

DISPLACEMENT: THE NEGATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF
URBAN RENEWAL IN THE SOUTH END OF BOSTON

by

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
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ABSTRACT

Displacement, a primary negative impact of urban revitalization, has occurred in the South End neighborhood of Boston over the past two decades. It has been the direct result of a depletion of the area's low cost housing resources through the demolition, renovation, conversion, and resulting rapid price inflation of its housing stock. Despite its established goals of providing adequate housing opportunities "within the income requirements of the community" and of maintaining the historically working class area as an "economically, socially and racially integrated community", The Plan has not succeeded in preventing the continued displacement of original South End residents from the area's principal housing stock, its handsome Victorian-Era brick rowhouses. Rapidly replacing these long-time residents is the incoming gentry—a higher income and younger population, predominantly white and often transient.

This thesis documents the extent and nature of the displacement as it has occurred in different sub areas of the South End and its effects on different population groups. A comprehensive demographic analysis of changes in population size, household composition, age, race, income, employment, education and tenure provides evidence that large numbers of lower and moderate income households have been displaced, primarily older, single persons above the age of 55 and families with children. The area's black residents have been displaced, moving from areas they traditionally occupied to subsidized housing within the South End or out of the community. This study concludes that if present trends continue, more displacement will occur and recommends that the city and federal governments recommit themselves to helping the South End maintain itself as a heterogeneous, economically, ethnically, and racially integrated community as The Plan intended.

Thesis Supervisor: Robert Hollister, Associate Professor.

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Preface

I live at 23 Dartmouth Place in the South End neighborhood of Boston. My apartment is the last brick townhouse on a quaint alleyway fronted by two iron gas lamps, an elm tree and occasionally a Mercedes Benz. Just two decades ago every townhouse on my street was a lodging house. Now they are all apartment buildings--most being rented to people like myself--Boston's new gentry.

My street has been re-discovered by Boston's new middle class--the professional and white collar workers in our city's burgeoning service industry. We have brought with us a demand for the charming Victorian architecture which is the South End's trademark. Street by street the South End has been renovated by individual do-it-yourself resident owners and large-scale investor landlords for occupancy by students, artists, hospital personnel and employees of nearby insurance companies, to name a few. We are an interesting assortment of people. Most are unmarried. Many of us couples, some homosexual, some heterosexual and we are one by one changing the character of the South End.

Before 1960 and the years of Boston's urban renewal the South End had traditionally been a low-cost downtown residential area filled with lodging houses and apartments which housed large numbers of the city's single adult population and moderate income families. Sometimes slowly, sometimes seemingly overnight, most of these modest income South Enders

have been displaced out of the South End or to public housing in its periphery.

Yet many of us newcomers love our new home in this economically, ethnically and racially diverse community. Few other Boston neighborhoods can claim heterogeneity. But many of us are concerned that its rapidly inflating housing market is resulting in displacement of lower and moderate income households and an increasing segregation by race and class as certain areas undergo revitalization.

Like many I have become active in the South End community, advocating the provision of affordable owner and rental housing opportunities for South Enders with modest incomes. Unfortunately given Boston's high costs of housing construction, development, taxes and management, this cannot be achieved on the private market. So we continue to request the City and the federal government to allocate public housing subsidies to the South End in order to limit the displacement that is occurring as our neighbors are priced out of their homes.

Over the past year I have worked primarily with the Tent City Task Force, a subcommittee of the South End Project Area Committee (SEPAC); SEPAC is our neighborhood citizen review board with advisory and veto powers over development activities undertaken by the Boston Redevelopment Authority. The Task Force, while independently pursuing particular goals, has SEPAC's endorsement. Regular communication occurs between

the full committee and its delegated Task Force.

The Task Force grew out of an organized protest against the direct and indirect displacement of South End residents brought about during implementation of the Urban Renewal Plan in the late sixties. Since then the goals of the Task Force have remained: the provision of affordable housing opportunities for South End residents, particularly those facing displacement. The Task Force has concentrated its efforts on the rehabilitation of rowhouse stock and the new construction of housing reflective of our neighborhood's architecture that is affordable to lower and moderate income families.

This past year has been particularly important as the Authority is progressing towards final financial settlement and close-out of the South End Urban Renewal Project with HUD. Development plans for remaining parcels are being made and we have been negotiating for a mixed income housing development on the Tent City site that will provide housing resources to previous and potential displacees. We have argued that because much displacement has occurred in the South End as a result of urban renewal, this site is an important housing resource to help stem displacement. However, no documentation has been made by the Authority during its Environmental Impact Assessment of the Project or by an independent group of the nature and extent of the displacement problem. Rather its impact has been minimized as often only direct displacement is considered.

This thesis has evolved from a need to understand and a desire to provide evidence that: (1) Displacement, both direct and indirect has occurred in estimatable quantities; (2) That displacement has had a negative impact of further segregating by race and class our neighborhood; and (3) That this displacement can only be mitigated by housing policies that produce affordable housing opportunities for those in need. This thesis is addressed to policy makers in the City and Federal government as a statement by myself and the community organizations with whom I am affiliated of the problems we face due to displacement.

INTRODUCTION

Displacement: The Negative Impact of Urban Renewal.

Displacement: The word has once again caught the attention of the media, The Congress and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. All have published articles or reports over the past year which document that displacement is the major negative impact of urban revitalization.¹ The involuntary displacement of poor, often elderly and minority, individuals from their communities as a result of urban revitalization is currently a subject of debate again by the government, citizen's groups, and social agencies.²

Displacement is not a new phenomenon nor a new word. Since the earliest days of urban renewal, it has been the key issue for community groups across the nation who faced potential "dislocation" from their homes. In the past much displacement was the direct result of acquisition and demolition of homes by local development authorities who sought to clear their cities of urban "blight". Households were forced to relocate as their housing was cleared. Now most displacement is indirect, resulting from the market pressures described above of accelerating housing prices.³

In some communities both types of displacement have occurred—reinforcing one another and intensifying the situation. Such has been the case in the South End neighborhood of Boston. For over two decades this neighborhood has been the single largest experiment in urban residential renewal in the country with the Boston Redevelopment Authority in control of over 75 million dollars in federal renewal funds for the massive revitalization of the South End's 600 acres of downtown land. During this time over 20% of the original housing has been demolished and over 2000 households have been relocated by the Authority. In addition, the neighborhood has experienced an increase in housing prices on the private market of over 600%. Between 1960 and today the area has lost a third of its population and an equal amount of housing stock. Demolition, conversion of units into larger apartments and rapid deterioration have all contributed to this housing loss, and this housing loss, in turn, has led to massive displacement.⁴

Displacement has been a key issue in the South End since the first announcement of a proposed renewal plan for the area by Boston's Development Director, Edward Logue, almost twenty years ago. At that time neighborhood residents, remembering the destruction of a working class neighborhood in Boston that had been the result of the West End Renewal Project, fought hard to develop a renewal plan that would guarantee them a continued place in their neighborhood. After five years of intensive community planning and participation, a renewal plan emerged in 1965 that was

adopted by the Community and approved by the various government agencies. The Plan had as primary goals the maintenance of an "economically, socially and racially integrated community" and the provision of housing "within the income requirements of the residents of the community."⁵ Implicit in the neighborhood's decision to approve the plan was a belief that renewal would be of benefit to them and that they would be able to remain to share the physical improvements in the housing, public service systems, and transportation networks promised by the Plan. That the Plan was not able to fulfill its promises to preserve the Community will be demonstrated by an examination of pertinent statistical data in this paper.

Now twenty years after the inception of the South End Renewal Plan, the Boston Redevelopment Authority is proceeding to close out the South End Project. Close-out refers to the process by which the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) initiates a set of final negotiations with a local redevelopment authority to terminate HUD's financial and legal commitment to a renewal project. Five years ago during the Nixon Administration Congress mandated that HUD proceed to close out all of the federal government's urban renewal projects and most urban renewal projects in the country have been settled.

The Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) and HUD are progressing towards financial settlement of the South End. For the past year the Authority has been conducting an environmental review of the project as required by the National Environmental Protection

Act and HUD Regulations (24 CFR 570.803c) before settlement can be reached. The review is to determine the nature and extent of any environmental impacts caused by final close-out of the project or by continuation of the project as originally planned. Alternatives which might alleviate the negative impacts of Close-out are to be considered. The BRA released its Draft Environmental Assessment Report (hereafter referred to as its Environmental Impact Statement or EIS) on March 28, 1979. This seemed to be an appropriate time to undertake my study to determine the nature and extent of the potential negative environmental impact caused by urban renewal in the South End which the Draft EIS only treats superficially. Using a narrow definition of displacement, i.e. relocation of individuals acquired for development by the BRA, the Report concludes that only minimal displacement has occurred and will continue to occur in the South End and that most displacees have or will have received relocation housing.

My study concludes that a much broader definition of displacement is therefore required than was used by the Authority in its Draft EIS. If a more appropriate definition is used, there is convincing evidence that much larger amounts of previously undocumented displacement have occurred. The South End Community and the Authority itself did not define displacement in such narrow terms during the original urban renewal plan negotiations. Displacement was considered to include any involuntary movement of South End residents out of their community. The Plan, though it only provided resources for direct displacees, had as an important goal the preservation of the residential community for South End

residents who wished to remain and thus protect them against potential displacement.

Therefore this report will first present the history of the South End as a working class neighborhood in downtown Boston at the time the first large scale renewal plan for the entire area was announced. Secondly it will discuss the development of a South End Urban Renewal Plan which sought to provide for continued residency for South Enders. Third a summary of the basic goals and strategies of the Plan as they were announced in 1965 will document the commitments made by the Authority to mitigate against the negative impacts of renewal. Fourth, a discussion of the changes in housing stock that occurred in the neighborhood during implementation of the Plan will demonstrate that these changes encouraged rather than prevented displacement. Fifth, and most importantly, an in-depth demographic analysis of the changing composition of the community since 1960 will be presented to show that only with large amounts of displacement could such rapid and comprehensive shifts have occurred.

This report will conclude with an evaluation of the Plan, its implementation and the major impacts upon the community since its inception. The documentation in this study aims to provide evidence that the South End project is a classic example of large scale direct and indirect displacement of residents from their working class community as a result of forces put into motion by public programs and the acceleration of the private market. The analyses presented in this report rely only on information readily available to the BRA and its staff.

Summary

Displacement has resulted from the continued depletion of the South End's low cost housing due to its demolition, renovation, conversion and rapid price inflation. Households of modest income have been forced to find other affordable housing in the South End or in other Boston neighborhoods. Initially as certain areas of the South End underwent revitalization, these residents could find private market housing in rowhouses elsewhere in the South End. But as more areas underwent private renovation, fewer units remained affordable, particularly as many were demolished during renewal acquisition. As a result many residents were relocated into replacement housing built by the authority. This resource proved inadequate to meet the housing demand and due to its location on the periphery of the South End served to increase the segregation of the community into areas with wealthier, largely white, younger newcomer and those areas with poorer, often minority and elderly long time residents.

Between 1960 and today only 2559 units were constructed to replace the over 7000 units lost from the area's housing stock through demolition and conversion. Despite the demolition of almost 3000 units by 1970, only 602 units of replacement housing had been built by the Authority. Also no replacement housing was built before 1971 that had not been called for in a prior urban renewal plan. Not until seven years after Plan approval, in 1972, had the BRA attained only 50% of its original goal for new construction housing in

the South End. At present only 75% of the original new construction goals have been achieved. None of the public housing designated for the area was constructed (300 units) and only 80% of the mixed income housing (2022). This leaves a total of 778 units not constructed, the majority of which would have been housing resources for lower income households.

As almost all of the mixed income housing was constructed on the periphery of the community, particularly in Lower Roxbury, some South End areas have large proportions of publicly subsidized housing and others have none at all. Since these developments were replacement housing for South End households, the goal of economic and racial integration has not been achieved. Many lower and moderate income, often minority households, were relocated into these developments and displaced from the original South End area.

Originally the South End community and the Authority had anticipated that the rehabilitation of significant numbers of housing units would be done at prices affordable to area residents so that they would not be displaced. Although the Authority has sponsored the rehabilitation of over 1500 housing units at lowered rents to lower and moderate income tenants, this has been far short of the need. Only 15% of the remaining rowhouse units do receive such subsidies, while the majority continue to be renovated into luxury housing on the private market.

The Authority contends that these subsidized rehabilitated

units should count towards its commitment to the area's new construction housing goals. However, originally the Authority had made commitments to the Community that it would build replacement housing to offset the losses in housing stock from demolition and that rehabilitation could be undertaken at prices affordable to South End residents. As neither has been adequately accomplished the Authority still has an obligation to follow through on its goals of replacement housing, and to try to offset the negative impacts that private market rehabilitation is having on the area's lower income residents.

Much of the private revitalization that has occurred in the South End has been in the Lodging House Districts nearest to the City's growing office and medical complexes which once had large numbers of rooming and lodging houses scattered among single family houses. Their conversion into one and two bedroom apartments, four or five units to a building, have furthered the displacement of working class individuals and families. The greatest loss has been in lodging house units, currently depleted to a seventh of the original number (now down to approximately 2000 units).

The benefits of this private revitalization can be measured in the increasing numbers of rehabilitated and occupied buildings, but this has been at the cost of an undocumented amount of displacement of former South End residents who lived in them. This report documents that displacement has occurred and continues today of community residents of income

groups most susceptible to changes in housing markets, families of modest income with children (many of whom were minority) and the aged, single persons who lived in the rooming and lodging houses.

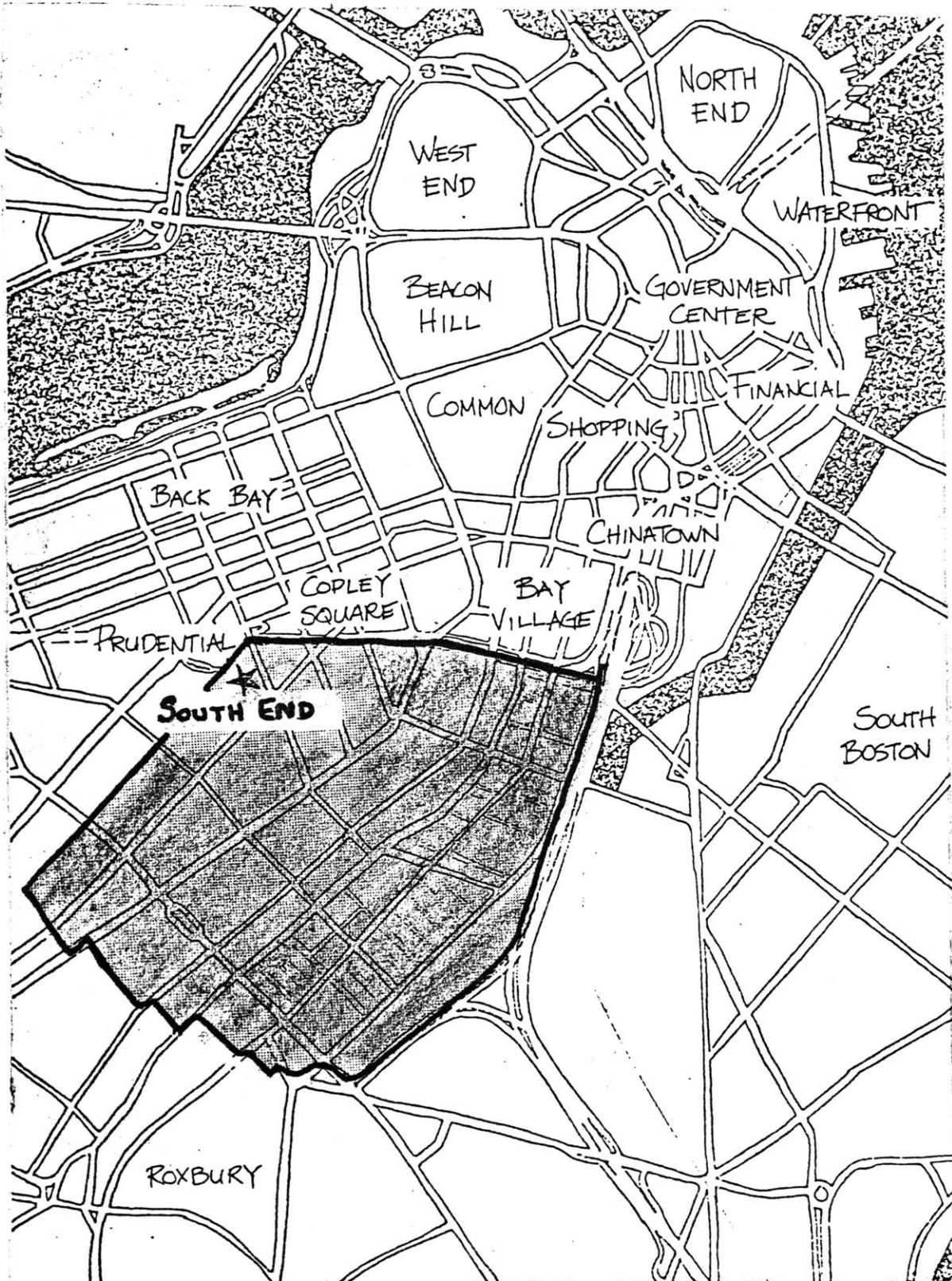
Renewal has not been of benefit to them, but rather to the area's growing population of the city's gentry, younger higher income, white single- and two-person households, that have continued to in-migrate into the South End. Street improvements, landscaped parks and mortgage subsidies have all been funded through renewal to attract these newcomers. Meanwhile in many areas with large amounts of publicly subsidized housing, street and sidewalks are neglected, and open space consists of rubbish-strewn vacant lots. Moreover, this publicly subsidized housing suffers from severe management problems resulting in substandard conditions and security problems.

If present trends continue, more modest income South End families will be displaced out of the private market housing in which they have traditionally lived. As the median income of minority persons continues to be 65% that of their white counterparts in the City and in the State, they are at a disadvantage in a competitive private market with rising housing prices. If no new housing at affordable prices is created their displacement and segregation will continue as they are priced out of revitalizing areas. In addition households still living in private housing on limited or fixed incomes will also be displaced as lodging houses continue to be

converted, as rents and the costs of maintenance of their homes increase.

Many South End community residents, organizations, and housing sponsors are concerned about these trends and are seeking the means to help build affordable housing and thus help stem displacement. However, the City's housing policies for the South End area are making it difficult for any such housing resources to be created. The BRA has announced a new housing policy, a limitation of 25% rental subsidy on all new developments. The City's Housing Office in its Housing Assistance plan to HUD has not provided for any new housing in the South End area, and indicated that even rehabilitation loan programs for moderate income housing will be curtailed, except for special demonstration grants. HUD has stated publicly that the South End Project must proceed toward final financial settlement without the resources necessary to mitigate against displacement. This report recommends that such subsidies not be curtailed, and that new construction and rehabilitation of housing be developed by active South End community organizations and housing sponsors on the remaining BRA parcels and in city-owned buildings.

Map 1.1 South End Neighborhood of Boston



1. RESIDENTIAL CHARACTER OF THE SOUTH END BEFORE RENEWAL

The South End was originally developed in the mid nineteenth century to meet a growing demand for residential housing in downtown Boston. As little land was available, the Front Street Company began a massive land fill operation of wetlands adjacent to the city's wharf area. Hoping to attract the nouveau-riche of Boston, the neighborhood was laid out London-style with sweeping roadways and gracious parks.⁶ As historian Walter Muir Whitehill described the area:

A region of symmetrical blocks of high-shouldered, comfortable red brick or brownstone houses, low fronted and high stooped with mansard roofs, ranged along spacious avenues, intersected by cross streets that occasionally widened into tree-shaded squares and parks whose central gardens were enclosed by neat cast iron fences.⁷

Yet despite its physical attractiveness, the area quickly went into financial decline due to a variety of social and economic forces. The adjacent Back Bay of Boston, nearer to the well-established elite residential area, Beacon Hill, was soon filled in and developed as the city's fashionable boulevard district. Many wealthier South End residents or potential residents, were attracted instead to Back Bay. This, combined with a concurrent move by many of Boston's upper class to new homes in the suburbs, left the South End with a small demand for its housing by persons of substantial means. The Depression of 1873 furthered the decline as many property owners defaulted on their mortgages and banks acquired title. The housing market became underpriced, unstable and as such

discouraged large investment.

As the European immigrant movement accelerated, the South End became a housing resource for them. Many townhouses were converted to tenements and lodging houses, properties that could meet their demand for low cost units while generating for their owners substantial income due to their high density. Although an established middle class remained in the South End, much more housing continued to be available to working class individuals and families. A variety of economic forces were to maintain the South End as a reasonably priced housing district for the next eighty years. As such it experienced waves of immigrants, and though the composition of the neighborhood changed, these changes were less economic than social.⁸

The Irish, the Canadians, the Jewish, the Syrians and the Blacks established themselves at different historical periods as major ethnic groups of the area. The housing stock remained consistently about:

- * half tenement houses
- * 3/8 lodging houses
- * 1/8 apartment houses

as few residents were able to afford to maintain without subdivision the South End townhouses. These economic and social forces maintained the South End as an "urban village"—a community of persons attracted to a low priced housing market and comfortable living with people of little means and differing ethnic backgrounds.⁹

By 1960 most households in the South End had one person (about 62%). The rest of the households were either couples or families with children (about 20% each). As in the past the great majority of workers were blue-collar, many unskilled and receiving low wages. Many of the neighborhood women worked part or full time as domestics; many of the men as laborers in nearby factories. The majority of residents had not completed high school, in part because so many were above the age of 55 and coming from an age when high school was not attended by the working class. Almost 30% of the South End population, over 10,000 people, were approaching or in retirement (above age of 55).¹⁰

The area's lodging houses served the needs of many of the area's working class single persons and couples, particularly those who were aged. Some were owner occupants, others renters. Some had lived in the South End for years, raising their families and remaining in their retirement. Others were upwardly mobile younger adults who were saving on their way to a new future. In some cases, the congregated living arrangements provided their tenants with an "extended family" as roomers and landlords helped each other in times of difficulty. Some tenants lived in one rooming house for most of their adult life; others were transients.¹¹

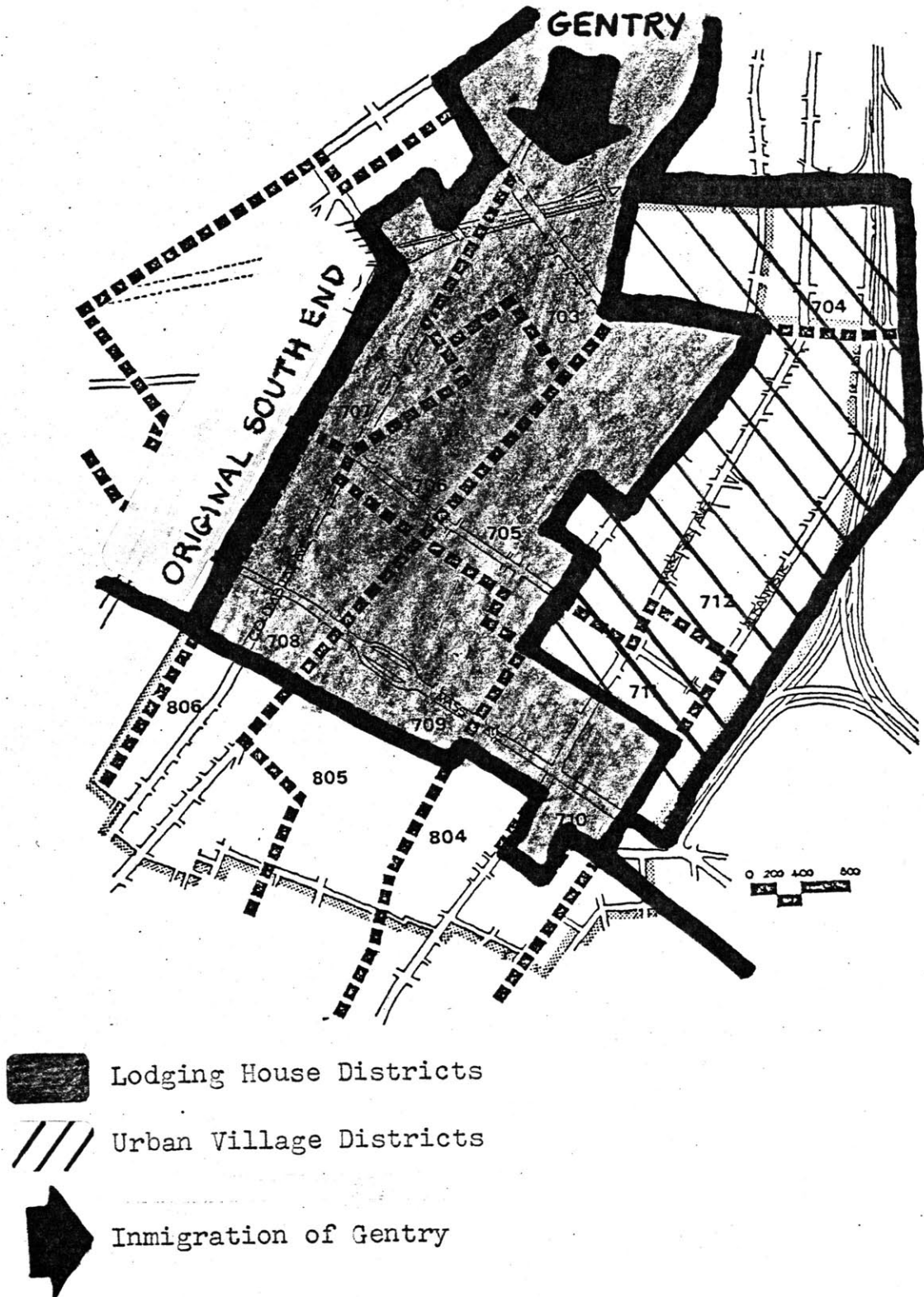
Lodging houses were located in most parts of the South End, but the majority were in the northern and middle sections of the South End (see Map 1.2 on page after next). Since the

area's lodging houses were inhabited by about 15,000 persons, many South End businesses catered to their needs. Laundries, small cafeterias, and local bars provided them with inexpensive services. They helped to create a social network, providing vital and inexpensive services needed by single independent persons and others.¹²

The great remainder of the South End residents were lower and moderate income families. About half were white. The minority families were largely black, but in the late fifties other non-black minority families had begun to move into the South End. Some were of Hispanic background, others Asian. These minority families had lower incomes on the average than the white families. They also had more children, many below school age. Almost all South End families had one worker, and maybe had two. These working mothers were usually part or full time domestics or were low paid service workers.¹³ They settled in areas outside of the lodging house districts and are referred to in this report as the "urban villages". These areas were on the western and southern fringes (see Map 1.2 on next page).¹⁴

The most recent group of immigrants in 1960 were just starting to establish themselves in northern sections of the South End closest to Downtown Boston. These were higher income households, employed in the City's service sector. Although some of these new urban professionals had chosen to move into recently built luxury towers being constructed

Map 1.2 Residential Patterns Prior to Renewal



through renewal programs elsewhere in the downtown area, many others preferred the small scale of a townhouse neighborhood and were slowly moving into the South End.¹⁵

These newcomers, referred to in this report as the "gentry", the recently popularized term for middle to upper income households who enter a neighborhood of lower to moderate income households and have greater economic means to restore and upgrade the housing stock.¹⁶ Many of these gentry were interested in historic preservation and were ready to invest large amounts of money and time into restoring the buildings to their Victorian-Era beauty. Many townhouses in the South End were of magnificent design and construction--their high ceiling, dramatic stairways, mahogany woodwork, hardwood floors and brick walls prime examples of late nineteenth century Boston architecture. The gentry capitalized upon the housing bargains in the area. In 1960 townhouses were sold for as low as \$5000 to \$10,000. With structural repairs and a lot of their own hard work, these buyers were able to restore the townhouses at reasonable cost.

Their movement into the South End was not unnoticed. The Mayor and his planning staff were embarking on a plan to undertake a major revitalization of Boston. Anxious to upgrade much of Boston's housing stock, Mayor Collins and staff saw the South End as a prime opportunity for urban renewal. Since the area had been providing housing for lower to moderate income persons for over eighty years, the

condition of the buildings had deteriorated over time, but the South End had by no means become a "slum". Many owners had continued to keep their buildings well maintained.¹⁷ However, by 1960 in some areas of the South End buildings were being abandoned, and these vacant buildings were accelerating the deterioration of large portions of the neighborhood. It was clear to everyone--above all the South End residents--that some renewal was needed. What was to become the major issue as early as 1960 was: whom would the rehabilitation benefit? Would provisions be made for lower to moderate income South End residents to undertake rehabilitation of their property so that they could remain in their community but live in an upgraded unit? Or would the area become a housing resource only for the incoming gentry? Already the question was: would those of greater economic means be aided in displacing those of lower incomes?

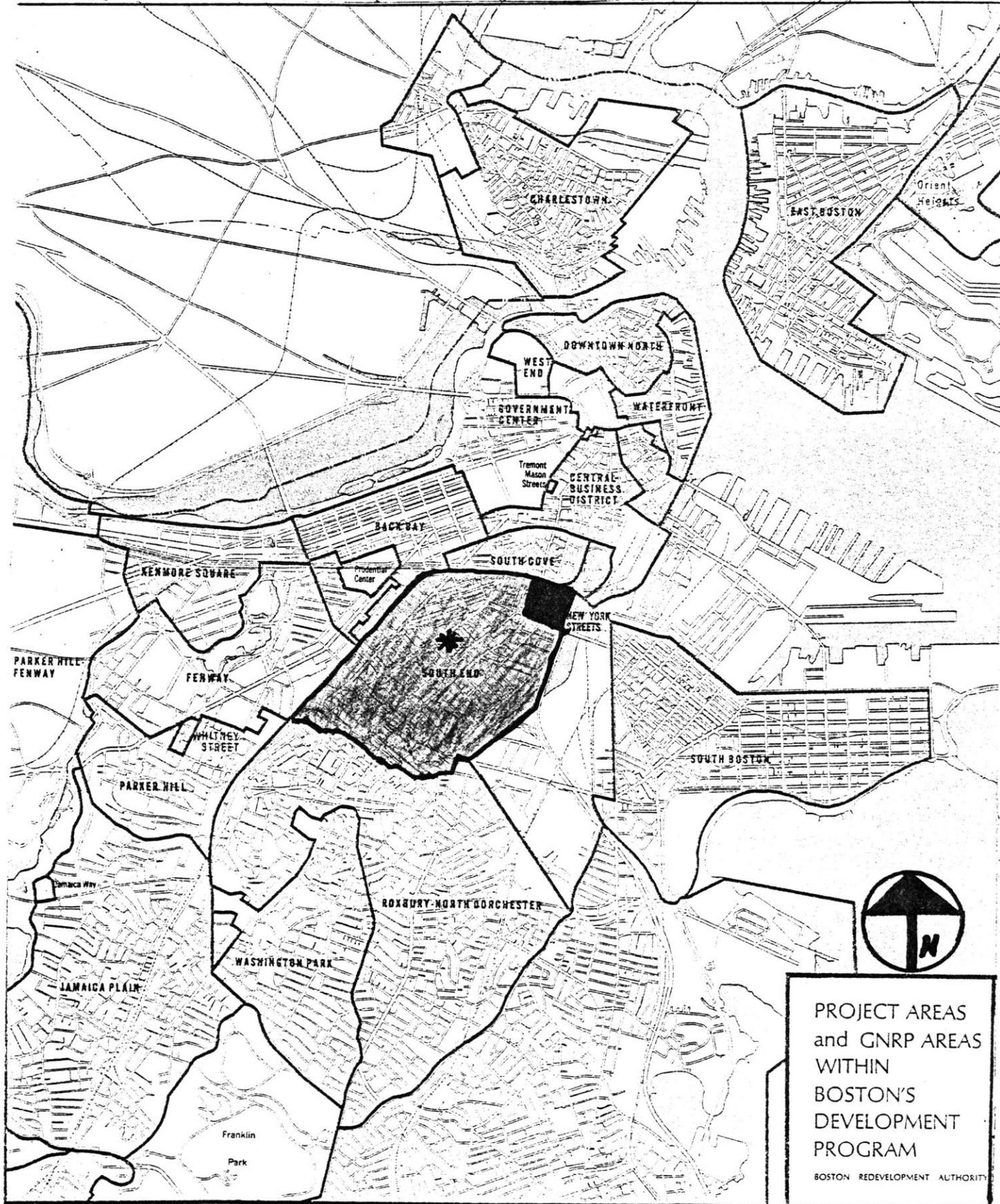
2. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL PLAN (1960-1965)

Summary

The South End Project was part of a larger redevelopment plan for Boston developed in 1960 by Boston Redevelopment Authority Director Edward Logue. During the five years before final plan approval, many meetings were held in the South End community as well as in the city government over the ultimate objectives and prospective achievements for the project. The first plan was rejected because its implementation would have resulted in the demolition of a major residential area of the South End populated by many of its Syrian residents. Alerted to the potential impact of the renewal, all of the South End neighborhood organizations became involved in the planning. After much negotiation a final plan was unanimously approved by the community and submitted to City Council and then to HUD.

A basic issue from the beginning was the possible displacement of South End residents from their community. Because most residents wanted to remain in and preserve their ethnically, racially and socially diverse community, they would not benefit from "renewal" if they were forced to move. The Renewal Plan as adopted was thought to guarantee minimal displacement of South End residents and maintain the neighborhood's unique character. Naturally it was expected that people would out-migrate over time, but South End residents accepted the Authority's commitment to provide "adequate facilities" for "anybody who wishes to stay in the South End". The Plan was given neighborhood-wide approval.

