelopment Authority now refers known vacancies to the BHA, but are quite critical of the length of time it takes for the BHA to inspect units which have been recommended.

It may be that the best source of leased housing will prove to be the newly-constructed 221(d)(3) units in renewal areas, such as those now leased in Castle Square. The manager of that project reports himself well pleased with BHA tenants to date, and with the program.

The Commonwealth in 1966 authorized a leasing program similar to the federal one, but as yet funds have not been allocated. The BHA has no present plans to make application for the state program, preferring to adopt a "wait and see" attitude until the current program is moving more smoothly. It is to be hoped that additional staff can be added to the

Leased Housing department in order that the full 1000 units can be acquired and occupied. Only then will it be possible to begin to assess the effectiveness of the leased housing program in Boston.

4. The "Turnkey" Program. Also authorized by the 1965 U. S. Housing Act, this program permits a housing authority to buy existing buildings, or buildings under construction, for use as public housing. The advantage is similar to a major one characterizing leased housing -- that it relieves the Authority of the red tape and long delays inherent in new construction. At present, however, the legality of this program in Massachusetts has not yet been established, for it hinges on the so-called "bidding statute" which requires that all public buildings be constructed in accordance with the competitive bidding system required by law. A test case is now pending before the State Supreme Court, involving scattered-site developments under construction in four locations in the South End renewal area. The BHA has entered into an agreement with the Beacon Construction Company to buy the units, and title to the land has been turned over to them by the Redevelopment Authority; Beacon in turn has agreed to pay litigation costs to have the legality of the agreement tested. If the decision is negative, title to the property will be transferred back to the Redevelopment Authority, and the buildings converted to a conventional program; if favorable, the "Turnkey" method is expected to be more widely used. Fairly strong arguments against this type of operation have been advanced, with opponents claiming that it

would open the door to the very abuses the bidding statute was designed to prevent. How the Supreme Court chooses to interpret the law will, however, decide the program's future in Massachusetts.

5. Rent Supplement Demonstration Program. In 1964, a demonstration grant was awarded to the BHA by the Housing and Home Finance Agency to conduct a demonstration rent supplement program over a period of three years. Forty large families, displaced by urban renewal, were placed in new garden-type apartments in the Washington Park renewal area of Roxbury, scattered through three developments: Academy Homes, Marksdale Gardens, and Charlame Park. Average contract rent for these units is \$119, of which the tenant's share averages \$64.90, with the Housing Authority paying the difference of \$54.10. Including utilities, tenants' gross rent averages \$73, compared to the \$80 average paid in their previously-occupied substandard dwellings.

The demonstration grant is supporting an analytical study being done by sociologist Charles Tilly, formerly of Harvard and currently at the University of Toronto. Extensive interviews were held with the families before they moved, just after moving, and six months later, with a control group interviewed at the same intervals. Although complete results of the study are not yet available, BHA Administrator Ash reports that early indications show the program to have had beneficial results to the families involved. There are, however, other indications that all is not entirely serene. Two

of the forty families have been evicted, apparently on rather generalized complaints from neighbors about their behavior. There have also been scattered reports of resentment against some families because they are being subsidized. It has apparently not been possible to keep the identity of subsidized families confidential, and it is perhaps to be expected that a man paying the full \$119 rent might resent his neighbor who may pay \$65 for the same type of apartment. This problem is inherent in any rent supplement program which attempts to mix families of different economic levels. Since it is unlikely that subsidized families can remain unidentified by their neighbors, it is to be hoped that more general acceptance of and sympathy for such families will be encouraged by the BHA.

6. Rehabilitation. In 1964, the BHA purchased some 40 apartments in four and five-story row housing in the Highland Park section of Roxbury, planning to rehabilitate them for large-family occupancy. An architect of considerable local reputation (but without previous experience with rehabilitation) was hired, but even after several revisions of his plans, estimates far exceeded PHA cost ceilings. Reports are that costs per unit were near \$28,000. The high cost was partly due to the fact that the buildings had to be almost entirely gutted, in order to combine small apartments to make larger ones, and also because local building codes required certain room sizes, hall widths and other standards which were difficult to apply in structures of the vintage of these. The

buildings stood vacant for nearly two years; vandals did considerable damage, and a fire did more. The buildings have now been demolished. Since this fiasco, the BHA has given up their plans to look for buildings in the South End renewal site to rehabilitate and has for the present abandoned any further rehabilitation efforts. This unfortunate experience should not, however, be considered sufficient reason to dismiss rehabilitation as an important tool for acquiring public housing units. Other cities (notably Philadelphia)^{1/} have embarked on highly successful rehabilitation programs, and although Boston's situation is admittedly different, as far as stock of buildings and purchase costs are concerned, the BHA must continue a search for ways and means to carry out rehabilitation, at least on a limited basis.

6. Relationship with the Boston Redevelopment Agency.

All new public housing developments presently authorized for Boston are slated for urban renewal areas; the first -- 102 units of housing for the elderly -- is currently rising in the Castle Square development in the South End. The first 44 units of leased housing are also included in that development. The BHA anticipates that public housing authorized in the future will also be constructed in conjunction with

^{1/} Philadelphia's "Used House Program" acquired 40 houses at an average of \$5960, rehabilitated them for an average of \$2764, for a total average cost of \$8,800, as compared with costs of around \$16,000 for new construction. Turn-over in these "used houses" has been far lower than in traditional public housing projects.

renewal projects, because renewal areas are logical locations for replacement housing for low-income families, and also provide an opportunity for a neighborhood economic mix.

Under these circumstances, a close working relationship between the Redevelopment Authority and the BHA is essential. Coordination between the two agencies has been close, but not entirely harmonious. There has been friction, if not at top administrative levels, at least among some members of the working staffs. This is due partly to a difference in style and pace of the two organizations, and partly because of the difference in their objectives. The BHA, for example, complains that the BRA has shown little interest in trying to introduce public housing into its renewal plans, and that sites allocated for public housing are the "left-overs", with choicer sites reserved for profit-making developers. The BRA, on the other hand, claims that the BHA is in general reluctant to initiate proposals or accept innovations and that harmful delays occur because of the length of time it takes the BHA to get its plans approved by State and federal agencies. In addition, the serious under-staffing of key BHA departments contributes to the difficulty of carrying out plans expeditiously.

Coordinated, long-range planning by the two agencies could result in reducing the shock and uncertainty so often experienced by families being displaced by urban renewal and highway programs. In Madison Park, for example, residents in a proposed renewal area recently demanded that the Redevel-

opment Authority give them some guarantee that replacement housing built in that area would be within financial reach of their very low-income residents, and BRA Director Logue gave them the assurance that an adequate supply of both "low and moderate-income housing" would be built. It was assumed that this would include at least some scattered site public housing. To date, however, BHA Administrator Ash is unaware that any public housing is included in renewal plans, nor has he himself proposed any.

Moderate-income housing will not provide the quantity of replacement housing needed by the estimated 1000 families a year to be displaced by public action, since the majority of displaced families have below-average incomes, and funds are not available to subsidize more than a fraction of those displaced. More aggressive efforts should be made by the BHA to assure that at least some public housing is included in all proposed renewal areas, and that the sites provided are desirable ones.

"WHO'S WHO IN THE BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

I. AUTHORITY MEMBERS

There are presently 155 active public housing authorities in the Commonwealth, each of which is headed by a 5-man board. In Massachusetts cities, 4 of these 5 men are appointed by the Mayor, and one is technically appointed by the State Division of Housing, but in actuality by the Governor.^{1/} Members serve five-year terms, with no limit set on the number of terms. Since terms are staggered, with one member appointed (or re-appointed) each year, each new mayor and governor has some appointments at his disposal. Appointees are traditionally chosen on the basis of political favor and patronage, (particularly in Boston) rather than for their qualifications in the field of housing.

The very fact that authority members are politically appointed means that they are closely accountable to their appointer, and that in essence the Mayor of a city can control the housing program. If he is not in favor of a vigorous low-income housing program, he can ensure non-action by making weak appointments to an authority -- a device known as "veto by appointment". One commentator on Massachusetts government has written: "The most unusual thing about a housing authority is that once the city or town has brought the authority into being, it has virtually no control over the authority's actions....even the financial operations of a housing

^{1/} In towns, 4 members are elected, and one appointed by the Governor.

authority are completely outside the regular financial operations of the city or town."^{1/}

Boston's housing authority is by far the most powerful in the state, because it oversees a public housing program many times the size of any other city's. (Cambridge comes second, with a mere 1,700 public housing units as compared with Boston's nearly 15,000). Present members of the Boston Housing Authority are all Mayor Collins' appointees, with the exception of the state-appointed member, who has survived several governors. All are attorneys, except the state appointee, who has real estate interests. All but one have held previous public office at some time during their careers.

Present Members	Year First Appointed ^{2/} and By Whom	Date Present Term Expires
Jacob Brier Chairman	1962 - Mayor	1/8/67 ^{3/}
Chas. H. Savage Vice Chairman	1961 - Mayor	1/8/71
Victor C. Bynoe Treasurer	1960 - Mayor	1/8/70
Cornelius T. Kiley Secretary	1949 - State Division of Housing	1/8/69
Edward D. Hassan Ass't Secy.	1958 - Mayor	1/8/68

^{1/} Elwyn E. Mariner, "This is Your Massachusetts Government". Mariner Books, 1965.

^{2/} These dates are those officially supplied by the BHA. However, several are inconsistent with newspaper accounts. According to files of the Boston Globe, Hassan was Collins' first appointment to the Housing Authority in 1960, with Bynoe appointed the same year, and Brier was appointed first in 1961, and reappointed for a 5-year term in 1962. The dates are significant because they determine expiration dates.

^{3/} According to the BHA, Brier's reappointment is awaiting City Council confirmation.

Brier, 48, is a former law partner of Mayor Collins', and still has a small practice. Savage, approximately 70, served briefly in the State Legislature in the 1940's, and also continues a small legal practice. Bynoe, 53, the first Negro ever appointed to the Authority, spent 10 years with the BHA as a project manager and civil engineer, following which he served a 5-year term as City Commissioner of Veterans Services before his appointment to the Authority. Kiley, 60, served as an expediter for the State Housing Board in the early 40's prior to his first appointment to the Authority. Hassan, 78, is a former assistant corporation counsel for the City, and a former assistant U. S. Attorney.

There have been strong but brief flurries of opposition to most of these appointments, with attempts by various groups (including labor, civil rights, and civic and social organizations) to persuade the Mayor and the Governor to appoint Authority members whose qualifications and records indicate more progressive attitudes towards public housing, and who represent a broader cross-section of the community. These attempts have so far fallen on deaf ears.

When Brier's appointment was announced, labor groups vociferously demanded that the Mayor withdraw the nomination and appoint a bona fide labor representative. (Brier's predecessor on the board had been a labor union business manager.) "Labor", replied the Mayor, "no longer needs a spokesman on every individual board in the City. It has outgrown that."^{1/}

^{1/} Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 28, 1961.

Brier's appointment stood and was confirmed by the Council after a delay of several months. The question of labor representation on the Housing Authority is an interesting one. Massachusetts housing law states that "one of the members of a housing authority shall be a representative of organized labor."^{1/} Despite that clause, which was added to the law in 1961, Collins in appointing Brier said it was his judgment that no statute or ordinance required appointment of a labor man on the BHA. The Board itself, however, in a meeting with the League of Woman Voters late in 1966, admitted knowledge of the law, and indicated that although there was no labor representative on the Board, they were nevertheless "complying with the law". Two theories have been advanced about this apparent double-talk. One, that one Authority member in his youth played drums in a dance band, and has kept up (or renewed) his membership in the musicians' union, thus making him technically a "representative of labor". The other theory is that the Mayor made his appointments to the Authority prior to passage of the labor clause, which could not be invoked retroactively. This theory, however, fails to explain subsequent re-appointments.

Prior to the expiration of Kiley's last term, when Governor Peabody was still in office, several liberal groups made strong efforts to convince the Governor not to reappoint him. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful. It is rumored that Kiley will not seek re-appointment when his current term expires in January, 1969.

^{1/} Mass. General Laws, Chapter 121, Section 26L

Chairman of the Board. There was considerable uproar early in 1965 when it appeared that Hassan would be appointed by the Mayor for a sixth successive year as chairman of the Authority. (The By-Laws of the BHA say that the Chairman and Vice Chairman "shall be elected...from among the members of the Authority", but it is openly acknowledged that the Chairman's position, which carries an additional cash incentive, is filled by directive from the Mayor.) As an article in the Boston Herald put it: "Collins, of course, doesn't vote at the Authority's annual January election, but since four of the five members are his own appointments, his wishes have prevailed the past several years."^{1/} Several civic groups, led by the Rev. Joseph L. Barth of King's Chapel, urged the Mayor to appoint a new chairman. Barth, in opposing Hassan's re-appointment, said: "The program needs the kind of leadership which will recognize that public housing for Boston is something more than cheap housing. We want leadership that sees public housing as a community of persons who want to take part and pride in the community."^{2/} The Mayor asked Hassan to step down, and Brier took over the chairmanship. He is now serving for his third year as chairman.

Early Days of Power. In the early days of their administration, the present board had more power than probably any other in BHA history. From 1960, when Executive Director Lane died, until 1963, when the position was finally filled, the board acted as both administrators and policy-making board, making

^{1/} Boston Herald, Jan. 24, 1965.

^{2/} Ibid

all day-to-day decisions and running the program without interference. During this period, each of the Authority members acquired a private office at BHA headquarters; each acquired a secretary (two for the chairman, plus a chauffeured limousine). It was also during this period that the per diem compensation of Authority members was doubled, to allow a maximum of \$10,000 per year for each member, and \$12,500 for the chairman.^{1/}

The board's troubles began in 1962, after President Kennedy's historic Executive Order banning racial segregation in federally-aided public housing. So blatant was the segregation in Boston's projects that a formal suit against the BHA was filed with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination by the NAACP and CORE.^{2/} Authority members were accused of racial discrimination both in the selection and placement of tenants, and in hiring practices. The charges were angrily denied by board members.

Appointment of an Administrator. One direct result of civil rights agitation was the appointment by the Mayor of a new Acting Administrator to the BHA in 1963.^{3/} It was reported in the press at the time that several board members bitterly resented the appointment of an administrator, for they were reluctant to relinquish any of the power to which they had become accustomed. Friction was predicted, and doubts openly voiced as to whether any salaried executive could hope to

^{1/} Present Chairman Brier, in recent conversation, stated he had assisted in drafting this legislation.

^{2/} See section on Racial Distribution, page 76

^{3/} See section on The Administrator, page 48

take the position of authority which his job rightfully should carry with it.

These predictions were largely borne out in the early days of Ellis Ash's administration. The Board continued to hire key personnel without his knowledge, much less his recommendation;^{1/} Chairman Hassan led other members in resisting any of the changes in policy and operation which had been proposed to alleviate the tense racial situation in public housing projects. In the four years that have now passed since his appointment, Ash has managed to take at least some of the reins of authority into his own hands, and early in 1967 was finally given the full title of Administrator which had previously been withheld despite continued recommendations from civil rights and civic groups.

Meetings of the Authority Board. Only recently, too, have BHA operations become more visible to the public. Previously, weekly meetings of the Authority had been closed meetings; mystery and secrecy surrounded the tenant selection process; reports on racial distribution, BHA expenditures, and official policies were almost impossible to obtain. A certain amount of secrecy still surrounds meetings of the 5-man Authority. In the course of gathering data for this study, observers regularly attended weekly meetings of the Authority. By and large, these meetings had three common characteristics: (1) nothing important was discussed. Administrative trivia, such as approving the hiring of minor office employees and approving bills for payment, consumed a good portion of meeting

^{1/} Boston Herald, Dec. 22, 1964.

time; (2) a general air of easy-going unconcern prevailed. There was no evidence that board members are vitally interested in what they are doing, or that they are taking any vigorous action, or dealing with basic problems of goals and policies; (3) all important business (hiring of managers, handling complaints of harrassment of Negro tenants, etc.) is transacted in "executive session" from which all outsiders are barred. On at least one occasion, after the meeting had been declared adjourned, and observers dismissed, the board continued in executive session without any announcement that such a session was to be held. No members of the press were observed at any meetings.

Advisory Board to the BHA. One result of the CORE/NAACP suit against the BHA was the formation late in 1963 of a 9-man Advisory Committee, created to render advice on implementation of the non-discrimination agreement which the BHA had signed and also to "study, evaluate and advise" on other procedures of the Authority. Present chairman of the committee, Thomas Sullivan of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, has been zealous in his investigation into BHA operations, and the committee has been outspoken in its criticism of the BHA board. In its Annual Report of 1965, the Advisory Committee remarked that although several irreproachable statements of policy had been issued in recent years as official BHA documents, "We must regretfully conclude that while words of commitment come easily to the lips and pens of the Authority members, they have failed to perform the deeds the community needs and to which they have pledged their effort."

Evaluation of Present Board. Any program can be only as strong as the men who guide its policies. The present BHA board has been widely criticized by the liberal groups interested in low-income housing on three general fronts:

1. That they lack the broad, enlightened view of public housing, as well as the type of experience, that is needed to cope with today's problems. Although two of the present board members have held previous positions with public housing agencies, and have basic knowledge of how the housing program works, none of them are oriented to the social and ideological issues which are of growing concern to professional housers today. At a time when innovative thinking and action programs are called for, this board has been consistently apathetic: they first denied the existence of discrimination, then resisted the creation of a new department to handle interracial relations; they have only reluctantly authorized the hiring of social service management aides. Although they have approved the use of various new housing programs, their primary concern has been shown to lie in the physical housing itself, rather than in improving the conditions under which it is run, or tackling the social problems which abound in the projects. They are not philosophically in tune with the times.
2. That they concern themselves with administrative matters which should be the function of the Administrator, while ignoring the policy-making function

which the Authority should rightly perform. The salaried executive director of any Authority is hired to run the day-to-day affairs of the organization, including hiring of personnel and establishing operational procedures. Authority members themselves traditionally set only broad policies and objectives. If both executive and Authority members devote their attention to administrative work, a considerable amount of confusion and inefficiency in managing the business of the Authority can result. In addition, the policy-makers may well lose sight of major policy issues by becoming absorbed in administrative detail. This, unfortunately, appears to have happened in the BHA. One is also aware of the existence of a "system within a system", in which the Administrator is by-passed, some department heads report directly to the Authority, and new procedures which have been officially adopted are often ignored in practice.