Map 2.1 South End Proposed Project Area (1960)



Two decades ago Mayor John F. Collins acting on his campaign pledge to depoliticize and revitalize the city, wooed urban renewal expert Edward Logue to Boston. Hired as a consultant initially, Logue emerged nine months later with The Ninety Million Dollar Development Program for Boston in September of 1960. Meanwhile, Collins had managed to restructure the city's planning departments so that Logue could become, as he had requested, the Director of all development in the city. Acting both as Development Administrator for the Mayor and the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Logue was to control and shape one of the largest urban redevelopment efforts in the history of our nation.¹⁸

The Program called for physical improvements of ten renewal and six improvement areas encompassing more than a quarter of the city. The key to the plan was residential rehabilitation. Logue believed that each neighborhood should be the target of an intensive housing refurbishment effort. The basic goal was to stop the continued exodus of Boston's middle class residents to the suburbs by making the city's housing resources attractive to families who had the economic means to move elsewhere. The plan sought to promote stability in the size of Boston's population while increasing the diversity of its composition so that it more nearly reflects the composition of the Region's population as a whole".¹⁹

The metropolitan area surrounding Boston had, since the improvement of transportation systems, attracted many of the city's wealthier residents. Those who could afford to buy a single house in the suburbs left behind those who either could not move and or who chose to remain in the city's tight knit communities. Many elderly, working class families and minorities stayed in the city, often living in cultural and ethnic enclaves.²⁰

Logue was cognizant of the political difficulties entailed in implementing such a large scale urban renewal program, having come to Boston after undertaking a similar effort in New Haven.²¹ On the other hand, people across Boston also remembered vividly the city's recent renewal project in the City's West End. Under the Hynes administration the City had demolished a working class, largely Italian, downtown neighborhood. Anxious to build luxury apartments which would bring in needed tax dollars and also desiring to allow for the expansion of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the City had undertaken a large land acquisition and demolition project. Thousands of persons were displaced from their homes and their community was destroyed before they even thought to mobilize to fight for its survival. Since the Community did not organize itself soon enough, the City's plans went forward without any significant delay, and over 7000 persons were displaced from the West End into communities scattered across Greater Boston. The media publicized the West Enders' plight, and communities across Boston prepared to defend themselves against similar take-overs.²²

Logue wisely proposed a political strategy for involving existing community residents in renewal planning. Local citizen teams would be created to generate and review plans for re-development. These local urban renewal committees would be representative of the different community interests and would serve as negotiating forums for the city. Accordingly no plan would be brought to the Boston City Council or to HUD without community consent. In addition, Logue proposed to establish a project team to work with each neighborhood. These teams would locate in the neighborhood and serve as the BRA's accessible planning arm. Each team would have a project director in charge of planning, working with the community and keeping Logue informed. Logue would defer to these directors except where overwhelming problems arose.

Logue also stipulated that approximately 20% of the residential structures in each area should be cleared. He felt that more clearance would create too much opposition, and less would not produce enough of an improvement to make a difference. The families to be relocated from these demolition areas would move into existing housing stock, particularly into vacant units abandoned in people's exodus from the city to the suburbs. Public housing was to be of small scale and integrated into the rest of the housing stock. The neighborhood and the project team would choose among between alternative plans and approve one. ²³ With community participation some of the past mistakes would be avoided.

The South End was chosen by Logue to be the city's largest renewal project. Incorporating a previous plan for a small portion of the neighborhood nearest downtown known as Castle Square, the new plan called for massive rehabilitation and new construction of the neighborhood's housing stock. From the beginning, the South End was one of the city's key efforts in renewal. In fact its preliminary Survey and Planning application was submitted to HUD two months after Logue's announcement of the Development Program in November of 1960.²⁴

The application was written without community input, but within two months representatives from two active organizations, the United South End Settlements (USES) and the South End Planning Council (SEPC) held a neighborhood meeting to establish a Renewal Committee citizen review. By the end of the summer 1961, a South End Urban Renewal Committee was formed to represent the community to the BRA. This Committee was comprised of 5 businessmen, 5 professionals, 5 representatives from the South End institutions and 23 residents at large.

The majority of the committee members were home owners although they were only one tenth of the area's population.²⁵ As home owners they were interested in the preservation of their property and their neighborhood. Thus when the Renewal Plan was announced, many became actively involved in its development. According to the 1960 census, 1600 South End residents were owner occupants living in almost half the

residential structures.²⁶ Many of these resident landlords were particularly sensitive to the needs of their tenants for low cost housing. At the same time they desired to upgrade their properties and sought government programs to help them rehabilitate them.

From the initial stages of the renewal planning tension existed between those landlords who wished to preserve low cost housing and those who wished to attract higher income renters. Others also saw renewal as an opportunity to increase their property values and make a greater profit from the sale of their property.

Still the majority of South End residents, being of moderate means, recognized the need for the continued provision of low cost housing in their neighborhood. They did not wish to stop the in-migration of higher income households as long as it would not result in the displacement of them or their neighbors. The Renewal Committee recognized and represented this community sentiment in its negotiations with the Authority. So from the initial stages onward demands were made that the South End Community remain a vital--ethnically, racially, and economically mixed--community. These demands were officially recognized and approved by the BRA.²⁷ As Russell Traunstein, one of the early project directors was to state:

"There should be a cross section of socio-economic levels in the community."²⁸

At the end of the first two years of negotiations the Renewal Committee and the community felt that the Redevelopment

Authority had agreed that the vitality of the residential character was to be maintained and massive displacement avoided.

However, in 1962 the BRA commissioned one of its urban designers to draw up a preliminary plan for renewal of the area. Not having participated in community meetings and being unfamiliar with the area, the designer produced a plan insensitive to the needs of the community. A "green strip" was proposed which ran down the middle of the area, destroying a vital part of the Syrian section. The northern area nearest downtown was to be rehabilitated for higher income residents and the southern Lower Roxbury area was to have a heavy concentration of subsidized units. Reaction to the "green strip" plan, as it came to be known, was violent, particularly from neighborhood organizations who had not been as involved prior to its release.²⁹

The plan was reviewed and modified during the year before being withdrawn simultaneous with the new appointment of a project director, Dick Green. Green recognized the complex political situation in the South End and proceeded with a neighborhood-wide planning effort that included sixteen neighborhood organizations. Representatives from the neighborhood organizations were added to the renewal committee and progress was made toward the formulation of an area plan.³⁰

During this time period the BRA reiterated its commitments:

"In the planning and development of the South End Urban Renewal Plan it was emphasized by the BRA that provision would be made under the plan for housing all low income families and individuals desiring to remain

in the community. It is not the intention to force low income families and individuals out of the area. This objective was supported and approved by the Urban Renewal Committee and the neighborhood associations over the planning period."31

While the plan was being formulated, many commitments were made publicly by the Committee about the goals for the plan:

"We must cope with the problems and work towards a solution for rehabilitating rooming houses. We must keep in mind that we are working under the assumption that we are planning for the people NOW living in the South End; this includes the roomers, and we must deal equally and fairly with all types of property.... Of primary importance here...is consideration of the types of persons living in rooming houses; many are not at all detrimental influences on families living near by. It is the flop house type of rooming house which caters to transients and all sorts of undesirables that is a liability to good residential neighborhoods."32

During the following year a plan emerged which was a composite of different ideas and interests of those involved. The plan was less a design than a consensus, but what was significant was that at last a plan emerged acceptable to all of the neighborhood organizations and the Renewal Committee.

This plan called for a residential sector along the northern two thirds of the area with an institutional sector along the eastern tier. The plan was to avoid displacing South End residents by providing for sufficient new housing:

"A net increase of occupied housing units is proposed in the South End through the rehabilitation of existing vacant buildings and the provision of 3350 new housing units...It is an objective of this plan to provide as much private, lower and moderate income housing as is possible."33

Upon presentation of the plan to City Council, the

director reported that the plan had endorsement from the entire community:

"We took this concept out to 155 organized meetings, and we asked at the end of the meeting, 'Are we moving in the right direction for South End Planning?', and the answer at the end of every meeting was, 'Yes, you are.'"34

Essential to the community's endorsement, however, had been the understanding by most South End residents that the BRA was committed to their remaining in their community to benefit from renewal. As Green was to say:

"Any body who wishes to stay in the South End, we believe we have adequate facilities for them"35

South Enders hoped that the area would remain an ethnically, economically, racially and socially integrated community which would continue to provide a housing resource for the city's working poor. Although the elderly, the non-English speaking and the disabled often let others articulate their needs, they wanted to remain in the community. Their spokesmen also were committed to their staying. When the plan and its goals were finally approved, many residents believed that they had insured a bright future for the South End, alleviating the negative impacts of renewal.

3. SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL PLAN (1965)

The plan aimed to physically upgrade the South End community while maintaining it as an economically, socially and racially integrated community accessible to the residents living there at the time of the renewal planning. The specific objectives are summarized in the following pages.

The basic residential components of the development proposal entailed the:

1. acquisition and clearance of 15% of the area for residential use and an additional 15% for institutional/ industrial use
2. displacement and relocation of 3550 households into existing or newly constructed private or subsidized housing
3. new construction of 3300 subsidized housing units for lower and moderate income families
4. rehabilitation of 75% of the remaining residential structures with a concerted effort to provide much of these housing resources to existing residents
5. infrastructure improvements of water and sewer facilities and new street, sidewalk and park amenities.

The original funding request to the federal government was for a \$40 million dollar project, of which the federal government would provide \$27 million. This money was to pay primarily for the land acquisition of over 180 acres of land and the demolition of over 5000 townhouse units (in over 1300 townhouse structures).

The goals and program components are outlined on the following pages.

The Plan's Basic Objectives

At the time of plan approval, the sixteen neighborhood organizations pledged support to its goals and method of attaining those goals despite their skepticism of its implementability. The basic objectives were:³⁶

1. Conformance with General Plan
 "provide an economically, socially, and racially integrated community."(R-213, p.4)
2. Elimination of Blight
 "The basic objectives of urban renewal action in the South End Urban Renewal Area are to eliminate severe conditions of blight, deterioration, obsolescence, traffic congestion and incompatible land uses."
 (R-213, p.4)
3. Separate Treatment of Medical/Industrial and Residential Areas
 "to provide necessary industrial and medical expansion without destroying the basic fabric of the residential community."(R-213, p.4)
4. Protect Private Investment
 "Protect and expand the city's tax base...and by stabilizing property values, protect private investment"
 (R-213, p.5)
5. Establishment of Residential Character
 "The gateways to the South End residential community from South Cove, Back Bay, Fenway, and Roxbury communities should be residentially oriented."(R-213, p.5)
6. New Housing Within Prevailing Income Requirements
 "Provide, in appropriate areas, new housing units... which are within the income requirements of the Community."(R-213, p.5 italics added)
7. Assurance of Standard Housing
 "Housing referred to families will be inspected to assure that it is decent, safe, and sanitary standard housing in compliance with applicable codes and ordinances."(R-213, p.17)
8. Maintainance of Housing Supply in Project Area for Minorities
 "No net reduction in the supply of housing in the project area available to minority group families is proposed."
 (R-215, p.1)

The Plan had a number of components that would affect the residential area of the South End and provide housing resources for its residents.

1. Acquisition and Clearance

The plan sought to acquire 186 acres, 30% of the total area. All of 5212 residential units on those parcels were to be demolished to make room for new development. One fifth of these units were STANDARD, needing few repairs and in good condition. About 1400 residences were to be demolished.

2. Displacement and Relocation

The Authority predicted that 1730 families and 1820 individuals (about 5680 people) were scheduled for relocation. The population was evenly split between minority and non-minority. The median income of these families was different, those of minority persons at \$289 per month, of non-minority persons at \$318 per month. Of these two thirds qualified for public housing. Yet the Authority felt that only a third of those eligible would relocate to public housing so it felt obligated only to provide 746 units of low income public housing.

3. New construction of Housing

The Plan proposed that three types of housing be built to help South End residents:

- * 2500 mixed income units (low/moderate mortgage subsidized)
- * 300 public housing units for families
- * 500 public housing units for elderly persons

Included in these figures were 500 mixed income units
102 elderly units

to be built in Castle Square.

4. Rehabilitation

The Authority sought to rehabilitate 75% of the residential properties. As almost a quarter of the properties were to be acquired and demolished, about 60% of the original properties were to be rehabilitated. There are two ways in which to analyze the situation that existed. One is by looking at a number of residential structures, the other the number of residential units needing repair. The BRA released a preliminary needs survey with both criteria:

House Type	Number	Needing Major Repairs	Number of Units
Apartment Houses	45	30	900
Row Houses*	2862	1847	19723
TOTAL	<u>2907</u>	<u>1877</u>	<u>20623</u>

*Note: 923 row houses were licensed lodging houses containing 9000 units

Source: BRA Loan and Grant Contract, Part 1, 1964

An earlier survey done by the BRA indicated the number and type of row-house structure present in the South End before renewal. Using this chart as a baseline and factoring the information contained above, the following chart can be developed based on the 1961-62 BRA survey: 37

Extent of Repairs Needed on All Structures			
None	Minor	Moderate	Major
18%	5%	30%	47%

The costs of rehabilitation were expected to vary from \$500 for the rehabilitation of a single unit needing only minor repairs to over \$1500 for a unit needing major repairs. If conversion was to be undertaken, the costs increased. For example, estimates were that the costs of converting a single family house into two apartments was almost \$10,000.

These costs were thought to be reasonable and affordable by South End property owners. In addition, Mayor Collins agreed to allow the rehabilitation without changing the tax assessment on the buildings if costs of renovation were below certain ceilings. This would encourage residents to rehabilitate because their taxes would not be significantly raised.³⁸

5. Addition of Lower Roxbury Neighborhood to South End

Before the Renewal Plan the South End and Lower Roxbury were distinct neighborhoods. Included in the metropolitan transportation plans being developed for Boston, was the division of the Lower Roxbury neighborhood and the separation of sections adjacent to the South End from those adjacent to the rest of Roxbury. In the Renewal Plan the Authority sought to join together these traditionally separated communities by including the sections of Lower Roxbury adjacent to the South End in the Plan. Much of the new housing was to be built in that area.³⁹

6. Non-Residential Components of the Plan

The Plan called for large scale infrastructure improvements as well as the upgrading and new construction of commercial institutions and industrial buildings in the South End. Though these components of the Plan do not seem at first glance to be

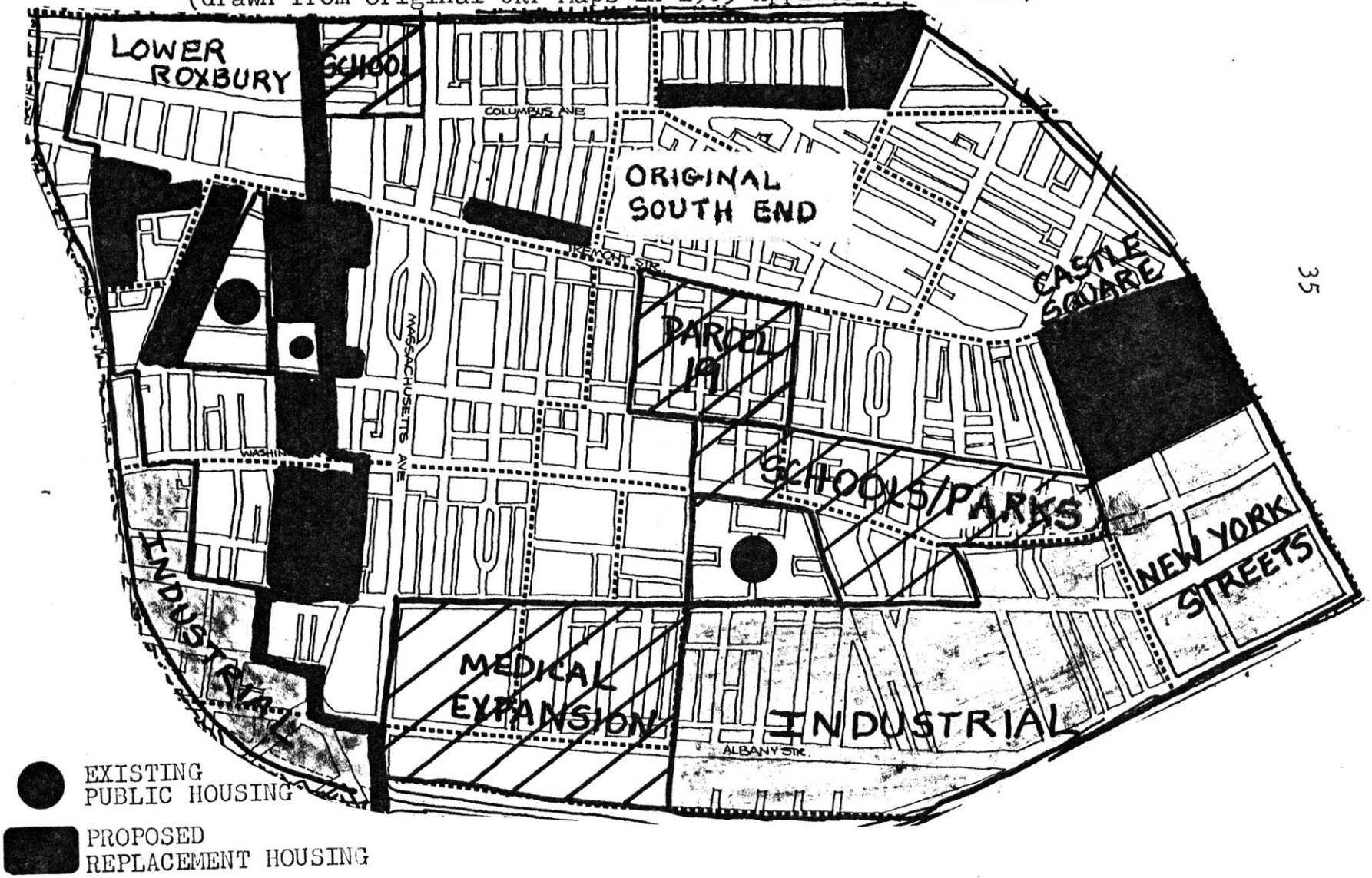
relevant to a discussion of Displacement, they had a major impact on the residential components as we shall see in the next section.

The Plan called for new water and sewer lines, the reconstruction of streets and sidewalks and the development of parks and recreational space. It also provided for the revitalization of the business district and the accompanying improvement of the major thoroughfares which housed many of the area businesses. The Plan included the expansion of the Boston City Hospital and the creation of a major medical complex there. Schools and community facilities were to be built in many sites throughout the South End. Finally, the Plan called for rehabilitation and expansion of the industrial sector.

The new institutional and industrial areas were to be separated from the residential core, being designated for development in the western and southern areas. The commercial and other community facilities would be integrated into the residential section.

These goals and program components were submitted to HUD in 1965 endorsed by the South End community, the BRA, the Boston City Council and Mayor Collins.

Map 3.1 South End Urban Renewal Plan (1965)
(drawn from Original URP Maps in 1965 Application to HUD)



4. CHANGES IN HOUSING STOCK DURING RENEWAL: THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF DISPLACEMENT (1960-present)

In the original application to HUD for the South End Urban Renewal Project, the BRA estimated that the South End had 26,128 units of housing. As the Plan called for the demolition of about 20% of the total housing stock, or 5,212, the Authority originally expected that over 20,000 of the original South End housing units would remain after renewal. The Plan called for the rehabilitation of 75% of this housing, or about 16,000 units.⁴¹

To replace this loss of housing units, the Plan provided for the new construction of 3300 units of replacement housing:

- * 2500 mixed income housing (550 for lower income households, the remainder for moderate income households)
- * 300 low income public housing units
- * 500 low income elderly housing units

The majority of the households to be displaced through demolition were low-income and this replacement housing was to be a relocation resource for them.⁴² Included in this replacement housing, according to the Authority, was the new construction of 602 housing units in the Castle Square project planned for in a prior Urban Renewal Plan.⁴³

The almost 1000 units destroyed during implementation of this New York Streets Project, prior to the designation of the comprehensive South End Urban Renewal Area, were never considered as housing units that needed to be replaced. However, their demolition resulted in the displacement of over 3500

people (almost 1000 households) prior to the first South End Urban Renewal Plan.⁴⁴ Many of these households relocated themselves in the South End area, placing an additional demand on the South End housing market for low cost units. This additional demand coupled with the reduced supply, was the first public action by the Redevelopment Authority to cause indirect displacement, as well as direct displacement.

This pattern was to continue. Four types of changes occurred in the housing stock during implementation of the renewal plan that caused displacement:

1. demolition
2. rehabilitation
3. conversion
4. inflation of housing prices

This chapter demonstrates that these changes in housing potentially caused a far greater number of displacements than were acknowledged by the Authority in its Draft Environmental Assessment. Some of the displacement that occurred was planned for, and relocation payments and services were given to these households. According to the Redevelopment Authority 2077 households received relocation services.⁴⁶

Summary

Before renewal there were about 22,000 housing units in the South End, the large majority of which were low cost rental units for South End residents. Between 1960 and today, the number of such available units has decreased dramatically.

Based on the data presented in this section the following estimates can be made:⁴⁶

<u>Table 4. a Estimate:</u>		1960	1979		
<u>Housing (1960-1979)</u>					
Original Townhouses		19,993	10,900	-9,093	-45%
Non-lodging		6,993	9,300	+2,307	+32%
Lodging		13,000	1,600	-11,400	-88%
licensed		9,000	1,080		
unlicensed		4,000	520		
Multifamily Housing		886	3,645	+2,759	+311%
private		—	200		
public housing		886	886		
mixed income		—	2,022		
elderly		—	537		
TOTAL		20,879	14,565	-6,314	-30%

Data based on US Census and BRA documents

During the implementation stages of all urban renewal in the South End at least 7000 units have been lost from the housing stock, over 6000 since 1960 and an additional 996 demolished in the late fifties in the first New York Streets Projects. Most of this loss has been of low cost housing, the primary decrease being in the number of lodging house units serving the needs of the City's aged and single population.

Although replacement housing was built by the Authority, the great numbers of housing units lost could not be replaced. At present this multi-family replacement housing comprises about one fifth of the area's housing stock. As the housing could not be built at affordable prices to lower and moderate income households, most has been publicly subsidized (about

95%).⁴⁷ So at present due primarily to this great decrease in housing units, the neighborhood has one of the highest ratios of subsidized housing to non-subsidized housing, about 33% by my calculations.⁴⁸ However, if the number of housing units had remained close to the original number, less than a quarter would be subsidized. In addition only 15% of the original townhouse units in the area have been rehabilitated at prices affordable to South End residents.⁴⁹ This significant change in type of housing stock available to modest income families has been a primary factor in their displacement out of or into certain areas of the South End.

Between 1960 and 1970 about 6000 units were lost; only 602 were rebuilt. The housing prices of some townhouse units more than doubled, yet only 228 units were rehabilitated by non-profit sponsors at prices affordable to lower and moderate income families. Between 1970 and today, most units lost have been replaced but little has been done to offset the great loss of housing units experienced in the sixties. Only 2559 out of the 3300 new units to be constructed have been completed. The need is great for low-income housing, particularly for the elderly. Although rehabilitation has been undertaken to meet this need, the acceleration of the private market has more than offset the gains made. **Table 4.b displays the** number of units built or rehabilitated through public subsidy.⁵⁰

Table 4• b Housing Resources with Rental Subsidy by Year of Completion

	Before 1960	1960- 1970	1971- 1972	1973- 1975	1976- now	TOTAL
<u>Mixed-LOW</u>						
new	886	110	308	0	173	1477
rehab	<u>0</u>	<u>151</u>	<u>219</u>	<u>332</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>722</u>
total	886	261	527	332	193	2199
<u>Mixed-MODERATE</u>						
new		390	852	0	189	1431
rehab		<u>67</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>335</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>492</u>
total		457	918	335	213	1923
<u>Elderly</u>						
new		102	0	435	0	537
rehab		<u>0</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>193</u>	<u>217</u>
total		102	24	435	193	754
<u>TOTAL</u>						
new	886	602	1160	435	262	3345*
rehab	<u>0</u>	<u>218</u>	<u>309</u>	<u>667</u>	<u>237</u>	<u>1431*</u>
total	886	820	1469	1102	599	4876

*80 rehab units are for market area tenants and receive no subsidy

Data based on 1976-1978 BRA, MHFA and HUD Publications

4.1 Demolition

Estimates vary widely with respect to the correct figure for the number of housing units present before renewal. The BRA's original estimate of 26,128 was highly inflated. In their recent EIS document they used an estimate of 20,500.⁵¹ The 1960 Census Figure used in the BRA South End Data Analysis and Correlations Draft was 20,872 (this figure did not include 996 units demolished prior to the 1960 Census in the New York Street Project). A reasonable estimate for the South End housing stock is close to 22,000 before any renewal.⁵²

Of these all but the 886 public housing units and a few other apartment units were in the South End row house stock. Significantly enough, by 1970 the Census indicated that the number of housing units had dropped to 10,797. The BRA contended that the Census count was low by 4000 units, as the 1970 Census counted rooming houses separately.⁵³ However, despite this, there was still a loss of over 6000 units since 1960. Some of this loss was due to conversion of lodging houses (see section on Conversion). According to a 1967 Urban Planning Aid Report, though over 2500 units had been demolished, and an additional 1675 units either abandoned or of unknown status.⁵⁴ The BRA's Project Status Report stated that close to 2000 units had been demolished by 1971.⁵⁵

By 1970 only 602 units of replacement housing had been built (in the Castle Square Project). Even including the

possible large vacancy of demolished units, a large number of households must have been displaced by direct action. By 1970 the number of households displaced would have exceeded the 2077 direct displacees recorded by the Authority in 1979.

These displacements also increased demand in an already tightening market. Urban Planning Aid and the Community Assembly for a United South End documented the level of displacement and advocated on that basis that demolition be stopped until Replacement Housing was built. The BRA pledged to build 1286 units in the summer of 1968 and 471 in the fall to help offset the increasing demand for low-cost housing.⁵⁶ However the BRA was to continue to delay in its construction of these promised units. As the chart below indicates, since 1970 few additional units have been built over and above those committed in the late sixties. See Appendix 2 for a more detailed discussion.⁵⁷

Table 4.1a Subsidized Housing Built During Renewal

	Mixed	Elderly	Total
1967	500	102	602
1971	150	0	105
1972	1010	0	1010
1973	0	201	201
1974	0	234	234
1975	0	0	0
	<u>1160</u>	<u>435</u>	<u>1595</u>
1976	<u>362</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>362</u>
	2022	537	2559

Based on research done in 1979 using HUD, BRA and MHFA reports

This replacement housing was built primarily in two areas on the periphery of the South End, one in the northeastern corner and five in the southern. Chart 4.1b and Map 4.1 indicate the location of this housing by 1970 Census tract. Note that NO subsidized housing was built in tracts: 703, 706, 710, 711 and 806. Thus in many cases displacees were moved out of the Original South End area into a select number of census tracts. In addition many were relocated during demolition and reconstruction into the public housing projects in the South End, located near to this replacement housing.

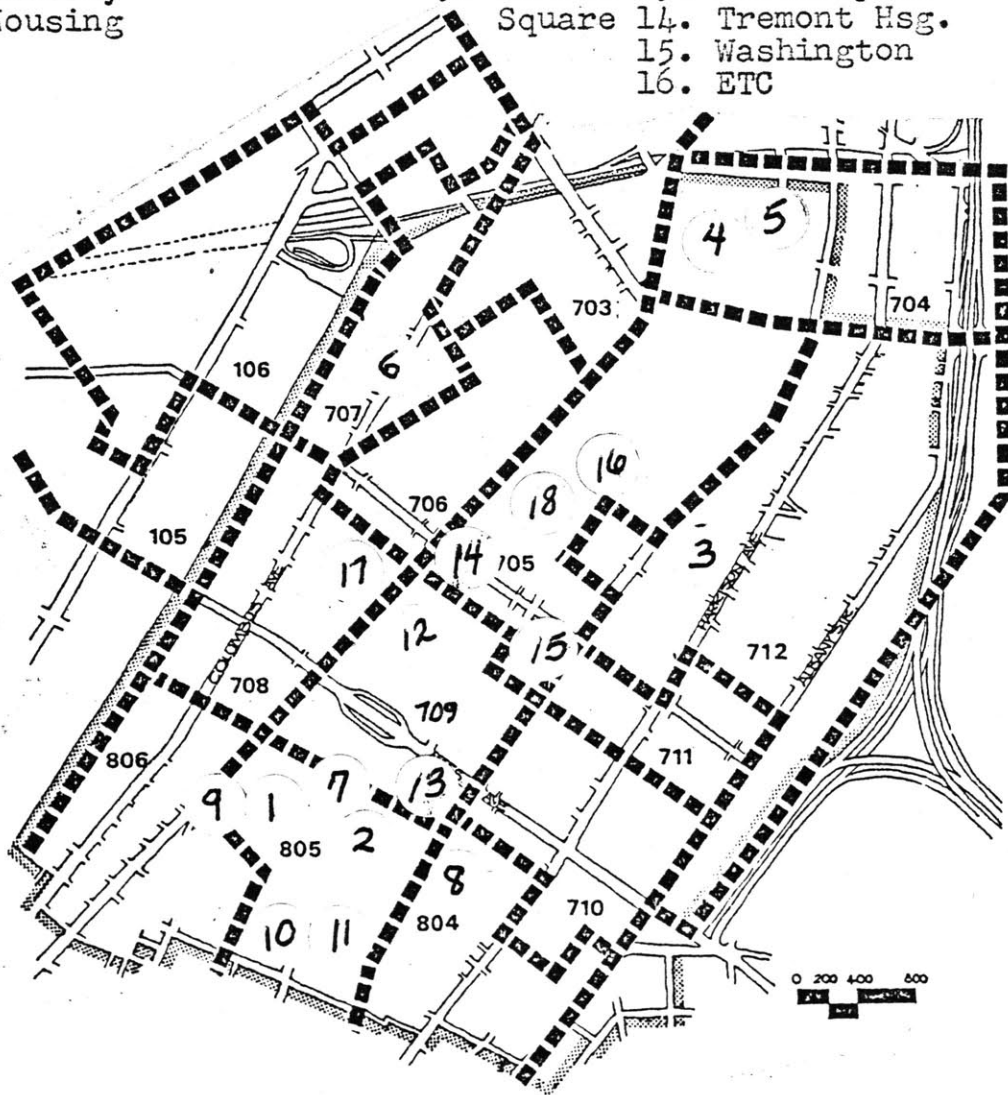
This has created areas with large numbers of subsidized units and others with none. As more persons were relocated into subsidized housing, they have been removed from certain areas in the South End where they had lived into a few designated places. As will be shown in Chapter Five this has often resulted in the segregation by class and race of South End residents.

Table 4.1b Subsidized Housing Units Built in the South End (after 1940) By Census Tract

	704	705	707	708	709	712	804	805
<u>Before</u>								
Family						508		378
Elderly								
<u>During</u>								
Family	500	181	150	224			180	787
Elderly	102	201		78	156			
TOTAL	602	382	150	302	156	508	180	1165

Map 4.1 Location of New Subsidized Housing Developments
By Year of Completion

	<u>Before 1960</u>	<u>1960-1970</u>	<u>1971-1972</u>	<u>1976-Present</u>
Public Housing	1. Lenox 2. Camden 3. Cathedral			
Mixed Housing		4. Castle Square	6. Methunion 7. Camfield Gardens 8. Grant Manor 9. Roxse 10. Westminster 11. Willard 12. Rutland Hsg.	17. Concord Homes 18. Viviendas I
Elderly Housing		5. Castle Square	13. Northampton 14. Tremont Hsg. 15. Washington 16. ETC	



Based on 1976-78 BRA, MHFA and HUD Housing Reports

Overall, the Authority has not completed 728 of the units originally planned. This represents a gap of: ⁵⁸

low income units	300	
mixed low and moderate income units	<u>428</u>	
	728	total units not completed.

The only currently proposed subsidized development in the South End is the IBA project, Viviendas II, for 207 units. However, at the moment this development is under a court injunction due to a ruling that the Authority had not followed the proper Historic Review procedures.

BRA's own records show that they did not complete four planned major subsidized housing developments, representing an additional 427 units of subsidized housing: ⁵⁹

DCA Infill Housing	Section 236	80 units
Headstart Housing	Section 236	145 units
South End Building	Section 236	62 units
Concord Baptist	MHFA	140 units

~~This has resulted in the non-achievement of the housing goals.~~

NEW	GOAL	ACHIEVED	% ACHIEVED
low/moderate income housing	2500	2022	80%
public housing	300	0	0%
elderly housing	500	537	100%

Since renewal began none of the public housing has been constructed as planned. Only 80% of the mixed income housing was built. Though all of the elderly housing was constructed, the need has far exceeded that supplied. Appendix 2 details the number of units, the income mix and the number of bedrooms of all developments built after renewal, and those

public housing projects developed before renewal.

Since renewal only 20% of the mixed income housing was developed with four or five bedrooms, suitable for large families. Overall only 30% of this housing is for low income households.⁶⁰

In total the following units were constructed since renewal:

537 elderly units in elderly housing developments

2022 new mixed income units

Of these mixed income units:

591 are low income

1431 are moderate income

Thus in total only 2559 new housing units were built to replace the 4-6000 units demolished by the authority.⁶¹

4.2 Rehabilitation

In the original urban renewal plan negotiations, most South End residents had believed that renewal would improve their housing situations. They thought that special rehabilitation loan and grant programs would be used to help them pay for housing improvements needed to bring the units up to code. Owners wanted affordable mortgage loans to pay for the additional costs; renters wanted reasonably priced rents for standard units.

Tenants are always the most vulnerable in a changing housing market. As the South End attracted higher paying tenants, landlords had the choice of continuing to rent to lower income residents or to attract wealthier newcomers. Newly rehabilitated units were especially marketable to those with more money, and landlords often wanted the extra revenue they could generate to cover (or to profit beyond) these rehabilitation costs. Investor landlords began to buy into the South End market, seeking to profit from the conversion of low cost units to higher income producing luxury units. These conversions resulted in a decrease in low cost rental units, and increasing numbers of displacements due to private, as well as public action.⁶²

As the situation worsened, during the early years of renewal CAUSE actively protested this negative impact of renewal on South End residents. CAUSE orchestrated a number of demonstrations during the mayoral campaign⁶³, publicizing

the plight of poorer residents, and the racial implications of current market trends in the area. As higher income white prospective home owners acquired for rehabilitation properties in the South End, more minority persons faced displacement as they were outbid in a competitive market. Documentation supplied by Urban Planning Aid, in reports published in 1967 and 1968 provided convincing evidence that displacement was occurring and that the original urban renewal goals were in danger of being achieved.⁶⁴

Although the Authority had originally contended that rehabilitation would be undertaken for the benefit of poorer residents of the South End, by 1968, less than 100 units had been rehabilitated for lower income households.⁶⁵ A housing rehabilitation demonstration program initiated by United South End Settlements (USES) during the renewal planning stages for this purpose had secured twenty vacant buildings at minimal cost and undertaken their renovation. Many unanticipated delays had occurred, in part because the Authority had not promoted the program, although supporting the efforts of the South End Community Development Inc. (SECD).⁶⁶

The program was providing evidence that the BRA's original estimates for the costs of rehabilitation were a third of actual costs. Thus the Authority would have to pursue new and innovative strategies to attain its goals of rehabilitation for original South End residents. UPA suggested that a large-scale rehabilitation program of 5000 units be

begun at a cost of close to \$15,000,000. Vacant, tax-titled and BRA acquired buildings would be rehabilitated by non-profit sponsors for occupancy by low and moderate income persons at affordable rents.⁶⁷ This would help offset the private market rehabilitation being actively encouraged and subsidized by the Authority which was resulting in the in-migration of household incomes above \$10,000, many above \$15,000, and thus the displacement of more modest income original South End residents.⁶⁸ Only with the targeting of public resources and support could the Authority meet its commitments to the South End Community.