3. That they accept more compensation for their services than any other non-professional housing authority in the country.^{1/} Only five states permit any compensation to housing authority members -- California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New York and Virginia -- but none approaches Massachusetts in the amount permitted. In California, commissioners can be paid up to \$25 per

^{1/} New York City has a professional three-man board, on salary, whose members are not permitted to engage in any other occupation.

day for not more than four meetings a month; in Kentucky, although compensation is permitted, it has not been allocated; in New York, compensation is limited to \$1,500 per year; in Virginia, the limit is \$50 per month. Up until 1961, payment in Massachusetts was limited to \$20 per meeting, to a maximum of \$5,000 yearly. Limits are now \$40 per day for members, and \$50 per day for the chairman, with maximums of \$10,000 and \$12,500 respectively, or a total of \$52,500 for the whole board. (Secretaries' salaries, offices, automobiles, and other expenses have been estimated to increase that yearly total to nearly \$100,000 for the 5-man board.) Six authorities out of the 155 in Massachusetts accept no compensation, including two which are considered to be the most progressive in the state: Worcester and Brookline. Largest recipients, next to Boston, are authorities in Cambridge (\$11,800 total), Lynn (\$7,600 total), Springfield (\$7,040 total) and Somerville (\$7,020.) Total compensation paid to housing authorities in the Commonwealth amounts to \$199,302 yearly. Many individuals and groups have strongly recommended that this compensation be sharply reduced or eliminated altogether. The strongest arguments, in addition to those already mentioned, are that compensation of housing authority members is prohibited in the federal public housing program, in the state program of housing for the elderly, and in all state-aided projects

completed after July 1, 1965. Consequently all payments must come out of rentals from Chapter 200 veterans housing. Since funds are desperately needed by the housing program for such essential purposes as keeping rents down, and supplying social services and recreational facilities, it is morally indefensible for a sizeable part of rental income to be diverted to Authority members.

Although the Federal government does not have specific criteria which it recommends in terms of qualifications for housing authority members, a recent letter from an official of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) made the following observations:

"Since low-rent housing projects are dedicated to serving low-income families and require local and Federal subsidies to accomplish this objective, there has been a general recognition of the fact that those appointed as commissioners should be public-spirited citizens who are willing to donate their time without compensation which, if paid, would have to come out of either additional rent or additional subsidies...

"The programs of local housing authorities often involve many millions of dollars and cut across many community and social problems and activities requiring decisions by persons of broad experience and sound and mature judgement....The plain fact is that in this work, as in other charitable or welfare activities, the activity cannot afford to pay for the kind of services it needs, but must get it from citizens who

are sufficiently interested in the objectives to donate their services.....

"It is our fear that the payment of...compensation to housing authority commissioners is likely to result in attracting to those positions men and women who are interested in the compensation."^{1/}

^{1/} Letter from Department of Housing & Urban Renewal, Washington, D. C. dated Dec. 6, 1966, and signed by Frances X. Servaites.

WHO'S WHO IN THE BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

II. THE ADMINISTRATOR

At the height of the civil rights unrest in Boston in 1962 and 1963, when the BHA was under attack for racial segregation in its projects, social and civic groups demanded that an executive director be appointed to the BHA to fill the position which had been left vacant for almost three years. They stressed the urgency of finding a highly qualified and imaginative director willing to experiment with new concepts being talked about in public housing fields, and one who could take action to lessen the racial and social problems then rampant in the city's projects. When the Authority proposed its one and only candidate -- a man then maintenance director at the Mission Hill project -- representatives of nine groups and the press packed board meetings in protest. Authority members tabled the matter from one week's meeting to the next. Then, in a surprise switch, the BHA in May 1963 suddenly announced the appointment of Ellis E. Ash, who was at that time Deputy Administrator with the Boston Redevelopment Authority. It was commonly recognized, and reported in the press, that the appointment had come on directive from the Mayor, who wanted the public furor quieted.

Ellis Ash has been actively identified with the housing and renewal field since 1937. He has held top housing posts both in Seattle and Baltimore and was Assistant to a Regional Director of the PHA for several years. Immediately prior to coming to Boston in July 1961 as Deputy Development Adminis-

trator to Edward Logue, director of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Ash had been Executive Vice President of Doxiadis Associates, Inc., a Washington-based firm of urban planners and renewal experts. In addition, he was already somewhat familiar with BHA operations, having acted in a liaison capacity between the BRA and the BHA for the preceding year, in coordinating plans for public housing in renewal areas.

Ash's appointment as Acting Administrator of the BHA was applauded, but there were openly-expressed doubts as to whether he could get progressive new programs or experiments through the Authority board, or that he would be able to close the gate on patronage jobs. Both questions still remain to some extent unanswered, although there have been several tangible and hopeful evidences of change since his appointment. The first was a statement of a "total policy of integration, non-discrimination and non-segregation" which was drafted in close cooperation with groups such as the National Association of Social Workers, the Massachusetts Committee on Discrimination in Housing, the United Community Services, CORE and the NAACP. This policy statement formed the basis of the formal agreement which the BHA signed with CORE and NAACP in November 1963. The second was the establishment of a long-sought Department of Tenant and Community Relations late in 1964, and the appointment of a progressive, social welfare-oriented department head. Ash has worked closely with this new department and with the powerful Tenant Selection Section to try to implement the CORE/NAACP agreement. The third is a document establishing policies and

standards governing occupancy of housing developments, issued late in 1965, which sets forth detailed procedures for tenant selection, eligibility requirements, priorities, etc.

During Ash's administration, the BHA has tried out all of the various new federal housing programs introduced in recent years: leased housing, "turnkey", rehabilitation, scattered site development, and demonstration grants. The current status of these programs in Boston has been described earlier in this report. (See pages 24 - 31)

The general feeling seems to be that although things are changing, they are not changing fast enough. Policies have been announced, the machinery exists for setting them in motion, but action is slow on many fronts. As the BHA Advisory Committee stated in its 1966 report, there is a "Performance gap of alarming and disheartening proportions" between stated policies and implementation. The report further states: "The Committee believes that the Authority has failed to grant the authority necessary to the Administrator to make possible the implementation of its stated policies and the achievement of its goals. He must be given the power and responsibility to hire, fire, promote, and transfer staff as required to assure success. In turn, the Committee feels that the Administrator must clearly confront the Authority with the limitations of his authority and demand correction -- patience and conciliation can be overdone."

The job that the BHA has to do is a big one: to improve the quality of existing projects; to launch an aggressive campaign for more public housing of a type acceptable both to the community and to tenants; to revise and modernize

operational procedures and systems both within the central office and in the offices of housing managers; to devise ways to speed the time between authorization of new housing and its realization; perhaps most important of all, to make sure that every employee of the BHA is actively concerned with the social and human implications of the public housing program. If these goals are to be achieved, it is essential that the areas of responsibility be divided between an Authority whose job is to set broad policies and long-range goals, and an Administrator whose job is to see that they are carried out imaginatively and expeditiously. In addition, that Administrator must himself take more forceful and direct action, in order that the progressive program he is committed to does not bog down. As the top executive of the BHA, that is his responsibility.

WHO'S WHO IN THE BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

III. THE STAFF

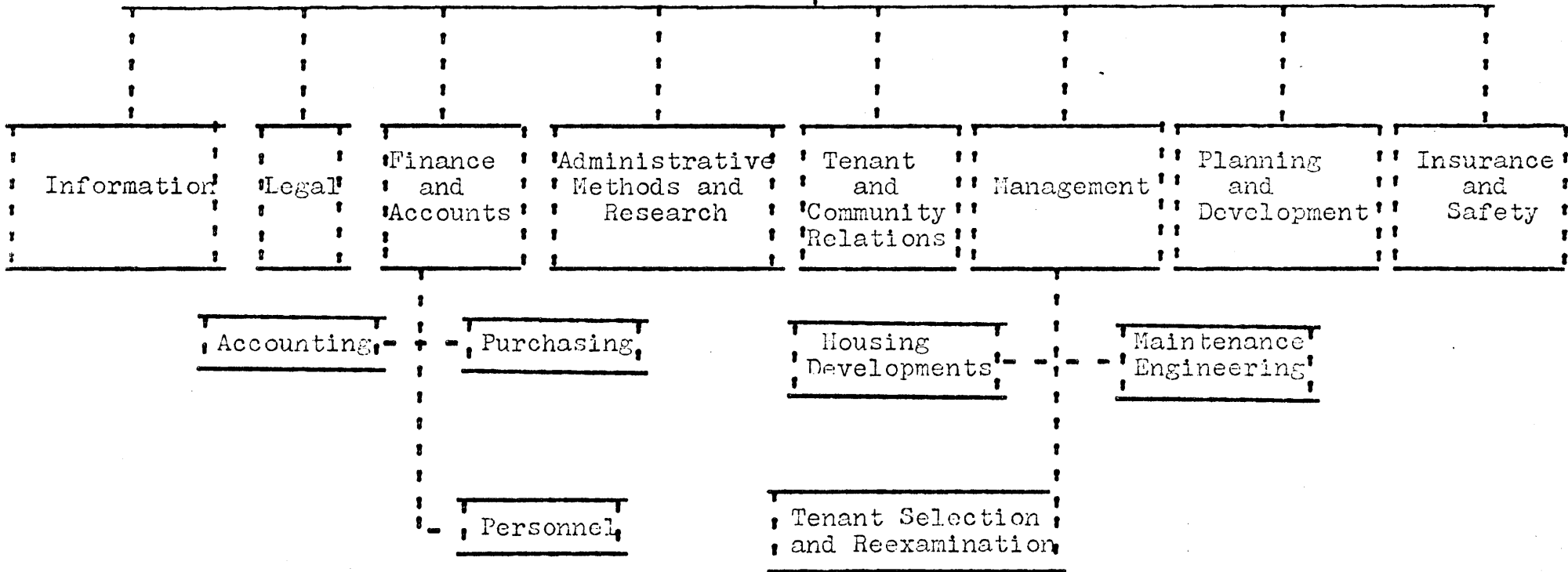
The BHA is responsible for planning, construction, management and maintenance of all of Boston's nearly 15,000 public housing units. To carry out these multiple responsibilities, it has a staff of over 700 people -- 220 white collar workers, and almost 500 blue collar workers, with an annual payroll that exceeds \$1,250,000 (1966). The majority of employees work at the individual project sites; the balance at the two downtown offices, one at 230 Congress Street and the other at Faneuil Hall Square. The organization chart on the following page shows how the various departments and functions officially relate.

Tenure System. A unique provision of Massachusetts law, enacted in 1962, establishes a life tenure system for housing authority employees, except for the executive director and a few of the maintenance staff.^{1/} This system has many of the disadvantages of the state civil service system which is now under such hot attack, for it precludes hiring employees on the basis of qualifications. Employees take no examination to qualify for a job (although those hired for federal projects must now by law meet certain education and experience requirements); after five years' service, they cannot be fired except for the most flagrant cause, and even then are entitled to hearings before a board similar to the Civil Service Commission; compulsory retirement is at age 70, and carries generous pension benefits. As a result of this

^{1/} Certain skilled workmen such as electricians are considered "temporary employees" and are not covered by tenure.

BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

Administrator



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system, employees are often kept on in spite of mediocre work, and often after they are no longer productive. Superiors are powerless to demand good performance, since they can neither promote competent employees nor fire incompetent ones. As a result, employees themselves often lack motivation for good performance.

Hiring Policies. Many among the office staff, and several of the project managers, have been with the BHA since its early days; there is little turnover, and therefore little hiring, except for workers not covered by tenure. When there are openings -- in either white collar jobs or blue -- they are not advertised, nor are applicants recruited. These are in large part patronage jobs and are filled by directives from city hall. Since political favor is the only prerequisite, many employees (particularly at the project level) lack even basic qualifications for the jobs they hold. Among notable exceptions are employees of the new Tenant and Community Relations Department, who are chosen by the head of that department on the basis of education and experience, and then approved by the Authority. Outside of that one department, there are virtually none of the highly trained young professionals who are attracted to other Boston agencies, notably the Boston Redevelopment Authority. In the case of the latter, qualified people are recruited both locally and nationally; they are employed only as long as they are productive; they do not have tenure, and salaries are attractive. As a result, the overall quality of both the employees and the work of the Redevelopment Authority is relatively high, and its program is vigorously implemented.

Another consequence of the BHA's hiring policies is the fact that the bulk of its employees are in their 50's and 60's, looking towards retirement. There is no evidence that younger men are being actively sought or groomed to step into their places when they retire. As a result, the BHA faces the same incipient crisis that is now being recognized in other city and state agencies. A recent feature article in the Boston Globe reported that half of the city's staff is aged 50 or more, and that almost one-fourth are due to retire before 1970. The crisis exists because trained and skilled young employees are not being recruited and trained. Governor Volpe, recently pleading for revision of the state civil service system, described a similar situation within state agencies.

Salaries. Two reasons the BHA, as well as city and state agencies, cannot attract or hold skilled young people are: first, that their "image" as an employer is poor -- these agencies are seen as places where nothing really happens; second, that the pay scale is comparatively low. Salaries must be approved by the state Division of Housing, the HAA, and the Authority, and are set on a par with those of other local agencies such as the MBTA, the Port Authority, and some city agencies. Salaries do not compare well with those of the BRA, private industry, or the federal government -- all of whom are actively competing for professional help. Even the job of BHA Administrator, for example, carried a salary of only \$13,000 prior to Ellis Ash's appointment; a considerable increase was finally negotiated for him with the PHA.

Lack of Training Programs. Despite the fact that most employees have no prior qualifications for their jobs, there

are no on-the-job training programs, or even any indoctrination courses. Employees learn -- or do not learn -- as they go. A few have innate sympathy and understanding of the myriad problems faced by many tenants; the rest are either unsympathetic, or lack the social service or human relations training and experience needed to deal effectively with them. Proposals for in-service training programs have been talked about at the BHA, but among the few administrative heads capable of working out the details of such a program, all are too burdened with day-to-day involvements to take the time necessary to get it into action.

Understaffing. Several key departments are seriously understaffed, with the consequence that the most able department heads are overworked, and much vital work is perforce left undone, or proceeds slowly. The Leased Housing Department, for example, which is charged with finding and leasing 1000 dwelling units, is staffed by two men and a secretary. The Development Department, which is charged with construction of all new public housing, lacks planners, architects, rehabilitation specialists, and even draftsmen. The chief reason for this under-staffing is the reluctance of both state and federal housing agencies to approve the hiring of additional employees.

Summer Employment. During the past two summers, student work programs have briefly introduced young people into the BHA. Under the Youth Opportunity Program, the College Work/Study Program, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, students have been employed in jobs ranging from manual laborers to assistants to Management Aides. These programs, currently made possible by outside funding, could provide a source of employee

recruitment if regular and continuing funding were made available by state and federal housing agencies, and if the practice of filling job openings through political patronage did not discourage such recruitment.

"WHO'S WHO IN THE BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

IV. DEPARTMENT HEADS

Directors of six key departments -- Management, Development, Administration, Legal, Finance and Accounts, and Tenant and Community Relations -- form the executive staff of the BHA. Although the Tenant Selection department appears on the organization chart as a sub-section under Management, it is in actuality one of the most important and powerful departments in the BHA. Two other departments which might be expected to have considerable stature -- personnel and public relations -- actually play very minor roles. Personnel is a sub-section under Finance and Accounts, and the responsibilities of the personnel officer are largely limited to keeping personnel records and pension and insurance plan accounts. The "Information Department" performs equally minor and routine functions, despite the crying need for a vigorous and continuing program of public information and communication.

Director of Management Albert Palmer, 58, has been with the BHA since 1953, prior to which he was an employee of the PHA. He is responsible for the maintenance and general management of all 35 housing projects; he oversees the 13 site offices and their management staffs, as well as the physical maintenance staff, which together number approximately 600.

Director of Development John F. Millerick, 57, employed initially by the BHA in 1937, has progressed from junior draftsman to his present position. He is a registered architect, a licensed builder, and a real estate broker. His department, responsible for overseeing the construction of housing projects,

is seriously understaffed, and lacks the kind of technical personnel which would ordinarily be considered an essential part of a development department.

General Counsel Paul A. Liston, 59, a law graduate of Boston University, has been with the BHA since 1939. Previously he had been in private law practice and had served as an attorney for the state Banking Department.

Director of Finance and Accounts Frank L. Donahue, 62, is another long-time employee of the BHA, having been first employed in 1939. He assumed his present title in 1959, and is responsible for the financial management of the multi-million dollar operation of the authority.

Director of Administration Cornelius J. Connors, 54, employed by the BHA in 1954, has an A.B. Degree from Boston College and an MBA Degree from Boston University Graduate School of Business Administration. Prior to coming to the BHA he had been employed as a consultant in economic research and had served as an economist with the PHA and the U. S. Department of Labor. His considerable responsibility falls under the catch-all heading of "administrative methods and research."

Director of Tenant and Community Relations Richard S. Scobie, 32, who came to the BHA in 1964 to head this newly-established department, has an A.B. Degree from Dartmouth College and a Master's Degree in Social Work from the University of Pittsburgh. He is a member of the Academy of Certified Social Workers, a part-time instructor in Social Welfare at Boston University, and is active in housing and social work organizations both in Boston and nationally. His staff now numbers 18, including an Intergroup Relations Officer, 4 tenant relations

aides and 8 management aides. The department has federal approval to hire 10 additional staff members, but their appointment is presently held up by the State Division of Housing.

"WHO'S WHO" IN THE BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

V. THE PROJECT MANAGERS

Key people in any public housing program are the men who manage the various projects, for they are the main point of contact between tenants and management. Policies may be made "downtown", but the managers are the ones who put them into practice. How they choose to interpret and enforce those policies in their day-to-day dealings with tenants can often make the difference between tenant satisfaction and acute dissatisfaction. Theirs is a crucial position and a frustrating one.

The Interviews with Managers

In the course of this study, an extensive interview was held with each of the 13 managers responsible for the 35 Boston projects, as well as with the Director of Management. The primary purpose of the interviews was to try to assess reactions of both managers and tenants to existing policies of the BHA, and to see how those policies are carried out in the various projects. It was also hoped that by eliciting managers' attitudes towards their jobs and towards their tenants, as well as by assessing their background and capabilities, some indications might be gained as to how effectively present managers promote good tenant/management relations.

First reaction of both managers and management to the interviews was wary, even hostile. It was apparent that these men are defensive about their positions, and were careful to give answers which were in line with the "rule book", even

though anonymity had been assured them. However, as the interviews progressed, defensiveness tended to disappear, and most managers seemed pleased at the opportunity to describe their work and air their grievances. Personal views and comments were often quite revealing, and sometimes entirely at variance with earlier stock answers.

Who are the Managers? Although these 13 managers differ widely in personality, background, and attitude, they have enough characteristics in common to permit the sketching of a broad composite picture. The "composite" manager is white (there is only one Negro manager), male (no women managers in Boston), 52 years of age, and of Irish descent. He manages two projects, with a total of some 1200 families and 4200 people under his supervision. He is assisted by a staff of about 40, (or one for every 30 families) including an assistant manager, cashier, four other office workers, and a maintenance staff of 36. He has been an employee of the BHA for many years, having started literally at the bottom and worked up through cashier and assistant manager to his present spot as manager. This pattern occurred with striking consistency. Several managers have been with the BHA since its beginning; none are recent employees, although two have been recently re-hired after long absences. It was not uncommon to hear the remark, "I grew up with the BHA".

Background and Training. The unavoidable conclusion gained from the interviews was that little in the background or training of these housing managers has prepared them for their

present jobs. Prior to being hired by the BHA, they held a miscellaneous assortment of jobs. Among them are former maintenance men, a jewelry salesman, a laundry owner, an insurance broker, a school teacher, a former patronage secretary to the Mayor. One or two have some college background, two or three have had accounting courses, but there is a striking lack of social service training or orientation either before or since these men assumed their present positions. They seem almost to have drifted into their managerial jobs, the majority as a result of political favor.

Judging solely by the interviews, only one or two of the managers appeared to have the personality and attitudes that would lead to good rapport with tenants and staff. The majority seemed generally unsuited for, and ineffective in, the key positions they hold. These strong impressions were later confirmed in interviews with tenants. The same is apparently true of assistant managers. One BHA department head recently stated that given a manager vacancy "we would be hard pressed to find a single assistant manager capable of running a development. Several of the recently hired assistant managers -- political appointees all -- have even less experience than aptitude."

Attitude Toward Job. Most managers consider rent collection their most important responsibility, with maintenance of buildings and grounds second in importance. Tenant relations takes a poor third place, although all managers give lip service to its importance. Several reported that so much of their time

(from 30% to 50%) is taken up with collection of rents, annual income review, reports and other paperwork, that this, plus supervision of the maintenance staff, leaves them little time to spend with tenants. The managers' first responsibility is to the Management Department, which stresses rent collection and physical upkeep, and managers allocate their time accordingly. Some claim they would like to be able to spend more time with tenants, helping with their problems, and just getting to know them, but in general, tenant relations is felt to be the responsibility of social workers and the handful of Tenant Aides now employed by the BHA.

Managers' attitudes towards the various rules and regulations established for tenants vary widely. Some expressed the opinion that there are too many regulations; one or two would like to see stricter enforcement of rules, especially penalties for non-payment of rent, but the majority consider present regulations both fair and necessary. As for their own jobs, most managers would like to have more individual authority in running their projects.

Attitude Towards Tenants. With the exception of the manager of one virtually all-white project, who said that "nothing has changed here in 20 years", all managers were concerned about the tremendous changes in their projects in recent years, caused by the "different kind of family they are sending us." Some implied, or stated outright, that "there is nothing wrong with public housing except for the kind of people who are moving in." Although there was no mention of race per se, the "kind of people" they referred to were, by implication,

negroes. Since many of these managers started with the BHA in its early days, they still see the purpose of public housing as being to house "nice" middle-class families who pay their rent promptly and keep their apartments neat. They neither understand nor sympathize with the problem-ridden families who have moved into public housing in such numbers in recent years, and managers criticize these families as poor house-keepers, who lack control over their children, are unable to manage their money, and are often immoral. Although managers admit that families with major anti-social problems constitute a very small proportion of the project population, they feel that these few troublesome families often "ruin public housing for the nice families." One or two managers advocate tighter screening of applicants, either at the BHA office, or by the managers themselves -- "After all, we have to live with them." All stress the need of more professional social service help, which they feel should be provided by the BHA in conjunction with both private and public agencies

Problems of Management. With few exceptions, managers see vandalism as a major, and growing problem. Breakage of windows and doors is the most common complaint, with defacing of walls, foundations, and elevators second; general destruction of grounds and equipment is also prevalent. Several projects which formerly had laundry rooms for tenants have closed them because of vandalism and theft. The amount and kind of damage varies among projects and in the degree to which it is blamed on teenagers who come from outside the project.^{1/}

^{1/} A recent study made by the Tenant Assoc. Council of vandalism indicated that overall, tenants were responsible for 50% of damage, and outsiders for the balance. 87% of vandalism in elevators at Columbia Pt. was caused by tenants, they found.

Limitations of budget, and shortage of skilled workmen such as plumbers and painters, are frequently mentioned by managers. Although they feel that they must "make do" with their budgets, ("our job is to protect the tax-payers' money") problems of maintenance are great, particularly in the older projects. Funds for major rehabilitation are needed, and without such funds, maintenance is essentially a patching-up process.

Tenants View Managers. The interviews and questionnaires gave some insight into how managers view their jobs and their own effectiveness. (How they enforce specific tenant regulations and procedures will be described in the section on Policies and Procedures, pages 68 - 117. Different insights on the managers themselves were gathered from tenants, who in general appear to both fear and distrust managers and their staffs. The majority of managers are described as either rude, indifferent, unavailable to tenants who try to talk to them, or unsympathetic. Many tenants claim that they never see the manager, even on rent-paying day, since his office assistants actually collect the rents. Their specific tenant complaints will be brought out in later sections of this report.

The Managers' Dilemma. A manager's job is not an easy one. Over-all, managers are caught between the demands of the Management Department to concentrate on collecting rents and keeping projects in order, and demands of tenants for better service and fewer restrictions. As a result, they are not really sure whether they are rent collectors or social workers,

and are uncertain about their role. Tenants are often unreasonable, and a considerable amount of anti-social behavior exists in the projects. In addition, managers must deal with maintenance staffs often laden with city hall appointees in key positions, over whom they have no power to demand good performance.

In recent years, no regular meetings of managers have been held at which they could air some of their confusions and discuss possible solutions to the problems they share in common. Recently, at the suggestion of the new Tenant and Community Relations Department, monthly meetings of managers were initiated at BHA offices, and it is felt that they are of some help. However, until orientation and training programs for managers are instituted -- or until patronage hiring is eliminated -- it is not likely that tenant-management relations in Boston's public housing will improve to any appreciable extent.

TENANT/MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

A maze of rules, policies, and statutes governs the admission and continued occupancy of public housing tenants. Some of these requirements are established by federal law, some by the State, and many by the local housing authority. The principal ones will be discussed in the following pages.

I. TENANT SELECTION

Federal housing law sets only very broad eligibility requirements for families seeking admission to public housing: first, they must be families of low income, who are defined as those "in the lowest income group and who cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise in their locality or metropolitan area to build an adequate supply of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for their use."^{1/} Actual income limits for admission, and rents to be charged, are now left up to the states. Second, the Housing Act specifies that full consideration shall be given to the rehousing of families displaced by urban renewal and other public action, to veterans and their families, and "to the applicant's age or disability, housing conditions, urgency of housing need, and source of income."

In Boston, where some 4,500 applicant families compete each year for the 1,850 units that become available through turnover, the question of who gets into which project, and how long it takes, becomes a matter of pressing concern. Of all the controversial aspects of BHA operations, none has

^{1/} U. S. Housing Act of 1937 as amended.

been more vigorously attacked than the tenant selection process. Mystery and unpredictability have characterized the procedure; some applicants are housed within a matter of days, while others have waited in vain for years. As a result, the belief is widely held that unless you know someone -- a politician, a member of the Housing Authority or the Tenant Selection Department, or someone else with influence -- your chances of getting into public housing at all are very slim, and virtually non-existent if you apply for one of the "good" projects (i.e. a "white" project, or one of the new developments for the elderly.) Not only are politicians and BHA staff besieged to use their influence; it may just as easily be the parish priest, a social agency, or a civil rights group that does the pressuring on behalf of a family in desperate housing need.

In its agreement with CORE and NAACP in 1963,^{1/} the BHA pledged itself to establishing a fair and objective system of tenant selection. Two groups formed as a result of that agreement -- the Tenant and Community Relations Department and the Advisory Committee to the BHA -- have worked closely with Administrator Ash and the Tenant Selection Department to establish criteria for eligibility, priority, and "acceptability" of applicants. Machinery has also been developed for evaluating, processing, and placing tenants.^{2/} That it is not yet working smoothly is partly understandable when the following complicated structure is set forth.

^{1/} See section on Racial Distribution, page

^{2/} "Resolution Establishing Policies and Standards Governing Occupancy of Federally-Aided Projects", BHA, Oct. 28, 1965.

Eligibility. The first hurdles a family must safely pass before it can be considered for public housing in Boston are the following:

- . . Citizenship (this is not required by the U. S. Housing Act)
- . . Residency in Boston for 1 year, except for families displaced by public action, who are exempt from residency requirements. (The minimum was recently decreased from 3 years)
- . . Net family income shall not exceed the approved income limit for such families. (These limits are described under Rent and Income Policies, page 88.)
- . . Family assets shall not exceed one and one-half times the applicable limit for admission
- . . The family must be living in substandard housing, or have been displaced by public action, or be about to be displaced or evicted through no fault of its own.
- . . The family shall not own residential property.
- . . The family must meet "acceptability" standards (see below)

Priority. Among families eligible and "of equal need", the Commonwealth statutes specify that preference shall be given in the following order:

1. To families which have been (or are to be) displaced by public action. Among these, first preference is given to disabled veterans; second, to families of deceased veterans; third, to other veterans and servicemen.

2. Among eligible families not displaced by public action, the same veteran priorities obtain.
3. Between eligible applicants of equal need, the family with the greater number of minors shall be given priority consideration;
4. "When all factors are equal",^{1/} consideration shall be given to time of filing application.

Classification. To compound the confusion still further, once families have been declared eligible, their priority rank determined, and the extent of their housing need "scored" according to an elaborate point system, applications are then divided into three classifications: First, by ability to pay. Applicants are separated into two groups: those who can pay above \$57 rent (the current average rent which the BHA must collect in order to break even) and those who can pay less. From these groups, a mix of tenants is selected whose aggregate rent will maintain the required average. Second, according to size of apartment needed. Third, family composition is taken into account for the purpose of "correcting existing imbalances or preventing the creation of imbalance of race."^{2/}

Acceptability. There is a difference between "eligibility" and "acceptability", as defined by the BHA. Prior to the CCRE/NAACP agreement, a list of 15 social prohibitions was in effect, any one of which could exclude a family. These

^{1/} "Resolution Establishing Policies and Standards Governing Occupancy of Federally-Aided Projects", BHA, Oct. 28, 1965.

^{2/} Ibid

included "excessive use" of alcohol, use of drugs, unmarried couples, out-of-wedlock children (except under certain specified conditions), and even "unsanitary house-keeping" and "obnoxious conduct or behavior in connection with processing of application." That list has now been scrapped, at least officially, and an "unacceptable family" is now defined by the BHA as "one whose composition or behavior constitutes:

A danger to the health, safety, morals of other tenants;

A seriously adverse influence upon sound family and community life;

A source of danger or damage to the property of the **Authority;**

A source of danger or damage to the peace and comfort of other families

In any other sense, a nuisance.^{1/}

With the realization that too narrow an interpretation of these standards could make them just as restrictive as the former list, and that personal bias might influence judgement, the Department of Tenant and Community Relations was asked to develop criteria which would be both humane and workable. Families which show evidence of being a clear danger are ruled ineligible, others which show signs of severe social disturbance (criminal convictions during the past two years, a pattern of out-of-wedlock children with the youngest under two years of age, evidence of

^{1/} "Resolution Establishing Policies and Standards Governing Occupancy of Federally-Aided Projects", BHA, Oct. 28, 1965.

unsanitary housekeeping, etc.) are given a rating of "tentatively eligible" and are referred to the Tenant and Community Relations Department for evaluation. After home visits and consultation with welfare agencies, probation officers, or social agencies which may know the family, the department re-assesses the family's potential for adjusting to project living, and forwards a recommendation back to the Tenant Selection section. There a decision regarding eligibility is made. Out of 297 families whose cases have been referred between December 1, 1965 and February 28, 1967, 208 were re-classified as "eligible" by the Tenant and Community Relations Department, 14 were classified as "ineligible" and the remainder are currently still being evaluated.

To reject needy families on the basis of social values seems, in some respects, hard to justify, yet it is obvious that some limits must be set. The BHA claims that the only families now rejected are those whose problems are so acute, or whose behavior so flagrantly anti-social, that even with a battery of social services (which in some cases they are unwilling to accept) they would present a clear and present danger.

The right to appeal. Any family found ineligible or unacceptable is now so notified by letter (formerly, they were never told that they had been rejected) and the reason for rejection is specified. Although this is a step in the right direction, a formal appeal process is still lacking, and needed. The BHA maintains that any rejected applicant

has the right to ask for a re-hearing; such a right, however, is never officially explained to the applicant. The Advisory Committee to the BHA has recently suggested that the letter informing an applicant of his ineligibility include a statement that he may appeal the decision and may present additional information to support his appeal.

The machinery now exists by which tenants can be objectively and equitably selected, and although that machinery does not yet run smoothly, there is reason for cautious optimism. Much-needed personnel has been added to the Tenant Selection staff, and real efforts are being made both to speed processing of the backlog of applications and to bring records up to date. It is apparent from a visit to the Tenant Selection Department that more modern methods of record keeping are needed -- ideally, an electronic data processing system --- to eliminate present delays and confusions. Also desirable would be a large chart (or tote-board) on the wall, so that as the prized "vacate slips" sent in daily by project managers are received, vacancies could be promptly recorded. (In the past, vacate slips were kept under lock and key.) All personnel concerned with tenant placement would thus have ready access to knowledge of location and size of each vacancy as it occurs, and its disposition would be a matter of record. In addition, such a system would reduce the possibility of politically motivated placements.

Tenant selection is a difficult and complicated process at best, and one from which judgmental values cannot be entirely eliminated. As long as decent low-income housing remains a

scarce commodity, competition for public housing will remain keen, and some form of personal influence will probably continue to play a part in deciding priorities. However, it is to be hoped that the days are over when politicians openly boast of how many people they have gotten into public housing, and when tenants in "good" projects acknowledge that it took the right phone call to get them there.

TENANT/MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

II. RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN PUBLIC HOUSING

The non-white population of the Boston metropolitan region more than doubled between 1950 and 1960^{1/} and is continuing to increase. In the city of Boston alone, where almost 80% of the region's Negroes live, their proportion grew from 5.3% of the total population in 1950 to 9.8% in 1960. In 1967, that proportion is an estimated 10-12%, which approximates the national percentage. Present predictions are that by 1970 there will be approximately 100,000 non-white residents in Boston, or slightly over 14% of the projected City population.^{2/}

The percentage of Negroes in public housing in Boston is much greater than their percentage in the general population. In 1960, 13.5% of public housing families were Negro; two years later, that percentage had grown to 15.2%; at the end of 1966, it was 25%. (See table following) Current applications show an even more striking trend: in early 1967, Negro applicants outnumbered whites for the first time, with applications being 43% Negro, 41% white, and 16% Puerto Rican. Some observers predict that within the easily foreseeable future, public housing will be "Negro housing", unless some way can be found to halt current trends, particularly the increasing exodus of white families.

^{1/} Mass Transportation Commission, The Boston Regional Survey, April, 1963. The Negro population in 1960 in the Boston SMSA was 87,100, a 56.4% increase from 1950. Non-white population was still only 3.4% of the Region's population, as compared with 11.4% of the total U. S. population.

^{2/} League of Women Voters, Boston Section, "Population and Housing", Mimeographed Report, March 1965.

The Pattern of Segregation. Until very recent years, segregation was an accepted way of life in housing developments in Boston. When the Lenox St. project in the South End was completed in 1940 (the first to accept Negroes), it was 100% Negro. In Orchard Park, the second project open to non-whites, certain buildings were designated for Negro occupancy, and were known as "the colored section." It is reported that in another similarly segregated project, Negroes and whites at one time stood in separate lines to pay their rent at the project office. By 1960, the pattern of segregation in projects throughout the City was unmistakable to anyone who cared to look. Thirteen of the 25 housing projects then in existence in Boston were more than 96% white, and of these, seven were exclusively occupied by whites. Of the 1,733 Negro families in the 15 federally-aided projects then in operation, 98.6% were concentrated in seven projects, two of which were entirely Negro. Discrimination was even more evident in the 10 state-aided projects, where only 3.6% of the 3,675 units were occupied by Negro tenants -- 134 families. Of these, 122 Negro families were concentrated in four projects, one of which was entirely Negro. That this pattern of segregation was neither accidental nor a matter of project location was vividly evidenced by two projects across the street from each other in Roxbury: Mission Hill, which was 100% white, and Mission Hill Extension, which was over 80% Negro.

With the activation of the civil rights movement, and particularly following the Presidential Executive Order of 1962, several groups began to focus on the racial issue in Boston's

public housing. In 1962, the NAACP filed a formal complaint with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, charging the Boston Housing Authority with "maintaining a pattern of racially segregated living in its public housing projects." The complaint charged that both tenant selection policies and hiring policies were discriminatory, and made specific recommendations for operational and policy changes within the BHA.