The Authority responded by sponsoring scattered rehabilitation efforts in the Community, but only 1511 units were redeveloped for lower and moderate income residents during implementation of the renewal plan. Less than 8% of the original townhouses were rehabilitated for this purpose (about 350) and the Authority continued to encourage private market rehabilitation of remaining buildings by owner occupants and investor landlords. Again research was done for this report of the number and type of units rehabilitated by the Authority (see Appendix 2 for more detailed discussion). As of 1978 there were 1511 units developed:

850 for low income tenants

581 for moderate income tenants

80 for market tenants

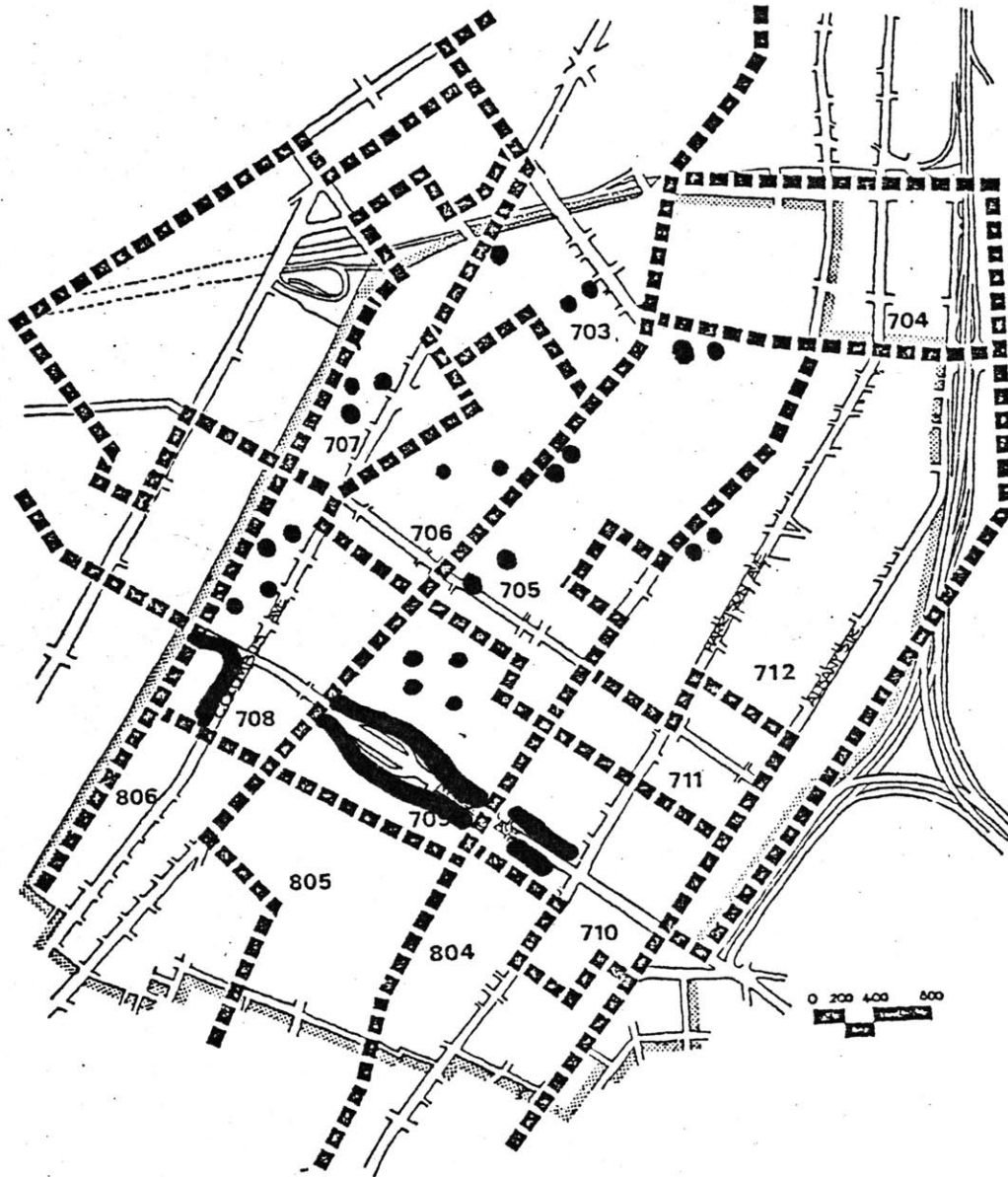
An additional 125 units were leased by the Boston Housing Authority for low income households. Thus about 1650

rehabilitated units remain affordable to South End residents who are of modest income.

Over 200 of these units were for elderly persons. Only 226 were suitable for families, being three bedrooms or larger. They were a limited but invaluable displacement resource primarily benefiting small South End households who would have been displaced from the South End as the market strengthened.⁶⁹

Not enough units were developed to meet the needs of South End residents, and few were located in areas of the South End that underwent the most private revitalization as will be explored in the next few sections. (See Map 4.2 on next page and compare with Map 4.3a.)

Map 4.2 Location of Subsidized Rehabilitated Housing



Source: BRA, "South End District Profile and Proposed District Profile 1978-1980 Neighborhood

4.3 Conversion

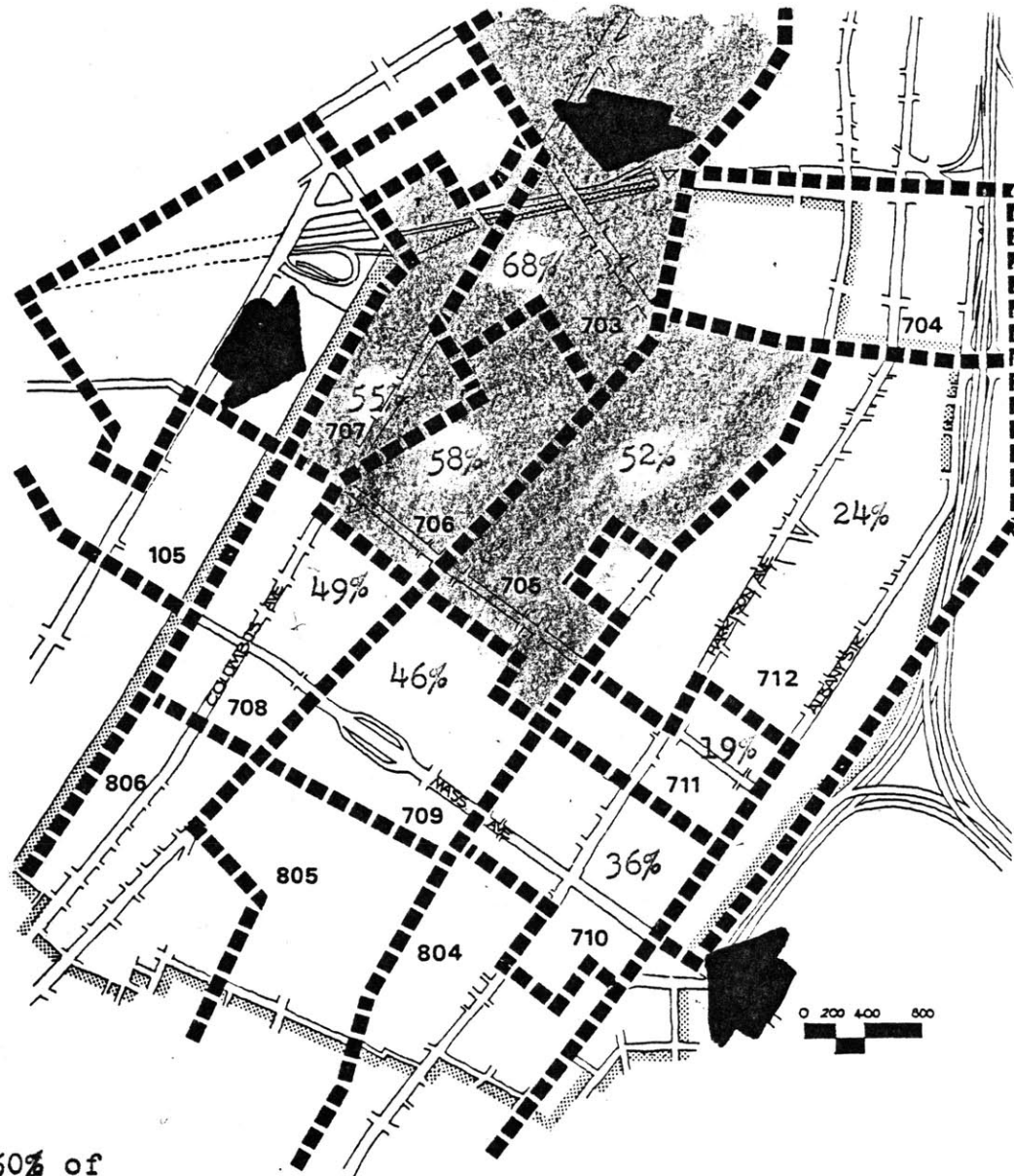
By 1975 large amounts of rehabilitation had been undertaken in many parts of the South End. Over 50% of the properties were rehabilitated in tracts 703 and 705-707 between 1960 and 1974. In tract 703 and 706, those nearest the downtown core, over \$14 million in rehabilitation and purchase mortgages were issued.⁷⁰

This rehabilitation increased the amount of money invested in the South End and was a major reason for the rental increases experienced in these areas. However, most of this rehabilitation, as discussed in the last chapter, was undertaken for residency by wealthier newcomers and not for those who had lived in the South End. Some of this rehabilitation activity was directly encouraged by the Authority that granted low interest mortgage loans in these high demand areas to middle and upper income households and private investors who wished to redevelop properties.⁷¹


This BRA policy caused a large amount of documented and undocumented displacement as many lodging and rooming house tenants were evicted from townhouses undergoing rehabilitation and were not able to afford to move back in. As their one room residence was converted into three and four room apartments, they could not afford the rents required to offset the new owner's investment. Apartments of one and two bedroom size were too large and too expensive for these people.⁷²


The situation was particularly problematic because these


Map 4.3a Rehabilitation Activity (1965-1974)



Key:

 Over 50% of properties rehabilitated

 % rehabilitated as of 1974

 Immigration of Service Sector Employees

Source for Rehab Data: SEPAC, "Special Housing Committee Report". 1975, p. 67.

high demand areas corresponded to the South End's traditional lodging house districts. In 1960 there were about 1400 lodging and rooming houses in the South End.⁷³ Most of these were located in the Original South End district. Residential structures with five units or more in 1960 were primarily lodging houses in this area. Taking the 1960 Census figures for the number of units in buildings with five units or more yields a profile by census tract of the South End lodging houses. There was a total of 12,376 housing units in structures with five units or more in tracts 703-712. An estimate of 1200 townhouse structures with rooming or lodging houses is appropriate for this Original South End area. Thus a division by a factor of ten serves to approximate the number of lodging houses by tract in 1960. Figures on Map 4.3b on the page following were obtained by dividing the number of housing units in structures with five or more units by a factor of ten for each census tract.⁷⁴

In 1970 the US Census counted the numbers of units with boarders separately. They estimated that only 587 structures remained in the South End, half those in 1960. Map 4.3b displays the number of units with boarders according to the 1970 census.⁷⁵ By 1978 the number had been further reduced. According to city records for licensed lodging houses, only 165 remained as of last year, and a recent study by United South End Settlements shows that this number has decreased to about 135 units.⁷⁶ Based on the 1978 city records, an

Map 4.3b Estimate of Lodging Houses in 1960 and 1970 Based on U.S. Census Data



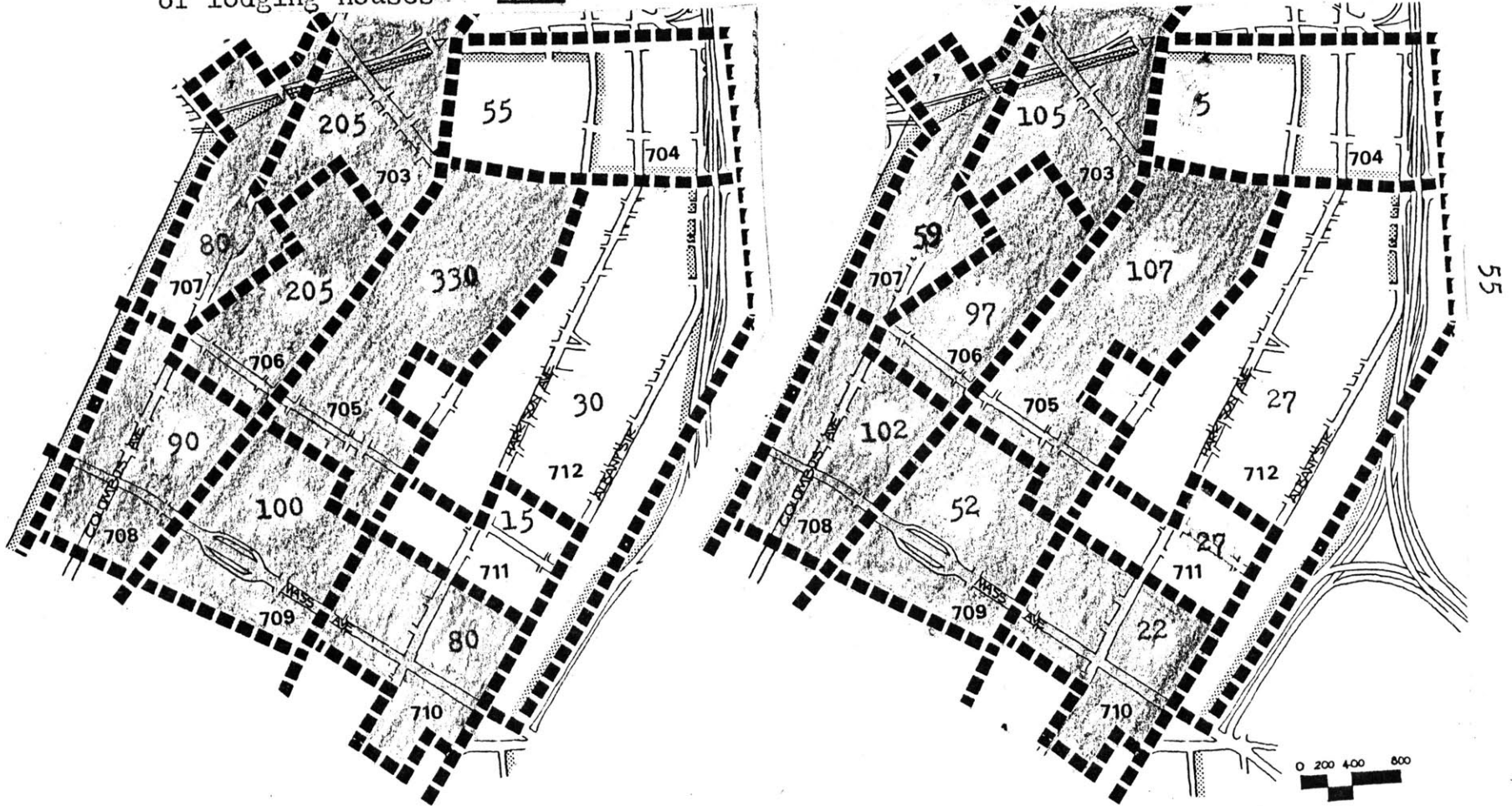
Original Lodging House Districts

#

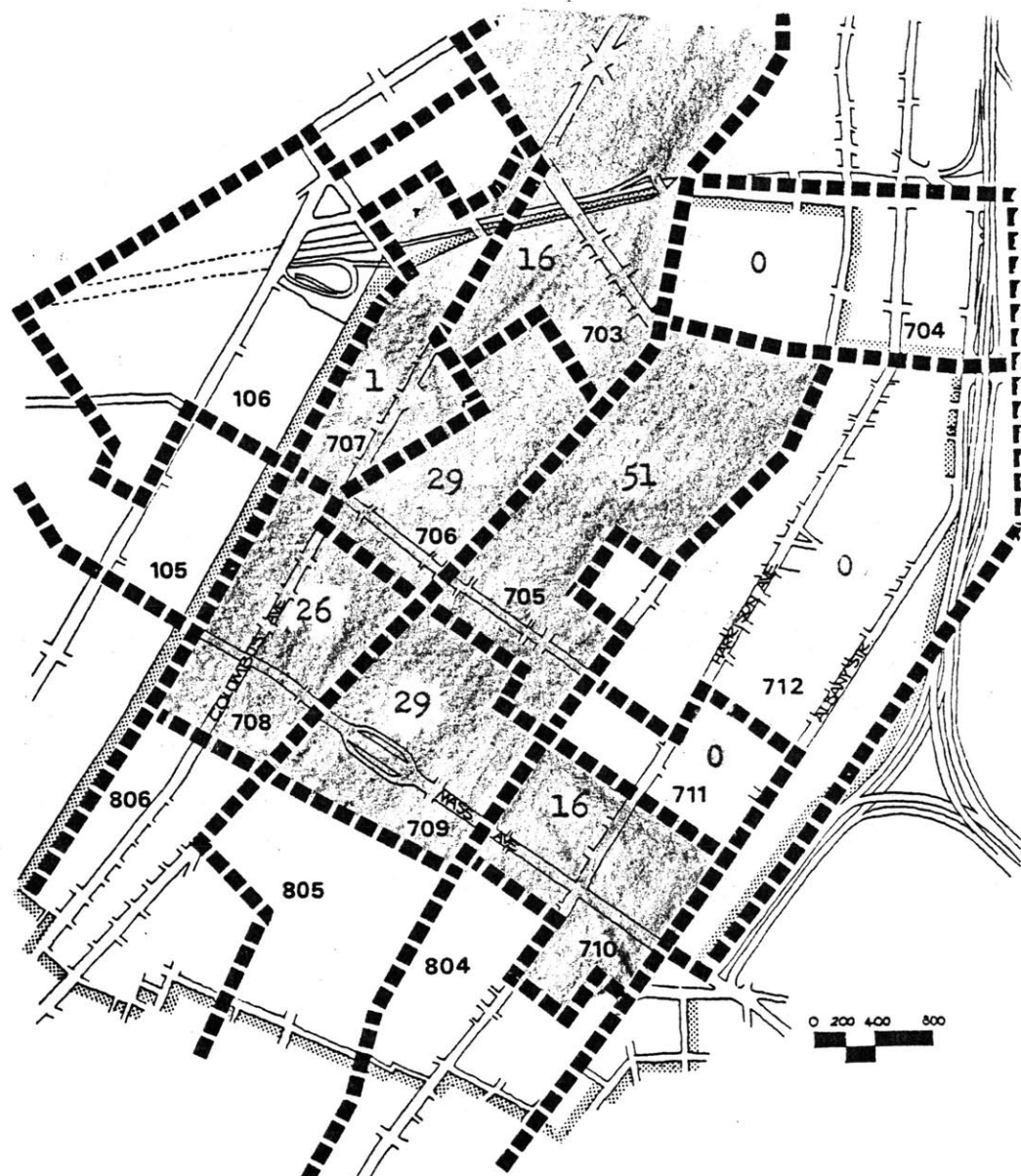
estimated number of lodging houses

1960

1970



Map 4.3c Licensed Lodging Houses in 1978



Key:



Original Lodging House District

#

of lodging houses (licensed) remaining in 1978

Source : United South End Settlements Research of 1978 City Records on Licensed Lodging Houses in South End interpreted onto map by street location

analysis was done by census tract of the numbers remaining as of May 1978. Street addresses were used to locate the lodging houses by census tract. Although unlicensed lodging houses still remained, it is likely that no more than half the number of licensed lodging houses remain. An appropriate estimate for the number remaining as of today would be 135 licensed and 65 unlicensed for 200 total. Map 4.3c displays only the 165 licensed lodging houses located by tract in 1978 (multiply each number by 1.7 to get an approximation of the total number of licensed and unlicensed).⁷⁷

Thus from 1960 until today it is likely that only one sixth of the lodging house stock remains (200/1200 townhouses). This corresponds to a decrease in over 10,000 low cost housing units, a loss of an irreplaceable low cost housing resource.

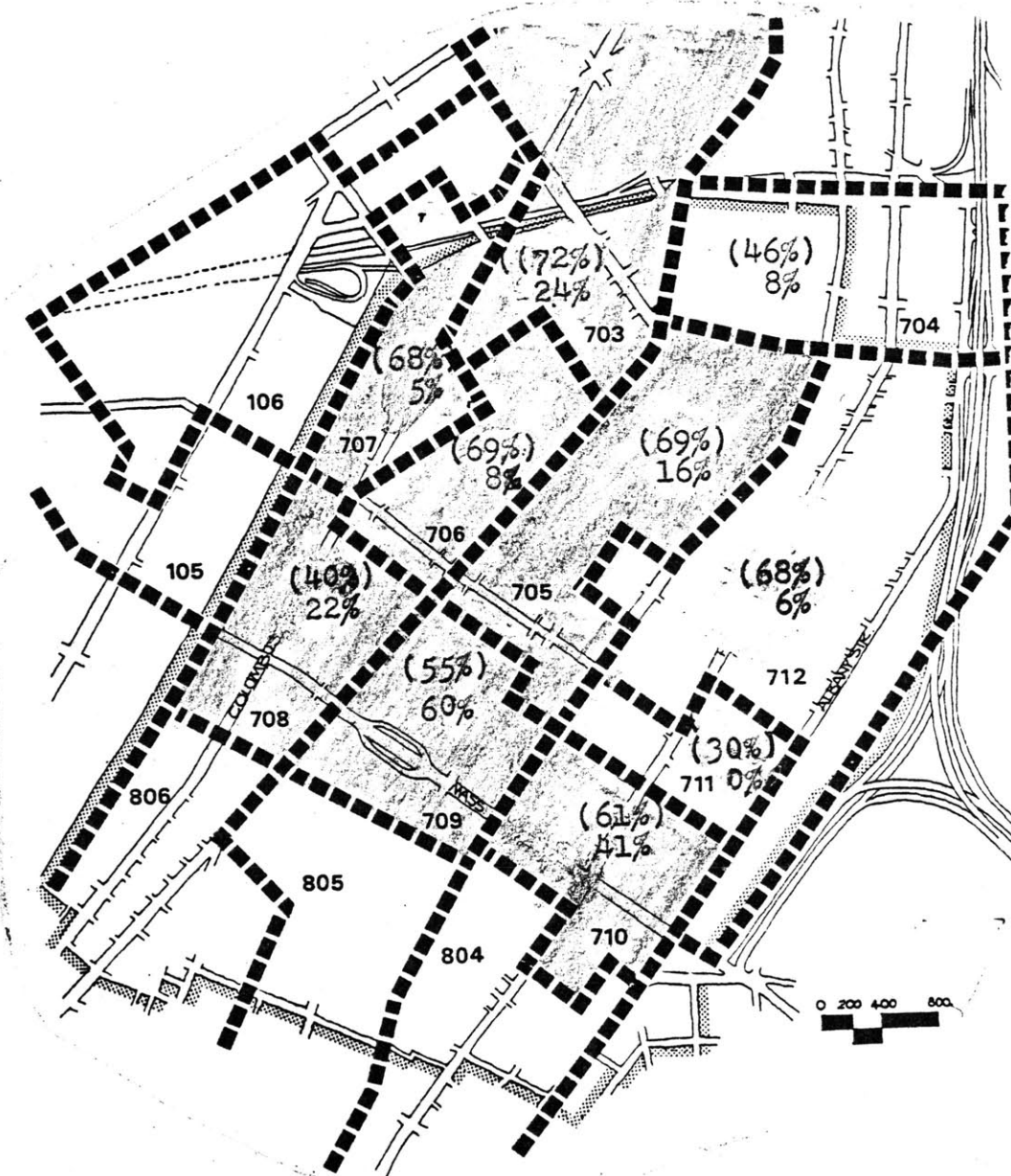
Approximately 6% of the townhouses are still lodging houses (this corresponds to the decrease estimated above—one sixth the percentage in 1960 or 35%).⁷⁸ The percentage of such lodging houses varies by census tract. Comparing the percentages of housing stock with five or more units in 1960 with the percentages of housing stock with 6-10 units estimated by Consensus, the following table can be made. Map 4.3d illustrates the differences from 1960-1978.

Table 4.3 Percentage of Lodging Houses (1960-1978)

	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712
1960	72%	46%	69%	77%	68%	40%	55%	61%	30%	68%
1978	24%	8%	16%	15%	5%	22%	65%	41%	0%	6%

Data based on 1960 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey

Map 4.3d Percentage of Units with Boarder/Roomers
(1960-1978)



-Key:



DECREASE in the
number of original
lodging houses

% % remaining in 1978

(%) % living there in 1960

Based on 1960 Census Data and 1978 Consensus Survey

4.4 Inflating Housing Prices

The South End is one of Boston's downtown core neighborhoods within easy walking distance of the city's expanding office districts. When Logue announced his Development Program for Boston he included plans for a high rise office spine to run from the downtown waterfront area all the way to Back Bay and the South End.⁷⁹ The two largest office buildings in the City, the Prudential and the John Hancock, were both built within a few blocks of the South End. These office buildings added many service sector jobs to the city and brought with them new demands for housing by their white-collar and professional employees who wanted to live with easy access to work. About 30% of those employed in office buildings near to the South End have moved into the area, most within walking distance. Many have moved into the Back Bay and South End red brick townhouses that comprise a large part of the downtown core's housing. A recent survey of those employed by the nearby Christian Science Center indicated that many of the younger singles and couples have moved into Boston, and that 75% of them now live in brick townhouses.⁸⁰

These households are small, having one and two persons, and are comprised of workers between the ages of 20-34, with most in the 25-30 range (see Table 4 Appendix 2). As the population of the downtown core has remained stable, but the household size has decreased, the demand for housing units

has increased. This rising demand has been unevenly felt in the downtown area. The more desirable now have almost 0% vacancy rates. But the excess demand from these desirable neighborhoods has always spilled over into the others, like the South End.⁸¹

A quick analysis of housing impact increase in office space in Boston over the past 18 years, reveals that an increase in housing demand of 20-30,000 households may have occurred between 1965 and 1977 in the core areas of Boston: downtown, North and West Ends, Beacon Hill/Back Bay, Fenway and the South End.⁸²

Approximately 18 million square feet has been constructed in the past 17 years:⁸³

1966-70 5 million square feet

1971-75 10 million square feet

1976-77 3 million square feet (figures rounded down)

18 million square feet additional office space

producing the equivalent of

1966-70 25,000 new jobs

1971-75 50,000 new jobs

1976-77 15,000 new jobs (based on approximation of 1
90,000 new jobs employee per 200 square feet o.s.)

Between 25 and 30% of new downtown office workers choose to live within walking distance of their place of employment. This increase of 90,000 workers could have resulted in the addition of 22-30,000 persons or households trying to find

housing in the downtown core area.⁸⁴

As the entire core area has only 50,000 units, this influx of workers has potentially represented a demand equivalent to 40-60% of the total number of units available (see Table 5 in Appendix 2).

This demand has also been intensified by the increase in the number of persons employed in the City's expanding medical institutions, over 50,000, in 1975.⁸⁵ Three of the city's major medical complexes are located in the downtown core area, the Massachusetts General, Tufts University and Boston University/Boston City Hospitals. A fourth complex contributes to housing demand in the Fenway Core Area, being located in sections of Fenway and adjacent parts of Mission Hill and Brookline. All of these have expanded in staff and students since renewal began, many being built upon urban renewal lands.⁸⁶

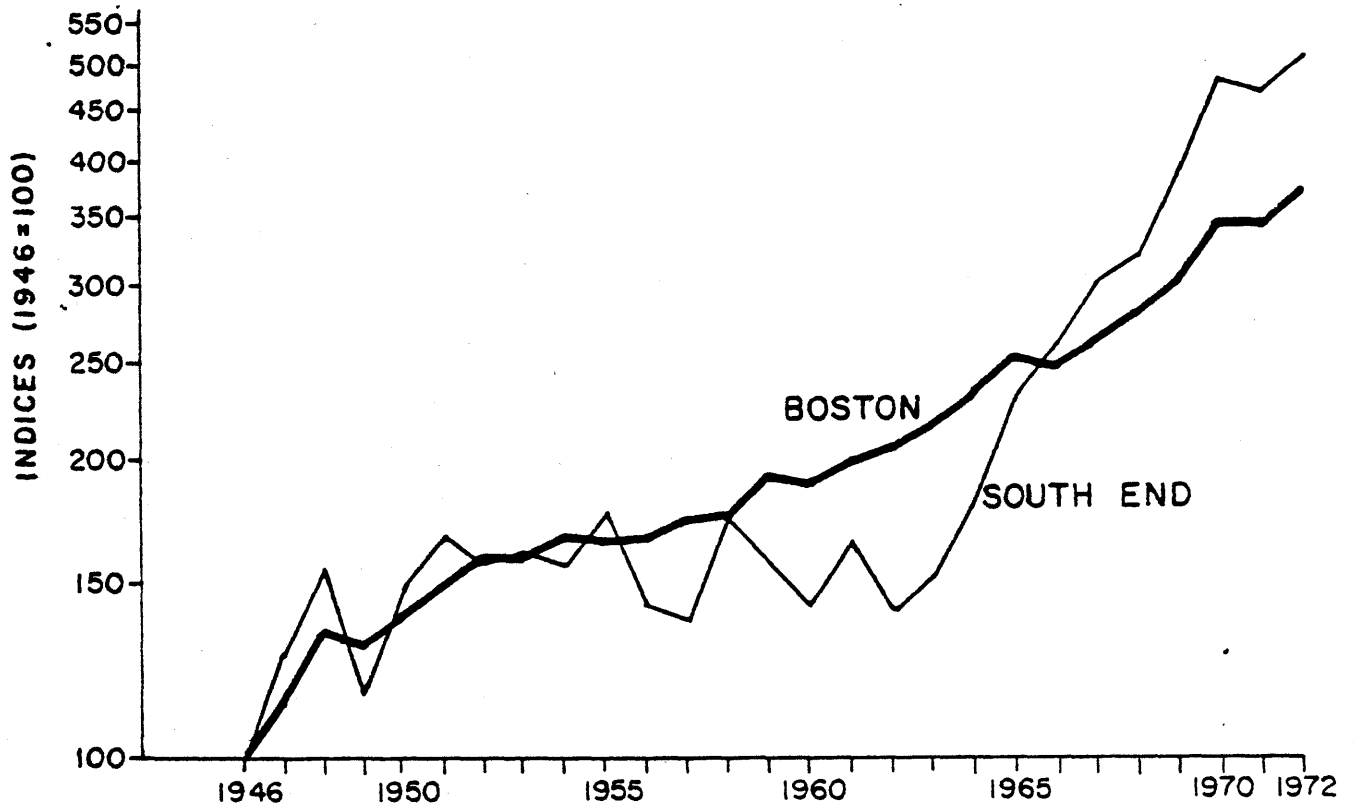
This rapid increase in demand has strengthened the downtown real estate market. Much rehabilitation has been undertaken to convert units into luxury apartments marketable to these new workers. Condominium conversions, especially in the Back Bay and Beacon Hill areas, are a further sign that a higher income clientele are entering the downtown housing markets. Over the past few years many real estate businesses have opened offices in downtown neighborhoods and the turnaround time between sales and rentals has been shortened dramatically, in some cases to a single day. Within a

few hours a Back Bay apartment will be on and off the market.⁸⁷

The South End has been particularly susceptible to these changes. First in the early sixties as demand was beginning to increase, housing prices particularly in northern areas doubled (between 1960 and 1967)⁸⁸ and the number of transactions in the area similarly increased (see Map 4.4). Once the market began to strengthen, prices rose even faster. Between 1960 and 1972 housing prices in the South End rose three times faster than those of the entire city (see Chart 4.4).⁸⁹

Many of these townhouses were sold unrehabilitated to gentry who sought to do their own rehabilitation, but as the market strengthened, rehabilitated houses were also sold at higher prices, reflecting the additional costs of rehabilitation. Thus it is difficult to compare real estate prices from one year to the next without knowing if the units sold were rehabilitated or not. A survey of the transactions listed in the City's Real Property Department revealed that both unrehabilitated and rehabilitated units increased in price significantly. On six streets surveyed in the South End between 1960 and 1978, prices rose from \$5-7,000 in 1960 to \$20-30,000 in 1978 for unrehabilitated units. Similarly mortgages for rehabilitated properties increased. As most rehabilitation began around 1965, figures from that period on indicate that prices of rehabilitated townhouses, either sold or mortgaged at sale value, rose from \$25-30,000 in

Fig. 4.4 Trends in the Market Value of Residential Property
South End (1946-1972)



Source: BRA Research Department, "Residential Property Market Values in Boston", 1973

1965, to \$50-60,000 by 1972, to \$80-\$100,000 in 1978.⁹⁰

Although these rises in prices occurred in all areas of the South End, the greatest increases occurred in those nearest Downtown and Back Bay office buildings and to another major service sector employer, the Boston City Hospital. These high demand areas not only experienced great increases in sales and transactions but were also the prime areas for investment by absentee landlords. During the late sixties through the seventies, properties across the South End were bought up for conversion to luxury apartments. Median rents in these areas more than doubled in a short time period.

The Chart below shows the changes in median rents that occurred by census tract between 1960 and today (based on figures in Consensus Survey). On the following page Map 4.4a displays these median rents by area.

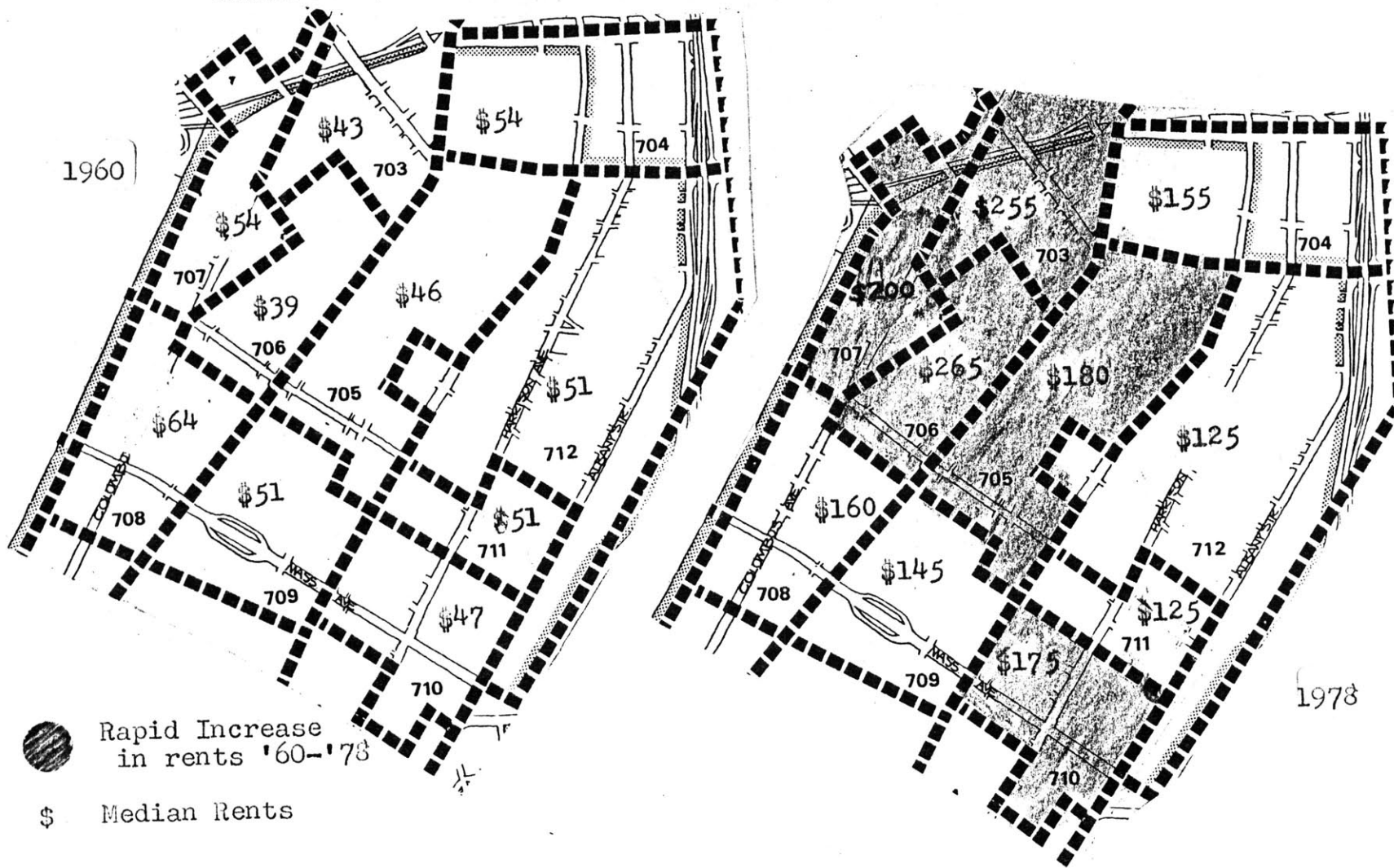
Table 4.4a Median Rents and Housing Values

	Rents			Value	
	1960	1970	1978	1960	1970
703	48	102	255	9000	27,900
704	54	110	155	—	17,200
705	46	72	180	6500	27,500
706	39	109	265	6000	15,000
707	54	90	200	6500	17,200
708	64	79	160	8000	17,900
709	51	75	145	7500	16,300
710	47	71	175	9000	—
711	60	69	125)	9500	—
712	51	73	125)	—	7,000

Data compiled from 1960 and 1970 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey

The private market in the South End has become a strong investor market in most areas, especially those nearest Back

Map 4.4 Median Rents (1960-1978)
 Based on 1960 Census and 1978 Consensus Surveys



Bay and Boston City Hospital. In some parts rents and property values have increased to levels that are almost ten times what they were before renewal began. These luxury housing units continue to attract renters and homeowners from other downtown core areas. Housing is expensive in Boston and many households of all incomes are searching for housing quality at the right price. Many lodging house buildings in the South End continue to be bought and renovated for apartments. They have become an easily marketable commodity as demand has risen throughout the downtown area.

At present the private rental market has a large price range for units, but fewer are available at low prices, as renovation accelerates in response to market pressures. Based on real estate advertisements in the Boston Globe and through informal discussions with realtors and investment owners an estimate of rents range:⁹¹

	LOW	MOD	MKT
0 BR	150	250	300
1 BR	250	350	450
2 BR	300	500	650
3 BR	350	500	700

Duplex apartment units (usually on ground floor with access to a garden, are more expensive, equivalent to 3 BR rents).

The low units are available in houses with few new facilities, just small amounts of rehabilitation to maintain the building. The moderate units are available in houses which were rehabilitated during the early years of renovation and

have not been recently redone, and whose owners do not charge the full market price. The luxury units are targeted to the prospective tenants who would choose to live in the Back Bay/Beacon Hill areas. They are usually recently renovated with additional amenities like skylights, all new kitchen appliances and beautifully redone hardwood floors and exposed brick.

If a person is to pay 25% of their income for rent, only persons in the \$15,000 and above income range can afford to rent a 2 BR unit even at the lowest South End rents. Only persons above the \$30,000 income range can afford luxury 2 BR units. However, we know that many of the persons moving into the South End rental units are single or living with another working individual. Often these renters can afford and do pay more than 25% of their income towards rent. Families, however, do not always have this option, being burdened by many expenses for food, medicine and additional necessities for their children.

According to the Bureau of Labor a family of four in Boston cannot afford to pay rent at a \$6000 income; can only afford a contribution of \$150 at a \$10,000 income; and should only pay approximately 25% of their income in housing until the \$20,000 range. In the Boston area, only persons who are in management positions or other such professional occupations can afford to pay private market rents in the South End (Refer to Chart 4.4b on next page).⁹²

Table 4.4b Affordability of Housing: Income Group Comparisons

(Based on Data from Employment Ads of Boston Sunday Globe 2/79)

RENT (25% inc)	RENT (40% inc)	HOURLY WAGE	WEEKLY SALARY	YEARLY INCOME (approx)	RANGE OF JOBS
\$83	\$133			\$4000	Welfare limited income Social Security
\$125 (0)**	\$200	\$3.00	\$120	\$6,000	food sales clerk cashier receptionist dishwasher security bi-lingual caseworker officer clerk cook
\$163 (32)	\$260	\$4.00	\$160	\$8,000	daycare teacher telephone operator purchase social worker expediter travel agent public relations keypunch operator
\$208 (150)	\$333	\$5.00	\$200	\$10,000	machine operator secretary nurse keypunch legal secretary supervisor hospital planner workshop supervisor purchase expediter plant operator painter roofing foreman taxi driver

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** Suggested rent contribution for family of four (US Bureau of Labor 1978)

*
 Table 4.4b Affordability of Housing: Income Group Comparisons
 (Based on Data from Employment Ads of Boston Sunday Globes 2/79)

RENT (25% inc)	RENT (40% inc)	HOURLY WAGE	WEEKLY SALARY	YEARLY INCOME	RANGE OF JOBS
\$240	\$400	\$6.00	\$240	\$12,000	computer programmer machine technician executive secretary realtor dental hygienist bookkeeper restaurant manager insurance salesman paralegal services
\$280	\$466	\$7.00	\$280	\$14,000	physical therapist go-go dancers chief of police store manager vocational services nurse supervisor accountant nurse practitioner shoe manager market research school teacher draftsman tax assessor financial analyst town planner
\$320	\$533	\$8.00	\$320	\$16,000	industrial engineer budget supervisor mechanical division planner designer principal supervisor
\$400	\$666	\$10.00	\$400	\$20,000	systems analyst accountant manager personnel library director purchasing data processor manager
\$600	\$1000	\$15.00	\$600	\$30,000	computer engineer systems programmer lawyer precision die

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5. DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF DISPLACEMENT

The implementation of the Renewal Plan resulted in significant changes in housing stock, as was shown in the previous section. These changes have increased rather than limited displacement of original South End residents. Two kinds of displacement have occurred--households leaving the South End and households relocating within the South End. Both have brought about changes in the composition of the population.

Those who have left the South End have been replaced in many areas by the gentry--higher income, white-collar and professional, primarily white households--and as a neighborhood the South End has lost many of its lower to moderate income households, particularly elderly individuals and working poor families, many of whom were black.

The relocation of households within the South End is another important kind of displacement not fully addressed in other documents. Over the years households have moved from location to location as they could not afford their units any longer. As few units remained on the private market to meet their needs, they moved into publicly subsidized units, often relocated there by the BRA. Because these units were located primarily in the peripheral areas of the South End, this resulted in a segregation of South End residents by class, and often by race, as minority families earned less than their white counterparts. Thus displacement has resulted in

a failure to achieve the goal of integration. To begin to see these compositional changes by subarea, it is essential to compare and analyze demographic changes within different parts of the South End. This has been done by comparing Census tract data for these areas.

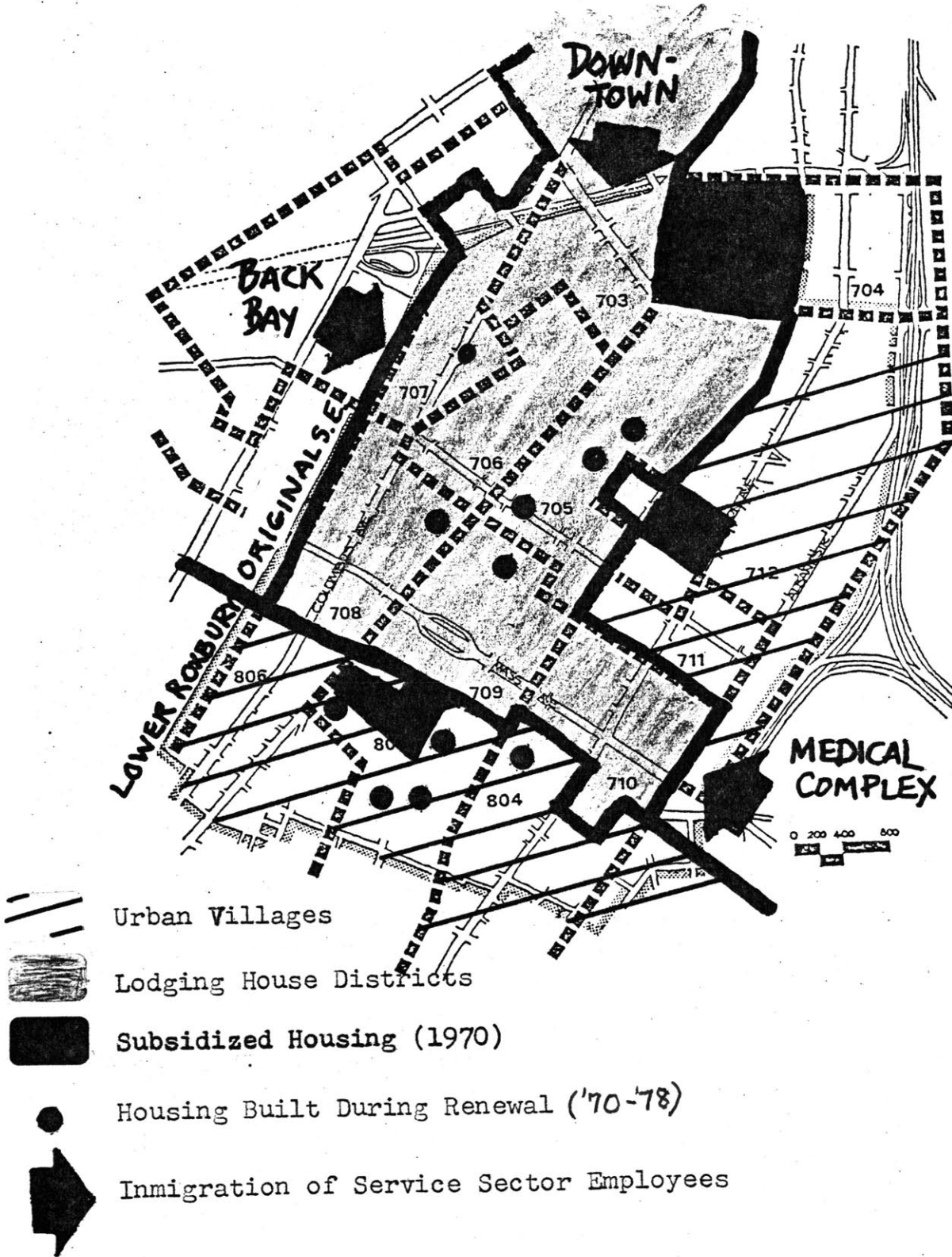
Summary

As the demand for housing in the South End grew, the rehabilitation of townhouses for owner occupancy and rental to middle and upper income tenants accelerated. The regions most susceptible to these changes, as was noted in the previous chapter, were the Lodging House Districts located near to the City's growing service employment centers. At the same time demolition occurred in large sections of the Urban Village areas which had traditionally housed lower and moderate income families (See Map 5.0 on next page).

The displacement of previous households cannot be mapped solely by population loss, but rather can be seen more clearly in the patterns of in-migration and out-migration of South End households. In the Lodging House Districts population losses were offset by the in-migration of the gentry. Most of the population in the Lodging House Districts before renewal were one person households. Over the years, the number of households with couples grew as conversions of Lodging Houses continued, and the gentry moved into the renovated and enlarged units. The number and percentage of one person households declined as many modest income single persons were displaced out of the South End or into other areas, where they had not traditionally lived, like the Urban Villages, but where there were affordable units available.

Much population and household loss, particularly of families, occurred also in the Urban Village Areas. In some

Map 5.0 Residential Characteristics (1960-1978)



areas there was an influx of gentry, but most experienced an in-migration of displacees who relocated from other parts of the South End to the subsidized housing stock or to the less expensive private housing that surrounded them.

As much of the replacement housing was not built between 1960 and 1970, many households left the South End forced out by demolition or rising prices. While the total population only decreased by 12,217, the out-migration of persons exceeded 25,000 (over 7,000 households in the Original South End area alone). Due to this large out-migration and concurrent in-migration, shifts occurred in age, race, income, employment and educational status of South End residents, as lower income persons were displaced and higher income persons attracted to the area. The largest out-migration has been of families with children under the age of 18 and of adults, above the age of 35. Many left the area, and the remainder moved into subsidized housing. Overall the older population groups (over the age of 55) have decreased by 60% since renewal began, the families with children by close to 50%. Few moderate income families remain. Almost all families of limited income live in publicly subsidized developments.

The white population decreased greatly between 1960 and 1970 but has increased since then. The black population has continued to decrease since renewal began. The continued displacement of lodging house tenants who were predominately white contributed to this loss of white persons. Although

there were significant numbers of black lodging house tenants displaced also, there has been a greater number of black family households. Other minority groups, like the Hispanic and Asian Americans have relocated into and out of the South End over the years. Certain areas became ethnic enclaves for both groups, but over the years displacement has continued of those priced out of the private market who have not been able to move into publicly subsidized buildings.

Corresponding changes have occurred in income. As the private market has attracted households of higher income, many areas have undergone rapid changes--increases of median income over four times that in 1960 in some Lodging House Districts. At the same time the Urban Village areas where there are large numbers of publicly subsidized units have maintained similarly low median incomes as 1960, as relocation occurred of remaining South End households to these areas. The group most conspicuously missing from the South End population at present are moderate income households, once a primary population group.

Corresponding to these income changes were those of employment and educational status. While the proportion of blue collar workers in Boston has decreased slightly, the proportion in the South End decreased markedly from 72% to 32% in less than two decades. The Lodging House Districts which once had the largest percentages of blue collar workers, are instead populated with white collar and professionals of

college educations. The remaining blue collar workers live in Urban Village Tracts with the large percentages of subsidized housing. The education levels in these areas are low, being inhabited by persons with less than high school educations.

These changes in housing stock and the percentages of owner occupants and subsidized housing tenants have increased over the years. In the Lodging House Districts there are very large percentages of owner occupants, while the Urban Village areas have large percentages of subsidized tenants. Where once the South End was an area with many owners of moderate incomes, now most owners are white households of incomes over \$15,000 who are well-educated and employed as professionals. Although South End residents of moderate income and minority background still own homes, they are a small proportion.

Tracing Displacement

To trace the compositional changes that have occurred, and through this provide evidence of displacement since the beginning of Urban Renewal (1960), data was selected from the 1960 and 1970 Census as well as documents available to the Authority such as their own research reports, state census surveys and the recent South End survey done in 1978 by Consensus, Inc. My analysis dicusses the following indicators of population losses and shifts:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Population Size | 5. Income Mix |
| 2. Household Composition | 6. Employment |
| 3. Age Groups | 7. Educational Levels |
| 4. Racial Patterns | 8. Tenure. |

The compositional changes that have occurred in the South End clearly reflect large amounts of displacement. To summarize:

1. Population Size

The large losses and shifts in population size in the South End and its sub areas, coupled with the patterns of immigration, outmigration and movement between areas, indicate that displacement has occurred as households left and relocated in the South End.

2. Household Composition

Since renewal began, many original residents in family and single households have left the South End. They have been replaced by smaller family households, consisting largely of couples, as lodging houses and single family homes were converted and renovated into one and two bedroom apartments.

3. Age Groups

Families with children of school age and older adults, particularly above the age of 55, have been replaced by younger adults, between the ages 20-35. At present the fastest growing age group is the 25-35, making up over one quarter of the population.

4. Racial Change

Losses in the white population occurred between 1960 and 1970 and began to reverse during the seventies as the immigration of the white gentry offset the outmigration of poorer white households. Since 1960 the black population has continued to lose population and has been displaced from areas in the lodging house districts where they had traditionally lived into publicly assisted housing in the Urban Villages. The Hispanic and Asian population groups also have lost population and those remaining have been relocated into assisted housing.

5. Income Mix

Since 1960 the revitalizing areas in the South End have had a large immigration of upper income households, particularly those nearest employment centers. Where once the community was largely comprised of lower and moderate income households, it has now been segregated into high income and low income areas as a result of the displacement of its poorer residents into certain areas of the South End or out of the South End.

6. Employment

Before renewal the South End was a working class neighborhood. As the immigration of white collar and professional workers and the outmigration of blue collar workers has continued, the neighborhood has segregated into areas with mostly professional workers or relatively few of this group and has become largely inhabited by white collar workers.

7. Educational Levels

As the number of professional persons has increased in certain areas, the number of college graduates has correspondingly risen. Less well educated households have been displaced out of these areas into publicly assisted housing or out of the South End entirely.

8. Tenure

As revitalization accelerated, more units were bought for owner occupancy in certain areas while in those areas with much demolition and assisted housing, the percentage of owner occupancy decreased. Persons no longer able to afford the rising private rents relocated into units with subsidized rents. Because the cost of ownership has been dramatically increasing, most owner occupants are now professional workers in white households with over \$15,000 income and are between the ages of 35-49.

Methodology

Two kinds of analysis were performed for each indicator. Aggregate figures were mapped to estimate the type and extent of displacement that occurred. Disaggregated figures by sub-area (census tract) were mapped to show the differential effects displacement has had on the South End, particularly in the Lodging House Districts and the Urban Village areas. The brief discussion that follows outlines the method of analysis for each. For more detailed information on the sources used, see Appendix 3: Methodology for Data Analysis.

Aggregate Population Changes

Aggregate figures for the South End include census data from all tracts in the urban renewal area:

Tracts 703-712 (Original South End District)

Tracts 804-806 (Lower Roxbury)

even though originally the South End area did not incorporate Census Tracts 804-806 as Lower Roxbury has traditionally been a different neighborhood. The South End Urban Renewal Plan included portions of Lower Roxbury because metropolitan transportation plans called for the construction of a major freeway which cut through these three Lower Roxbury tracts making those portions adjacent to the South End a logical geographical part of the area.

For this reason, 1960 and 1970 census tract data for the South End area is difficult to interpolate. Data for the Lower Roxbury tracts is enlarged as portions of them are not

contained in the plan area. The BRA presented in its Neighborhood Profile Report of the South End estimates of the population in 1970 from tracts 804-806 that were in the South End area. Using their estimates and comparing them to the total population figures for these tracts, one can derive the following percentages of population in the South End area:

	1970 census #	BRA estimate #	Percentage %
804	1626	413	25%
805	1427	1071	75%
806	1889	541	29%

All aggregate data, therefore, is based upon estimates that attempt to factor in these differences, and the estimates vary widely from report to report. Consequently I have chosen to use aggregate 1960 and 1970 census figures presented in the BRA report, Draft South End Data Analysis (1974) and to factor in, wherever possible, corrective calculations which would make these figures more accurate.

As there is no census data more recent than 1970, an analysis was done using the latest sample survey of the South End, the Consensus Survey (1978), to map out the changes that have occurred during the past eight years. The Survey was a 5% sample and considered to be fairly reliable for most data points. The most appropriate way to compare this sample survey to the census data for the previous decades is to make percentage calculations of each indicator and cross-correlate them.

Therefore for each topic area the data presented shows the exact numbers and percentage changes indicated by the Census Data and shows the trends that have occurred between 1960-1978 by comparing these percentages with those derived from the Consensus Survey data.

Data Disaggregated by Census Tract

To begin to disaggregate this census data and to measure the different changes that have occurred among sub areas, 1960 and 1970 census data is interpreted in this report for each census tract within Original South End area. The 1960 and 1970 census data for the Lower Roxbury tracts were not included for the reasons described above, that the data is difficult to accurately derive, and because the focus of this report has been on the displacement of original South End residents.

The sub areas defined into numbered census tracts in the 1970 US Census survey are used as the basic units of analysis. Most recent demographic data has been compiled according to these tracts, and 1960 Census data can be interpreted so that is appropriately maps onto them. In addition the 1978 Consensus Survey was disaggregated by 1970 Census Tract.

As the Survey only sampled Lower Roxbury households in the South End Urban Renewal Area, 1978 data is presented for the Lower Roxbury tracts. The data is useful to compare with the 1960 and 1970 Census Data for the Original South End area as it reflects the in-migration of displacees from the Original South End area into Lower Roxbury during urban renewal.

1. Population Size

The large losses and shifts in population size in the South End and its sub areas, coupled with the patterns of immigration, outmigration and movement between areas indicate that displacement has occurred as households left and relocated in the South End.

The South End had been declining in population before renewal as had the City as a whole, but at a more rapid rate. Part of the large population loss that occurred during the initial years of renewal was due to this movement out of the city. However in certain South End areas, like the site of the New York Streets Project, population losses occurred as a direct result of demolition of buildings for renewal and this contributed and reinforced the area's rapid population loss.⁹³

Table 5.1 Population Size (1950-1970)

	1950	%change 50-60	1960	%change 60-70	1970	%change 50-70
Boston	801,444	-12.9%	698,081	-8.2%	641,071	-20.0%
South End	57,218	-38.9%	34,990	-34.9%	22,773	-60.2%

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census

Between 1960 and 1970 the population loss in the Original South End Area and the parts of Lower Roxbury linked together by the renewal plan differed markedly. Although Lower Roxbury had only a sixth the population of the South End Area, it lost over 3000 persons, a quarter of the total South End population loss. Widespread demolition occurred in Lower Roxbury and the resultant 60% decrease in its population was linked to the out-migration of its residents as no new replacement housing was built there until 1972. The Original South End Area lost over

9000 persons, or 30% of its population between 1960 and 1970. The largest losses occurred in the Lodging House Districts (tracts 703, 705, 706, 707, 708, 710) with decreases of over 900 persons in each sub area.⁹⁴

	1960	1970	Change	
			#	%
Original South End	29,919	20,729	-9190	-31%
Lower Roxbury	<u>5,071</u>	<u>2,044</u>	<u>-3027</u>	<u>-60%</u>
TOTAL	34,990	22,773	-12,217	-35%

The Original South End Area lost approximately 9000 persons. As Census Tract 703 is only partially in the original South End area, its loss in population was not entirely due to losses of the South End population. All figures used in the remaining sections of this report for the Original South End area incorporate the population changes for tract 703 and are thus slightly inflated, by approximately 4%.⁹⁵

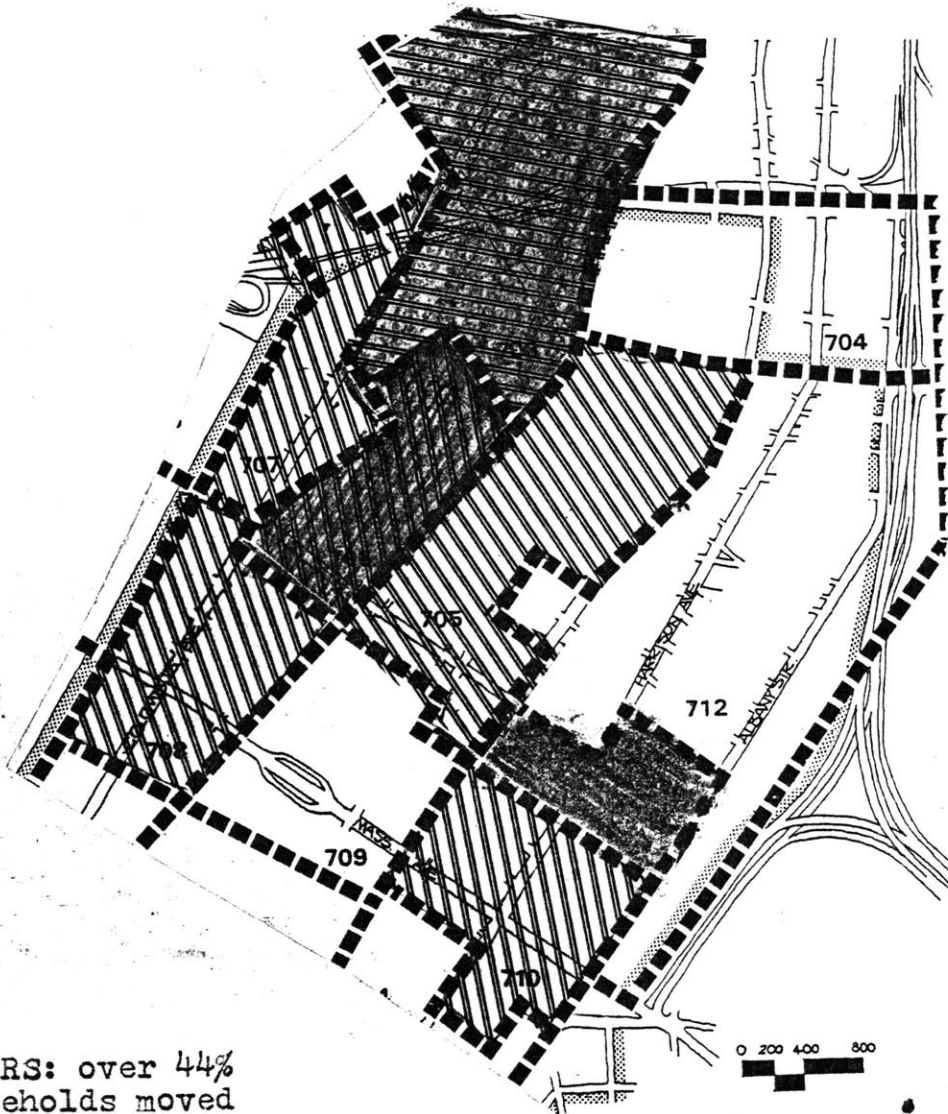
Aggregate changes in population size do not reveal the population losses of original South End residents offset by a continued immigration of newcomers. Although the population size declined by over 12,000 between 1950 and 1970, the loss of original South End residents was closer to 25,000.⁹⁶ This outmigration of original residents continued although the population size stabilized and increased slightly, to about 25,000 between 1970 and today. Displacement can be evidenced in the rapid demographic changes that have occurred in the South End area, as well as by the numbers of persons who have moved into and out of the South End since renewal. Few

original residents remain in many areas of the South End today as they have continued to be displaced.


Certain Lodging House Districts have experienced the greatest immigration of newcomers and as such, their population losses of original South End residents are hidden in aggregate figures. Six areas in particular experienced large numbers of immigration between 1965 and 1970 of over 900 households; tracts 703, 705, 706, 708, 709, 710 (see Map 5.1a).⁹⁶


This trend has continued today. Newcomers have continued to enter these areas (particularly tract 703 and 706) and original South End residents have been displaced out of the South End or into other areas, near to or in Lower Roxbury (see Map 5.1b). Private revitalization has not escalated as yet in these areas, but trends indicate that newcomers are migrating into them also, as more of the housing stock is renovated. Many lodging houses are being bought and converted in the Original South End areas which before had not been as desirable to the private market. A quick walk through these areas reveals the amount of reconstruction and renovation occurring. The Lower Roxbury area has large amounts of undeveloped land and publicly assisted housing. At present this has hindered investment, but the BRA's plans include the revitalization of this area also, a plan that many Lower Roxbury residents fear will result in their displacement in the future.⁹⁷

Map 5.1a Population Migration (1960-1970)



Key:

- 

NEWCOMERS: over 44% of households moved into area within one year (1969-1970) -- 5% above S.E. average
- 

POPULATION LOSS: decrease in population of over 900 persons (1960-1970)

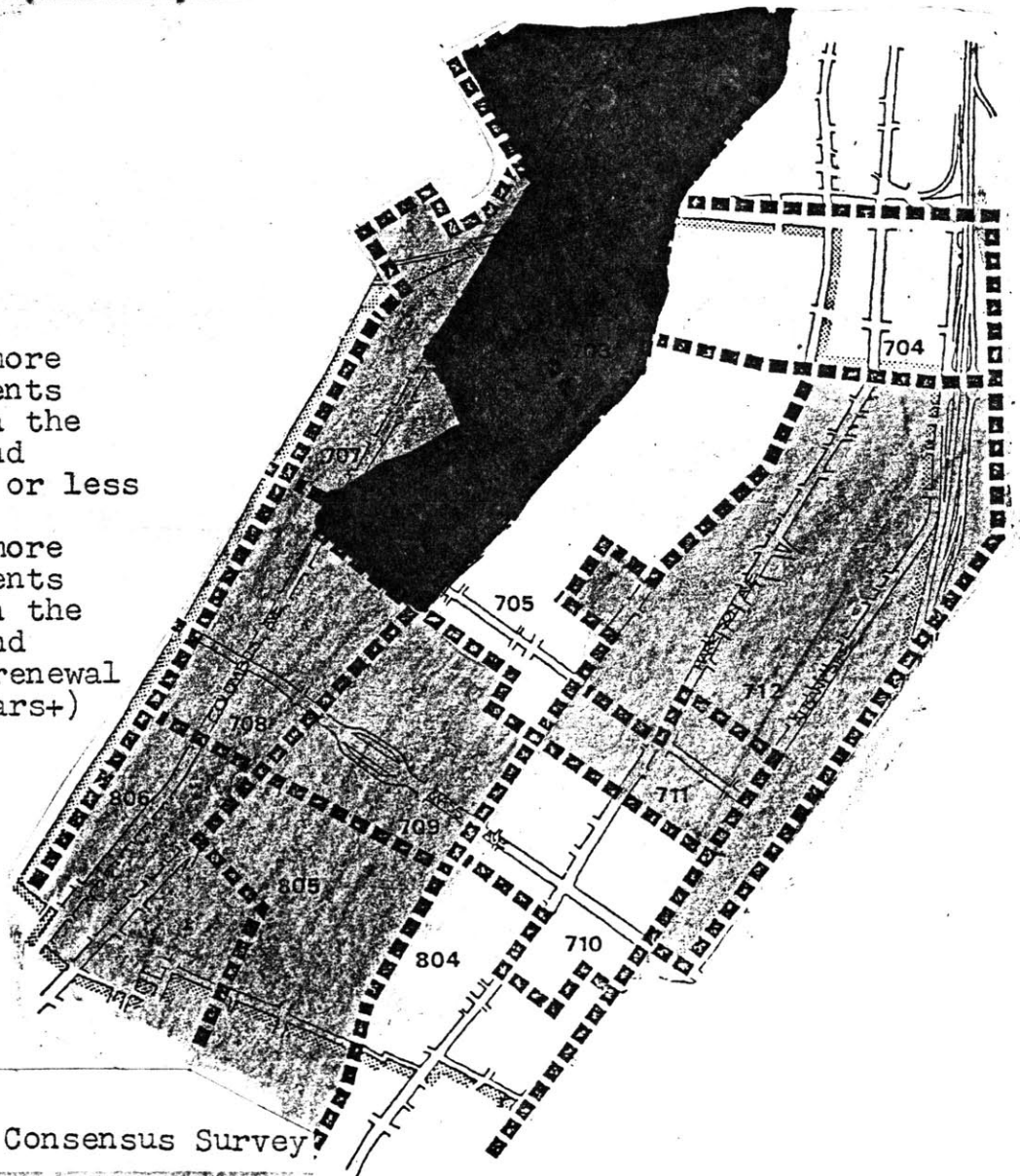
Based on 1960 and 1970 Census

Map 5.1b Number of Years in the South End (1973)

	703	704/705	706	707/708	709	710/804	711/712	805/806
1	.21	.13	.28	.10	.15	.15	.12	.15
2	.17	.09	.07	.11	.05	.10	.14	.10
3	.12	.06	.04	.03	.09	.06	.02	.06
4	.05	.06	.06	.05	.11	.04	.04	.06
5	.06	.04	.09	.04	.05	.12	--	.06
6-9	.12	.16	.14	.15	.09	.16	.21	.14
10-20	.14	.18	.17	.28	.17	.24	.17	.19
21-30	.04	.07	.02	.08	.10	.05	.09	.07
30+	.07	.12	.12	.14	.19	.08	.20	.14

Key:

- 35% or more respondents lived in the South End 2 years or less
- 40% or more respondents lived in the South End before renewal (ten years+)



Based on 1973 Consensus Survey.

2. Household Composition

Since renewal began, many original residents in family and single households have left the South End. They have been replaced by smaller family households, consisting largely of couples, as lodging houses and single family homes were converted and renovated into one and two bedroom apartments.

Before renewal the South End having many lodging houses had a far greater number of single person households than the city as a whole, 60.5% in 1960. Over the years the percentage has dropped significantly to 36% today. Simultaneously the percentage of two person households has grown from 19.6% in 1960 to 27% in 1978. This reflects the conversion of lodging houses to apartments suitable for couples.⁹⁸

The number of families with children has decreased significantly over the years, particularly between 1960 and 1970 when many areas of the South End lost families. The over 9000 persons lost in the Original South End area was comprised of 3500 households, 2200 of which were families. Most of this population loss, 85% or so, was of families. The average household size of those who left was 3.6 persons, indicating the loss of families with children and not just couples.⁹⁹

Table 5.2 Loss of Population and Households From 1960-1970

	1960	1970	Change '60-'70	
			#	%
Population	31,254	21,726	-9528	-30%
Households	15,930	12,484	-3446	-22%
Families	5,807	3,629	-2178	-38%
Unrelated Indiv.	10,423	8,855	-1268	-12%

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census data.