New Integration Policies Established. Although the Authority hotly denied the charges, the situation spoke for itself. The complaint and resultant publicity were the direct cause of the appointment of Ellis Ash as Acting Administrator of the BHA in May 1963. He immediately began to work with representatives of various social and civil groups to draft new BHA policies on racial integration and tenant selection. A statement of policy on tenancy in public housing was adopted by the Authority in June 1963 and formed the basis of a written agreement between CORE and NAACP, and the BHA, which was signed in November of the same year. It included the following provisions:

1. That all public housing would be racially integrated and fairly and equitably available to all eligible applicants; and that employment practices would be similarly non-discriminatory.
2. That a 9-man Advisory Committee would be established to render advice on implementation of the agreement and to "study, evaluate and advise" on procedures of the Authority relative to that agreement;
3. That an "intergroup relations officer" would be hired, together with necessary staff, to "formulate

programs for the education and training of the staff of the Authority" on matters of race and tenant selection;

4. That a new and objective system of processing and placing tenant applicants would be established and maintained.

The signing of this agreement was hailed as a victory. Implementation, however, proved to be another matter. The Authority board took no action either to put the new policies into effect or to hire an intergroup relations officer. Then, with civil rights ferment increasing, both nationally and locally, and with sit-ins over segregated schools and other forms of discrimination, there were persistent rumors that a race riot was imminent in Boston. This possibility, coupled with continued pressure from such groups as the Massachusetts Committee on Discrimination in Housing and the United Community Services' Special Commission on Housing, finally forced the Mayor to act. With some fanfare, he announced in July 1964 the creation of a new Tenant and Community Relations Department at the BHA. Richard Scobie, who had been on loan to the BHA from the Special Services Department of United Community Services for several months to advise on setting up the new department, was hired as its director, and in accordance with conditions he had set before accepting the post, he was permitted to name his own assistant, and to make recommendations for his own staff.

Token Progress Made. Scobie and his staff, together with Ash, have since worked closely with the hitherto autonomous Tenant

Selection Department, headed by James Crowley. Since that time, there has been at least token progress made towards wider distribution of Negroes among the various projects, as the following table shows. It can now be said that no project is 100% white -- although the fact that four were still 98% white, at the end of 1966, and 10 others over 90% white diminishes the impact of that statement. State-aided projects are still essentially segregated, with only 10% Negro occupancy, partly because higher rents in these units automatically exclude many Negro families. The racial situation has actually worsened in some projects: Bromley Park, Orchard Park, South End, and Columbia Point^{1/} are rapidly becoming predominantly Negro, despite efforts to halt the trend. There is little evidence that the hope expressed by the BHA in 1963 that "the placement pattern in individual developments over a period of time should tend to reflect the racial balance of the total racial ratio throughout all of the developments maintained by the Authority"^{2/} is even moving close to realization. In only a handful of individual projects does the percentage of Negro residents approximate the over-all percentage of Negro households in public housing -- now 25%.

"Integrating Assignments!" Efforts to promote integration have run into the discouraging reality that most families of both races are reluctant to live in projects where they are a

1/ Although the percentage of Negro families at Columbia Point is only 36% of the approximate 6,000 residents, over one-half are minors, and the majority of them are Negro.

2/ Resolution Establishing Policies and Stds Governing occupancy of Federally-Aided Developments, BHA, 10/28/65, pg. 19.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN PUBLIC HOUSING IN BOSTON 1960-1966

<u>Federally-aided Projects</u>	<u>No. of Units</u>	<u>Number of Non-White Families</u>		
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>Dec. 31, 1966</u>
Mission Hill Extension, Roxbury	587	476	509	502
Lenox St., So. End	306	305	300	302
Whittier St., Roxbury	200	188	189	190
Richard Park, Roxbury	772	143	267	553
Romley Park, Jam. Plain	725	171	203	387
South End	507	259	276	305
Columbia Pt., Dorchester	1480	166	210	528
Leath St., Roxbury	412	2	13	162
Mission Hill, Roxbury	1022	0	1	91
Franklin Hill, Dorchester	375	15	15	61
Harlestown	1147	4	4	23
Washington & Beech, So Cove	274	2	3	22
Old Colony, So. Boston	873	2	0	29
Old Harbor, So. Boston	1016	0	0	19
East Boston	411	0	0	10
Lincoln Hill, N. Dorchester	86	--	13	21
Chestnut Hill, Brighton	64	--	--	11
Wickford St. Jam. Plain	64	--	5	8
Maple St., Dorchester	56	--	1	6
Washington St., Brighton	82	--	--	6
Wood St., Jamaica Plain	44	--	0	2
Shmont, Dorchester	54	--	--	2
Wm. J. Foley Sr, So. Bos.	96	--	--	2
Totals	10,653	1,733(17.1%)	2,009(19.4%)	3,242(30.4%)

Housing for the Elderly. Dashes indicate that the project had not yet been occupied. In computing percentages for 1960 and 1962, total number of units was reduced by number of units not completed at that time.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN PUBLIC HOUSING IN BOSTON 1960-1966, CONT'D

<u>State-Aided Projects</u>	<u>No. of Units</u>	<u>Number of Non-White Families</u>		
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>Dec. 31, 1966</u>
Franklin Field	504	20	16	100
Amden St.	72	71	71	71
Roadway	969	13	15	51
Commonwealth	648	18	15	35
Rehdale	287	5	4	33
Beaulieu	258	2	2	25
Barton St. (Callivan)	251	0	0	18
South St.	132	0	0	15
East Heights	352	5	5	14
Airmount	202	0	0	7
Franklin Field #2	80	--	--	11
Franklin Field #1	80	--	--	5
Totals	3,835	134(3.6%)	128(3.5%)	385(10%) ¹
Federal and State-Aided over-all Totals	14,488	1,867(13.5%)	2,137(15.2%)	3,627(25.0%) ¹

Housing for the Elderly. Dashes indicate that the project had not yet been occupied. In computing percentages for 1960 and 1962, total number of units was reduced by number of units not completed at that time.

¹ Preliminary figures as of May 1, 1967 show this figure to have increased to 28.6%, broken down as follows: Federal family housing 37%, Federal Housing for Elderly 8.2%, State family housing 8.5%, State elderly housing 7.9%.

conspicuous minority. Negroes resist being sent to areas such as South Boston, where Negroes are a rarity and where harrassment of Negro tenants in public housing is all too common. Whites are equally averse to being placed in Negro neighborhoods. As certain developments begin to "tip", white families begin to move out, or to request transfer to another project, thus hastening the tipping process. As the number of Negro applicants has increased in recent years, the number of white applicants has steadily decreased. As a result, applications have dropped to an average of 72 per week, compared to an average of 90 per week before integration policies were announced, with Negro applicants outnumbering whites for the first time early in 1967.^{1/}

Fair Housing, Inc. has devoted considerable effort for the past year and a half to making "integrating assignments" of families willing to be placed in segregated projects. Luring that time, they have helped place 77 families: 36 Negro families in basically white projects; 3 white families in basically Negro projects; 29 Negro families in projects rapidly "tipping", and 9 in projects over 60% Negro. Fair Housing

^{1/} In March 1966, the Advisory Committee called on the BHA to agree to make all assignments on an integrating basis until dramatic gains could be made. The BHA refused to assign applicants exclusively on this basis, but did agree to "endeavor to make the majority of assignments in accord with this approach" and that "suitable documentary explanation of exceptions to the general approach will be maintained and will be available for review." To date this pledge has not been honored in the instance of a single development during any quarterly reporting period, and to date no documentary explanations have been made available to justify or explain this failure to honor the pledge.

spokesmen feel that few of these placements would have occurred if they had not intervened, especially those in predominantly segregated projects. Certain BHA staff members, they maintain, are very cooperative in pursuing integrating assignments, while others, at least at lower eschelons, are either not interested or are highly resistant. Placards have been posted in all projects inviting any family willing to take an integrating assignment to request transfer, but the effectiveness of such a device is highly doubtful.

Benign Quotas. In an attempt to slow the "tipping" of certain projects, the BHA with the encouragement of the Advisory Committee has tried to set unofficial "benign quotas", so that after a project has reached about 25-30% Negro tenancy, Negro assignments to those projects will be avoided. This system, however, can lead to a new dilemma, in which a family in desperate need of housing cannot be placed, because the only suitable vacancies are in projects in which the "benign quotas" have already been reached. In such a case (not a unique one), is integration per se a more important goal than housing a needy family regardless of race?

Chester Hartman, writing of the difficulty of integrating all-Negro projects located in all-Negro neighborhoods, says: "In these projects there is probably no way at all of achieving integration in the absence of an end to segregated housing pattern in the community as a whole." In the case of all-Negro projects located in racially mixed neighborhoods, he continues, "It may be possible to attain integrated occupancy

if other than incremental measures are used: either holding apartments open as they become vacant until it is possible to move in a substantial number of white families -- say 30 - 50% of the total -- as a block, or decanting the project entirely (possibly in conjunction with a major remodelling job) and repopulating it on an integrated basis.....

"By positing the goal of racial integration above all others, a key element of personal decision is taken away from public housing tenants, a further invidious (and possibly) unacceptable) distinction placed between those who are and are not recipients of government welfare benefits. If one of the key elements of a satisfactory living environment is location, neighbors, surroundings, convenience, etc., single-minded pursuit of racial integration as the criterion for tenant placement and selection may prove counterproductive....

"It may be that until such time as there is 'no hiding place', when open occupancy housing is achieved throughout all sectors, we cannot and should not expect a significant level of racial integration in public housing."^{1/}

One of the keys to making interracial living patterns more acceptable is through increasing use of "intergroup" workers in housing projects and neighborhoods, both to help minority families adjust to the kind of community living that large projects entail, and to work with the community itself. Administrator Ash believes that such experts must be hired in greater numbers by the BHA, but says that efforts in this direction are repeatedly blocked by the state Division of Housing.

^{1/} Chester Hartman, "The Impact of Federal Housing and Community Development Programs on the Poverty Program", Prepared for OEO, 1965.

He recently wrote: "The prevailing administrative philosophy of the Division of Housing, which does not approve the utilization of skilled staff services in intergroup relations, greatly handicaps local progress....Specifically, the State Division of Housing has refused to authorize any budgetary support for the newly-created Department of Tenant and Community Relations in the BHA, and has insisted that the entire burden be placed on the federally-aided program."^{1/} It should be noted that the Division of Housing, after continued insistence by various interested groups, and after final intervention by the Lt. Governor, recently agreed to pay a share of the salaries of present staff members of the Tenant and Community Relations Department, but is currently balking at the addition of ten other urgently-needed staff members, whose positions have already been approved by the Authority and by the HAA.

Some progress has been made by the BHA in recent years in hiring negro employees. At the time the CORE/NAACP suit was filed against the BHA, only one Negro was employed as a manager, three Negro women were employed in clerical positions in the project offices, and approximately 10 Negroes were employed as maintenance workers. In early 1967, a total of 47 Negroes were working for the BHA -- 25 as office workers and 22 on maintenance staffs. However, there was still only one Negro project manager.

Continued and redoubled efforts should be made to lessen

^{1/} Ellis Ash, "Statement to Advisory Committee on Housing/Urban Renewal to the Department of Commerce and Development, Oct. 21, 1964.

the exaggerated extent of racial segregation that still exists in public housing. Experiments should be tried, and expert advice sought. If the overriding reason for segregation in state-aided projects is the higher rents in those projects, increased attempts should be made to obtain the higher state subsidy that has been recommended. The old segregated pattern must be broken, in order that the poor in public housing, in addition to being so obviously set apart, physically, shall not additionally be divided into "poor white" and "poor Negro".

TENANT/MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

III INCOME AND RENT POLICIES

Local housing authorities are permitted by federal statute to set their own rent schedules and income limits for admission and continued occupancy, which are usually based on several general policies:

1. That the income from rents and subsidies shall be sufficient to pay all operating costs, including debt service.
2. That rents shall be kept below rental rates for equivalent accommodations available in private housing in the community.
3. That rents shall be based on income.
4. That when a tenant's income rises above maximum limits, he shall be required to move.

All of these policies were established at the inception of the public housing program in the late 30's, and were reasonable safeguards at that particular point in history. Through the years, federal requirements have been considerably relaxed, whereas those of many states, including Massachusetts, have not been similarly liberalized. Those requirements now in effect are being seriously questioned, and alternative methods are being experimented with in various parts of the country. These questions will be discussed in the context of the Boston Housing Authority's present policies and procedures.

1. Income must meet operating costs. This basic policy, still mandatory at federal level, leads to the paradox that

whereas public housing is for families of low income, it can accept only limited numbers of those with the very lowest income. Public housing was never intended for people without some rent-paying ability. The BHA puts it very plainly:

"Procedures shall be established to ensure that, with rent based on income, the admission of an excessive number of families at the bottom of the income scale will not jeopardize solvency."^{1/} The "break-even" figure in Boston today is \$57 per unit per month, which means that an economic mix of families whose aggregate rent will average out to that figure, must be sought, and maintained.

<u>MONTHLY GROSS RENTS IN BOSTON PUBLIC HOUSING 1967</u>		
<u>Family Housing</u>	<u>Minimum Rent</u>	<u>Maximum Rent</u>
Federally-Aided	\$45 per mo.	\$114 per mo.
State-Aided	55	115
<hr/>		
<u>Housing for the Elderly</u>		
Federally-Aided	\$45	\$ 90
State-Aided	57	92.50

Although Massachusetts statutes require that income of public housing tenants at admission "shall not exceed five times the annual gross rental" -- in other words, that they shall pay no less than 20% of their income for public housing -- many are paying much more, even at the minimum established rentals. For example, an individual or family with an income

^{1/} "Resolution Establishing Policies and Standards Governing Occupancy of Federally-Aided Developments". Boston Housing Authority, October 1965.

of \$2,000 paying the minimum \$45 rent in a federally-aided project would be spending 27% of its income for rent; the \$55 minimum in state-aided projects would represent 33% of that income. Since the average income of the elderly who are living in public housing in Boston is less than \$2,000,^{1/} it is very likely that many old people are forced to skimp on other necessities of life in order to pay their rent.

Rents in state-aided projects average \$10 a month higher than those in federally-aided projects, largely because of the more generous subsidies contributed by the federal programs. (See page 16.) State subsidies are so inadequate, especially as operating costs continue to rise, that the BHA may have no alternative but to raise rents again in the near future. (Unfortunately, the increased subsidy voted by the 1966 State Legislature applies only to projects completed after July 1, 1966, and therefore will offer no relief to existing developments.)

The strongest argument against the requirement that income equal outgo is, of course, that many families with the most acute need are excluded from public housing. A 1966 study in Washington D.C. showed that some 15,000 families had incomes too low to afford public housing; although similar studies have not been made in Boston, it is probably that the number is substantial. It would include many of the 18,000 reported as having incomes under \$2,000 in 1960, and certainly a fair number of the 26,000 with incomes under \$3,000. Many

^{1/} "Statement to the Committee on Public Housing, Boston City Council" by then-chairman Edward D. Hassan, Feb. 6, 1964.

of these people, either out of pride or ignorance of available help, somehow get along without public assistance, and settle for miserable (and cheap) living quarters. Even some large families with an employed father have incomes inadequate to obtain standard, non-crowded housing.

2. The gap between rentals in private and public housing.

When the first federal housing act was written, the powerful real estate lobby insisted that a gap of 20% be left between highest rents in public housing and lowest rents at which the private sector was producing substantial amounts of housing. The federal government has now eliminated that requirement, but Massachusetts retains it, except for a recent reduction of that gap to 5% in the case of families displaced through public action such as urban renewal or highway construction. In view of the shortage of standard housing available at moderate rents in the Boston area, it seems that strong efforts should be made to eliminate this requirement locally. As it now stands, a good number of families have income too high for public housing but too low for the private market (the Washington D.C. study showed over 19,000 families in this category.)

3. The graded rent system. Most public housing programs operate on the principle that as a tenant's income rises, his rent rises proportionately. Although it seems logical that as tenants earn more, the amount of their subsidy should be reduced, in actuality the system has proven to have many flaws. Tenants see the system as punitive and unfair, since it penalizes them for economic advancement; many observers see it as

inhibiting incentive and thereby depressing mobility; housing managers see it as a major administrative headache. Under this system, a tenant is required to report immediately any "substantial"^{1/} increase in income; his rent is raised the first of the following month. Present rent schedules in Boston add \$1 per month additional rent for each \$4 of additional income, including income earned by teenagers or wives. Once a year, income of each tenant is reviewed by his project manager, and his salary is verified by his employer. If a tenant has failed to report a rise in income, his rent increase is made retroactive, which usually causes a real financial hardship. (Decreases in income are reported promptly, managers state, and rents are decreased the first of the following month. If a tenant fails to report a drop in income, rent decrease is retroactive only at the discretion of the manager.)

It has been remarked somewhat bitterly that the only way to beat this system is to stay poor or lie about your income. Tenants often try to conceal increased income, especially that of working teenagers, and consequently live in fear of exposure. Tension between tenant and management results, as well as frequent informing by neighbors. In an effort to correct some of the flaws of the graded rent system, several alternate systems are being discussed and tried in other cities:

a. When income goes up, the percentage paid for rent goes down, from 20% to perhaps 16%. (In private housing,

^{1/} A "substantial" increase is currently defined by the BHA as \$400 per year, or about \$33 per month, which would increase the tenant's rent by \$8 per month.

statistics show that the larger the family's income, the lower the percentage devoted to housing.) Where this system has been tried, project turnover has been reduced, and tenants' reaction has been positive.

b. "Space rent," with a set rental established for each apartment according to its size. Rent remains constant within two classifications: "normal" rent and "hardship" rent. As a family's income rises, its classification changes.

c. New York has a "space rate" based on apartment size, with a variation of \$8-\$10 depending on location, age of structure and amenities provided. This system has been well received by tenants, even though some of them may pay as much as 25% or 30% of their income for rent. The important factor seems to be that they know what their rent will be, and that increased income will not affect it. So far, this system has been used only in New York's federally-aided projects, but tenants have petitioned that it be extended to state and city-subsidized housing as well.

d. Eliminating the requirements of reporting income changes between annual reviews. Rents are increased or decreased once a year. This plan has been seriously considered by the BHA. Not only would it reduce paperwork and record-keeping, but it would eliminate the punitive back-charges now in effect. According to Director of Management Albert Palmer, however, veterans' organizations opposed this system on the grounds that it would work a hardship on families whose income decreased between annual reviews.