More than twice as many households may have left the

South End than were replaced by newcomers. Immigration was greatest in those revitalizing areas nearest to employment centers (tract 703, 706, and 710), but also great in other areas beginning to undergo revitalization (705 and 708) (see Map 5.2b).¹⁰⁰

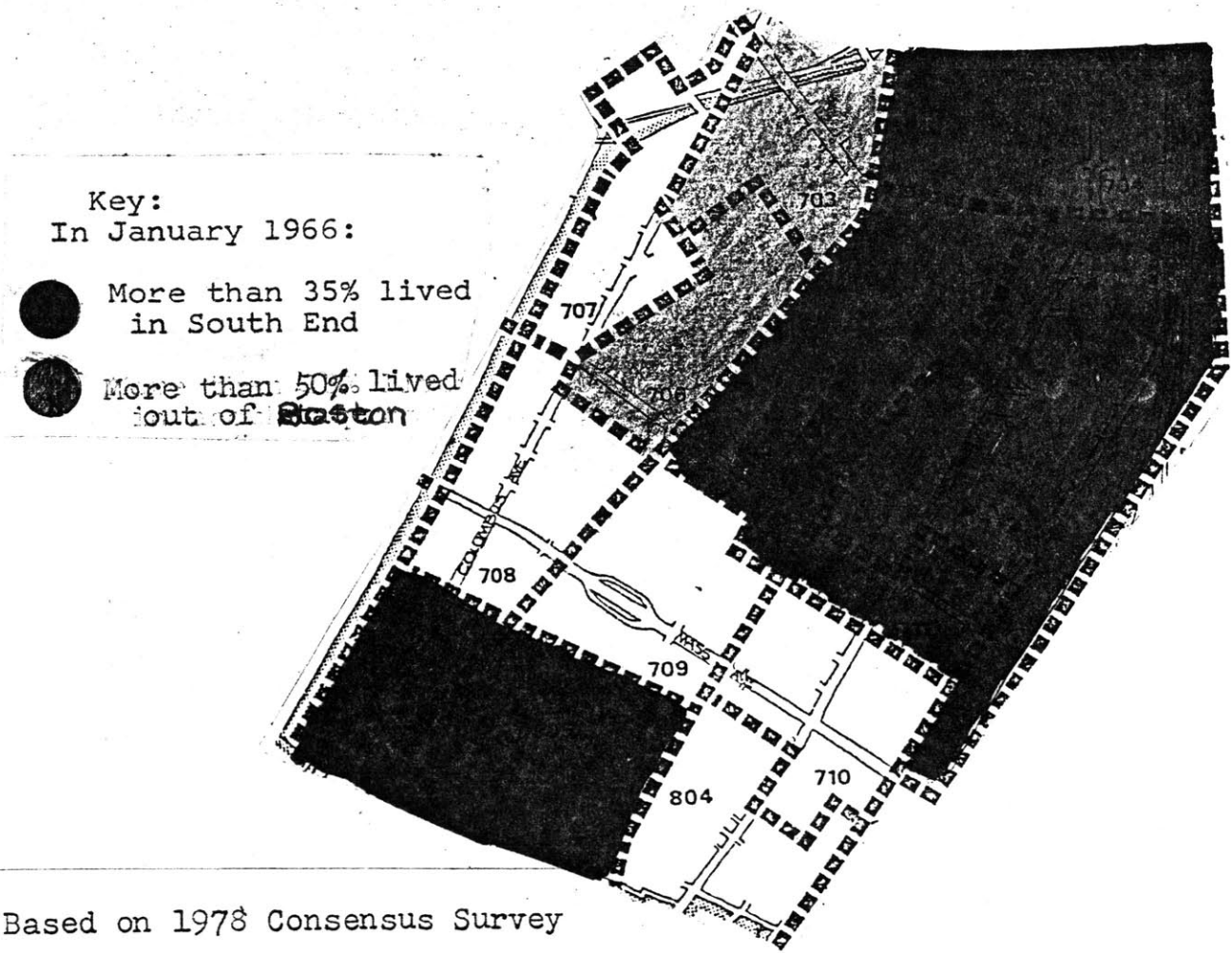
Thus, not only did the South End lose many households from its total population between 1960 and 1970, but more left than were indicated in the aggregate data. This immigration and outmigration accounts in large part for the demographic changes that will be documented in the following sections. Not only did the South End population and household numbers decrease, but the area also underwent profound demographic changes due to the changing characteristics of those who migrated into the area and those who left.

Since 1970 this trend has continued. According to the Consensus Survey, only 34% of the households surveyed in 1978 had lived in the South End prior to renewal (before Jan., 1966). Less than half of these had lived at the same address. Therefore, not only has there been continued outmigration of persons from the South End (and a correspondingly high immigration) but there has been a major movement of households within the South End.¹⁰¹

Since renewal began, many newcomers have moved into the area from outside of Boston. Consensus estimates that over 13% of South End households lived in other parts of Massachusetts, 28% in other states, and 8% in other countries before

Map 5.2a Previous Residence on January 1, 1966 (1978)

	703	704/705	706	707/708	709	710/804	711/712	805/806
Here	.09	.16	.12	.19	.15	.05	.14	.09
Others S.E.	.07	.25	.13	.15	.25	.21	.24	.30
Boston	.11	.13	.18	.17	.12	.28	.23	.14
Sub Bost	.17	.05	.08	.05	.07	.03	.11	.03
Mass	.12	.06	.14	.05	.07	.06	.03	.03
State	.41	.27	.27	.33	.22	.29	.18	.25
Country	.03	.07	.08	.07	.12	.06	.07	.12



Based on 1978 Consensus Survey

renewal. (Only half of the population had lived in Boston.) Most of these newcomers from out of state moved into those areas experiencing large amounts of immigration, (the lodging house districts) between 1965 and 1970. The major demographic changes that have occurred in these particular areas were a direct result of this immigration (see Map 5.2a).¹⁰²

As many as 1000 households moved into the Lodging House Districts nearest the employment centers. Only a small percentage of previous residents remained by 1970 (see Map 5.2b).¹⁰³ Although replacement housing was built on Castle Square to offset the large amount of demolition, the delay of its construction and the higher rents of the units resulted in few households moving back (Census Tract 704).¹⁰⁴ Even with this immigration the loss of families and individuals was great, heightened due to the conversion of units to apartments not affordable or the appropriate size for their previous residents (see Map 5.2c).¹⁰⁵

Between 1960 and 1970 there was a great loss of one person households, a reflection in part of the conversion of lodging houses. As some converted units were inhabited by one person households upon completion, it is difficult to measure the changes. However, the great decrease would seem to indicate that much displacement of lodging house tenants did occur (see Map 5.2d).¹⁰⁶ Since 1978 the percentage of one person households has decreased dramatically as lodging houses have been converted (see Map 5.2e).¹⁰⁷

Map 5.2b Estimate of Household Migration (1965-1970)

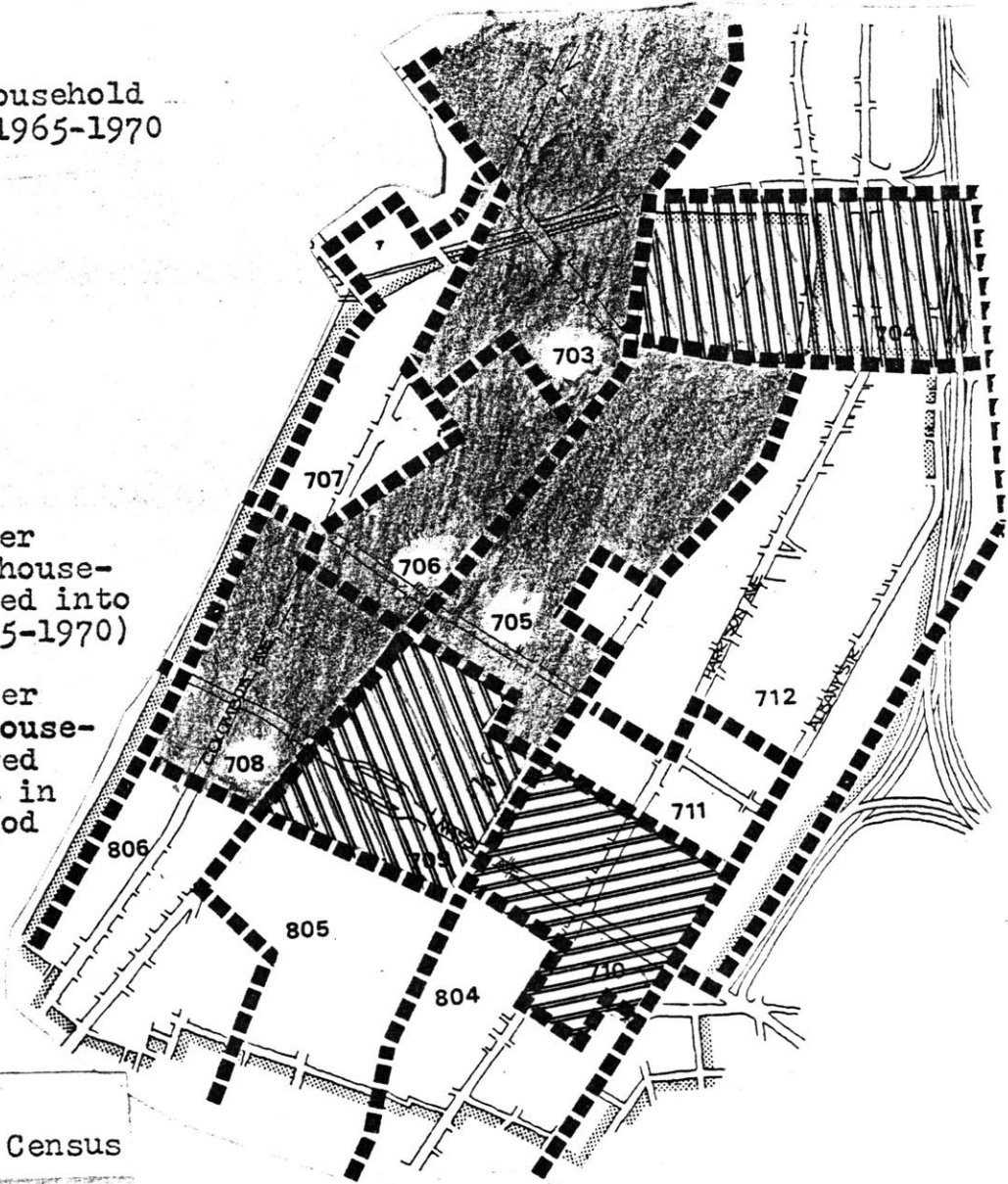
	Moved In 65-70	Stayed	Total
	%	#	
703	71%	1517	2137
704	100%	614	614
705	55%	1399	2544
706	68%	1150	1692
707	45%	170	378
708	64%	1011	1580
709	58%	629	1144
710	55%	495	901
711	59%	326	554
712	50%	470	940
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		7781	12484

Map 5.2d
Estimate of Household
Immigration (1965-1970)

Key:

● MAJOR: Over 1000 new households moved into area (1965-1970)

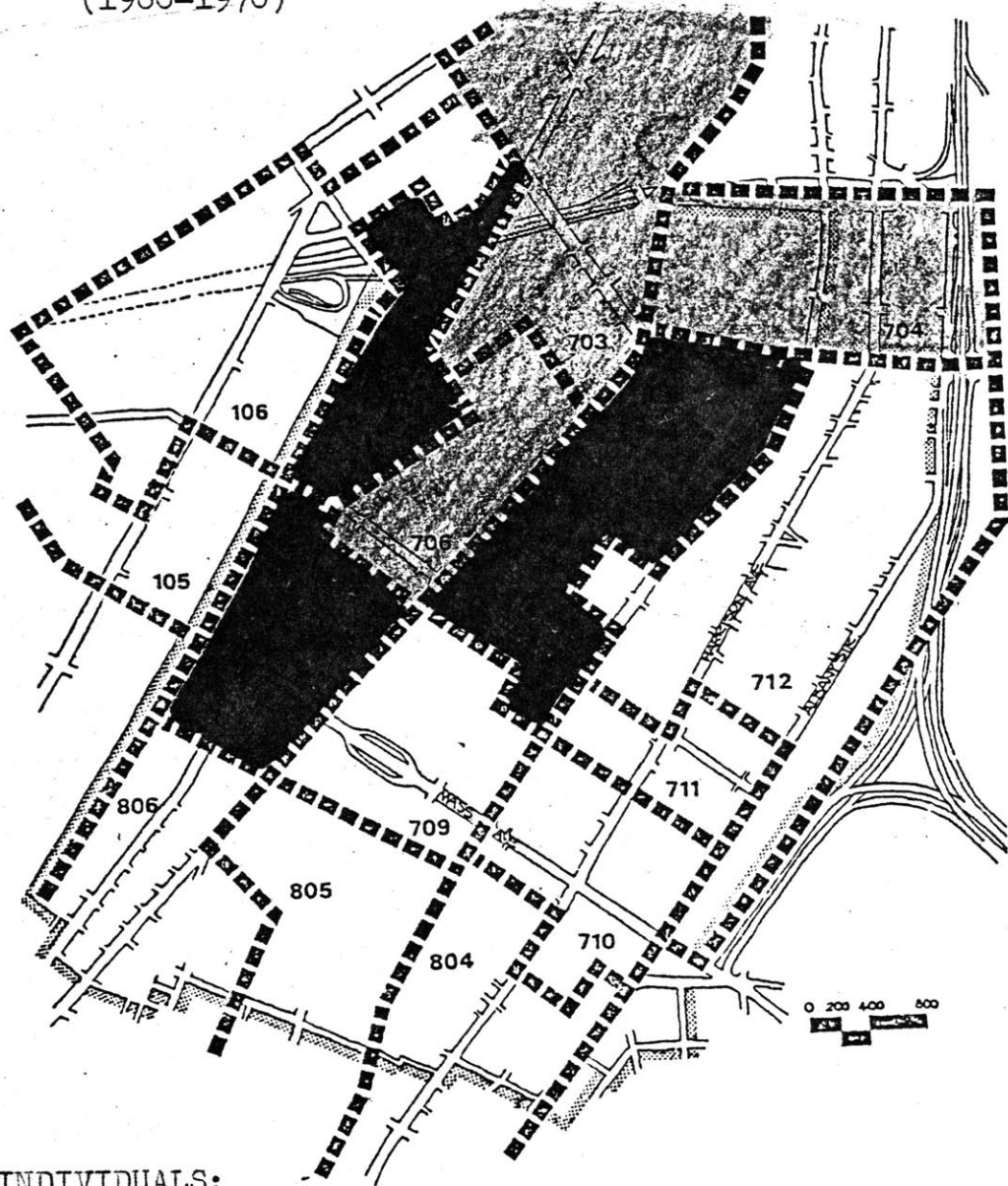
▨ MINOR: Over 495 new households moved into area in same period



Based on 1970 Census

Many two person households have moved into these areas. Only a small amount of family households occupy the revitalized Lodging House areas of the South End. Many families have moved into publicly assisted housing on the periphery or have left the area (see Map 5.2f).¹⁰⁸

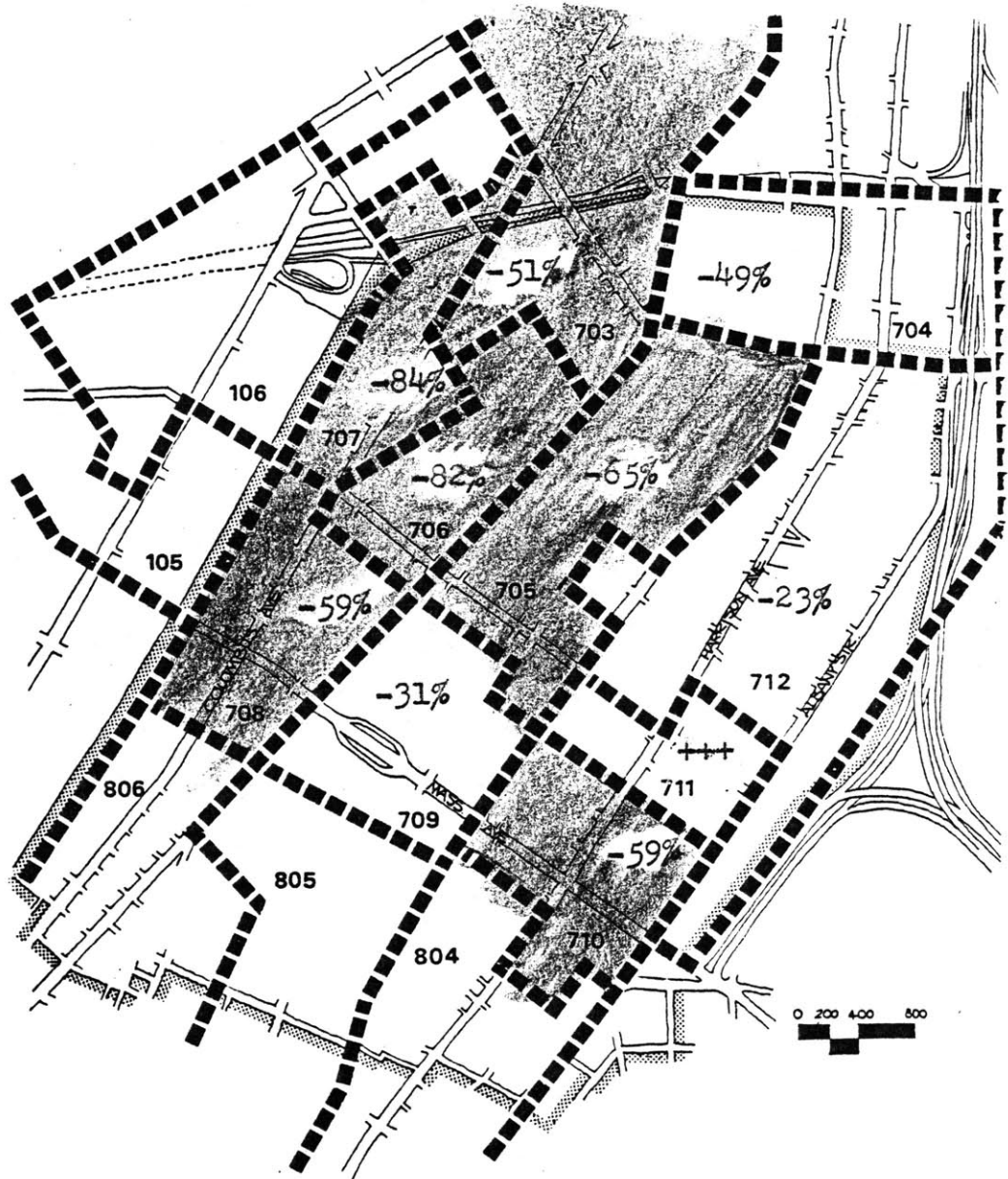
Map 5.2c Loss of Family and Unrelated Individual Households
(1960-1970)



- Key:
- INDIVIDUALS:
decrease of over
250 households
(1960-1970)
 - FAMILIES:
decrease of over
250 households
(1960-1970)

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census

Map 5.2 d Loss of One Person Households (1960-1970)



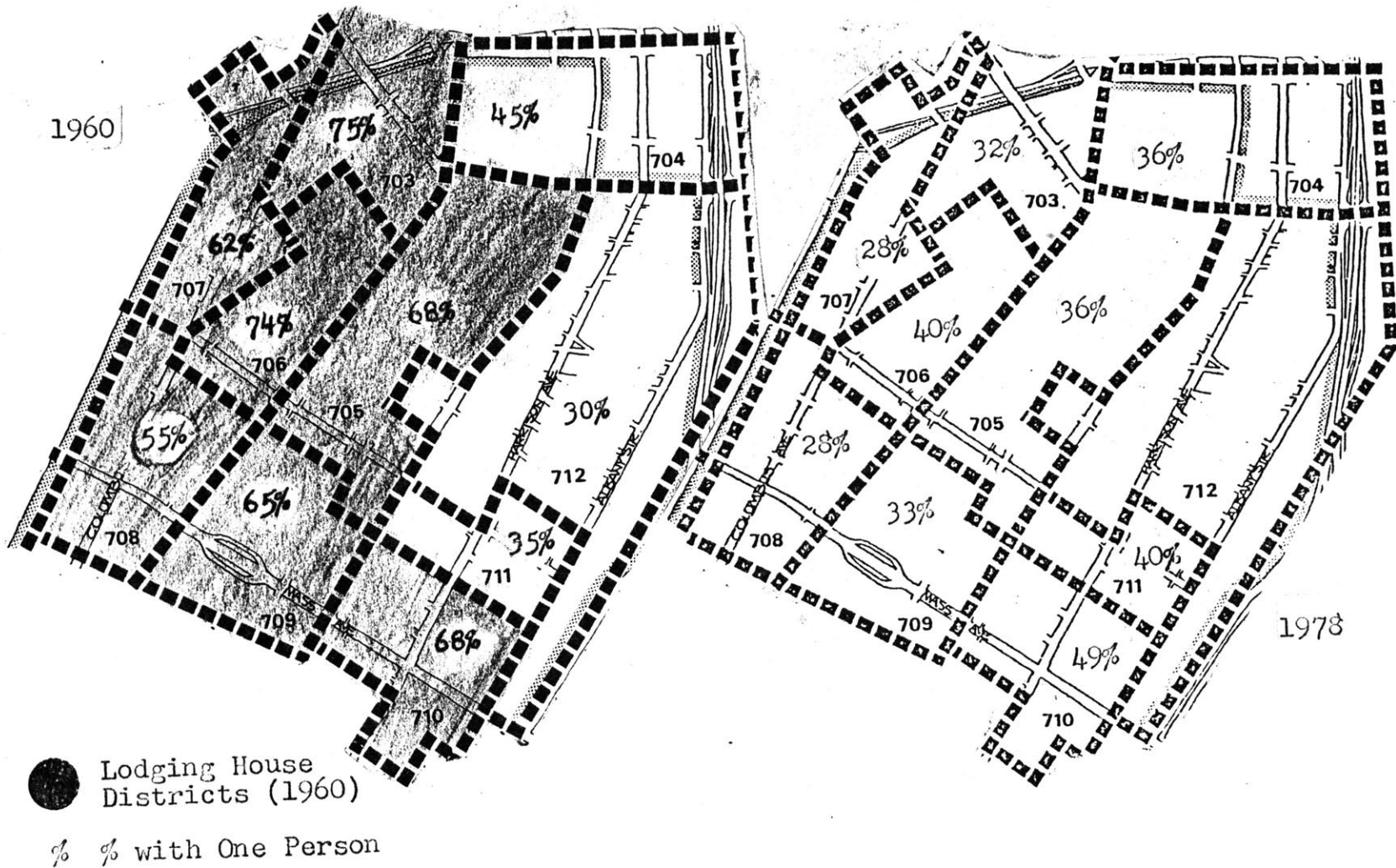
Key:

● MAJOR LOSS:
decrease of over
50% of one person
households (1960-1970)

% % loss of one person
households

+++ major increase in number
of one person households

Map 5.2e Percentage of Households with One Person (1960-1978)
 (Based on 1960 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey)



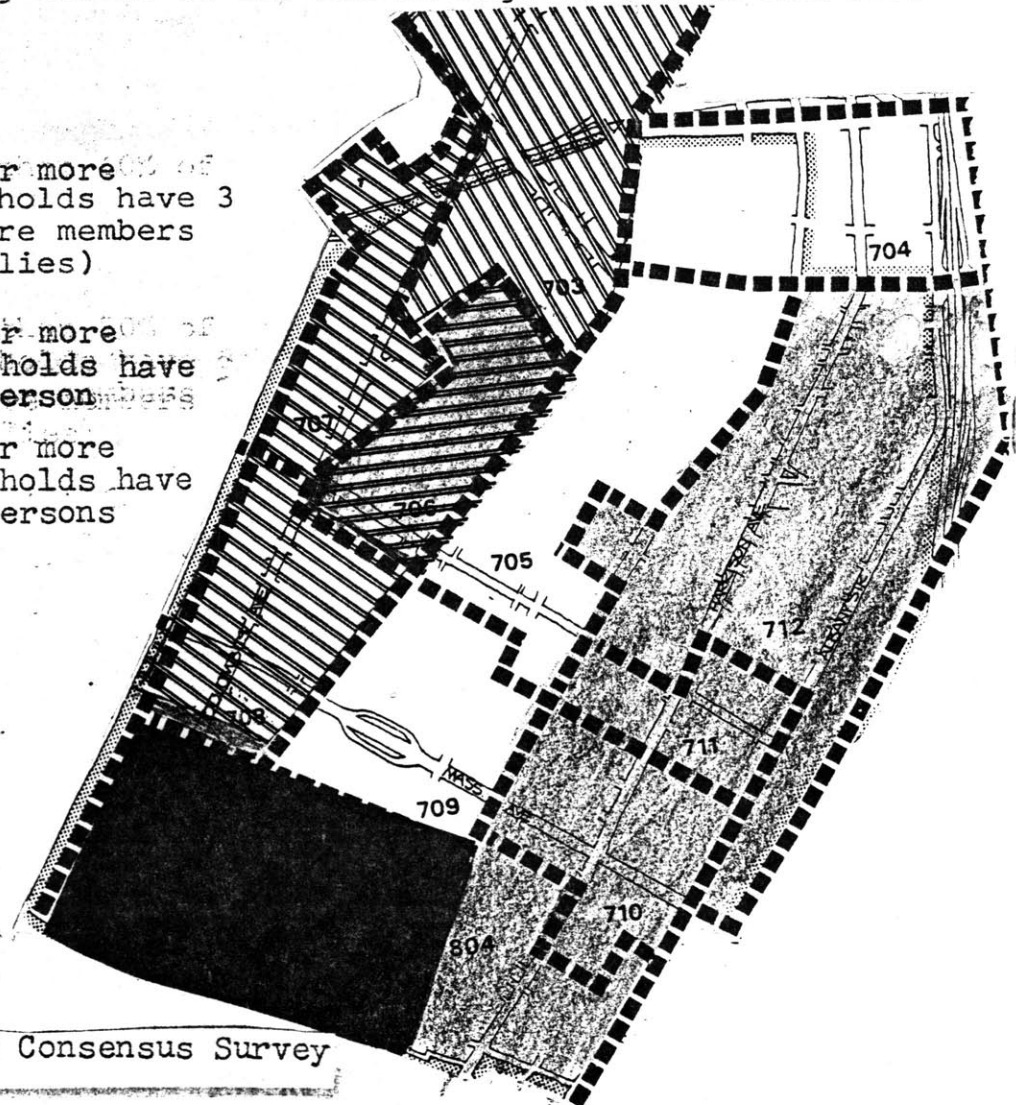
Map 5.2f | Number of Persons Per Household (1978)

	703	704/705	706	707/708	709	710/804	711/712	805/806
1	.32	.36	.40	.28	.33	.49	.40	.25
2	.38	.24	.30	.34	.23	.24	.27	.22
3	.06	.13	.07	.15	.08	.11	.12	.16
4	.10	.11	.09	.12	.05	.07	.10	.10
5	.05	.08	.12	.06	.05	.03	.06	.12
6	.04	.04	.01	.02	.01	.03	.03	.06
7	-	.02	-	.02	-	.02	-	.03
8	.01	.01	-	.04	.01	-	-	.01
9	-	.01	-	-	-	.02	-	-

On the whole most households in the South End have one or two persons. Significantly, a higher proportion of families live in tracts with subsidized housing than without. For example, in tracts 703 and 706 only 30% of households had three or more members; this figure is higher in tracts like 704/705 being closer to 40% and as high as 50% in 805/806.

Key:

- 50% or more of households have 3 or more members (families)
- 40% or more of households have one person
- ▨ 30% or more households have two persons



Based on 1978 Consensus Survey

3. Age Groups

Families with children of school age and older adults, particularly above the age of 55, have been replaced by younger adults, between the ages 20-35. At present the fastest growing age group is the 25-35, making up over one quarter of the population.

Before renewal the South End was comprised largely of adult persons above the age of 35. Due particularly to the large number of lodging houses, the percentage of such older persons was higher than the city as a whole. Many families with children, also, lived in the South End, particularly in the Urban Village areas.¹⁰⁹

Between 1960 and 1970 a far greater percentage of older adult persons left the South End than left the city as a whole. Almost half of the South End population between the ages of 55-65 left and over 40% of the 35-54 and 65 and older age groups. Much of the loss of 35-54 year olds was related to an equally high loss of children below the age of 18. The only age groups that did not greatly decrease were those between 19 and 34.¹¹⁰

Over 4600 persons above the age of 55 left the South End between 1960 and 1970, and more have left the South End population, particularly those above the age of 65, between 1970 and today. Meanwhile the numbers of 25-34 year olds has rapidly increased. The younger adult population has become the major population group in the area. In 1978 26% of all households were between the ages of 25-34 (in contrast to 12% in 1960).¹¹¹

Table 5.3a Loss of Population by Age Group (1960-1978) Estimate

	1960	Change 60-70 %	1970	Change 70-78 %	1978	Change 60-78 #	%
0-19	8501	-28%	6149	-28%	4440	-4061	-48%
20-24	2354	+ 7%	2195	+12%	2461	+ 107	+ 5%
25-34	4305	+22%	3379	+98%	6414	+2109	+49%
35-54	9422	-44%	5365	-16%	4441	-4981	-53%
55-64	4797	-49%	2450	-19%	1973	-2824	-59%
65+	5617	-41%	3320	-41%	1973	-3644	-65%

The largest percentage loss was of the area's elderly population group, as is indicated in Table 5.3b. This severe loss indicates that persons in the 55-64 age group present in large numbers in 1960 were also continually displaced over the years. As they aged fewer of them remained to comprise the elderly population group.

Over the years there has also been a continued loss of families (decreases in population groups under 19 years and between the ages of 35-64). This is reflected in the documentation presented in the previous section, 5.2, also.¹¹²

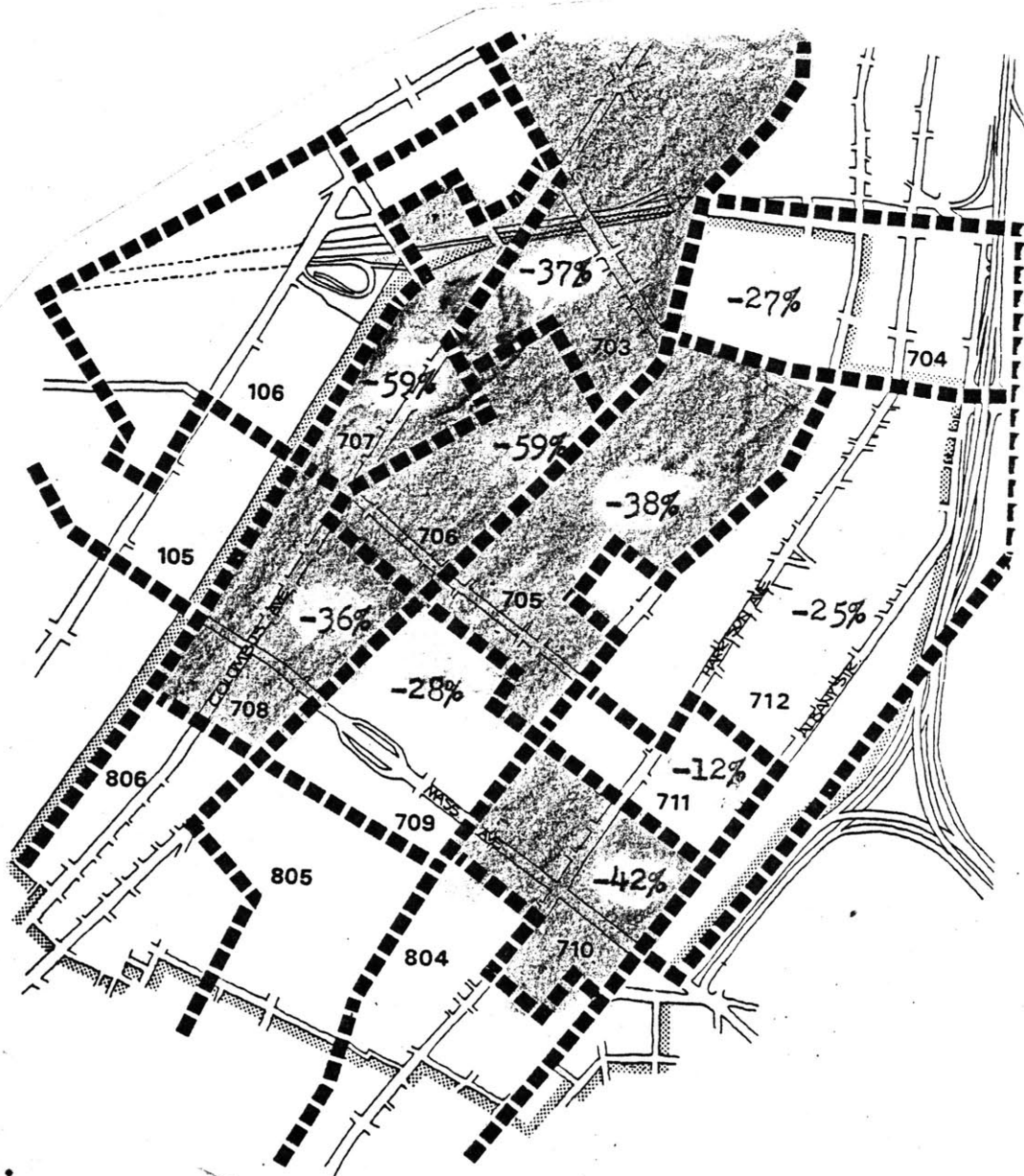
The increasing population groups, 20-35, indicate that the South End is rapidly becoming a young, highly transient community. If this trend continues, more families and older persons will likely be displaced.

Table 5.3b Age Composition (1960-1970)

Age Group	1960 %	1970 %	Age Group	1978 %
0-4	8%	7%	0-5	8%
5-14	11%	13%	6-12	10%
15-19	6%	7%	13-17	8%
20-24	7%	10%	18-24	12%
25-34	12%	15%	25-34	26%
35-54	27%	23%	35-49	15%
55-64	14%	11%	50-64	11%
65+	16%	15%	65+	8%

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey data

Map 5.3a
Elderly Population Loss (1960-1970)



Key:

● MAJOR LOSS:
loss of over 35%
or area's elderly
persons

% indicates percent
loss of elderly

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census

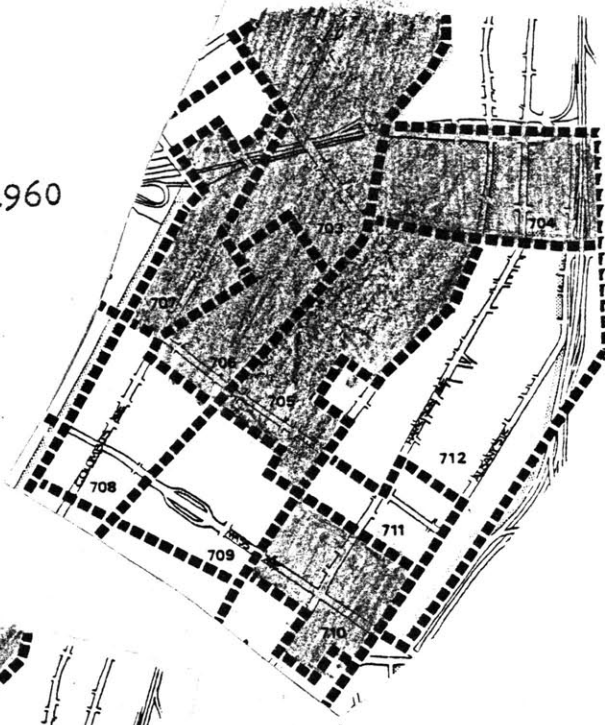
The Lodging House District which housed large percentages of older persons decreased greatly in their elderly populations between 1960 and 1970, indicating the large number of persons above the age of 55 were displaced from these area in this decade (see Map 5.3a).¹¹³ While in 1960 many Lodging House Districts had over 15% of their population above the age of 65, by 1970 few areas remained as housing resources for them. Since 1970 as subsidized elderly housing has been constructed, some elderly persons have been relocated there (see Map 5.3b).¹¹⁴

However, a far greater number of such units would be needed to offset the effects of the immigration of younger adult higher income households who have moved into the South End. They have become the major population in the revitalizing areas, displacing elderly residents. Most heads of households in the South End are now between the ages of 25-34 and in revitalizing areas they comprise more than 40% of the total (see Map 5.3c).¹¹⁵

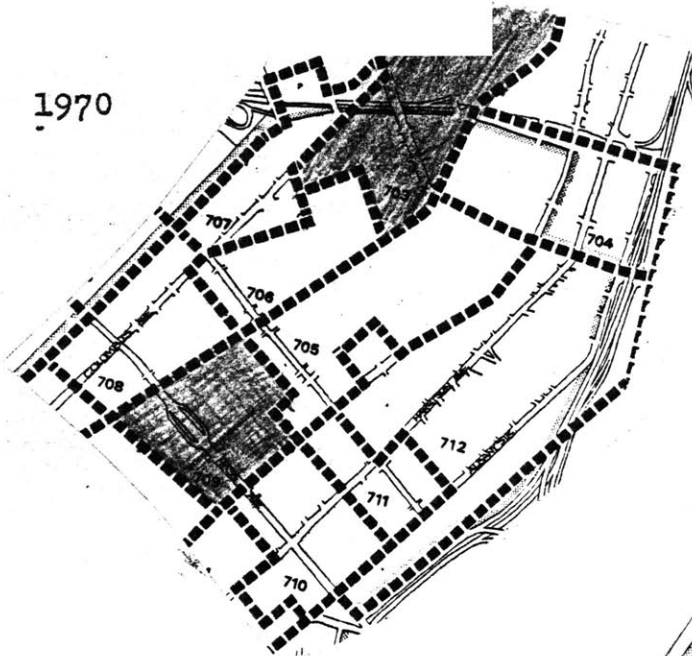
Map 5.3b

Changes in
Composition:
Elderly Population
(1960-1978)

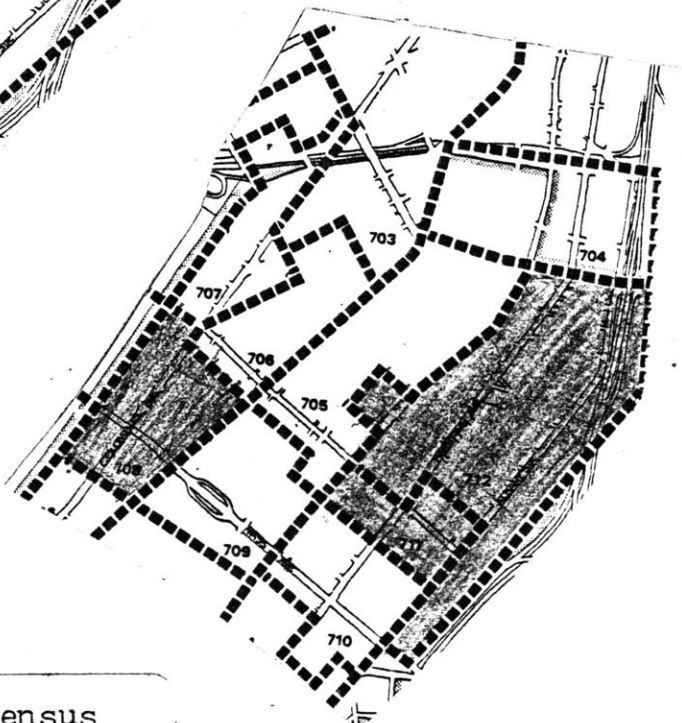
1960



1970



1978



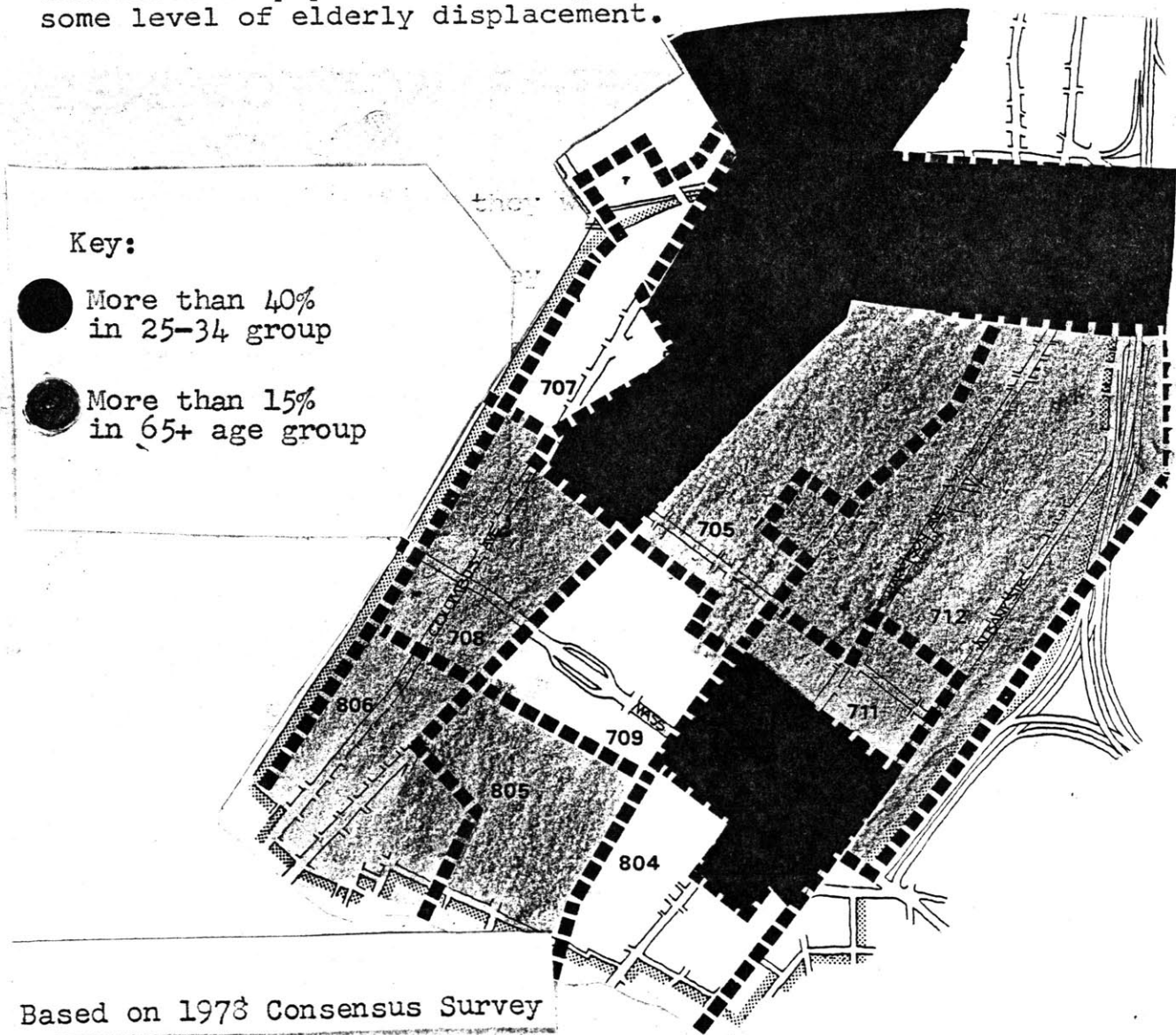
● ELDERLY PRESENCE
More Than 15% of
Population Was
65 Yrs. or Over

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census
and 1978 Consensus Survey

Map 5.3c Age of Household Head (1978)

	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
703	.21	.49	.13	.13	.05
704	.24	.44	.15	.11	.06
705	.13	.30	.21	.19	.17
706	.17	.50	.14	.17	.02
707	.22	.36	.17	.17	.07
708	.12	.33	.23	.15	.18
709	.12	.30	.23	.20	.15
710	.08	.42	.24	.12	.14
711	.16	.08	.03	.12	.60
712	.17	.30	.23	.15	.15
804	.07	.27	.20	.33	.14
805	.13	.36	.19	.16	.16
806	.24	.36	.12	.12	.16

The largest concentration of persons has become those in the age group of 25-34 with the percentages approaching half in Census Tracts 703, 704, 706, 710. The elderly population has decreased in population in many of these same areas, indicating some level of elderly displacement.



4. Racial Change

Losses in the white population occurred between 1960 and 1970 and began to reverse during the seventies as the immigration of the white gentry offset the outmigration of poorer white households. Since 1960 the black population has continued to lose population and has been displaced from areas in the lodging house districts where they had traditionally lived into publicly assisted housing in the Urban Villages. The Hispanic and Asian population groups also have lost population and those remaining have been relocated into assisted housing.

Between 1960 and 1970 the City of Boston continued to experience a large outmigration of its white population. This occurred in the South End also, but at a larger rate, due to the continued displacement of families and individuals from renewal areas. In contrast to the City as a whole the Black population suffered major losses also, losing 34% of its population. Although US Census data indicates that the minority population in the South End only decreased by 7% in these years, the loss was greater because the 1960 Census Counts did not reflect the numbers of "other" minority persons such as the area's two large minority populations of Hispanics and Asians.¹¹⁶ Hispanic people in the South End were undercounted in both census and experienced a bulge in population in 1967 that remained unrecorded. In the late 1950's many Hispanic persons began to move into the South End. This continued until 1967 when the population peaked at about 5000. The Hispanic population may have comprised about 15% of the South End population in 1970.¹¹⁷

Asian-Americans, comprising much of the "other" popu-

lation, increased through the sixties as they were displaced because of the demolition of their homes from highway reconstruction and the South Core Urban Renewal Project. By 1970 they comprised 12.2% of the South End population (about 2700 persons) and had established residency in South End areas nearest to Chinatown.

Although we do not have recent figures for racial change, indications are that the black and Asian populations are decreasing, as in 1970 the black population was 39.1% of the total and the Asian-American 12.2%.¹¹⁸ According to the 1978 Consensus Survey of the South End population:

- * 46% is white
- * 29% is black
- * 19% is Hispanic
- * 6% is Asian.

We can derive an estimate of the black and white population groups still present in 1978 by multiplying the 1975 state census population estimate of 24,668 by these percentages. Comparing these figures to those of the 1960 and 1970 Census, we can estimate the changes that have occurred since 1960. (As 1960 figures for the Hispanic and Asian population groups are not accurate, this analysis can not be done for these groups.)¹¹⁹

Estimate of 1960-1978 Racial Population Change

	1960	-Change-	1970	-Change-	1978	1960-1978 Change %	
White	20,356	-11,135	9230	+2126	11,356	-9000	-44%
Black	13,772	- 4,868	8904	-1744	7,160	-6612	-48%

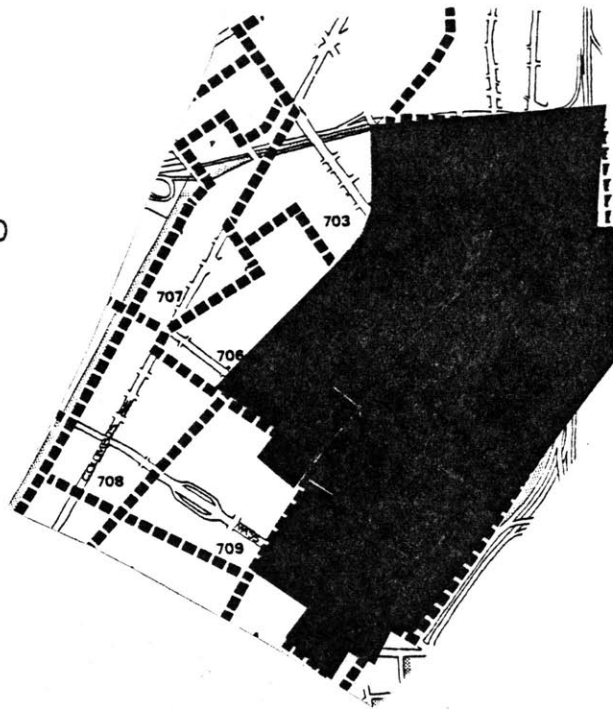
Since 1970 the white population has increased, possibly by over 3000 persons while the minority population has slightly decreased. Again large losses have occurred in the Black population bringing the total loss since renewal to over 40%.

Over the past two decades the South End has experienced shifts in minority population groups by sub area. Although these changes are difficult to document with Census data for the reasons described in the previous section, indications of general trends can be derived, even if their magnitude is skewed.

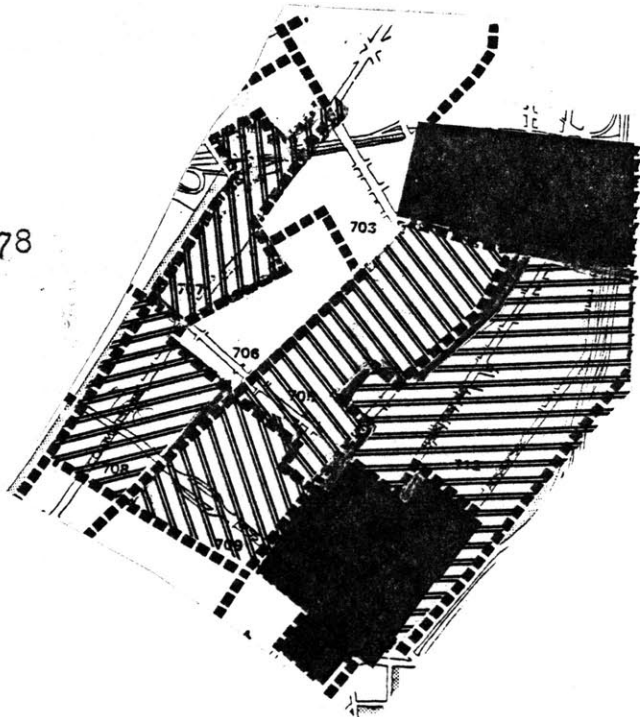
Map 5.4a shows the percentages of minority persons by area in 1960 and 1978. Since 1960 the minority population has decreased in the northern areas undergoing revitalization and increased in areas with large percentages of subsidized housing.¹²⁰

Map 5.4a Racial Change (1960-1978)

1960-1970



1970-1978



Key:



+WHITE: major increase in white population



+MINORITY: major increase in minority population

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey

Shifts in Racial Composition by Sub-Area

As of 1960 most of the minority population was Black, though the numbers of "other" persons is not known, they did not exceed a black population of 13,772 persons. Many of these Black persons lived in the Lower Roxbury areas, particularly in Tracts 805 and 806. However two thirds lived in the Original Area, with over 1000 Black persons in four of the Census tracts: 708 and 709, those nearest the predominately black populated Lower Roxbury tracts; 707, where a Black middle class had established itself and 712, where many Blacks lived in the Cathedral Housing Project. Although the percentages of minority, and thus largely black, populations remained fairly stable in these tracts between 1960-1970, displacement had occurred. As the total population greatly decreased in these areas, the significant losses of numbers are hidden in percentage changes, indicated in Table 5.4a.¹²¹

Table 5.4a Loss of Black Population from Largely Black Tracts (1960-1970)

	1960	1970	#	Change %
707				
707	1250	599	-651	-52%
708	3346	1930	-1416	-42%
709	2034	1653	-381	-19%
712	1062	1091	-29	-3%

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data

Between 1960 and 1970 "other" minority groups continued to immigrate into the South End. Asians recently displaced

from Chinatown continued to settle in those areas of the South End nearest the South Cove, Chinatown area. Many were relocated into the Castle Square development, and according to the 1970 Census over 500 were living in its Census Tract, 704. Large numbers of Asian persons also lived in Tracts 703 and 705, according to Census data.¹²²

Although Hispanic groups were not accurately counted in the 1970 Census, much evidence substantiates that they also had moved into Tract 705. During the late sixties many Hispanic persons demonstrated against renewal plans for Parcel 19 which would have destroyed their housing. As a result of their demonstrations they were able to obtain federal subsidy money and government support to undertake the rehabilitation of several townhouses for Hispanic persons. Establishing themselves as an experienced community housing sponsor they were able to obtain funds for the construction of over 400 new units of housing. This housing is integrated but houses a large number of Hispanic persons. This housing development is a major reason for the continued presence of Hispanic persons today.¹²³

Between 1960 and 1978 shifts have occurred in the percentages of different minority groups in certain census tracts-- for example, tract 705 where once most of the minority population was Black and now is Hispanic and Asian. Some of these shifts can be seen in Table 5.4b. However, again, note that the 1960 Census figures do not accurately reflect the numbers and thus the percentages of "other" minority persons.¹²⁴

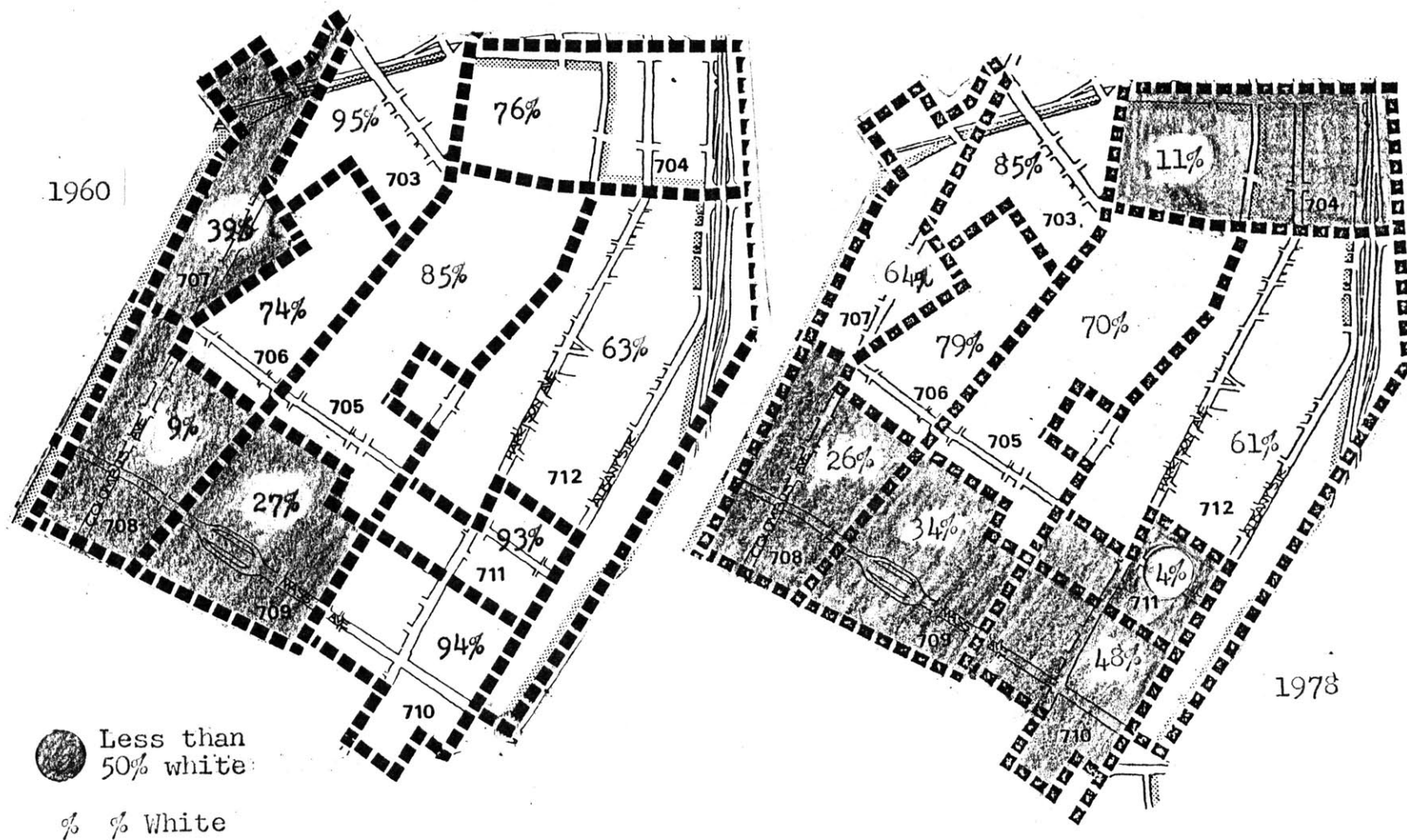
Table 5.4b Minority Population (1960-1978)

	<u>Black-</u>			<u>Other</u>		
	1960	1970	1978	1960	1970	1978
703	04%	05%	15%	01%	09%	00%
704	16	29	13	08	35	75
705	11	07	15	04	30	16
706	21	17	11	03	11	09
707	60	65	36	01	01	00
708	90	84	63	02	03	11
709	71	78	60	02	04	06
710	04	19	50	02	08	02
711	05	14	96	01	06	00
712	36	49	18	01	06	20

Data derived from 1960 and 1970 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey

The "other" or Asian population has disappeared from Tract 703. The increase in black persons is due in part to the scattered site rehabilitated subsidized housing units present in that tract. The Castle Square Tract, 704, has undergone substantial changes. Now mostly Hispanic and Asian persons live there, primarily in the housing development itself. Tract 705 shows a presence of both Hispanic and Asian groups as well as a percentage increase in Black persons. Tract 706 has continued to decrease in minority population and an adjacent tract 707, traditionally a largely black populated tract has now become a largely white tract. Many of the blacks who remain live in the Methunion housing development there. Tracts 708 and 709, other traditionally "Black" tracts, have also had a percentage decrease in their Black populations. Tracts 710 and 711 have increased in their Black populations due to the presence of rehabilitated townhouse units with rent subsidies. The Cathedral Tract has continued to decrease

Map 5.4b Racial Composition by White and Minority Groups (1960-1978)
 (Based on 1960 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey)



in its Black Population, but has increased slightly in its "other" population (due both to increases in Hispanics and Asians). Much of the housing stock in this area is private and thus these changes reflect changes in the private market.¹²⁵

Comparing these changes from 1960 until 1978 we can see that the Black populations in tracts 707-709 and in 704 and 712 have continued to decrease. The "other" minority populations have decreased in tracts 703, 705 and 710 significantly. Map 5.4b shows the changes that have occurred since 1960 and indicates the percentages of non-minority person in these areas in 1978.¹²⁶

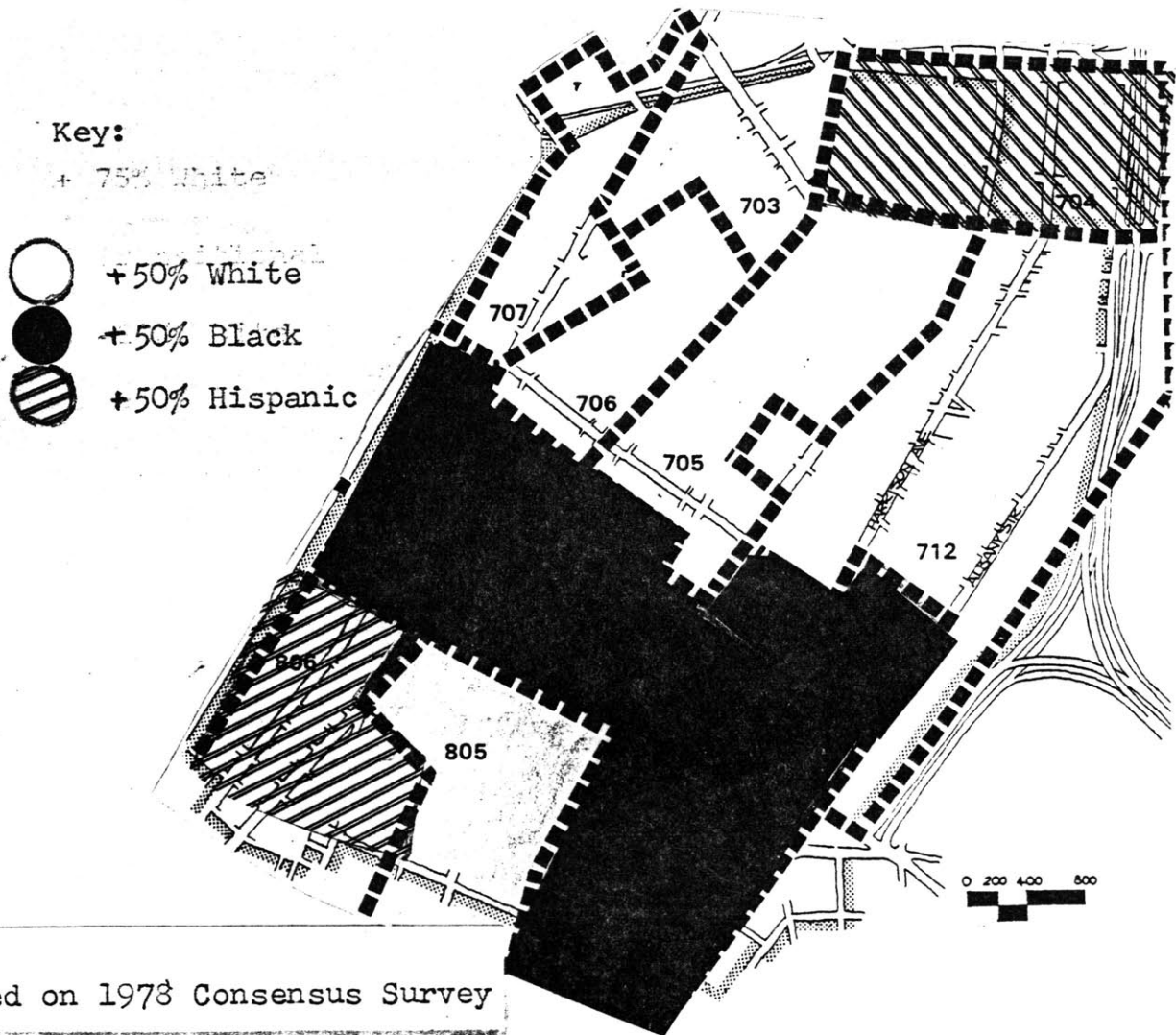
Table and Map 5.4c display the Consensus Survey figures for 1978. Most percentages seem reliable except for Tract 711 which seems to have a highly inflated percentage of Black population. The figures for the Asian population were obtained by dividing the "other" category in Consensus Survey into the total number of persons surveyed in the area. Consensus did not disaggregate data for the Asian population. Only 704 and 705 had significant numbers of "other" persons.¹²⁷

As one can see from Map 5.4e segregation has continued to occur between those areas undergoing revitalization and those with large numbers of subsidized units. Many minority persons have been relocated into subsidized housing developments or have chosen to live there as costs have risen on the private market. In areas nearest downtown and other largely white sections of Boston, the population has become predominately white. As will be documented in the next section, a corresponding segregation of income groups has occurred.¹²⁸

Map 5.4c Racial Composition (1978)

	White %	Black %	Hispanic %	(Asian)
703	.85	.15	.00	
704	.11	.13	.60	(.15)
705	.70	.15	.07	(.09)
706	.79	.11	.09	
707	.64	.36	--	
708	.26	.63	.11	
709	.34	.60	.06	
710	.48	.50	.02	
711	.04	.96	--	
712	.61	.18	.20	
804	.0	.93	.07	
805	.36	.21	.43	
806	.17	.30	.52	

According to the Survey compositions of certain areas have become more racially segregated with the increasing influx of white persons into the area, and the migration of minority groups into largely minority areas.



Based on 1978 Consensus Survey

5. Income Mix

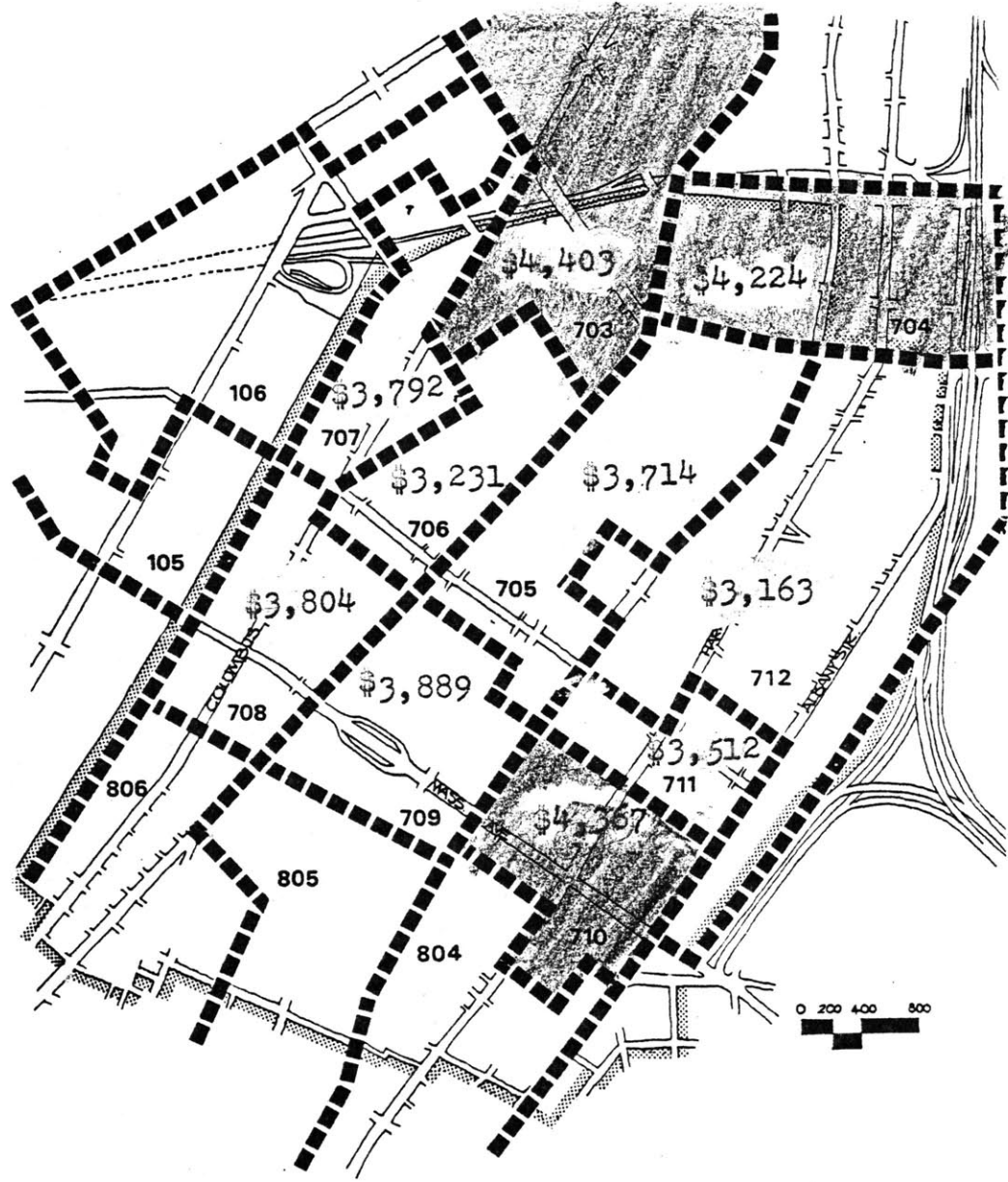
Since 1960 the revitalizing areas in the South End have had a large immigration of upper income households, particularly those nearest employment centers. Where once the community was largely comprised of lower and moderate income households, it has now been segregated into high income and low income areas as a result of the displacement of its poorer residents into certain areas of the South End or out of the South End.

The South End in 1960 was a community with large percentages of lower and moderate income persons. The few higher income households were located primarily in the northern areas, but they were less than 5% of the population (see Map 5.5a). Between 1960 and 1970 different parts of the South End began to change in their income characteristics. Some beginning to resemble the city as a whole, others to resemble the metropolitan area. The South End median income almost doubled. Inflation accounted for some of this increase, but primarily it was caused by a change in the socio-economic characteristics of the area's residents. Since 1970 this upward trend has continued at as high a rate.¹²⁹

	1960		1970		1978
	S.E.	City	S.E.	City	S.E.
Median Income	\$4,542	\$7,206	\$6,122	\$9,133	\$ 9,000

The South End has undergone rapid shifts in its composition by income groups. Four income categories have been defined to reveal the variations that have occurred over the years. Between 1960 and 1978 the total income of the South End shifted composition as the moderate income group greatly decreased while the upper income group increased.¹³⁰

Map 5.5a Median Incomes (1960)



Key:



\$4000+: median income greater than \$4000

indicate median incomes in 1960

Based on 1960 Census

Table 5.5a Changes in Income Groups (1960-1978)

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1978</u>
below poverty	.35	.36
moderate	.40	.19
new middle	.20	.15
upper income	.05	.32

The BELOW POVERTY group in the South End in 1960 were families earning under \$3000. These were defined in 1970 as those below \$4000 and in 1978 as those below \$5000.

The MODERATE income group in the South End in 1960 were families who earned between \$3000 and \$5999. The South End median fell inside this range. Likewise with a 1970 range of \$4000 to \$7999 and 1978 range of \$5000 to \$9999.

The NEW MIDDLE represents those persons moving into the South End whose median income resembles the overall City or metropolitan areas. In 1960 this group was in the \$6000 to \$9999 range...in 1970 in the \$8000 to \$11,999 range...in 1978 in the \$10,000 to \$14,999 range.

The UPPER INCOME group are those higher income persons who can afford the South End luxury housing market prices. In 1960 this group made over \$10,000...in 1970 over \$12,000 and in 1978 over \$15,000.