4. The "Up-and-Out" Policy. Maximum incomes allowed for admission to Boston public housing and for continued occupancy are currently as follows:

No. in Family	Income Limits for Admission		Special Admission (Displaced Families)		Limits for Cont'd Occupancy	
	Fed.*	State	Fed.	State	Fed.	State
1 & 2	\$3,600	\$4,350**	\$4,500	-	\$4,950	\$5,000**
3 & 4	3,800	(+ \$200	4,750	-	5,225	(+ \$200
5 & 6	4,100	for each	5,125	-	5,638	for each
7 & up	4,400	minor)	5,500	-	6,065	minor)

*\$100 exemption allowed for each minor member in determining rent and eligibility, except that all of a minor's income shall be deducted for continued occupancy eligibility.

**In state-aided housing for the elderly, these limits are reduced to \$2,500 for individuals and \$3,000 for a couple; with continued occupancy limits of \$3,125 and \$3,750.

The concept of forcing families out when incomes exceed maximum limits was originally devised to give them an incentive to move up into private housing, as well as to assure that higher-income families were not keeping out families in greater need. Objections to this system are several: that it robs the projects of its leaders -- the upwardly-mobile, middle-class-oriented families; -- that it often forces a family to move before they are ready, financially or emotionally, and it encourages "cheating" in reporting income.

The requirement re income eligibility has been relaxed somewhat in recent years to permit families to stay until they are ready to move, or can find decent housing within their means. Currently, only an estimated 1% of the turnover is for income

ineligibility in Boston projects; and it is reported that in one or two developments between 50-60% of the tenants are actually over-income.

Both the Leased Housing and "Turnkey" programs were devised partly to obviate the shortcomings of the "up-and-out" system, making it possible for a tenant to stay as long as he chooses by paying more rent as his income rises, and taking over the lease when he exceeds public housing income limits.

Evictions and Turnover. Average annual turnover in the city's projects is slightly under 13% -- ranging from a high of nearly 30% in one project to a low of less than 1% in several projects for the elderly. The great majority of those who leave do so voluntarily -- to move into private housing, to move out of the city, or, in the case of the elderly, to move in with families or into nursing homes.^{1/} A few leave to buy their own homes.

Evictions are relatively rare, although the threat of eviction is common, especially for late payment of rent or continued misconduct. Legally, 14 days' notice must be given in cases of non-payment, and 30 days' for misconduct. Families receiving eviction notices sometimes flee in the middle of the night, leaving their few sticks of thrift-shop furniture behind; the majority pay up, and are again in good standing.

Managers themselves, who have the authority to have tenants evicted, differ widely in the degree of tolerance they show.

^{1/} Reportedly, few elderly tenants actually die in public housing. Most move into some caretaking situation as their health begins to fail.

It is reported that some managers routinely send eviction notices when rent is 5 days overdue, without even talking to the tenant. One manager, who has a fairly high proportion of evictions for non-payment, justifies them on the basis that "the last manager was too soft", and that his most important job is to get the rents in. At the other extreme, one manager says that even when eviction is unavoidable, he tries to delay giving notice until school is out for the year. The majority say they evict tenants only as a last resort. The kinds of misconduct cited as grounds for eviction range from "extreme misuse of housing", "having boarders or live-in relatives", or vandalism, to prostitution, gambling, or use of drugs.

The eviction process must go through the courts, which means it is a lengthy business. Judges tend to be very lenient in these matters and can grant up to nine months' stay of eviction to permit a tenant to find new quarters. Perhaps the most distressing thing about evictions is that tenants are never told on what grounds they may be ousted, what the eviction process is, or that they have the right to appeal. The only mention of eviction is in a clause in fine print in the lease, which states: "The Authority may terminate this lease, without cause, on any day during any term by giving the tenant not less than 14 days prior notice in writing." If one of the objectives of management is to give tenants a sense of security, certainly this phrase should be re-written, or explained.

Transfers. The manager himself is instructed to transfer tenants to other apartments when the size of their family increases or decreases to the point where it does not conform to occupancy standards, although this regulation is apparently not uniformly enforced.^{1/} The manager may also transfer tenants within his project, at their request, if the units involved have 3 bedrooms or less. For transfers involving larger units, approval must be obtained "downtown" by a tenancy review committee, as must requests for transfers to another project. If the tenant's reason for wishing a transfer is reasonable, and not based on opposition to the official policy of racial integration, the BHA says he is transferred when possible. Special efforts are currently being made to transfer tenants who request "integrating assignments". Such requests are rare, and are likely to be made only when an agency such as Fair Housing, Inc. has a actively recruited families (either Negro or white) who are willing to move into projects where tenants are predominantly not of their race.

^{1/} Definite standards specifying size of apartment according to family size have long been established. They are often not enforced in Boston public housing, particularly in well-established projects where a family may have lived for many years. When the children grow up and leave, many are permitted to stay in their technically over-sized apartment.

TENANT/MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

IV. TENANT RULES AND REGULATIONS

A complaint shared by public housing tenants throughout the country is that rules and regulations established by management are often arbitrary, unreasonable and punitive. As a result, rules are often ignored or, at best, resentfully complied with, and if the manager is too zealous in enforcement, additional friction and tension result.

Another common complaint is that rules are seldom announced or explained. In Boston, they are enumerated in the lease (which is so long, and in such fine print that it seems likely many tenants do not read it) in language which is sometimes unclear and often intimidating. No reasons are given for any of the 3/4 "shalls" and "shall nots", which include the following:

No pets of any kind are permitted. (This is frequently ignored; birds, fish, cats and occasional small dogs are kept in many apartments. Especially for lonely single people, a pet can be the only source of comfort and company.)

No nails, bolts, or screws shall be used on walls, floors, doors or trim. (Putting extra safety locks on inside doors is specifically prohibited; putting up extra shelves or even hanging pictures are by implication forbidden. The regulation regarding safety locks is routinely disregarded, particularly in projects where breaking-and-entering is a common problem.)

No TV antennae shall be installed, or hung from windows.

(A master antenna is included on all buildings for the elderly, but despite almost universal ownership of TV sets, no provision is made for antennae in other projects. In some projects, managers apparently make no effort to enforce this regulation, realizing its unreasonableness.)

No alterations of any kind may be made by the tenant.

(Most managers, however, will furnish paint if tenants want to redecorate, and most look the other way if reliable tenants do a little "fixing-up".)

Tenants are responsible for cleaning public halls and

stairways. (Various schedules are established by the different managers, but none seems to lessen the resentment tenants feel at this requirement. Most say they wouldn't object to sweeping and picking up litter, but that washing walls and scrubbing floors should be done by maintenance men. Where the responsibility of the tenant ends and that of maintenance men begins is a matter for constant debate and irritation.)

Snow removal, although specified in the lease as the tenants' responsibility, is actually done by the maintenance crew.

The Authority or its representatives shall have the right

to enter any apartment "during all reasonable hours" to examine same or to make repairs, or to remove fixtures, alterations or other prohibited items. (Managers are required to inspect apartments at least once

a year, or oftener in case of complaint. Tenants see this as an invasion of privacy, especially when the manager enters without their knowledge.) The prevalence of this practice varies among the projects.

Fees and Charges: A \$10 security deposit is required of all tenants when they move in, and is returned only if all keys are turned in, no charges are outstanding, and the apartment is left clean and in good condition. (The BHA claims that over 50% of deposits are returned.) This deposit is explained in the lease, as is a \$1 charge levied for serving an eviction notice. Other charges commonly made are for a broken window (\$1), lost keys (\$1), letting a locked-out tenant into his apartment late at night, and the labor cost of repairing stopped up sinks or toilets. In cases of vandalism where the offender is known, his family is billed for repairs. According to the BHA, such charges are purposely not listed anywhere in order to let the manager use his own discretion in imposing them.

Tenant Handbook. A joint Management-Tenant and Community Relations Committee is currently completing a handbook to be given to all tenants upon admission, explaining in simple, clear, and reasonable language the tenants' responsibilities, and reasons for the various regulations. It will also describe management's responsibilities, and the tenant's rights. It will try to avoid the kind of wording which, in the present lease, is often more offensive than the regulation itself; for

example: "The tenant's lease does not include the right to use the interior community facilities in the project, but the Authority may in its discretion extend the privilege to use such facilities to the Tenant. The tenant must make application for written permission to use such facilities." (Such a phrase turns the positive value of community facilities into a negative pronouncement.) It is important that tenants gain a sense of home, community, and security in their environment, and this can be developed only if management does everything in its power to promote a sense of good will, and of mutual concern and responsibility.

TENANT/MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

V. TENANT ORGANIZATIONS

Recent programs affecting the poor, particularly the war on poverty and urban renewal, have increasingly stressed the importance of citizen participation in decision-making, with a shift in philosophy from the old-style paternalism of "doing to" the poor to an attempt to "do with" them. Interest has consequently been renewed in the role of tenant organizations in public housing as a means of giving tenants an organized voice to air complaints and grievances, and also to give them enough power to effect changes.

Tenant organizations exist in only six developments in Boston at the present time: Mission Hill Extension, Whittier Street, Camden-Lenox, Orchard Park, Bromley-Heath, and Columbia Point. Although both the Administrator and the Director of Tenant and Community Relations are active proponents of tenant organizations, the majority of the project managers, while stating their general approval of such groups, in reality do little to encourage or support them. Several managers implied that they would tend to discourage tenant groups which met merely to have "gripe sessions" about management; the sentiment was often expressed that if tenants would get together to work on their own problems (ways to control their children, or keep their budgets straight) their organization would better suit the manager's aims. Only one or two managers stated that they would welcome suggestions from tenant groups and would try to act on reasonable requests.

Tenant Association Council. In 1963, a Tenant Association Council (TAC) was formed by interested social welfare "outsiders", with representatives of the individual project associations meeting together to take action on tenant problems which had city-wide import. Originally staffed out of United Community Services, and later by the Roxbury Federation of Neighborhood Houses, TAC got off to an active start. For the last year, however, the Association has been relatively dormant. It is no longer staffed and is therefore without professional or administrative backing, and the strongest tenant leaders have been siphoned off by various facets of the poverty program. At present, concerted attempts are being made to revitalize the organization, to establish goals and a long-range program, and actively to solicit funds to further its work. A new charter, drawn up in the Fall of 1966, states TAC's purpose, in part, as "Working to foster and maintain better relations between tenants and management, offering assistance to existing tenant organizations devoted to improvement of their neighborhoods, promoting the building of such groups where they do not exist." Present program consists of trying to get action on three fronts:

Maintenance. Particularly in the older projects, tenants complain of the poor quality of maintenance: pipes backing up, heat that goes off erratically, hot water that is equally unpredictable, and minor repairs within apartments that are ignored by maintenance men for weeks and even months at a time. One tenant, for example, has been trying since August 1965 to get a

leaking faucet repaired, and such delays are apparently not uncommon. Tenants also aver that most maintenance crews do the least work possible, and often leave their jobs early, or just disappear. They tend to be slipshod in their work, and resentful of requests made by tenants or even by the manager. Managers have no way to demand performance, (since employees are protected by the tenure system) and often find cajolery their only way of influencing workmen. Some have apparently given up trying.

Police Protection. Continued attempts have been made by tenant groups to get more adequate police protection within projects, and to insist that the per capita proportion of police to population be at least the same in housing projects as it is in the city as a whole. Tenants in several projects report that they are afraid to go out of their apartments at night because of purse-snatching and mugging. Apartments are frequently broken into. Some projects have become night hangouts for teenagers from the outside, who have noisy beer parties on the grounds often until very late.

Managers. Tenants voice considerable dissatisfaction with the majority of housing managers, finding them in general either too busy to listen to tenant problems, indifferent to them or actually hostile. TAC proposes that managers be trained in social service and human relations, and that tenant relations be

made their prime responsibility.

The Difficulty of Organizing Tenants. Those who work in the poverty program often mention the difficulty of organizing the poor, and of finding leaders among them who can play active roles. Public housing tenants are no exception. They tend to be intimidated by management, and afraid of being branded as troublemakers; most have had a long wait to get into public housing, and they don't want to rock the boat (especially those who have been placed through political connections); many are so immersed in their own problems that they have little time or thought to devote to group problems; most are cynical and pessimistic about their chances to influence management. This situation is not unique to Boston. A recent survey of public housing throughout the country indicated that "strong, independent, well-disciplined tenant associations or unions capable of bargaining effectively with management have not yet emerged anywhere."^{1/}

It is, however, imperative that more effective communication be developed between tenants and management, and one of the most effective ways to develop channels of communication is through tenant associations or unions. A recent study commissioned by the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials states the following conclusions about tenant associations: "Tenants should be informed that they are free to organize. Management should do nothing to discourage

^{1/} "Changing Concepts of the Tenant-Management Relationship", National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Feb. 1967, pg. 42.

or intimidate. But management cannot sit back and wait [for tenants to come to them with grievances.] It needs to communicate and work with tenants on dozens of problems. Self-organized tenant unions might never develop, or the leadership may be incompetent or simply hostile....Waiting for tenants to organize is a defensive posture that can well lead to stagnation, the festering of grievances, and eventual explosion."^{1/}

In summarizing a case study of one public housing program in which there is a minimum of tenant dissatisfaction and unrest, this same report goes on to say: "The Authority's approach to tenant and community relations does contrast dramatically with that of the other authorities surveyed. Communication and cooperation are actively cultivated with the tenants and with the public and private welfare agencies, local government, and the press. The Authority cooperates with the anti-poverty program and encourages tenant participation. Tenant organization is fostered. Promoting tenant organization and activity is the responsibility of each project manager. A central office staff provides guidance and assistance to managers in this respect, but the main point of contact between tenants and the Authority is the local manager."^{2/}

It seems obvious that any improvement in tenant-management relations in Boston public housing must start with basic changes in attitudes and responsibilities of the managers themselves. They need training in human and social relations (or to be

^{1/} "Changing Concepts of the Tenant-Management Relationship", National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Feb. 1967, pg. 42.

^{2/} Ibid, pg. 20.

replaced by men so trained); they need help from an expanded staff of Tenant Aides; above all, they must be available to tenants, willing to listen sympathetically to grievances, and willing actively to go to bat for tenants in cases where the correction of justified grievances does not lie within their own hands.

TENANT/MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

VI. SOCIAL SERVICES.

Public housing families, by their very composition, face a greater concentration of problems in their daily lives than do families with higher incomes and higher hopes. Problems that can often be identified within any one project may include emotional and financial stress, family discord, unsupervised or fatherless children, idle teenagers, school drop-outs, adult illiteracy, poor housekeeping, poor health, bad money management, loneliness, and racial tensions.

To relieve some of the stress these families suffer requires intensive and concerted social services, but the means to achieve such coordinated services are far from being agreed upon. Many agencies work with low-income families; the result is often a piecemeal and fragmented approach. In the past, housing authorities tended to limit their function to providing physical housing, leaving it to outside public agencies to furnish whatever social services they chose. But the realization is growing that mere housing is not enough, and that good housing by itself cures few of the ills experienced by people disadvantaged from birth. "The housing commission is first and foremost a public social agency. While this does not mean that the Authority must take full responsibility for the community's social ills, it does mean that in its planning, construction, development and management of housing for families of low income, it should consider the human factor before all others."^{1/}

^{1/} Statement by Eastern Mass. Chapter, National Ass'n of Social Workers, to the Special Commission on Low Income Housing, Dec. 17, 1964.

Property management and social services cannot be separate functions of the Housing Authority -- human considerations must permeate management thinking at all levels, and must form the basis on which all policy decisions are made. Although this philosophy is not universally held by members of the Authority board, or by all employees of the BHA, several major steps have been taken by the BHA in recent years. They include:

1. The establishment of the Tenant and Community Relations Department. The basic functions of this department are three-fold: to provide field services (working with specific problems of specific families and making necessary referrals to other agencies); program development ("to identify, study, and interpret social problems in public housing to other community agencies and to develop programs to deal with them"), and intergroup relations ("to combat the instances of racial segregation in public housing and to intervene in instances of intergroup conflicts.")^{1/}
The field staff at present consists of 12 workers with social service training -- 8 Management Aides and 4 Tenant Relations Aides, each of which is assigned to a group of projects. This number is obviously pitifully inadequate to meet the need, and determined efforts are being made by the BHA to get state approval to hire 10 more staff members.

^{1/} Annual Report, Department of Tenant and Community Relations, BHA, August 1966.

2. Social Programs Within the Projects. At present, some 82 apartments in 15 of the projects have been turned over to agencies offering a variety of health, welfare, and community action programs. By far the greatest number of these are funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO); the rest are supported by various settlement houses, the United Fund, and private charities. (The BHA estimates that its contribution of space represents a cash value of \$90,000 a year.) Programs include neighborhood action centers, community service centers, special programs for the elderly, welfare branches, day nurseries and day care centers, as well as the mammoth health program described below.

3. Columbia Point Programs. Columbia Point, riddled with problems caused at least in part by its physical and psychological isolation from the community, has been the focus of concerted social service efforts in the past two or three years. Massive programs are being tried, including a Community Development Council, a neighborhood action center, a unit of the Boston Welfare Department, day nurseries and day care centers -- and a newly-opened shopping center.

The most comprehensive program is the Community Health Action Program initiated and run by Tufts Medical Center. Originally financed by OEO, it is now operating under special legislation and financing from

Congress. The program has two basic purposes: to attempt to meet the health needs of Columbia Point's 6,000 residents; and to attempt to use these services as a lever to produce other social change. One entire building has been taken over by the staff of 100; additional units are being renovated for use. The staff includes doctors, physical therapists, pharmacists, pediatricians, social workers, nurses, psychiatrists, and 11 medical residents-in-training. The Center is now treating over 200 out-patients per day -- a much higher figure than anticipated -- at no cost to the patient. The attempt is to treat "the whole patient" on a regular and continuing basis; and at the same time to gather research data on the relation of poverty to health. So successful has the program been to date that Congress has authorized funds for 20 or 25 similar developments in major urban centers in the United States. One has just been opened in the Watts area in Los Angeles.

All of the social service programs now operating in the various Boston projects are needed; all are intensively used; but the universal cry is, "We need more!" More social workers, more recreational facilities and staff; more professionals to treat both physical and emotional ills of tenants. With the likelihood that OEO funds will not go on indefinitely, the question then arises as to how increased social and recreational services will be paid for. The automatic impulse is to turn to

the federal and state housing agencies, but the latter, in particular, has proven to have more interest in the physical upkeep of its public housing than in the emotional and social well-being of its tenants. Without additional staff within the housing authority, without better coordination with private and public welfare agencies, and without additional funds, the social services to tenants will continue to be piecemeal, fragmented, and inadequate.

TENANT/MANAGEMENT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

VII. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MAINTENANCE

"Serviceability, efficiency, economy, and stability" are the four standards set by the Federal government for the development and administration of public housing,^{1/} and these standards have to large degree dictated the sterile, monotonous and deadly appearance of most housing projects. Little attention has been paid to amenities, or convenience, or to providing a sense of home. Even with those limits, a great visual difference is apparent among individual projects both in the country at large, and within Boston itself. The first project to be built in Boston -- Old Harbor Village (or McCormack Houses, as it is now called) -- is still by far the most attractive of all non-elderly projects. The buildings have residential scale; considerable care was given to detailing and to orientation of buildings, as well as to gardens and open spaces. The townhouses along one edge of the project are particularly charming and well kept. There is little turnover here, and many families have made it their permanent home.

The recent housing for the elderly has also broken away from what might be called "typical" public housing. In each of the projects in Boston, whether two story "garden apartments" or 7-story elevator buildings, pains have been taken to suit the structure to the needs and pleasure of its elderly tenants. Each development has a generous amount of indoor community

^{1/} The U. S. Housing Act of 1937, as Amended.

space, which includes a recreation area, a fully equipped kitchen, a bathroom, and a laundry room with automatic washers and dryers. Individual apartments have such features as emergency call buttons and grab bars in the bathrooms. Colors are cheerful, and the whole effect is attractive. Granted that these developments are more generously supported by both state and federal housing agencies, one senses that a different philosophy has gone into their planning.

Deterioration and Neglect. In non-elderly public housing in Boston, serviceability and durability have obviously taken precedence over any other consideration. It is meant to last a long time. Unfortunately, however, plumbing and heating equipment does not last as long as brick, and paint and planting are very vulnerable to the hordes of children who inhabit public housing. As a result, although the buildings themselves stand firm, many things go wrong, or are let go, within those buildings and around the grounds. General disrepair is due to a number of factors: the age of the projects (7,000 of the city's 15,000 units are over 20 years old; of these, some 1,900 are 30 years old), the indifference of many maintenance personnel, tenant carelessness, and vandalism. It is practically impossible to weigh the relative importance of each, for all are involved. Managers, of course blame tenant irresponsibility and vandalism; tenants see management and lazy maintenance men as the villains. There is no doubt that public housing is subject to unusual wear and tear because of its high human density, its higher than average child population, its high proportion of broken families

and the low proportion of adult males to make small home repairs, but there is equally little doubt that maintenance procedures could be greatly improved within most projects.

Rising Operating Costs. Part of the problem is that operating costs have risen much more rapidly than rental income in recent years. Whereas income from rents increased only 13% between 1961 and 1965, expenses increased 23%; ordinary (routine) maintenance costs increased by 24%, and accounted for some 36% of total operating expenses, while extra (emergency) maintenance increased by 62%. Utility costs went up 24%, representing some 35% of operating expense. (During this same period, administrative salaries and expenses increased by 30%, but accounted for only 15% of total expenses.) As operating costs continue to rise, budgets must be kept within careful bounds; the alternative is to raise rents.

Painting, which represents a major annual expense, is one of the first maintenance jobs to suffer from budget-paring. Whereas most managers have "five-year plans" for repainting apartments and public areas, they say they are unable to keep to that schedule. Some tenants report that their apartments have not been painted in 10 years. Apartments are painted for new tenants, if they are in bad condition; old tenants are sometimes given paint to paint their own. Public areas are touched up regularly; a few managers report that just keeping up with defacement by vandals occupies a good part of their painters' time. The BHA board is now considering using a private painting contracting firm to do all project work and is currently asking for competitive bids.

"Can the City Be a Slumlord?" Tenants' complaints refer primarily to inadequate plumbing and hot water and heating systems, leaks, dripping faucets, and the general indifference and delays of the maintenance staff in correcting them. Recently, complaints of rats and other vermin, as well as other code violations, led to newspaper headlines: "Bromley-Heath Residents Battle for Rat Control", and "Can the City Be a Slumlord?" The question was publicly raised by the American Friends Service Committee as to whether tenants in public housing had the right to call city inspectors in cases of flagrant code violation, and whether city inspectors had jurisdiction over what is actually government property. City officials hemmed and hawed over an answer, but city Corporation Counsel James J. Sullivan finally ruled in mid-February that "The State Sanitary Code is applicable and enforceable against those city agencies having tenants on their property." This ruling, which gives Boston housing inspectors for the first time the right to enter and inspect public housing projects, also gives tenants the same rights recently afforded to tenants in private housing -- to withhold rent until code violations are corrected. A recent call to the AFSC indicates that complaints of rats and other code violations are being handled much more rapidly at individual projects since the edict.

Major Repairs Needed. Much the same picture of deterioration and neglect emerges from studies of public housing throughout the country. Chester Hartman has written: "It is to be remembered that many projects are well into their third decade

of operation; in fact, almost one-third of the PHA units currently under management are at least 20 years old. It is understandable that structures of this vintage will begin to show signs of needing major repairs... In order to bring these projects up to modern standards -- and in some cases to conform to local code requirements -- fairly large remodelling expenditures are required, usually well beyond what can be afforded through normal maintenance budgets. Yet nowhere in the original financing formula for construction of public housing is there provision for additional capital expenditures for major remodelling. If a significant proportion of the public housing population is not soon to be living in obsolete, if not actually substandard housing, provision will shortly have to be made for Federal remodelling grants or refinancing schemes for existing public housing projects."^{1/}

The recent NAHRO report on "Changing Concepts of Tenant-Management Relations" sums up the problem:

"Overall, for the public housing program in total, it does not appear that physical conditions or maintenance is a general source of tenant dissatisfaction nor an important factor in community relations. It is, however, a very critical matter in some cities and for particular projects. In some instances it may be possible to remedy the situation through improved management. For others it seems obvious that major improvements will be necessary and that funds required will be substantial."

^{1/} Chester Hartman, "The Impact of Federal Housing and Community Development Programs on the Poverty Program". Prepared for OEO, 1965.

ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO ACHIEVE NEEDED CHANGES

I. WITHIN EXISTING STRUCTURE AND FRAMEWORK

Even though the public housing program in Boston may be anachronistic and antiquated in some of its operations, and is mired in bureaucracy, political patronage and public apathy, it does fill a vital function for the low-income population, and there is at present nothing to take its place. Until some other means are available by which low-income families can be housed decently, ways must be earnestly sought to raise the quality of present public housing, and to improve conditions and policies under which it is operated. Public housing is not the only institution currently undergoing searching re-examination in Boston and in Massachusetts -- the welfare system, the civil service system, and the comparatively new poverty programs are all under critical public scrutiny. All need re-thinking in terms of contemporary needs and trends; all need innovative changes to better serve their intended function in today's world. Such periodic re-examination is both healthy and potentially productive. "It is no reflection upon the institution if it must change. It is a reflection if it resists change."^{1/}

What is a Good Housing Program? Before proceeding to make recommendations for changes in the public housing program, perhaps it would be well to enunciate the goals we seek. What is a good housing program, both in terms of physical shelter and in over-all living environment?

^{1/} NAHRO: "Changing Concepts of the Tenant-Management Relationship." Prepared by George Schermer Associates and Kenneth C. Jones for N.A.H.R.O., February, 1967.

First of all, it is a program that offers tenants maximum freedom of choice -- choice of size of building, type of building, and neighborhood. It does not stigmatize its residents, for the housing in which they live is not recognizably different from its neighbors, thus assuring tenants the chance to live in dignity as well as in health and safety. It is not isolated from the community, but is an integral part of a neighborhood of diverse social, economic and ethnic groups. The housing is well maintained, for both tenants and management share pride in its appearance. It includes many of the amenities which American families universally want: privacy, ample closet and storage space, places for recreation, outdoor spaces so planned that different age groups may enjoy them in their different ways. Tenants have the same rights and responsibilities that tenants in private housing have; mutual cooperation between tenant and management is fostered by continuing communication; tenants' suggestions and complaints are welcomed by a sympathetic management concerned with human values and relationships. For tenants in need of special help, social services are readily available. No family is excluded because its income is too low; none is forced to move because its income has risen too high. Rents are so established that no tenant has a reason to lie about his income, or to report on his neighbor, but has every motivation to increase his earning power. Above all, there are enough good dwelling units, and enough subsidy, available so that no family needs to live in a slum, or in a deteriorating building, nor pay a greater

percentage of its income for housing than it can reasonably afford.

A. Recommended Action Within the BHA Itself. To achieve such a program would require action on several levels -- local, state, and national -- and recommendations will be made in each of those categories. First, however, recommendations will be made for an action program within the BHA itself which would do much to improve its public image and to correct the inequities and shortcomings which gall tenants and critics alike.

1. Clarify Functions of Administrator and Board. As has been repeatedly recommended by civic groups concerned with public housing, clear lines of responsibility should be drawn between the Administrator and the Authority board. All administration should be allocated to the Administrator, including hiring, firing, office management and operational procedures. The responsibility of the Board should be limited to policy considerations and decisions. Department heads should be directly accountable to the Administrator, and only through him to the Board. Present overlap of responsibilities leads to administrative confusion, loss of efficiency, and conflicting lines of communication and authority.

2. Enforce Officially-Announced Policies. Standards and procedures for tenant selection and placement to which the BHA is committed by its official documents must be consistently adhered to. Guidelines established

for objective tenant selection must not be side-stepped to permit politically-inspired placement of families. Vacancies in all projects must be reported promptly and uniformly to all departments concerned with tenant placement. Racial discrimination in any form must not be tolerated, including the small indignities and slights which Negro tenants report from some housing managers. That standards and procedures have been officially announced is laudable, but it is only in the strict observance of those policies that true commitment to them is evidenced.

3. Develop a Long-Range Public Housing Program. At present, there is no long-range staged plan for the construction or acquisition of public housing units. How many are needed per year over the next five years? What proportion should be leased, bought, constructed, rehabilitated? What government programs will best provide these units? How many shall be planned for elderly tenants, and how many for large families? Can small, scattered sites be found within the City at prices permitted by housing statutes, or must all new public housing be planned in renewal areas? To say, as former BHA Chairman Hassan said before the City Council in 1964, that "non-elderly housing will be developed only under a closely-coordinated program with the Boston Redevelopment Agency and within the requirements of a city-wide plan for renewal, rehabilitation, and conservation" is to beg the question. A city-wide plan for public housing itself needs to be developed by the BHA, goals need to be estab-

lished, and action instituted to achieve those goals.

4. Accelerate the Present Program. Almost 1,600 of the 2,400 units of new public housing authorized for Boston since 1959 are still in varying stages of planning and construction. Sites for some have not yet been selected; plans for others are being revised for the second and third times. The story of these delays, their causes and results, is too lengthy to be recounted here; the important fact is that the program is lagging. Bottle-necks within the BHA should be identified and eliminated; pressure must be increased to speed approvals by state and federal agencies; needed technical personnel must be added to the BHA staff. Not only should authorized units be pushed to early completion, but application should be made for additional units, including those recently made possible under state programs funded by the 1966 Legislature. With 4,500 families on the BHA waiting list, and only 700 units of public housing built in the last five years (all of them housing for the elderly), there is ample evidence that an accelerated and expanded program is desperately needed.

5. Recruit Qualified Personnel. Within the limits of the present tenure system, ways should be explored to permit active recruitment of qualified and experienced housing personnel to augment the present administrative staff and to provide trained replacements as present department heads reach retirement age. An active recruitment program should be carried on at local colleges

and universities, so that young graduates in planning and social work may be employed in such departments as Tenant Selection, Management, Tenant and Community Relations, and Planning and Development. Particular efforts should be made to recruit and train housing managers who are men of broad human understanding with either management or social work background. Job descriptions and educational and/or experience requirements should be drawn up for all positions, in order that hiring at all levels be dependent on qualifications alone, rather than on political patronage or nepotism.

6. Institute Employee Training Programs. Comprehensive on-the-job training programs should be instituted for new and old employees alike. Such programs would stress the human and social aspects of housing, including race relations, physical and emotional results of poverty, social welfare programs, as well as goals and policies of the BHA. If funds cannot be obtained from housing agencies for the preparation and operation of such training programs, other sources and means should be investigated: special government grants, or arrangements with local educational institutions, or adult education centers.

7. Develop Tenant "Indoctrination" Program. New public housing tenants are often unaware of their rights and responsibilities, and no efforts are now made to orient

them to their new environment. The manager, or a social work staff member, should spend time with each new tenant, going over the Tenant Handbook with him, explaining regulations, encouraging questions, escorting the tenant to his new apartment, and introducing him to one or two neighbors. Cooperation and mutual responsibilities should be stressed, and it should be made clear that the manager is both willing and available to give assistance and to consider requests and suggestions.

8. Reduce and Clarify Present Tenant Regulations.

Regulations regarding tenant behavior should be reduced to the absolute minimum required for health, safety, and reasonable property management. Among existing regulations, the following might well be reconsidered: the prohibition of all pets (surely birds and fish, at least, might be exempted); the ban against personal touches such as window boxes, shelves, and pictures; the prohibition of the installation of extra locks, which are often needed both for actual and psychological security. If the installation of individual TV antennae is not allowed, a master antenna should be provided. If children are forbidden to play in the halls, sufficient recreation space must be provided elsewhere. If baby carriages must not be left in common passageways, convenient and safe storage space must be available. Unless property damage is willful or repeated, charges for repairs should not be levied. The right of managers to enter apartments at will should be modified, to require that tenant's permission be first

obtained. Tenants' present responsibility to clean public halls should either be eliminated (since it is a constant source of friction, and the job is customarily done haphazardly and resentfully) or different means found to gain tenant acceptance and cooperation.

9. Encourage Tenant Organizations. It should be made very clear to all tenants that management is in favor of tenant organizations or associations, and will welcome suggestions or legitimate complaints from such groups. Management should not attempt to organize tenant organizations or direct their activities, but should support them, facilitate their growth, and attend their meetings if (and only if) invited. Meeting space should be made available in each project. Regular "gripe sessions" between tenants and managers could facilitate mutual understanding, particularly if the managers themselves understand that expressions of tenant dissatisfaction are not a reflection on them.

10. Improve Maintenance Procedures. Most tenant complaints regarding maintenance concern the general indifference of maintenance personnel and the length of time it takes maintenance men to respond to requests for repairs within individual apartments. Schedules should be set up for tenant repairs; workmen should be supervised more carefully to see that they put in a full work day and accomplish a full day's work. Indications are that if present crews worked harder, and had a more positive attitude towards

their work, maintenance could be greatly improved without adding extra maintenance employees.

11. Try out new Rent Systems. Variations of the present graded rent system should be tested for tenant reaction. (Since State regulations say only that tenants must not pay less than 20% of their income for rent, it would be possible to make changes at the local level.) Possible variations, discussed in the section on Rent and Income Policies, include (a) rents fixed for a full year, with no reporting of increased income between annual reviews, and no retroactive rent increases. To meet veterans' objections to this system, decreases in income could still be reported, and rents decreased between annual reviews, in order to prevent undue hardship; (b) "space rent", with rent determined according to size of apartment, location, amenities, and age of project, and with rentals fixed within "normal" and "hardship" classifications; (c) reduction in the number of present gradations in rent and income schedules, which would both minimize amount of paperwork and decrease tenant impatience with present picayune increases.

Income of minors employed part time or while attending school should not be included in computing rents; income of wives as secondary wage earners should be only partially included. Any modification of the present system which will provide greater incentive to tenants to increase their income should be considered. Tenants themselves, after exposure to several variations, should be permitted to vote for their preference. Different variations could

thus be adopted in different projects, according to the wishes of different groups of tenants.

12. Experiment with Management by Tenants. In certain of the more stable projects, or in any where tenants express interest, experiments should be tried with partial or complete management by tenant associations, which would elect their own board of directors, and might collect rents, supervise property maintenance, and establish standards and regulations for tenants. A very limited program should be launched on a trial basis, with increasing functions given to tenants as they proved capable of handling them. Giving this measure of control to tenants (subject to policy guidance from BHA staff and social workers) could well help to decrease some tensions now existing (including vandalism and care-less treatment of property) and would also help to instill in tenants the sense of pride, dignity, and participation so often lacking in public housing residents.

13. Explore possibilities of tenant ownership. The 1965 U. S. Housing Act encourages the sale of individual public housing units to tenant families "in any project of the public housing agency which is suitable by reason of its detached or semidetached construction." The row housing at Old Harbor Village would be eminently suitable for condominium ownership, as would some of the newer Housing for the Elderly. Sale of such units could lead to a desirable economic mix of families, as well as providing other advantages commonly associated

with home ownership. Provision for purchase should also be added to all BHA leased housing contracts, as recommended in federal enabling legislation.

14. Expand Social Service Program. Efforts should be intensified to gain necessary approvals and funding for additions to the staff of the Tenant and Community Relations Department, in order to provide tenant aides and management aides for each project. Social service personnel should also be added in departments such as Tenant Selection, and Management, so that those departments will be better able to understand and deal effectively with tenant problems and tenant relations. The present system of referring tenants to other social service agencies should be continued, and closer liaison with such agencies established.

15. Improve Office Systems and Methods. There is little systematic reporting or assessing of information within the BHA. When a report is needed for a specific meeting, it must frequently be produced ad hoc, according to the BHA Advisory Committee. That Committee has now requested regular monthly, quarterly, or yearly reports on such matters as vacancies, applications, placements, population count, racial occupancy, move-outs, etc. More reports and analysis of data of this nature are needed, and should be made available to any group or individual who requests them. Not only can such regular reports be of value to the BHA itself in identifying trends and

assessing needs, but their availability would help to dispel much of the secrecy which has long characterized BHA operations.