Table 5.5b displays the changes that have occurred by income group in each census tract since 1960 (Table 5.5b).¹³¹ Based on these tables Maps 5.5b and 5.5c were drawn to graphically display the different patterns by subarea (tracts 703 and 704). Starting in 1960 the Lodging House areas undergoing revitalization experienced a rapid immigration of households

Table 5.5b Income Distribution (1960-1978)

	BELOW POVERTY			MODERATE		
	1960	1970	1978*	1960	1970	1978*
703	.27	.15	.08	.45	.22	.13
704	.38	.31	.67	.32	.33	.20
705	.42	.24	.35	.38	.36	.19
706	.47	.29	.08	.34	.24	.12
707	.37	.18	.12	.42	.48	.20
708	.38	.38	.34	.43	.28	.25
709	.38	.26	.46	.34	.55	.17
710	.34	.17	.34	.36	.47	.19
711	.22	.32	.68	.60	.26	.23
712	.47	.44	.40	.43	.36	.12

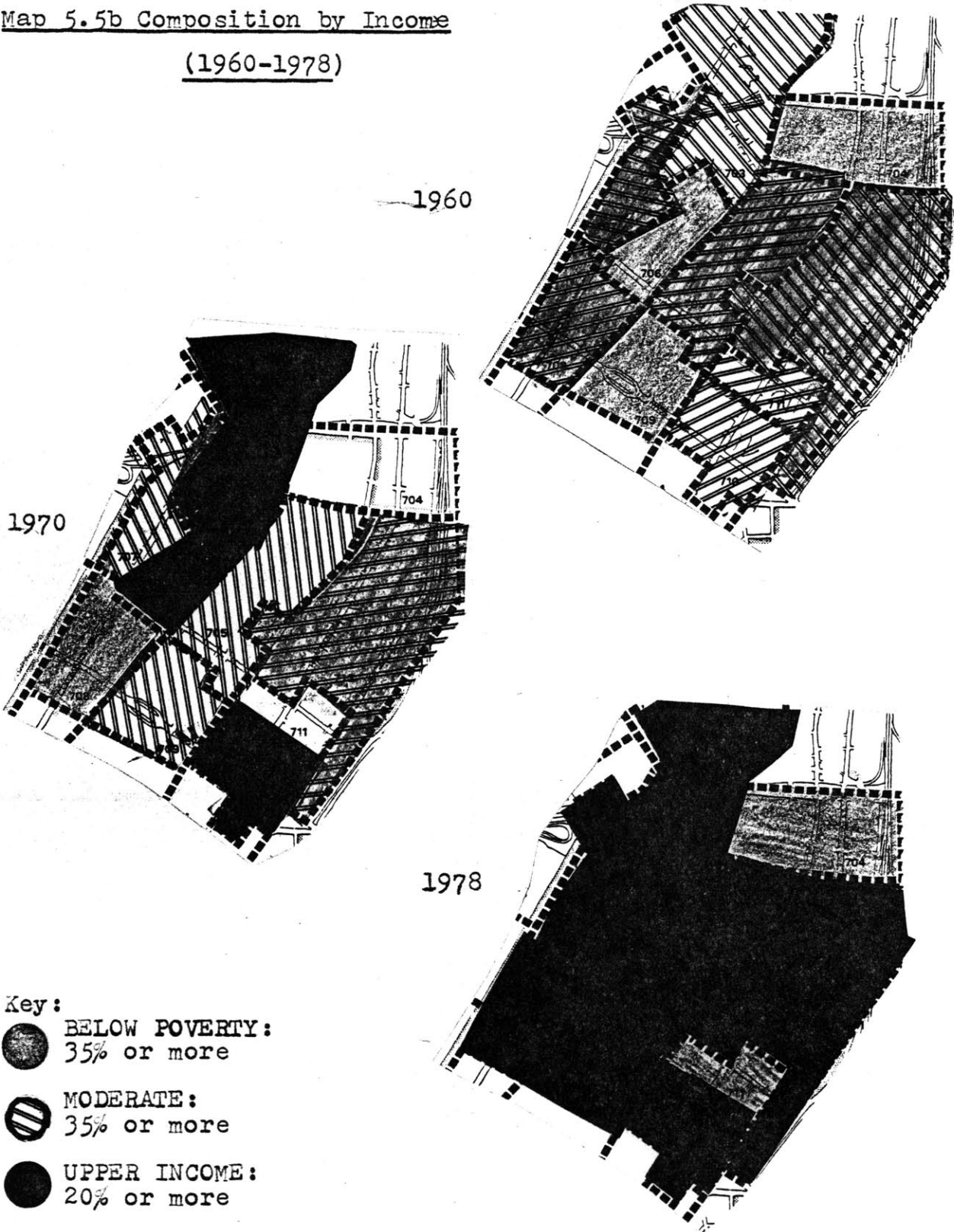
	NEW MIDDLE			UPPER INCOME		
	1960	1970	1978	1960	1970	1978
703	.18	.23	.25	.10	.40	.54
704	.19	.25	.05	.10	.12	.08
705	.16	.22	.15	.05	.18	.30
706	.17	.11	.22	.02	.37	.59
707	.15	.21	.12	.06	.13	.55
708	.14	.20	.15	.05	.14	.25
709	.25	.13	.13	.02	.06	.24
710	.26	.16	.18	.04	.20	.29
711	.12	.12	.05	.12	.30	.05
712	.08	.11	.19	.02	.09	.29

Data compiled from 1960 and 1970 census data and from Concensus Survey 1978




Note that income ranges were:

	1960	1970	1978
BELOW POVERTY	-\$3000	-\$4000	-\$5000
MODERATE	\$3-5999	\$4-7999	\$5-9999
NEW MIDDLE	\$6-9999	\$8-11999	\$10-14999
UPPER INCOME	\$10,000+	\$12,000+	\$15,000+

Map 5.5b Composition by Income
(1960-1978)



Key:

-  **BELOW POVERTY:**
35% or more
-  **MODERATE:**
35% or more
-  **UPPER INCOME:**
20% or more

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census
and 1978 Consensus Survey

of upper income and a corresponding decrease in households below poverty and of moderate income. As revitalization continued through the seventies the percentage of upper income households dramatically increased in these areas to over 50% by 1978 (tracts 703, 706, 707). As this occurred more below poverty and moderate income households have left. At present only in Original South End areas with publicly assisted housing are there significant percentages of below poverty or moderate income groups, (tracts 704, 711, 712). The group which has particularly faced displacement has been the moderate income household, particularly families who cannot afford to pay much for their housing, they are now less than a fifth of the population in most areas.¹³²





Changes in median income have occurred corresponding to these shifts in income groups. Comparing median incomes for 1960 and today, one sees that in certain areas median incomes have quadrupled, while in others they have less than doubled. (Compare Maps 5.5a and 5.5c.)¹³³

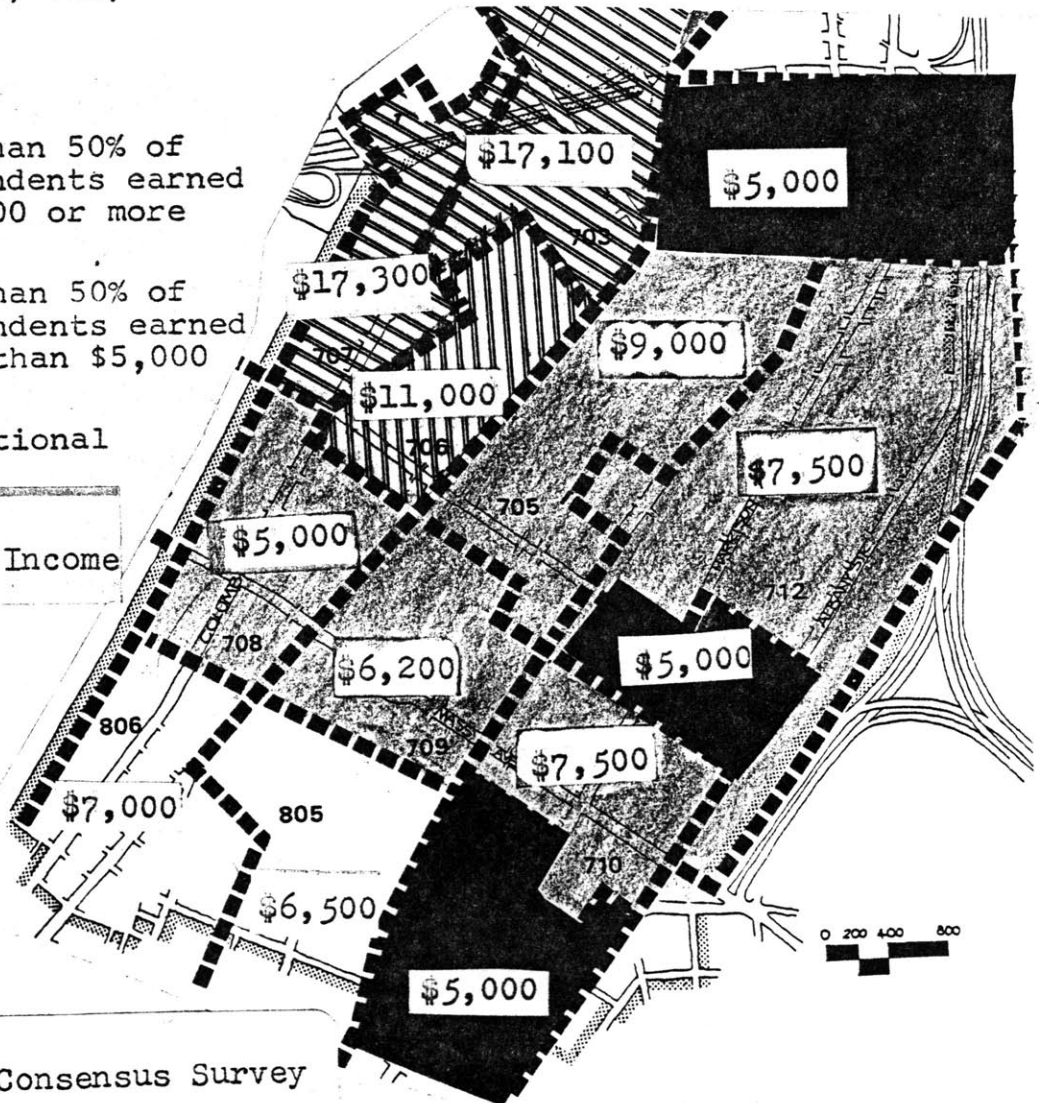
As minority groups tend to have much smaller household incomes than whites, they are outbid in a competitive housing market as prices increase. As the market has accelerated in the South End they have been displaced to housing which they can afford, out of the South End or into other areas, particularly where there is publicly assisted housing, (see a previous section on Racial Change). Tract 707 which had traditionally been a middle class black residential area has rapidly become a predominately white upper income area. This trend seems to be occurring in Urban Village tract 712, also.¹³⁴

Map 5.5c Income Distribution (1978)

	-5000	5000-9999	10,000-14,999	15+
703	.08	.13	.25	.54
704	.67	.20	.05	.08
705	.35	.19	.15	.30
706	.08	.12	.22	.59
707	.12	.20	.12	.55
708	.34	.25	.15	.25
709	.46	.17	.13	.24
710	.34	.19	.18	.29
711	.68	.23	.05	.05
712	.40	.12	.19	.29
804	.77	.08	.08	.08
805	.39	.26	.05	.31
806	.43	.35	.17	.04

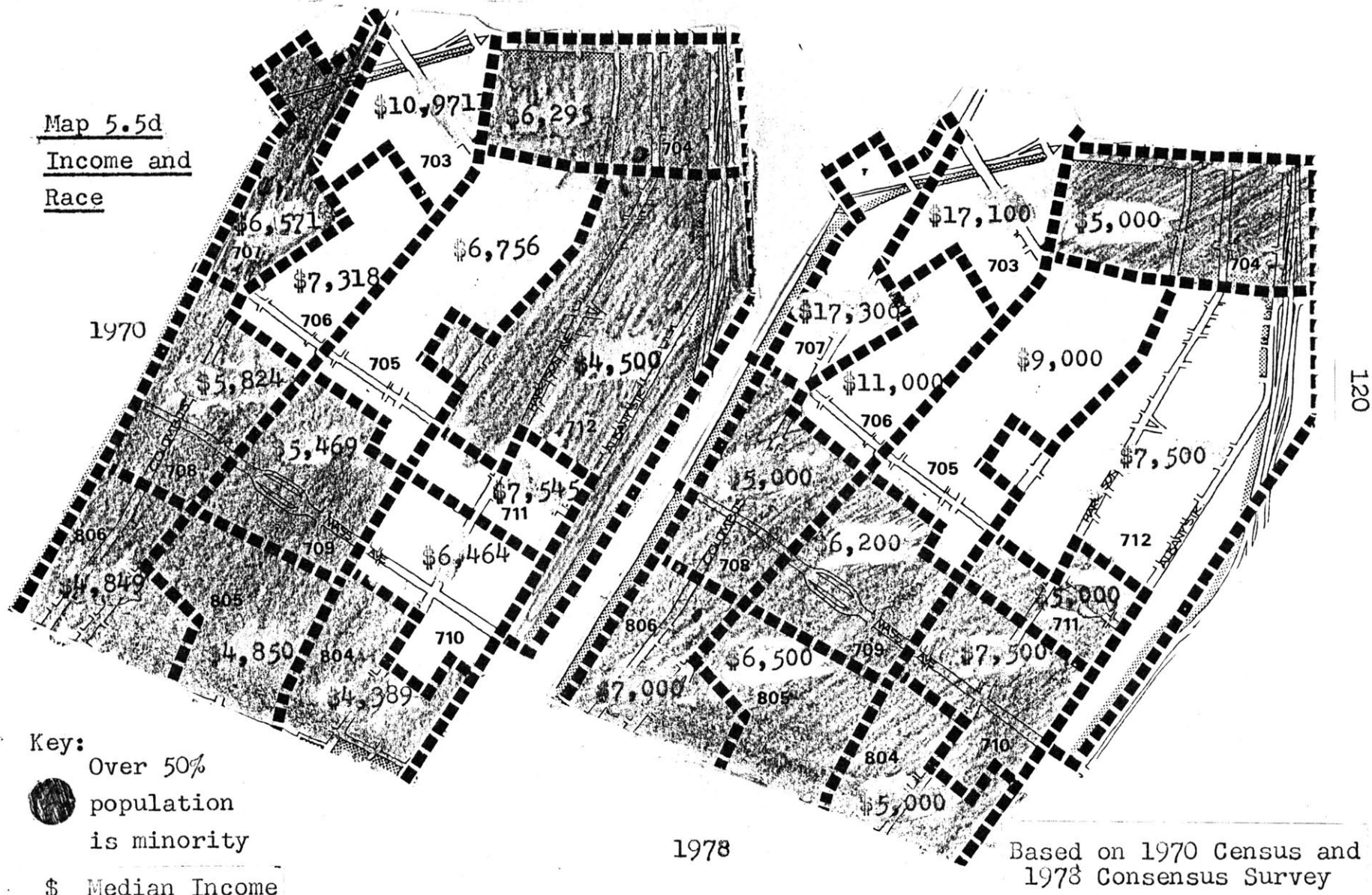
The survey indicates that income differentials between tracts are extreme. For example, tracts 703 and 706, where more than half responded that they earn more than \$15,000 in contrast to tracts 704, 711, 804 where more than half earn less than \$5,000.

- Key:
-  More than 50% of respondents earned \$15,000 or more
 -  More than 50% of respondents earned less than \$5,000
 -  Transitional
 -  \$ Median Income



Based on 1978 Consensus Survey

Map 5.5d
Income and
Race



Key:
 ● Over 50% population is minority
 \$ Median Income

Employment

Before renewal the South End was a working class neighborhood. As the immigration of white collar and professional workers and the outmigration of blue collar workers has continued, the neighborhood has segregated into areas with mostly professional workers or relatively few of this group and has become largely inhabited by white collar workers.

According to Census data between 1960 and 1970 the number of employed persons working in professional jobs increased 21%. This was matched by a decrease in those employed in blue collar jobs of -61%. Although this occurred in the City as a whole, the South End experienced a larger change in employment status of its workers reflecting the immigration of white collar and professional workers and the outmigration of blue collar workers.

Table 5.6a Employment (1960-1970)

	1960	1970	% Change
Professional	1485	1797	+21%
White Collar	1835	2892	+14%
Blue Collar	4923	1920	-61%

Data compiled from BRA, EIS Draft Assessment (p.24)
1960 and 1970 Census

This trend has continued. In BRA's document Why Boston they estimate that the percentage of persons employed in professional and white collar jobs will increase; however, a far greater increase has already been experienced in the South

End between 1970 and 1978.¹³⁵
Table 5.6b Employment (1960-1978)

	BOSTON			SOUTH END		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1978
Professional	18.1%	19.9%	21.9%	12.2%	22.1%	22%
White Collar	22.3%	30.8%	25.2%	27.3%	25.7%	46%
Blue Collar	52.7%	49.3%	46.2%	72.8%	52.1%	32%

Data from BRA report Why Boston, July 1977, 1960 and 1970 Census Data, and 1978 Consensus Survey.

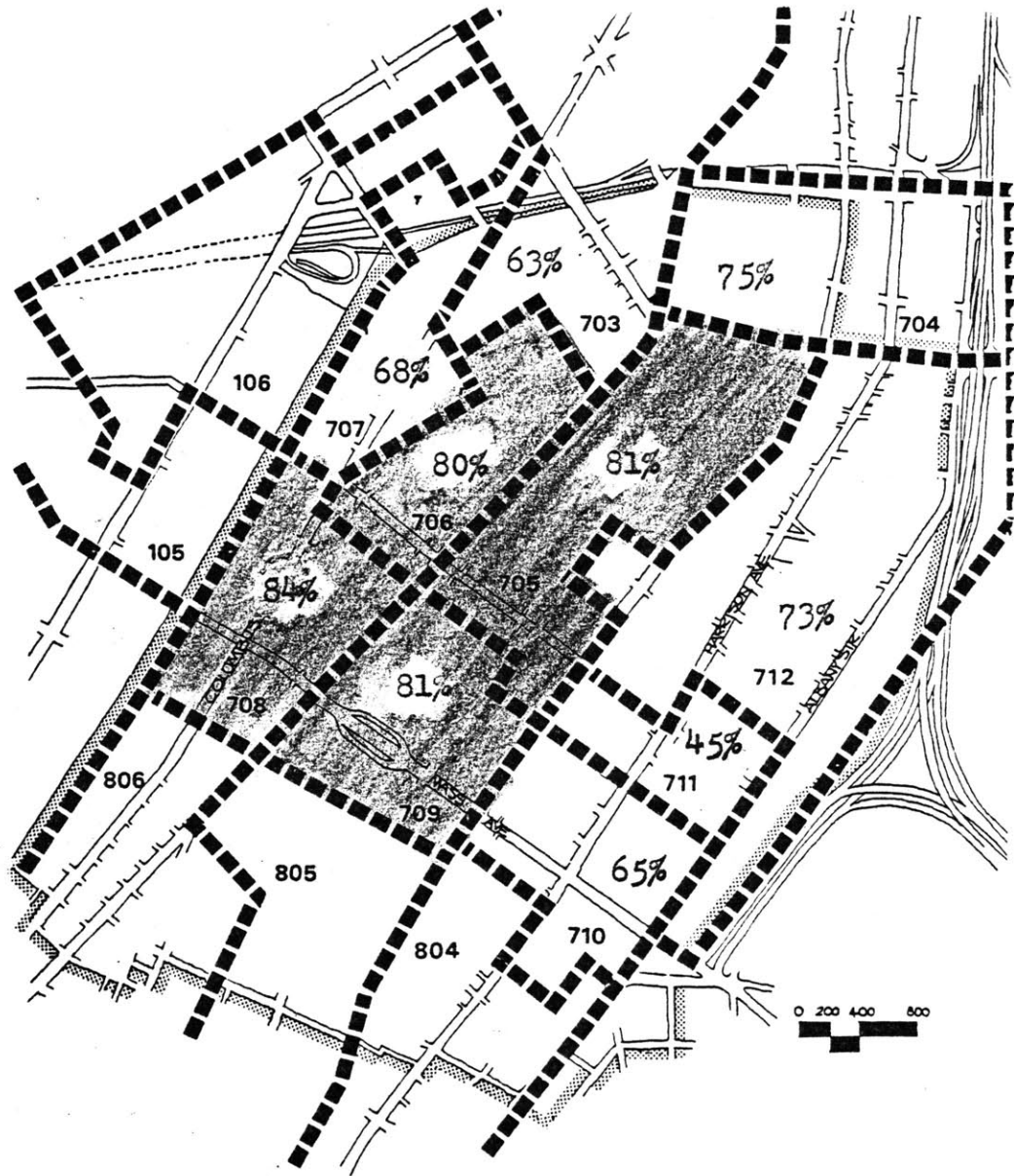
Table 5.6c Distribution by Employment (1960-1978)

	Blue Collar			White Collar			Professional		
	1960	1970	1978	1960	1970	1978	1960	1970	1978
703	65%	35%	12%	19%	32%	46%	18%	33%	42%
704	75	60	60	14	32	40	11	08	0%
705	81	70	38	12	15	47	07	15	15
706	80	42	21	13	24	43	08	33	36
707	68	57	28	17	12	25	14	31	44
708	84	61	29	09	23	56	07	15	15
709	81	74	31	12	19	46	07	05	22
710	65	64	29	12	19	42	22	16	29
711	45	31	—	29	43	—	26	26	—
712	73	55	19	18	19	61	09	25	19

Data from 1960 and 1970 Census Data and 1978 Consensus Survey

In 1960 many areas in the South End had a work force with over 80% blue collar workers. By 1970 these tracts had on an average only 60% blue collar workers and by 1978 a further decrease occurred to nearer 30%. Presently the only tract with a majority of blue collar workers (60%) is 704, where Castle Square is located. Most tracts have had an increase of over thirty percentage points in their white collar work force. Tracts nearest the Downtown Core have had the greatest increases in the numbers of professional employees, with over a third of their work force presently employed in professional occupations. The maps on the following pages display the percentages of blue collar workers in 1960 and 1978, and reflect the changes that have occurred in the white collar and professional work force.

Map 5.6a Employment: Blue Collar Workers (1960)



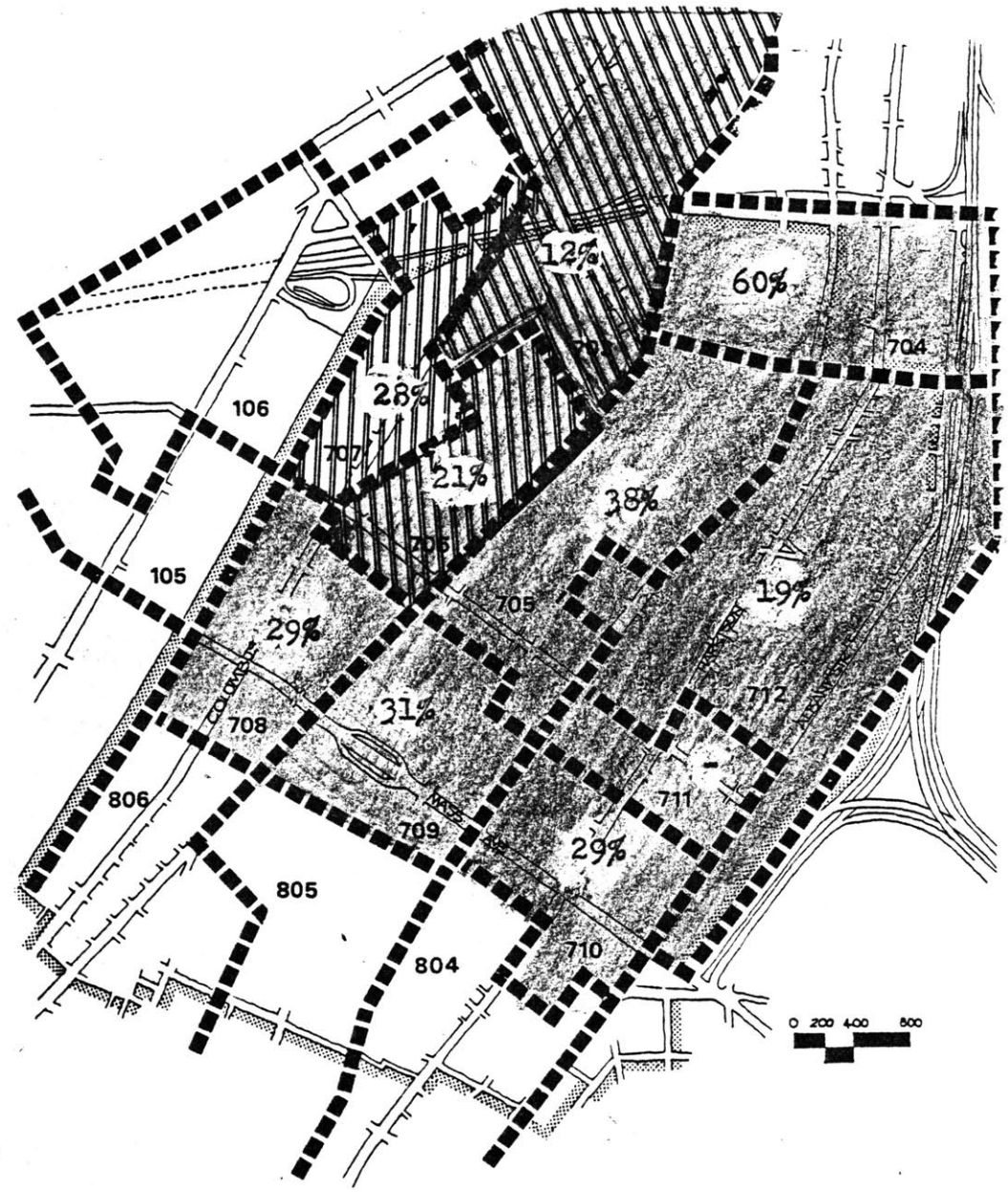
Key:

● MAJOR: over 80% of workers were blue collar in 1960



% indicates % of blue collar workers

Based on 1960 Census

Map 5.6b Change in Employment Patterns (1960-1978)



Key:

-  **WHITE COLLAR:** increase in white collar workers (1960-1978)
-  **PROFESSIONAL:** great increase in professionals (1960-1978)

% percentage of
BLUE COLLAR workers




Based on 1960 Census and
1973 Consensus Survey

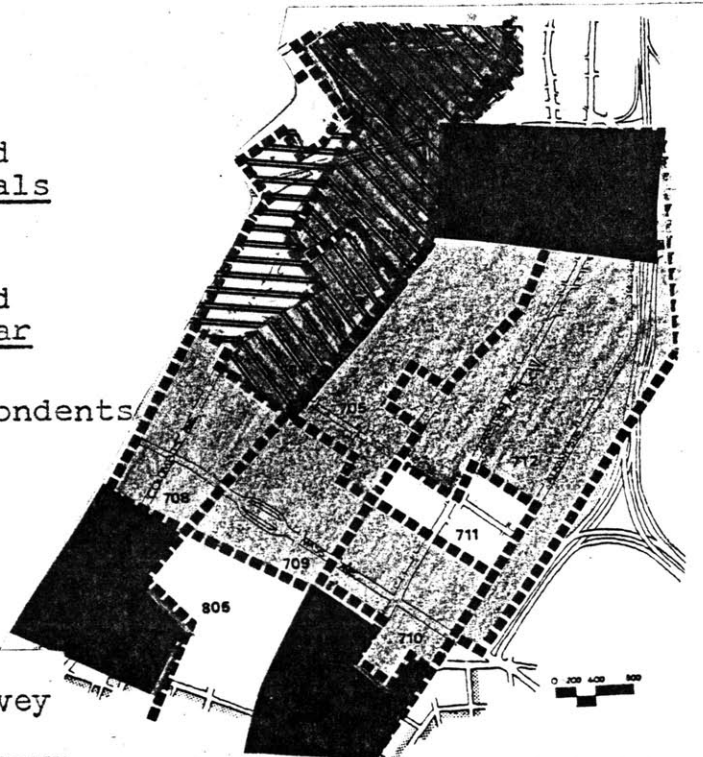
Map 5.6c Distribution by Employment (1973)

	Blue Collar	White Col.	Profes.
703	.12	.46	.42
704	.60	.40	-
705	.38	.47	.15
706	.21	.43	.36
707	.28	.26	.44
708	.29	.56	.15
709	.31	.46	.22
710	.29	.42	.29
711	-	-	-
712	.19	.61	.19
804	.67	.33	-
805	.21	.58	.21
806	.41	.50	.09

Similar segregated patterns have continued to occur. Most census tracts with a high percentage of professionals have high percentages of households with incomes over \$15,000 and with college educations. While in contrast, those tracts with higher percentages of lower income persons have more working class persons with lower educational attainment.

Key:

-  = More than 40% of respondents considered themselves professionals
-  = More than 40% of respondents considered themselves white collar
-  = More than 40% of respondents considered themselves blue collar



Based on 1973 Consensus Survey

7. Educational Levels

As the number of professional persons has increased in certain areas, the number of college graduates has correspondingly risen. Less well educated households have been displaced out of these areas into publicly assisted housing or out of the South End entirely.

In 1960 the majority of South End households had not completed high school. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of college graduates rapidly increased in the revitalizing areas and concurrently the numbers of those with less than high school educations markedly decreased. This trend continued between 1970 and 1978. At present almost half of the entire South End population has attended college (in contrast to the City average which is 20.8%). Yet most college graduates live only in revitalizing areas, whereas in the areas with large numbers of assisted housing, the educational levels remain below high school.

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Displacement has occurred as fewer persons of low educational levels could afford to live in these revitalizing areas, not being able to find employment at a high enough pay scale to afford the private housing. Simultaneously as more persons of higher educational attainment moved into these areas they attracted other persons of similar backgrounds. Correlated with this has been the numbers of college students who have moved into the area while attending the nearby universities. Many are living in renovated townhouses located throughout the South End, increasing the demand on the rental market.

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the rental market.

Map 5.7 Educational Levels (1978)

	-HS	HSG	Coll.
703	.13	.15	.72
704	.60	.14	.25
705	.31	.25	.44
706	.15	.12	.72
707	.14	.16	.69
708	.45	.18	.33
709	.39	.15	.46
710	.36	.19	.45
711	.54	.27	.18
712	.40	.20	.40
804	.50	.42	.08
805	.50	.13	.37
806	.50	.25	.25

Several census tracts have very high numbers of respondents who attended college, while others have many who never finished high school. Overall, there is a large discrepancy between educational attainment of different groups, further emphasizing the increasing divisions in the South End.

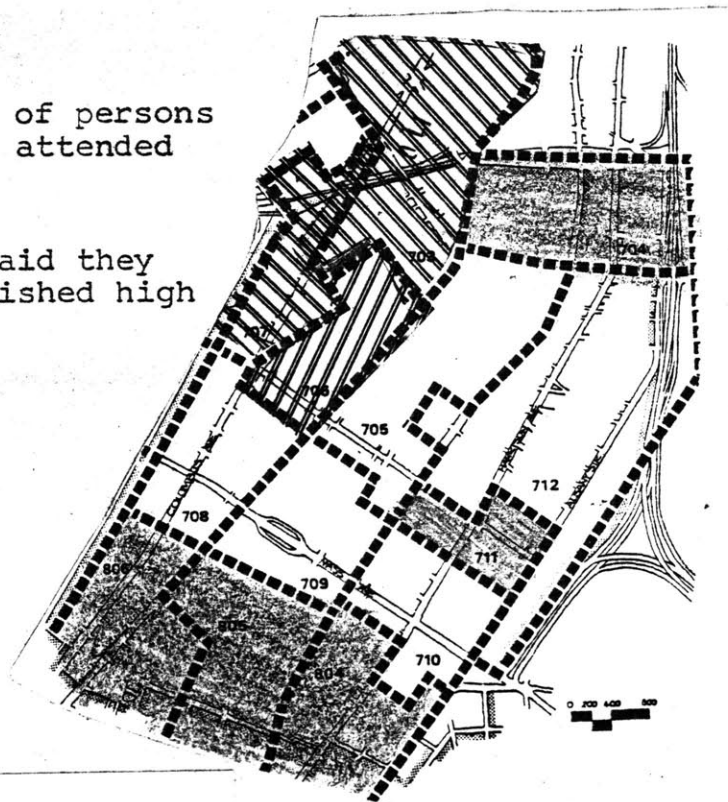
Key:



More than 2/3 of persons said they had attended college



1/2 or more said they had never finished high school



Based on 1978 Consensus Survey

8. Tenure

As revitalization accelerated, more units were bought for owner occupancy in certain areas while in those areas with much demolition and assisted housing, the percentage of owner occupancy decreased. Persons no longer able to afford the rising private rents relocated into units with subsidized rents. Because the cost of ownership has been dramatically increasing, most owner occupants are now professional workers in white households with over \$15,000 income and are between the ages of 35-49.

According to the 1960 census over 1600 housing units in the South End were occupied by their owners. Over 10 times that number were rented. Using the BRA estimate of 4000 townhouses present in the South End before renewal in 1960, then over 40% of these were owner occupied. Almost half of these were single family townhouses and many of the remainder were owner-occupied lodging houses.

Thus in 1960 9.1% of all housing units were owner occupied. By 1970, although the percentage of owner occupants rose to 11.4%, the actual number of owner occupants decreased by almost 40% to ¹⁰⁴ 1033 as the South End lost a large number of its units through demolition, vacancy and conversion to absentee landlord apartments. This rapid decrease in units also resulted in a decrease in available rental units at affordable prices. As most new assisted housing was not built by 1970, these renters priced out of the private market moved out of the South End or into areas with less expensive rents--those not undergoing revitalization.