New methodology should be devised to speed the interminable and complicated tenant selection process. The assortment of cards and folders now used in processing each application often leads to loss, misplacing, or misfiling. Recording, sorting, and storing would best be done by a computerized system tailored to the specific job.

16. Establish Research Programs. The need for research in all areas of public housing is increasingly stressed by professional housers. How many people are kept out of public housing because their incomes are too low? How many are eligible, but do not apply? Why don't they apply? What are the characteristics of "self-excluders" (race, age, income, occupation)? Why do people leave public housing? To what kind of housing do they move, and how much rent do they pay after they leave public housing? What are tenants' attitudes towards public housing? What are managers' attitudes? Most of this information is contained in BHA files -- what is lacking is research staff and money to dig it out and analyze it. Continued efforts should be made to convince the HAA and HUD that funds be made available for research in public housing, as they are for urban renewal programs. Data such as the above, assembled from housing authorities in all parts of the country, could be invaluable in deter-

mining future policy directions and legislation.

17. Launch a Vigorous Public Relations Program. The BHA has no public information program. Constructive publicity and wide dissemination of information on BHA programs and purpose are badly needed, in order to stimulate community support and interest. Regular news releases, feature articles, and brochures should be prepared; Authority members should speak as representatives and advocates of public housing at civic meetings. Opportunities to tell the story of public housing, and to ask for support in solving some of its problems, should be sought and seized.

An internal public relations program is also vitally needed. There is a noticeable communication gap between Authority and tenants, between tenants and managers, among managers themselves, and even between some department heads. Intra-agency meetings should be held regularly to permit discussion of policies, mutual problems, and solutions. Only by sharing ideas and discussing areas of common concern can progress be made, and morale strengthened.

The image of the BHA, both among its employees and tenants, and in the larger community, needs sharpening and brightening. A progressive program of public information would be a constructive first step.

B. Recommended Action at City Level. The Mayor plays the key role in the public housing program, and only if he is truly committed to a vigorous and viable program to house low-income families can Boston effectuate such a program. The Mayor appoints four of the five members of the Housing Authority board, and the calibre of the men he selects, and their own motivation for serving, largely determine the program's direction and thrust. The Mayor must approve all proposed applications for new units before those applications are forwarded to state and federal agencies. He therefore has it in his power to accelerate or decelerate the housing program; he can also influence decisions as to whether only housing for the elderly shall be sought, or whether more sorely needed family housing shall be programmed. He can also see to it that a percentage of all new housing in urban renewal areas is designated for low-income housing. Another critical area in which he influences the public housing program is in the political appointment of housing authority employees, including housing managers and maintenance men, and these are the men who, to a great extent, are responsible for the quality of upkeep and the treatment of tenants, in the projects themselves.

The citizens of Boston also influence the direction and extent of the public housing program. No one -- except social workers and "eggheads" -- appears eager to push for more public housing, regardless of the documented need. In fact, citizen voices most often heard are those insisting that no public housing be put in their own neighborhoods. This anti-

public housing sentiment is even stronger in Boston's suburbs, where it is reinforced through restrictive zoning laws. Within the City, there are certain groups dedicated to, and active in, programs of low-income housing, but until wider public support and conscience are aroused and focused, the public housing program will continue to limp along, with action taken only in response to crisis situations. The chief value of public support is that it, in turn, brings support from the public officials and elected representatives who can provide or withhold funds for housing. "Unless public officials and private citizens at all levels become more responsive to the unmet social needs of our area, thousands of families will continue to live under conditions below the minimum standards our society has set for itself."^{1/}

The following recommendations are addressed primarily to the Mayor, and to the citizens of Boston to whom he is responsible.

1. Change the Method by Which Authority Members Are Appointed. In accordance with repeated suggestions by responsible community groups including the Special Legislative Commission on Low Income Housing, the League of Women Voters, the National Association of Social Workers and others, it is recommended that members of the 5-man housing authority board be appointed on the basis of their knowledge of, or interest in,

^{1/} Chester Hartman, "Low-Income Housing in the Boston Area: Needs and Proposals". Housing Advisory Research Committee, Mass. Committee on Discrimination in Housing, July 1964.

low-income housing. They should represent a broad cross-section of the community, and would ideally include one housing tenant member. It is further recommended that an Advisory Board to the Mayor be established, or that present responsibilities of the Advisory Committee to the BHA be expanded, to prepare a list of suitably qualified candidates for the Mayor's consideration. Such a list would be submitted each year prior to the Board's annual meeting in January. Since members' 5-year terms are staggered, with the term of one member expiring each year, it would be possible to have four new Authority members appointed by the Mayor within the next four years.

It is similarly recommended that an Advisory Board to the Governor be established, or that the responsibilities of the present Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal and Housing to the Department of Commerce and Development be expanded, to provide the Governor with a panel of qualified names from which to choose the one state-appointed member of the Authority. The present state member's term expires in 1969.

2. Eliminate Political Patronage Hiring. All housing employees should be recruited and hired solely on their established qualifications and experience. Job descriptions and prerequisites should be established, and the applicant chosen whose qualifications are the highest. Employees who so closely affect the lives of low-income people, and whose attitudes and performance can promote or destroy tenant/management relations, should not be hired on any grounds but merit.

3. Coordinate the Activities of Diverse Groups Working for Low-Income Housing. It is recommended that the diverse groups now interested in various facets of low-income housing pool their energies and resources in order that they may speak and act as a concerted group. It may well be that the newly-organized Citizens Planning and Housing Association, created in 1966, can serve as the organization through which group action can be channeled. The new Association has engaged a well-qualified Executive Director, and is actively recruiting members from widely-representative groups in the community, including bankers, merchants, contractors, builders, architects, planners, social workers. A membership already close to 200 has been divided into "task forces" to tackle several specific legal and administrative barriers to a metropolitan low-income housing program. Hopefully, as this Association grows in strength and standing, it can furnish the rallying point for all citizen groups who want to assist in improving the public housing program.

4. Develop a Long-Range, Metropolitan-Wide Housing Study. The need for a study of existing housing and housing need in the Boston Metropolitan region has been stressed by various housing experts, who point out that housing is a metropolitan concern rather than a local one. The public housing program in Boston is hampered by the unwillingness of the suburbs to house low-income families; consequently, the great economic and racial ghetto in the central city grows. William Nash, Chairman of Harvard's City Planning Department, has written of the need for a metropolitan approach to low-income

housing: "Solutions cannot be found in Boston alone. The area within which people seek housing is centered around their place of work and extends to the distance they are willing to travel to and from their jobs each day. Clearly, this area extends far beyond the limits of Boston and will expand even further as additional improvements in transportation are made. It is our belief that understanding leads to responsible action. Only if all agencies and individuals concerned with the Boston area's housing deficiencies contribute to an ongoing debate with current facts, helpful proposals, and intelligent programs, can these problems be alleviated or possibly solved over the coming years."^{1/}

The Metropolitan Area Planning Council has recently been given funds by HUD to initiate the kind of study recommended here. Over a period of 33 months, the Council will develop housing market studies, neighborhood analyses, evaluations of the impact of present federal and state programs, relocation processes and effects, and the need for social services for low-income groups, among other areas of investigation.

C. Action Recommended at State Level

1. Establish a State "Baby HUD"

Pressure is growing for the reorganization of the state Division of Housing, now a part of the Department of Commerce and Development, into an agency similar in structure and function to the federal Department of Housing and Urban

^{1/} William Nash, "Public Programs and the Housing Shortage in Boston", prepared by the Housing Advisory Research Committee, for the Mass. Committee on Discrimination in Housing, April 1963.

Development. It is recommended that efforts to establish this new agency be supported. Under such a reorganization, the present Division of Housing might be merged with the Division of Urban Renewal and part of the Division of Planning under one management, and with an administrative framework similar to HUD's. New Jersey and Pennsylvania have already reorganized their state housing agencies in this way, and it is reliably reported that Governor Volpe is in favor of similar action in Massachusetts.

The State Division of Housing is widely considered to be out of tune with the times, inefficient in operation, and dedicated to the out-worn philosophy that public housing is basically a real estate operation, and that such "frills" as social services for tenants, or money for research, should have no part in the program. BHA Administrator Ash spoke out strongly on this point in a statement to the Special Commission on Low Income Housing in 1964: "The Federal Government and Congress are responding to the domestic needs of this nation in terms of the true character of the problems confronted, while the state housing program remains wedded in statutory, philosophical and administrative attitudes to an approach no longer applicable to current needs."^{1/} It is hoped that by reorganizing the Division of Housing, a change in both philosophy and procedures will be effected, permitting a more progressive state housing program.

^{1/} Ellis Ash, statement to the Special Commission on Low Income Housing, 1964.

2. Increase Subsidies on State-Aided Public Housing.

It is recommended that state subsidies be raised to equal those given for federally-aided projects. It was recommended by the Special Commission on Low Income Housing, and by 11 of the 13 large housing authorities they polled, that the present annual subsidy of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ be increased to 4% , which the Commission estimated would make it possible to decrease rents by \$10 to \$15 per month, to admit more families at the bottom of the income scale, and provide much-needed funds for added social services to public housing tenants. The 1966 Legislature voted a subsidy even more generous than the one asked for, raising it to 5% for projects completed after July 1, 1966. If this provision were extended to include all existing state housing projects, or even if it were made available for large family units, much of the financial strain now felt in Boston's state housing program would be eased.

3. Consider Revisions to State Housing Law to Make it Conform to Federal Housing Law. A conflict presently exists between requirements of State and Federal law in regard to eligibility, tenant selection, and rent and income scales. The conflict results because recurring revisions in Federal laws to liberalize such requirements have not been followed by similar relaxation in State laws. These inconsistencies have been pointed out and analyzed in at least two documents: "Relating Massachusetts and Federal Public Housing Laws", a report published by the Legislative Research Council in 1959; and "The Poor and Public Housing", by James Angevine of the Boston University School of Law in 1967.

Non-conforming provisions include the following: the Federal government has abandoned the minimum rent-to-income ratio still used by the State; the State maintains a prescribed order of priority which is no longer required by Federal statute; Federal law now defines an "elderly person" as one aged 62 or over, while the State continues to use the earlier definition of 65; the State still requires that a 20% gap be left between highest rents in public housing and lowest rents available in the private sector, a regulation no longer included in Federal law.

The comment has been made that "It is rather ironic that Massachusetts, which has a housing authority law establishing boards independent of local municipal control and possessing broader areas of discretion than any other locally based governmental operation, should retain so many inflexible standards, when the trend in national housing law is in the direction of an awareness of the impracticability of such standards and the need for an advantage of greater local responsibility and judgement. Congress has come to feel that problems of eligibility and rent differ from area to area, and therefore so should their solution. Yet the Commonwealth has not yet acted legislatively to acknowledge the admitted soundness of this developing awareness."^{1/}

Although both studies recommend that all state laws relative to public housing tenants be brought into conformance with federal laws, it is recommended here that further study

^{1/} James H. Angevine, "The Poor and Public Housing." Law and Poverty Project, Boston University School of Law, January 1967.

be made to assess the effect such changes might have on current procedures in Boston. Present eligibility requirements and priorities, no matter how rigid and complicated, are now serving to reduce the inequalities and favoritism in tenant selection which were formerly under such hot attack in Boston, and no changes should be considered which would permit a return to the old ways.

4. Provide Funds for "Survey and Planning" Period.

It is recommended that funds be provided by the Division of Housing similar to those provided by the federal government for urban renewal projects in the "Survey and Planning" period. Such funds permit detailed study and research, including the hiring of consultants and additional staff, and for collection of data prior to actual plan making. The present budget of the BHA is entirely an operational one, with no financial leeway to explore or innovate, or to hire the specialists needed for new types of developments.

5. Establish a Special Commission to Review the State's Competitive Bidding System.

One of the requirements of federal statutes is that competitive bids be obtained for the construction of all public buildings; the principle is worthy, for it removes the possibility of various kinds of corruption. Massachusetts, however, has a required procedure for obtaining bids which has been declared the most rigid in the country -- so rigid, in fact, that it drives costs up. In most states, competitive bids are received only from general contractors, and one bid covers all construction costs and incorporates bids from all sub-contractors; in Massachusetts,

separate bids are required from each general contractor for his own services, and from each of the various trades -- plumbing, electric work, plastering, etc. This process results in driving up the price on each component bid. The general contractor who is awarded the contract is then required to work with the low bidders in each category; the team thus assembled may be working together for the first time, with inefficient operations often resulting.

It is recommended that a special legislative commission be established to review the state's competitive bidding system, and to compare it in detail with systems now working successfully in other states in order to ascertain whether Massachusetts' system warrants revision.

6. Repeal Tenure System for Housing Authority Employees.

It is recommended that this system, which encourages political patronage and nepotism and discourages recruitment of qualified personnel, be repealed. Unless the Civil Service reforms now being considered are actually effected, it is recommended that housing authority employees not be put under the present Civil Service System, but that they be employed strictly on the basis of qualifications, as are employees of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, and on the basis of the housing agency's need at any given time. If continued employment were contingent on performance, and competence were rewarded, the BHA would without question accomplish more with fewer and more qualified employees. The recommended repeal of the tenure system would not apply to present employees.

7. Repeal Per Diem Compensation Provision. To summarize recommendations repeatedly made by objective groups such as the Special Legislative Commission on Low Income Housing, the League of Women Voters, the Massachusetts Committee on Discrimination in Housing, the National Association of Social Workers, and others, present per diem compensation to Authority members should be expressly forbidden by state law, as it is by federal law. Even though the state's law is permissive, and a few authorities choose not to accept any compensation, the permitted maximum of \$10,000 for each member and \$12,500 for the chairman is substantial enough to tempt authority members to put in the amount of time necessary to collect the full amount. Reducing the financial incentive would have the added advantage of reducing the time authority members now spend on administrative matters, which should rightly be the responsibility of the paid administrator. The board could then devote all of its time to establishing long-range goals, programs, and policies.

D. Action Recommended at Federal Level. Catherine Bauer Wurster and other progressive housers took an over-all look at the public housing program 10 years ago, and summed it up in these discouraging words: "Public housing, after more than two decades, still drags along in a kind of limbo, continuously controversial, not dead but never more than half alive."^{1/} Those who are equally discouraged today should

^{1/} Catherine Bauer Wurster et al: "The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing and How to Break it". Architectural Forum, June 1957.

take heart from the fact that several of the basic recommendations made by that eminent panel (which included Vernon DeMars, William Wheaton, and Charles Abrams) are now part of U. S. housing law. They suggested that private builders be brought into the picture, and that all types of housing, old or new, be made part of the public housing stock -- the Leased Housing Program, rent supplement programs and such schemes as the Lavanburg Plan in New York^{1/} are the answer. They recommended that no more monolithic "projects" be built -- recent Massachusetts legislation limits the size of any new public housing development to a maximum of 100 units. They proposed creation of a national cabinet-level department of housing -- HUD is that body. They stated that standards, methods, and management of public housing should be determined locally, not by federally-established procedures -- federal statutes have been revised to permit increased local autonomy. They insisted that public housing tenants should not be evicted when their income exceeds permitted limits; that they should be able to stay at higher rentals, or to buy their units -- these provisions are now possible under new programs. Many questions, both philosophical and practical, still remain to be answered and some will be considered in the following recommendations.

^{1/} A mixed sponsorship development, in which a housing authority and a developer each own shares in a building. The authority puts public housing tenants in the number of units it owns, and the developer's units are occupied by private renters. The developer signs a contract with the housing authority to manage the building.

1. Clarify and Up-Date Goals of Today's Public Housing

Program. Is public housing to be essentially housing for middle-class families of low income and the elderly, or is it to be an extension of the national welfare program, providing housing for all families at the bottom of the income scale? If the latter, a new set of criteria is needed for designing, staffing, and financing. If it is truly to serve the very poorest of our population, policies which insist on the "solvency" of public housing programs need re-thinking, as does the role of social services, and the extent to which such services should be furnished by housing authorities themselves.

2. Provide Funds for Research and Experimentation.

President Johnson, in his Message to Congress in January 1967, said: "Increased research is essential to identify and better understand the forces causing these [housing] problems, and to provide a basis for program improvements that will bring workable solutions." Demonstration grants have permitted some experimentation; private foundations have supported some housing research; organizations such as NAHRO regularly produce and publish invaluable data. More funds and more support are needed from the federal government, particularly at the individual project level, with reports from all parts of the country collected and analyzed at national level. Continuing research is also needed in rehabilitation processes and methods, with hard data compiled centrally on the many current attempts to rehabilitate structures all over the country.

3. Simplify Procedures for Processing Applications.

It is recommended that the processing of applications from local housing agencies, and for approvals be simplified and speeded, particularly in regional field offices. Interminable delays are now reported, and an unreasonable number of approvals demanded. For example, the BHA must comply with the following procedure in planning and developing any new public housing:

- Select site
- Obtain tentative site approval from regional HAA office;
- Submit and obtain approval of Development Program (First Architect Submission)
- Obtain annual contribution contracts (money)
- Submit to and obtain HAA approval of Schematic Design Phase (second Architect's Submission)
- Submit to and obtain HAA approval of Design Development Phase (third Architect's Submission)
- Submit to and obtain HAA approval of Working Drawings (Final Architect's Submission)
- Obtain Local Governmental (Boston Building Department, Zoning Department, etc.) approvals
- Let job out to bid
- Obtain bid approval from HAA
- Award construction contract

BHA administrators report, with understandable frustration, that this process takes $2\frac{1}{2}$ years under "ideal" conditions; it has been known to take as much as 6 years. Inadequacy of staff at regional offices is one bottleneck; arbitrary and often nit-picking interpretation of regulations is another cause of delays. Although the Housing Act states that "it is the policy of the United States to vest in the local public housing agencies the maximum amount of responsibility in the administration of the low-rent housing program", such maximum responsibility is not granted during the planning period.

Obviously, such critical time lags in the construction of new public housing must be shortened.

4. Raise Room Cost Ceilings and Administrative Ceilings.

The HAA establishes both statutory room cost ceilings and "administrative ceilings" for all public housing. Room costs refer only to the cost of the structure itself; administrative costs include all costs of development -- land, fees, salaries, etc. Room cost ceilings are officially published;^{1/} administrative ceilings are not set down anywhere, although they are interpreted to be between \$19,000 and \$20,000 per unit in Boston. Projects which meet room cost ceilings are sometimes rejected after bids have been taken, on the grounds that they exceed these somewhat mysterious administrative ceilings.

(Plans for one Boston project for the elderly, under way for several years, have been completely revised twice at the behest of the HAA, and have recently been rejected for the third time. The HAA now insists that more units be added, and that a flat \$1,500 be sliced from the cost of each unit. Depressed BHA staff members claim that this will necessitate cutting out all of the carefully planned features, such as landscaping, which would have made the project attractive.) This kind of arbitrary restriction is reportedly confounding housing authorities all over the country, and makes construction of multi-bedroom apartments for large families virtually impossible. NAHRO is waging battle to get administrative ceilings raised, and their efforts should be supported.

^{1/} Currently \$2,400 per room (\$3,500 in Alaska), or in the case of housing for the elderly, \$3,500 per room (\$4,000 in Alaska)

Not only should administrative ceilings be raised, but room costs should also be liberalized, so that public housing will include amenities of design and in site planning which will produce a desirable total living environment. Architectural fees have been raised recently, and as a result it should now be possible to attract and seek architects of outstanding and demonstrated talent, who should be encouraged to find imaginative new ways to design public housing.

5. Provide Greater Financial Incentives to Private Developers. In areas such as Boston, where there is a shortage of all types of housing, developers generally opt to build for the private market, where profits can be high. The number of builders eager to construct 221(d)(3) housing in this area is limited, primarily because profits are limited. To encourage construction of 221(d)(3) housing, and thus to make a greater supply available for lease or purchase by housing authorities, it is recommended that present government low-interest loans to developers be further liberalized, with even lower interest rates and longer terms than are now available. At least one local builder feels that if present 3% loans for 40 years were made available at, say, 1% for 50 years, many more builders would be attracted to the program.

6. Provide More Liberal Loans for Owner Rehabilitation. Present government loans to owners for rehabilitation of residential units are both inadequate in the dollar amount of loans to individuals, and in the number of owners who are

eligible to apply. Section 312 loans, for example, are available only to homeowners in urban renewal areas or code enforcement areas, and only for single or two-family dwellings. The average loan is \$4,000 per unit. Section 115 grants are outright grants of up to \$1,500 to owner-occupants of one or two-family houses, who have less than \$3,000 income.

It is recommended that low-interest loans be made available to owners of any type or size of residential structures that can be feasibly rehabilitated, and in amounts sufficient to permit major rehabilitation. Loans should not be limited to buildings within renewal areas, and should be particularly available for owners willing to participate in the Leased Housing Program. The current emphasis on the need to rehabilitate vast numbers of structures in our aging cities, and thus to increase the supply of standard housing, makes the need for such loans self-evident.

7. Provide Rehabilitation Funds for Public Housing Projects.

As has been pointed out in the section on Maintenance, many housing projects are deteriorating, some do not meet current code standards, and many need major modernization of plumbing and heating systems. Under existing legislation, no funds are available to local housing authorities for such major overhauls. It is recommended that funds for major rehabilitation be made available for all public housing projects over 20 years of age, or that re-financing of government loans on such projects be permitted which would yield such funds.

ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO ACHIEVE NEEDED CHANGES

II. WITHIN A NEW OR REVISED FRAMEWORK

Should public housing authorities be abolished? Should their traditional all-embracing functions (planning, construction, ownership, and management) be limited, with one or more functions eliminated? Could public housing be better designed, better managed under some other system?

Recent variations of the public housing formula in essence do limit the function of the local housing authority. In the Leased Housing Program, the housing authority does not plan, build, or own units, and manages them only to a limited degree. Under the Lavenburg plan, the authority is a joint owner, but neither builds nor manages. In "turnkey" housing, the authority is essentially a purchasing agent and limited manager. These new programs have been devised partly to widen the choices available to public housing tenants, partly to permit the ease of "instant housing", and certainly in part out of the growing realization that housing authorities have produced stereotyped, drab institutions, and often inept if not inhumane management.

Several alternative proposals, or variations of existing programs, are currently being discussed and would limit still further the role of the local housing authority, or would alter its present function. Some would eliminate local authorities altogether. A few of these proposals are outlined briefly below.

1. Limiting the Function of the Housing Authority.

- a. The housing authority would continue to initiate, plan,

and construct new units, but management would be taken over by (1) private management firms, (2) local settlement houses, or other non-profit groups, (3) by tenants themselves, who would ultimately become owners.

- b. The housing authority would do preliminary planning, construction would be done by private firms, who would also provide management services.
- c. The authority would own a share of "mixed sponsorship" developments, in which both public housing tenants and private tenants would live, and in which the management function would be provided by the developer.

2. Abolishing Local Housing Authorities.

- a. A city department would be established that would incorporate all agencies concerned with housing: urban renewal, relocation, housing inspection, city planning, as well as public housing. In effect, this would create at the local level the same sort of "Baby HUD" recommended for the state. Mayor Lindsay has recently proposed this type of reorganization for New York City.
- b. A metropolitan (or regional) housing authority would be established to develop comprehensive, long-range housing studies and plans on an area-wide basis. Certain public housing quotas would be allocated to each municipality, on the basis of determined area needs. Such regional housing authorities might participate through grants or loans with individuals and non-profit corporations in the construction or rehabilitation of units to be used for government-assisted

housing, with the comitant power in regional authorities to undertake mortgage obligations. Preferential tax treatment might also be given to regional housing authorities where both federal and state monies are involved.

3. Expanding the Concept of Leased Housing

Under this system, which might be called "Pick Your Own Housing", the local authority would in essence serve as a leasing and inspection agency, with tenants finding their own accommodations, being subsidized to the extent necessary. Applicants whose income was within eligibility limits for public housing would find an apartment or house of their own choice, in a neighborhood and building type most suited to their own needs and tastes (subject, of course, to certain rent and occupancy limits.) The dwelling would then be inspected and approved by the housing authority, and a contract signed with the owner. The family would pay 20% of its income directly to the owner, and the authority would make up the difference between that amount and the contract price established with the owner.

There would be several advantages to such a plan. First, it would give a family maximum choice as to housing type and location. Second, that very choice would increase the family's sense of responsibility and participation. Third, since public housing tenants would be spread through the city, existing low-income ghettos would be dissipated. Fourth, the number of housing

authority employees would be considerably reduced, with housing inspectors, social workers, and bookkeepers forming the main body of the staff; resultant savings in salaries and operating expenses would pay a sizeable part of the subsidy required. Lastly, with sufficient financial incentives furnished by the government, such a system would encourage both construction of new units and rehabilitation of existing units.

This "Pick Your Own" plan would be contingent on two pre-existing conditions: that the plan was in effect on a metropolitan-wide basis, so that tenants could find housing outside city limits if they so chose; and that a sufficient supply of decent housing in standard condition was available to permit choice and mobility.

4. Applying the "Demonstration Cities" Formula

To encourage innovative thinking, and to stimulate local solutions to local problems, HUD might sponsor a program in which a city (or a metropolitan area) would develop its own demonstration housing program. The best proposals would be funded in the same way Demonstration Cities programs will be funded. Cities would be encouraged to include local citizen participation, research programs, and cooperative planning with manufacturers, private builders, labor unions, zoning commissions, and any other groups concerned with housing.

5. Housing as a Public Utility

A system similar to that used in parts of Europe -- part-

icularly that of the London County Council -- might well be considered and adapted to conditions in the U. S. Under these systems, housing is considered basically as a public utility, with a substantial proportion of all housing stock constructed, owned, and allocated by the local government. Families on a waiting list are assigned as a new units of appropriate size become available; there is no differentiation made between families on the basis of income, although a rent/income ratio is maintained. Building types, size, and location are varied; the architecture is often of a very high quality, and since tenants have a wide range of incomes, there is no social stigma attached to "county housing". This system has the advantage of mixing economic and social classes, and assuring that the supply of standard housing is constantly replenished as need dictates.

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INTERVIEW-QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PROJECT MANAGERS,
BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

Name of Project _____ Date of Interview _____

Name of Manager _____ Interviewer _____

Several civic and religious groups are sponsoring a study of low-income housing problems in Boston. We are helping by interviewing managers of all public housing projects. We are interested in learning some of the problems of management, and in getting your ideas about how the operation of projects might be improved. Mr. Ash has given his approval for these interviews. I want to assure you that all answers will be treated as entirely confidential. No one will see these questionnaires except the people working on the study, and answers will be used without revealing the source. So I hope you will feel free to answer fully and frankly. First, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

A. Personal Data

1. How long have you been manager here? _____

2. Do you manage any other projects besides this one?

YES ___ NO ___

(If YES) Which one(s)? _____

How do you divide your time between (among) them? _____

3. Have you been manager of any projects before this one, either in Boston or elsewhere? YES ___ NO ___

(if YES) Specify where _____

4. How long have you worked for the Boston Housing Authority? _____ Did you have other jobs with the Authority before you became a manager? YES ___ NO ___

If Yes, specify _____

5. What special training or skills made you interested in this kind of work? _____

6. What is your approximate age? _____
7. What were the last two jobs you held before you came to work for the B.H.A.?
- a. _____
- b. _____
8. Did you take an examination to get this job?
YES ___ NO ___ (If NO) How were you hired? _____

9. How many people do you have working under you?
- a. Management Staff (number & titles) _____

- b. Maintenance Staff (number & types) _____

B. Project Maintenance

10. When was this project built? _____
11. What are your biggest maintenance problems? _____

12. Is much damage or vandalism done by tenants and their families? YES ___ NO ___ (If YES) What kinds? _____

13. What repairs or maintenance are tenants themselves responsible for? _____
Do they do a good job of it? _____
14. Do you think tenants should take more responsibility for project maintenance? YES ___ NO ___ (If YES) In what ways? _____
15. How often, or under what conditions, do you paint or redecorate apartments? _____

16. How often do you paint or redecorate public areas, such as halls? _____
17. Do you establish your own maintenance budget?
YES ___ NO ___ If YES, To whom is it submitted? _____

18. Is your budget large enough to let you keep the project in good condition? YES ___ NO ___ (If NO) How much larger should it be? _____
19. Do you have enough personnel to help you? YES ___ NO ___ (If NO) What extra personnel could you use? _____

C. Tenant Policies and Procedures

20. How many families are in the projects now? _____
How many people? _____
About how many are minors (under 18)? _____
About how many are elderly? _____
21. Is this too many families for one manager to be responsible for? _____
YES ___ NO ___ What is the ideal number of families for one manager? _____
22. What are your main functions as manager? About what percentage of your time do you spend on each?
- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____

23. Is the project full now? YES ___ NO ___ (If NO) About
How many vacancies do you have? _____
Are vacancies usually in the smaller apartments? _____

24. What do you do when you have a vacancy? (To whom do
you report it?) _____
25. Do you select tenants, or is it done at Authority
Level? _____
26. Do you yourself do any screening of tenants who are
assigned here? YES ___ NO ___ (If YES) How do you do
this? _____
27. Do you handle transfers of tenants from this project
to another? YES ___ NO ___ (If YES) How do you do
this? _____
28. Do you ever suggest or reject tenants? _____
On what basis? _____
29. What system do you have for keeping track of income,
and for finding out when people's income rises? _____
30. How are rent changes handled during tenancy? (How
are tenants notified? How much notice are they
given?) _____
31. Are rent increases retroactive? _____
Are rent decreases retroactive? _____
32. How long would you say the average tenant stays here?
33. What is your average turnover per month, or per year?
34. Where do most people go when they leave here? _____

D. Tenant Characteristics and Problems

35. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the kind of people your tenants are?
 They're just like everybody else, except that their income is low _____
 They need a lot of guidance to help them get along____
 Most of them can't be trusted_____
36. About what percentage of the families in in your project
- a. Lack a male head of household_____
- b. Have a male head of household who is unemployed__
- c. Most of the family income is derived from welfare payments (exclusive of old-age pensions)_____
37. About how many families do you have that you consider "problem families"? _____
 What are their worst problems?_____
38. How do you think "problem families" should be treated?
- a. Should they be evicted? YES ___ NO ___
- b. Should they be given social services? YES ___ NO ___
 (If YES) By whom (the Housing Authority, public agencies, private agencies, other) _____
 What kind of services do they need most?_____
39. Besides the regulations set by the BHA (such as "no pets", etc.) do you set any regulations of your own, as far as behavior or maintenance are concerned?
 YES ___ NO ___ (If YES) What are they?_____
40. Is there a system of fees and fines for breaking regulations, or for other reasons? YES ___ NO ___
 (If YES) Explain_____

41. Do you check individual apartments: Regularly _____
Occasionally _____ Only if there is a complaint. _____
42. Which of the regulations do you consider the most important? _____ Why? _____
43. Which of the regulations is hardest to enforce? _____
_____. Why? _____
44. Do you feel that the tenant regulations are too lenient, or too strict? _____
45. During the past year, about how many families moved for each of the following reasons:
- a. Over-income _____ b. Misconduct _____
c. Non-payment of rent _____ d. Other (specify) _____
46. What kinds of misconduct are grounds for eviction? _____
47. Who decides when a tenant is to be evicted? _____
How much notice is the tenant given? _____
Does he have a right to appeal the decision? YES _____
NO _____ To Whom? _____

D. Tenant/Management Relations

48. In general, would you say the tenants get along well with each other? YES _____ NO _____
49. When there are problems or complaints, what are they usually about? _____
50. How do you usually find out about trouble? (How do you keep informed about what's going on? _____
51. Have there been any troubles because of racial differences? YES _____ NO _____ (If YES) What kinds of trouble?
52. Have there been any signs of organized tenant dissatisfaction or disorder? YES _____ NO _____ (If YES) Describe and suggest possible causes _____

53. In general, would you say that tenants get along well with management? YES ___ NO ___ What are the main problems that arise between them? _____
54. Do you have any suggestions as to how tenant/management relations could be improved? Specify _____

E. Tenant Organization

55. Is there a tenant organization in the project?
YES ___ NO ___ (If NO) Has there ever been one? YES ___
NO ___ What happened to it? _____
56. Did the tenants themselves organize the group? _____
YES ___ NO ___ (If No) Who did? _____
57. About how many families, and what kind of families, belong? _____
58. What kinds of things does the tenant organization do?
59. Do you feel the tenant organization is worthwhile?
YES ___ NO ___ Why? _____
60. Do you meet with the organization? Regularly? _____
Occasionally _____ Never _____
61. Do you think tenants should have more say about how the project is run? YES ___ NO ___ Why? _____
62. Are there ways in which the tenant organization could be of help to you? YES ___ NO ___ (If YES) In what ways? _____
63. Are there any other outside organizations (Scouts, service clubs, other) that meet here regularly?
YES ___ NO ___ Specify _____
64. Do you think housing projects should be opened up more to the community? For instance, what would you think about having a school here, or a teen age club, or other activities?

F. Attitudes Towards Public Housing

65. What do you think of the public housing program in general? _____
66. Do you think Boston should have more public housing?
YES _____ NO _____ Why? _____
67. When the Housing Authority builds the 1600 units that have been approved would you prefer to see them in projects like this, or in leased housing, scattered housing, or some other kind of arrangement? _____

G. Miscellaneous

68. Has this project changed much in the last few years?
YES _____ NO _____ (If YES) In what way? _____
69. With the present shortage of public housing, is there much outside pressure to get tenants into projects, or to get them transferred? YES _____ NO _____ (If YES) What kind of pressure, and from whom? _____
70. If you were giving advice to a young man who was thinking of going into this kind of work (being a housing manager, or working in housing projects) what kind of education or training would you tell him to get?) _____
71. If you could be manager of any project (or any type of project) in Boston, which would you choose? _____
Why? _____
72. In general, what policy changes would you like to see in the way housing projects are managed and operated?

Interviewer's Remarks: Manager's attitude: Friendly _____
Cooperative _____ Uncooperative _____ Hostile _____
Manager's Race: White _____ Negro _____ Other _____
General Comments: _____

CHECK LIST FOR PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS, B.H.A.

Name of Project _____ Date _____

Name of Person Doing Survey _____

A. Kind of Buildings

1. Two-story (how many buildings) _____
2. Three-story (how many bldgs.) _____
3. Four-five story (how many) _____
4. Six-ten story (how many) _____
5. Over ten stories (how many) _____

B. Appearance of Project1. Materials of buildings

Brick _____
 Concrete _____
 Other (specify) _____

2. Landscaping

Trees? Many _____ A few _____ None _____
 Lawns? Extensive _____ Minimum _____
 Shrubs? _____ Plants? _____
 Cyclone fencing? _____ Where? _____

3. Area Differences Within Project

Does any area (s) within the project look different from the rest? (Better maintained, isolated, different kind of buildings, etc.) _____

C. Recreation Facilities

Are there playlots for small children? _____
 What kind of equipment? _____
 In What condition is the equipment? _____
 Is there a playground for older children? _____
 Any recreational facilities for adults? _____
 Are the facilities used much? By whom? _____

D. Maintenance, Exterior

1. Condition of paint on doors, windows? _____
2. Any broken windows? How many? Where? _____
3. Are grounds littered with trash? What kinds? Where? _____
4. Are lawns and shrubs well kept? _____
5. Are there signs of damage or neglect? Where? (Such things as cracks in foundations or walls, garbage cans without lids, etc.) _____

E. Maintenance, Interior

1. Are halls clean? (Floors, walls) _____
2. Broken light bulbs? Where? _____
3. Are halls well lighted? _____
4. Are elevators in good operating condition? Clean? _____

F. Neighborhood (immediately adjacent streets)

1. Primarily: residential _____ industrial _____ commercial _____
2. Appearance: well kept up _____ run-down _____ blighted _____
3. Condition of streets and sidewalks _____
4. Does project seem isolated from neighborhood? _____
5. How close is the nearest grocery store? _____
6. What other shopping facilities are nearby? (Super-market, drug store, other) _____
7. What other services are nearby (church, doctors offices, service organizations, other) _____
8. How close is the nearest MTA station or bus stop? _____

G. General comments

What was your general impression of the project and the neighborhood?