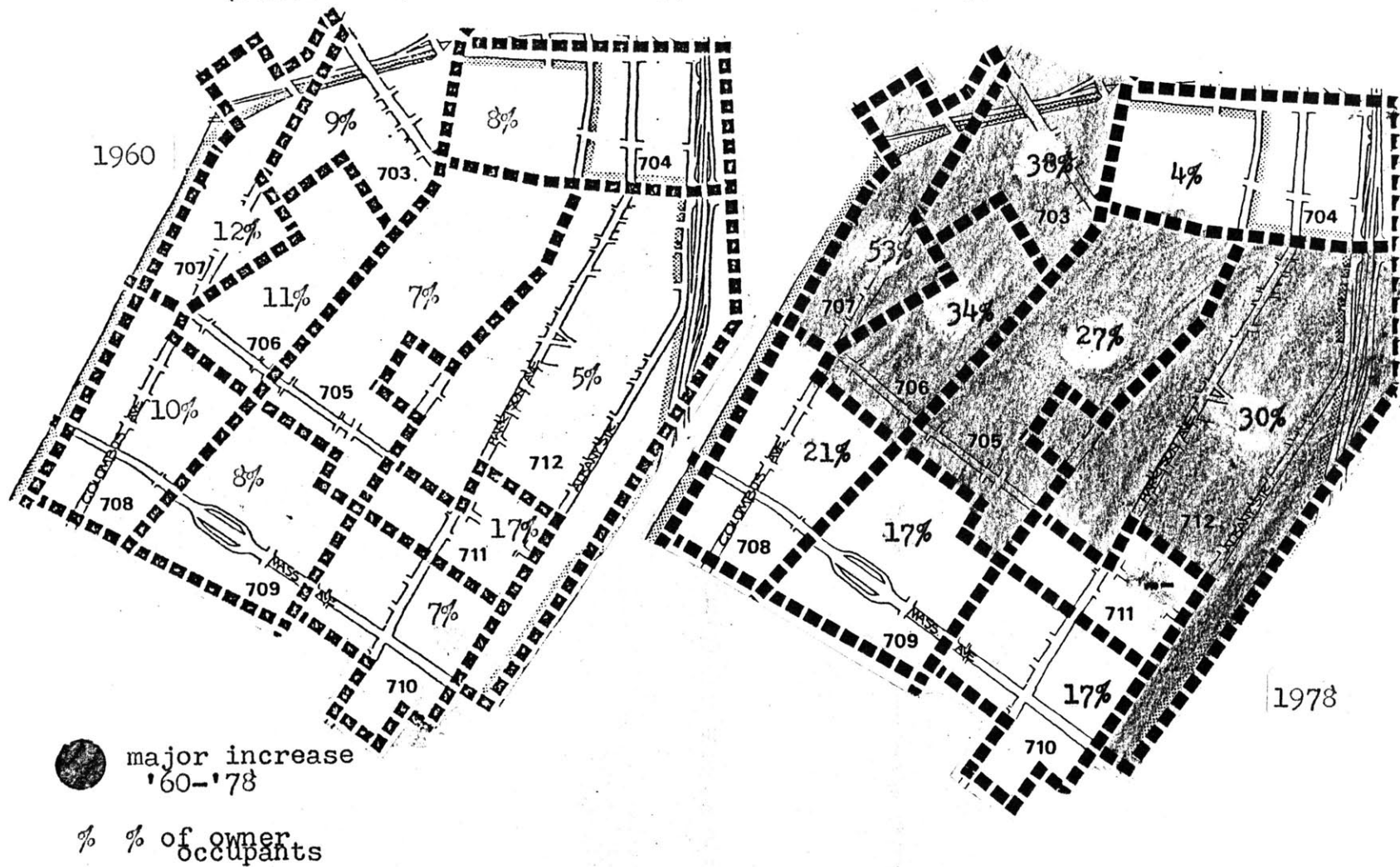
By 1978 the percentage of owner occupants had risen to 23.6% and as the number of housing units lost through

conversion between 1970 and now have been replaced by the number of new assisted housing units built, this percentage increase indicates an increase in the number of owner occupants. The number of owner occupants has increased only in those areas undergoing revitalization while areas in the South End with assisted housing have had a decrease in the number of owner occupied units as many were demolished or abandoned. (See Map 5.8a) Most owner occupants in the South End now are higher income households, most of whom are professional and college educated. Before renewal the South afforded ownership opportunities for moderate income households. As the market has continued to inflate, taxes rose, and the costs of rehabilitation increased, fewer moderate income households could afford to own their housing.

In 1960 the South End had over 16,000 renters who lived in units on the private market. At present about 7000 households in the South End are renters, and of these a third are in assisted units. Thus the number of rental units available to South Enders on the private market is now closer to 5,000--less than a third of what it was before renewal. These private rental units are rapidly escalating in price and as the number of assisted units does not increase, more persons on lower incomes will be displaced out of the private market and out of the South End. As can be seen

Map 5.8a Percentage of Owner Occupancy (1960-1978)

(Based on 1960 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey)

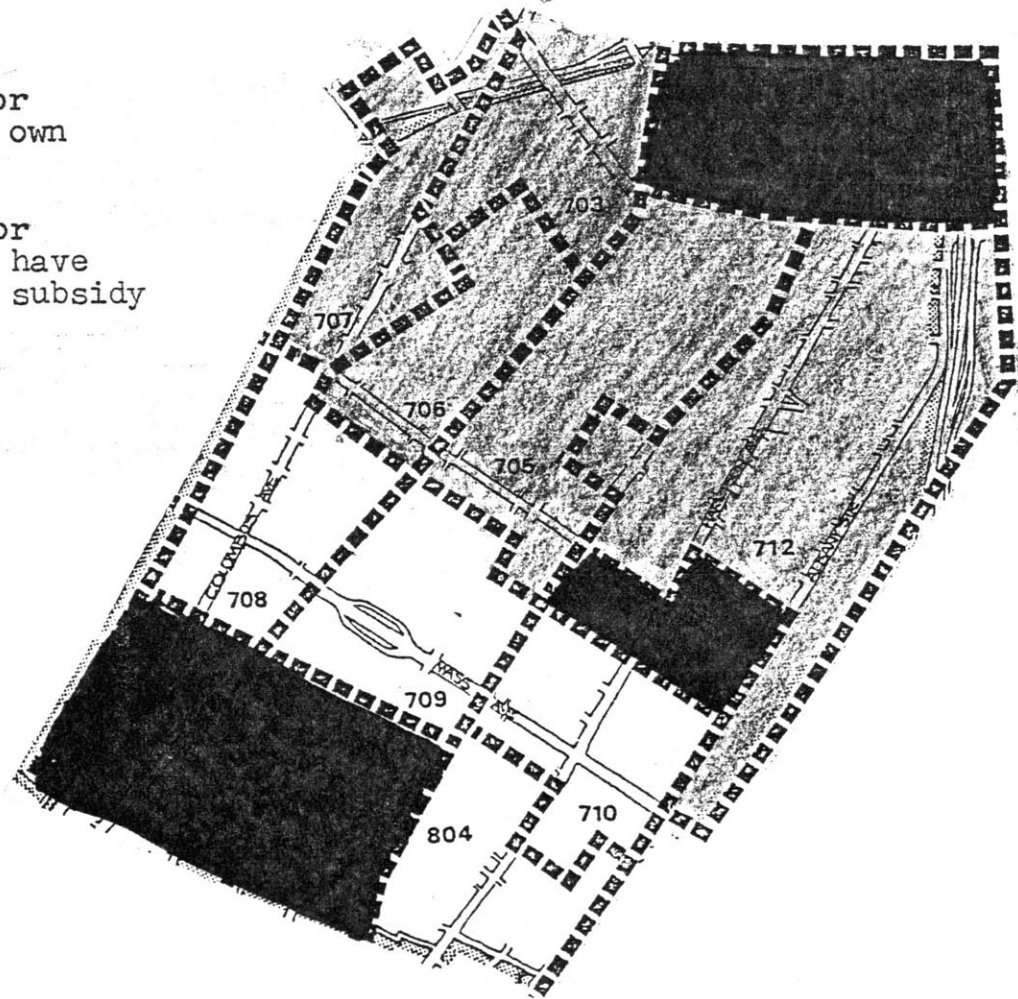


on Map 5.8b on the next page as few assisted units are located in areas undergoing private revitalization, more modest income tenants will continue to be displaced from these areas.¹⁴³

Map 5.8b Tenure (1978)

	Own	Rent	SubRent
703	.38	.62	.05
704	.04	.96	.58
705	.27	.73	.23
706	.34	.66	.12
707	.53	.47	.04
708	.21	.79	.41
709	.17	.83	.26
710	.17	.83	.20
711	--	1.00	.79
712	.30	.70	.34
804	--	1.00	.33
805	.22	.78	.53
806	--	1.00	.56

Key:

25% or
more own50% or
more have
rent subsidy

Based on 1978 Consensus Survey

6. CONCLUSION: FURTHER DISPLACEMENT WILL OCCUR UNLESS AFFORDABLE HOUSING IS PROVIDED

When Edward Logue announced his plans for urban renewal of Boston in 1960, many South End citizens were wary of the potential negative impact renewal could have on their community, the displacement of residents who wished to remain by more affluent newcomers. These citizens participated in a process to develop a plan that sought to guarantee that the benefits of renewal would accrue to original South End residents as well as to the new gentry who had begun to move into the South End. As the urbanologist, Langley Keyes, pointed out: ¹⁴⁴

"Whether or not renewal would serve as a means of providing a better environment for families, 'good' tenants, homeowners and old people was still problematic at the point of plan approval. What is significant to us, however, is that throughout the planning process there was every intention on the part of URC and the neighborhood organizations that such be the result of the renewal program. If as the plan moved into execution the economic demands of the rehabilitation process were to force out Urban Villagers and rooming house operators, their exit could not be considered part of the plan's original design.* The people in the South End involved in the renewal game had no illusions about the BRA and its capacity to carry out all of the renewal plan's assumptions. Constantly South Enders maintained that they would 'watch the BRA like a hawk' during the period of project execution."

South End residents did watch the BRA "like a hawk". As the Plan was implemented in the late sixties, displacement of South End residents was accelerating. Only 602 new units had been constructed by 1968 and few units had been rehabilitated for the benefit of lower income persons. By 1968 it was clear to many members of the community that renewal was negatively

impacting many of its residents. As indicated in the previous section, those groups most affected were elderly persons and families. White, modest income households, particularly the elderly, were being displaced from many of the revitalizing areas as well as from the demolition of the Castle Square area. Many black persons had already been scheduled for displacement in the next year from renewal related demolition and particularly from the indirect displacement caused by a rising demand for housing stock in the areas of the South End that they had traditionally occupied. Hispanic persons were also threatened if redevelopment plans went forward on Parcel 19. ¹⁴⁵

The Community Assembly for the South End secured a recommitment to the original goals from the BRA who promised to begin construction on 1650 replacement units at once, but by 1972 only 1160 had been built. By 1975, eight years later, only 435 more had been built (all elderly housing, none for families). This was 700 units short of their original goal. Although low cost rehabilitation had accelerated, that going on through the private market far exceeded those units being subsidized. By 1975 close to 1200 units had been rehabilitated by non-profit sponsors and approximately 125 leased for lower and moderate income persons, but this represented less than 6% of the original stock and only about 13% of what remained. The number of lodging and rooming houses was a third of what it had been originally. ¹⁴⁶

In 1974 members of the community rebutted a BRA Housing Report published to justify the Authority's actions. Over the

years the South End Project Area Committee (SEPAC), the elected Urban Renewal Committee, had become more representative of the South End population, having a large proportion of minority persons and tenants by 1973, and SEPAC challenged the Report. The Committee was then commissioned by the Mayor to undertake a comprehensive housing study of the South End. The Housing Committee formed to undertake this project represented the many groups of South End residents. Acting as community advocates, they concluded that the City still fell short of its commitment to the South End to meet its housing needs. ¹⁴⁷

This Report provided evidence that the South End continued to lose far more units through demolition and conversions than originally planned for. ¹⁴⁸ Of the remaining rowhouse stock (10,975 units), 42% were substandard. ¹⁴⁹ The BRA or the City held title to over 800 units in 240 buildings in need of rehabilitation into liveable housing. ¹⁵⁰ The living conditions of public housing projects had been increasingly deteriorating and many units were in need of plumbing and heating repairs and other amenities. Security was poor and crime was accelerating. Thus their use as relocation resources was questionable since standard housing is required by law for displacees. Being relocated into such an environment was difficult, particularly for the elderly. ¹⁵¹

It was clear by 1975 that the issue of future affordability of housing for original South End residents should be immediately addressed. It was estimated that in 1975 even with the new construction of housing, 3020 low income households could not afford their housing and were in need of affordable units. ¹⁵²

The moderate income households were being more adequately re-housed at affordable rents in publicly subsidized developments as most new assisted units had been constructed at rents more appropriate to moderate income households. The needy low income population was estimated to consist of 65% individuals (many of whom were elderly) and 35% families. ¹⁵³

To meet the area's housing needs the SEPAC Housing Report requested that: ¹⁵⁴

- . 164 BRA-owned buildings be used as housing resources for South End households--particularly those of low income;

- . the BRA reaffirm its commitment to preserving the racial, ethnic, social and economic heterogeneity of the community by insuring that all of those South End residents who were facing potential displacement who wished to remain would be provided with affordable housing and those who had already been displaced be offered an opportunity to return to available BRA housing stock;

- . direct and indirect displacees be considered as eligible for relocation assistance.

6.1 The BRA's Recent Apologia

In 1978, some three years after the SEPAC Report, as part of its required environmental review for the Final Close-out of the South End Urban Renewal Project, the BRA conducted an in-house staff evaluation of the current status of housing in the South End, its findings to be included in the Draft Environmental Assessment Report (3/28/79). The document published by BRA in the fall of 1978 as a result of this evaluation was an

updating of their 1974 Housing Report and it promptly became the target of criticism by SEPAC and the community since it ignored the findings and approach of the 1975 SEPAC Housing Committee Special Housing Committee Report in response to the 1974 BRA Report. 155

The 1978 BRA title was changed from 1974's "Housing in the South End" to "Subsidized Housing in the South End" and was a policy argument by the Authority that the South End should receive limited, if any, subsidized housing in the future. The justification for this argument was that the objectives of the Renewal Plan had mainly been met. 156

6.2 Little Progress Since 1975

The SEPAC Housing Committee Report had documented the unfulfilled commitments to the South End as of 1975. Since then very little progress has been made by the Authority in achieving its original housing goals in the Renewal Plan. Only 599 units have been completed: 157

- * 262 new
- * 237 rehabilitated.

Although SEPAC had recommended that many of the BRA-owned townhouses be designated for rehabilitation by community sponsors, to date only 44 rowhouse units have been designated (193 units were) in a large scale renovation of a building for elderly housing). Of the units that have been subsidized since 1975: 158

- * 195 are for elderly households
- * 193 are for low income households

3 SEPAC Housing Committee Report, p. 10. (1975)

(1978) Housing Committee Report, p. 10. (1978)

* 213 are for moderate income households.

(In total, only 75, or 13%, are suitable for family occupancy.)

So despite the SEPAC Report's estimate that over 3000 low income households needed affordable housing as of 1975, only a small percentage of this need has been met. Meanwhile the continued escalation of private housing prices has increased the need for lower cost housing. Rent surveys in 1975 and 1979 indicate that on the private market rents for rehabilitated units range: ¹⁵⁹

	1975	1979
0 BR	\$150-200	\$250-300
1 BR	200-275	350-450
2 BR	250-350	500-600
4 BR	325-450	500-700

Few options exist for even moderate income households on the private market today.

6.3 Unfulfilled Commitments of the Urban Renewal Plan in 1979

After thirteen years of urban renewal and despite the construction of 262 new units, the Authority's new construction goals remain unmet in the South End. At present 728 units, the majority of which were designated as low income units, remain to be constructed. ¹⁶⁰

The goals for rehabilitation housing are similarly unmet. While it was maintained that rehabilitation would be done at prices affordable to original South End residents, only 15% of all remaining rowhouses receive some sort of rental subsidy to insure affordability to lower and moderate income families. ¹⁶¹

Eight original goals were summarized in Chapter 3 of this

study in the discussion of the Urban Renewal Plan. An examination of these goals reveals that to date most have not been achieved: ¹⁶²

1. "provide an economically, socially and racially integrated community."

Due to the continued depletion of low cost housing, displacement has occurred in the South End, resulting in the segregation of those relocated into replacement housing by economic class and race due to the location of this replacement housing on the periphery of the community. Many original South End residents have been displaced out of the townhouse stock which has continued to be renovated and occupied primarily by the City's growing numbers of urban gentry, mainly white, higher income households without children. ¹⁶³

The Authority's encouragement of this immigration of gentry through low mortgages and grants contributed to this segregation and no adequate rehabilitation program was provided for original South End residents to enable them to afford to remain in an heterogeneous community. ¹⁶⁴

2. "eliminate severe conditions of blight, deterioration, obsolescence, traffic congestion and incompatible land uses."

The benefits of this kind of urban revitalization has been unevenly distributed in the community. In an effort to enhance the attractiveness of areas undergoing private revitalization, street, sewer and lighting improvements, landscaped parks and brick sidewalks were provided these areas with urban renewal funds, while the areas with less private investment (mainly

the areas with much publicly subsidized housing) have not received this kind of improvement though many are in great need of them. New water and sewer lines are needed to upgrade many of the multifamily housing developments at present. ¹⁶⁵

3. "provide necessary industrial and medical expansion without destroying the basic fabric of the residential community."

The Boston City Hospital area has expanded through several census tracts of the South End. On the whole, this redevelopment (though needed) has caused displacement, first, as housing units were demolished for this expansion and, secondly, as white collar workers and professional persons moved into the South End to be nearer their work. Moreover, land cleared for industrial expansion over the years remains undeveloped in much of the area. Meanwhile many existing industries have left the area. Thus job resources promised to the South End residents to help them meet their housing costs have failed to materialize and this has further contributed to their displacement out of the private market. ¹⁶⁶

4. "protect and expand the city's tax base...and by stabilizing property values, protect private investment."

This goal was the focus of most of the BRA's activities. In some areas of the South End where private revitalization was encouraged, housing prices began to stabilize and then to escalate rapidly. Some of this increase was needed to shore up an underpriced housing market; however this continued and rapid price escalation has resulted in the potential non-achievement of this goal and also interfered with the other

goals to maintain the community's heterogeneous mixture of income, ethnic and racial groups in most parts of the South End and to provide affordable housing to original residents.

As the housing market has quickly escalated, the neighborhood has become the target of real estate speculation. As prices accelerate and more moderate income persons can no longer afford their housing (especially with the potential of 100% tax classification based in part on market values), the neighborhood could reach a point of rapidly decreasing demand by the mobile, upper income households who would be the only income group who could afford the housing. If they were attracted to a new location their decreased demand could quickly de-stabilize the market, and a decline as was experienced in the late 1800's could re-occur. ¹⁶⁷

5. "The gateways to the South End residential community from South Cove, Back Bay, Fenway and Roxbury communities should be residentially oriented."

At present, many of these "gateways" are patched with vacant lots awaiting redevelopment. One prime example is the Tent City site at the corner of Dartmouth Street and Columbus Avenue, a major gateway to Copley Square and Back Bay. This site remains mostly vacant, filled with weeds, debris, and a ragged looking parking lot. This site could be a primary housing resource for the community, since it is the largest undeveloped housing site in the original South End area. As a gateway to the South End, this site and others like it, could be a symbolic statement of the community goals--its architecture reflective of the area, its economic, social, and

racial diversity, reflective of the diversity of the community—were affordable housing to be built. ¹⁶⁸

6. "provide in appropriate areas, new housing units which are within the income requirements of the community."

As this study has emphasized, this goal has only been partially met. A great need still remains for low income housing with 778 units committed by the Authority. In addition, low cost housing construction is needed in areas of the South End presently without subsidized housing. Mixed income units which are affordable primarily to lower and moderate income households but with a share of market-rate tenants is the ideal type of housing to be built if this goal is to be realized. ¹⁶⁹

7. "housing referred to families will be inspected to insure that it is decent, safe and sanitary standard housing in compliance with applicable codes and ordinances."

As was documented in the SEPAC housing report of 1975, the conditions of public housing—a greatly used relocation source—have deteriorated over the years to substandard conditions. Since 1975 little modernization has occurred even though it was sought by many of the projects' residents. While not discussed in depth in this report, this federal requirement is an important criteria by which to judge the BRA's success at adequately housing South End residents who were displaced during renewal. The Draft Environmental Assessment did not discuss the BRA's success or failure in this regard. A further investigation is required to determine the living conditions of the units which were used as relocation resources for displacees.

Many of the multi-family publicly subsidized replacement sources are now suffering from similar maintenance problems despite their relative newness and need to be inspected and reevaluated to insure that they are still standard and adequate housing. Evidence indicates many are not, and follow-through modernization of these units needs to be undertaken with city and federal grants to achieve the goal of standard housing. 170

3. "no net reduction in the supply of housing in the project area available to minority group families is proposed."

Large amounts of demolition occurred in traditionally black areas in Lower Roxbury and the original South End, resulting in the displacement of many minority families. The fact that many of these households were relocated out of the South End was the direct result of a reduction of housing facilities available to them during implementation of the renewal plan. Demand for affordable housing has outstripped the supply. As minority persons tend to be of lower income than non-minority, less of the total supply of housing is commonly available to them. As prices increase rapidly, they are readily priced out of the market. Subsidized housing resources have been unable to offset this demand. As escalation of the housing market continues, fewer areas will be affordable and, therefore, available. This goal still remains to be achieved. 171

To summarize, the BRA's commitment to supply affordable housing and to continue the original goals of the Plan remain unfulfilled. As displacement has been the direct result of a depletion of low cost housing resources, the only way to

mitigate against its continuance is to assure provision in the future of affordable housing resources.

6.4 Re-Commitment to Displacement of the South End

Displacement will continue in the South End if Close-out of the South End Project proceeds as planned without policies directed at alleviating this negative impact. As has been clearly shown, this displacement has been suffered by persons of lower income, the South End's aged and working class families. Displaced, they cannot benefit from the South End's renewal.

As the Authority pursues policies to attract Boston's gentry to the South End, it must have a concomitant policy to protect the original residents from the negative impact of displacement that accompanies gentrification. The neighborhood residents are again calling for the BRA to recognize its original commitments and to establish programs that will arrest the rapid inflation of housing in the area and that will provide them with affordable housing resources as promised to the community.

At present several key projects need to be funded and brought into development as soon as possible as major housing resources for past and potential displacees. A future income housing policy of 25% low income, 50% moderate income and 25% market will provide the community with relocation resources that have the potential of *being* stable, financially solvent and attractive developments. Past community sponsors and those desiring to become such sponsors are interested in creating such resources:

172

* the remaining parcels of land zoned by the BRA in the

Lower Roxbury Area--the United Neighbors/Lower Roxbury neighborhoods want to participate with the Authority and other government officials as a community-based Land Trust and Development Corporation to insure that future development plans for their area will include rebuilding of their neglected community without their displacement. 173

* the Tent City site, the largest undeveloped parcel of BRA land designated for residential development in the original South End area is a prime housing resource for displacees, being a symbolic gateway to the South End and the site of demonstrations by South End residents. It should be developed as a primary example of innovative replacement housing to afford the opportunity not only for subsidized rental but also an ownership position for some moderate income residents. 174

* BRA owned buildings in need of renovation are being requested as housing resources by four community sponsors of housing: the Tenants Development Corporation, the Emergency Tenants Council (IBA), the United South End Settlements and the Tent City Task Force. All have plans for these buildings as affordable rental or ownership options for lower and moderate income residents. A plan should be developed for their future with these groups, some of whom are prepared to undertake development almost immediately. 175

* lodging house about to be sold on the private market could be purchased and rehabilitated, or grants given to their owners, to maintain these invaluable housing resources as housing options for those who live in them. Community sponsors are interested in developing lodging houses and should be encouraged to undertake such rehabilitation projects so that these congregating housing options continue to supply a low cost housing alternative for single individuals. Counseling programs are needed to help lodging house owners attain the proper financial assistance to undertake their own rehabilitation or to decide how to best sell these units so that they might be retained as community housing. 176

According to the Draft Environmental Assessment Report at present there are 529 units of housing to be developed in the South End. If they were developed at an income mix of 25% low, 50% moderate and 25% market the following goals could be achieved: 177

85 new and 47 rehabilitated units for LOW INCOME

170 new and 94 rehabilitated units for MODERATE INCOME

In addition, there are a number of remaining BRA parcels and city-owned buildings which could also be developed to further meet the original housing goals. An accurate survey of these is needed to determine the number of potential units that could be built, but I would estimate that there is the potential for at least another 200 units of housing, bringing the total number of units to: 178

182 new and rehabilitated units for LOW INCOME

364 new and rehabilitated units for MODERATE INCOME.

As the need for low income units is greater than this at present, consideration should be given to allowing more low income units in certain developments, especially those serving elderly persons.

A key parcel is the Tent City site. Developing that site with such an income mixture as quickly as possible could produce within two or three years between 250 and 300 new and rehabilitated units of housing with the potential of housing at least 63 lower income households and 125 moderate income households. As the Tent City Force continues negotiations with the city, the development of this site as a mixed income housing development will hopefully occur.

The location of Tent City affords an opportunity to develop housing in an area which is experiencing rapid price inflation of housing resulting in displacement of South End residents, many of whom are minority persons. Affirmative marketing of this development will help the Authority achieve its goal of maintaining integration in the South End. 179

6.5 Public Resources Must Still Be Committed

Although public subsidies for housing are limited at present, many are still available to help the South End meet its housing needs. To attain these subsidies requires a political commitment on the part of the City and the Boston Redevelopment Authority to designate such resources to the South End.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development through its Housing, Community Block Grant, Urban Homesteading and Urban Development Action Grant programs competitively federal dollars to provide:

- * rental subsidies
- * low-interest mortgages
- * lowered site and building acquisition cost
- * grants for infrastructure improvements
- * grants to undertake primary structural repairs on buildings that have deteriorated due to neglect

To build affordable housing, applications for these programs must be submitted to HUD by the Boston Redevelopment Authority and the City of Boston to fund proposals from the community-based sponsors who seek to build affordable housing for South End residents. A recognition must be made that the neighborhood is in critical need of such housing resources if it is to stem the displacement that is occurring.

While in 1979 it may be unrealistic to expect the Authority to attain all of its original goals, the BRA's commitment remains to provide opportunities for affordable housing to the

South End residents who are facing displacement.

At present the BRA, the City of Boston and HUD are quickly proceeding towards financial settlement of the South End Project without policies developed to mitigate against further displacement there. As now planned, Close-out will increase rather than limit this displacement as much of the proposed housing developments will be market housing--affordable only to persons with incomes over \$25,000. This will not be a housing resource for potential displacees and can only result in a further escalation of housing prices and more displacement. 180

The research done for this study leads me to recommend to the City and to HUD to re-examine the findings of the Environmental Assessment of the South End Project and to recommit the resources of both staff and public monies to create affordable housing which will alleviate displacement, the negative environmental impact of urban renewal in the South End.

Footnotes

1. For a comprehensive bibliography refer to HUD, "Displacement Report to Congress", February 1979.
2. National Urban Coalition, "Displacement", 1978.
3. For historical review of urban renewal and the displacement that resulted refer to articles in: Robert McQuade, ed., Urban Renewal (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968).
4. For detailed discussion refer to Chapter Four of this report.
5. BRA, "South End Urban Renewal Plan", 1965, Sections 201-d and 203-d.
6. Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston, A Topographical History, (Boston, Bellknap Press, 1963).
7. Ibid, p. 122.
8. Ibid, p. 137.
9. Howard Brett, A Social History (New York, Hawthorne Books, 1976).
11. For overview of composition of community refer to: Langley Keyes, The Rehabilitation Planning Game (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1969), pp. 35-52.
10. Based on US Census of Housing and Population, 1960.
12. Conversation with South End residents: Melvin King, Michael Kane, Ken Kruckmeyer and Catherine Robinson.
13. BRA, "Diagnostic Report: Residents of South End Urban Renewal Project", 1967.
14. Keyes, op.cit, pp. 44-45.
15. Keyes, op.cit, p. 46.
16. Phillip Clay, The Neighborhood Renewal Game, (Lexington, Lexington Press, 1979).
17. BRA, "South End Renewal Plan Specs", 1965, pp. 1-2 and 1-3.
18. Walter McQuade, "What A Sick City Can Do?" Future Magazine, June 1964.

19. City of Boston, "The Ninety Million Dollar Development Program", September 24, 1960.
20. HUD, "Urban Renewal Land Disposition Study, December 1973, Section 2: City and SMSA Dynamics.
21. McQuade, op.cit.
22. For review of demolition of West End Project: Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).
23. Keyes, op.cit, pp. 30-31.
24. HUD, "Urban Renewal Land Disposition Study" op.cit, p. 66.
25. Keyes, op.cit, p. 59.
26. BRA, "South End Data Analysis and Correlations Draft", 1974, p. 22.
27. Minutes of Urban Renewal Committee, September 25, 1961.
28. Statement at Urban Renewal Committee, October 25, 1961.
29. Keyes, op.cit, pp. 58-59, AND, HUD, "Urban Renewal Land Disposition Study", op.cit, pp. 70-71.
30. BRA, "South End Report", 1962, p. 1.
32. Minutes from Urban Renewal Committee, October 21, 1963.
33. BRA, "Specs of Urban Renewal Plan" as presented to Urban Renewal Committee, October 5, 1964.
34. Testimony by Dick Green at Boston City Council Meeting on South End Urban Renewal Area, November 9, 1965.
35. Ibid, November 12, 1963.
36. UPA, "Urban Renewal's Effect on Low-Income Housing", October, 1967.
37. BRA, "South End Housing Committee Report", 1975, pp. 30-35.
38. Ibid, p. 31.
39. HUD, "Urban Renewal Land Disposition Study", p. 58.
40. For entire plan refer to: BRA, "Final Project Report, Application for Loan and Grant, Part 1", May 1965.

41. BRA, "South End Housing Committee Report", op.cit, p. 65.
42. BRA, "Final Project Report, Application for Loan and Grant", op.cit, Section 502.
43. BRA, "Specs for Urban Renewal Plan", op.cit, Summary, p. 4-1.
44. According to 1960 Census on Housing and Population: 4012 persons lived in this tract, I-2, in 1950 while only 329 remained in 1960.
45. BRA, Draft Environmental Assessment Report, March 28, 1979, p. 76.
46. These estimates were obtained by first determining an estimate for the number of lodging house units, in 1960. According to the 1960 Census 62% of the households in the South End were one person, and approximately the same percentage of housing units were in structures with five or more housing units. Thus a reasonable estimate for the number of lodging house units is 62% of the total number of units, or 13,000. Also according to the 1962 BRA Survey there were 9000 lodging house units in 923 licensed lodging houses and 409 structures with five or more units, many of which were lodging house units. Thus an approximation of 4000 units was used to total 13,000. Subtracting this from the total number of housing units in the 1960 Census (and subtracting the 886 units in public housing) one obtains an approximation for the number of remaining units in townhouse structures for 1960. Likewise in 1978 as the number of licensed lodging houses had decreased to 135 (see section 3 of Chapter 4), a reasonable estimate for the number of remaining housing units seemed to be 1080 (a multiplier of 8 was used because according to David Adams, undertaking at present a Lodging House Study for USES, the number of units in many of the lodging houses remaining varied from 6-10). Using an approximation that half as many unlicensed lodging houses remained, then about 520 units more, or 1600 units total remain as lodging houses. Using an estimate by the BRA in 1974 and recorded by SEPAC in Appendix of the Housing Committee Report 2947 townhouses remain in the South End. Approximately 500 of these are single family houses as the recent Consensus survey indicated that 17% of South End housing is single family (17% of 2947 is approximately 500). Thus subtracting 500 and 200 (for the number of lodging houses) then 2247 units remain. Most of these are subdivided, many with four units. Using a factor of four then approximately 8800 units are left (the BRA owns at least 47 townhouses that remain vacant and in deteriorated condition, and thus not part of housing stock) bringing total to 9300 non-lodging house units.

47. 3445/3645 units are subsidized or 95%.
48. 4776/14,565 units are subsidized or 33%.
49. 1650/10,900 units are rehabilitated and affordable or 15%.
50. Chart 4.1 is based on information compiled for this section. See Appendix 2 for more detailed information.
51. BRA, Draft Environmental Assessment Report, March 28, 1979, p. 72.
52. Adding together 1960 Census figure of 20,872 and the 996 units demolished during renewal, about 22,000 units existed before renewal.
53. BRA, "Southe End Housing Committee Report", op.cit, p. 40.
54. UPA, "Urban Renewal's Effect on Low Income Housing", op.cit, Appendix on Housing.
55. BRA, "Status Report on South End Project", 1971.
56. BRA, "South End Housing Committee Report", op.cit, p. 36.
57. Data was based on research of publications by BRA, MHFA and HUD on status of publicly subsidized developments. Refer to Table 1 in Appendix 2.
58. 300 low income public housing units were to be built and 2500 mixed low and moderate income units. None of the 300 were built and only 2022 of the mixed. Leaving a gap of 728 units.
59. BRA, "New Housing Production in Boston", 1976, Computer Print out, South End Section.
60. Refer to Chart on New Housing in Appendix 2.
61. $2022 + 537 = 2559$ units in total.
62. For a discussion of the development activities of a key private investor see Harvard Business School Case Study on Goldweitz and Company, Inc. October 1974.
63. Refer to newspaper articles from Boston Globe and Herald for 1968, particularly February and summer.
64. Refer to Minutes from Public Hearings held by BRA and City Council in 1968 and 1969 on South End Project. Documentation produced at these hearings was prepared by UPA and CAUSE.

65. Several projects were in the beginning stages. South End Community Development, Low Cost Housing and Tenants Development Corporation were all starting. However as of 1968 very few units had been completed. Contact them for more information on their activities.
66. Whittlesy, Robert, The South End Row House and its rehabilitation for Low Income Residents. (Boston) 1969, pp. 7-5 - 7-10.
67. UPA, "Report on South End Urban Renewal Plan for Boston City Council", 1968.
68. Achtenberg, Emily, "The Boston Context for Loan and Grant Applications", Unpublished Master's Thesis, MIT, 1971.
69. Refer to Table 2 in Appendix.
70. BRA, South End Housing Committee Report, op.cit, p. A4-7.
71. Achtenberg, Emily, op.cit.
72. The Ad-Hoc South End Committee analyzed police records to determine the occupancy of persons before and after private redevelopment of buildings in the South End by Goldweitz and Company, Inc. Their study concluded that 706 persons had been displaced through private renovation. None moved back into the buildings and the characteristics of the residents in the buildings changed markedly, far fewer blue collar workers and persons above the age of 50 remaining. Some of the buildings were documented as lodging houses. See Ad-Hoc Report "Statistical Analysis: Occupancy and Displacement History in Buildings of the South End Now Owned by Mark Goldweitz", Autumn 1974. Documentation of the extent of conversion was published in the UPA Report of 1968 to City Council. The Report showed how different streets in the South End traditionally filled with lodging houses were being rapidly converted into apartment buildings with larger and fewer units. See Appendix of UPA Report, "Report on South End Urban Renewal Plan for Boston City Council", 1968.
73. HUD, "Urban Renewal Land Disposition Study", op.cit, p. 84, (as well as other documents cited there).
74. No accurate data exists. This is a reasonable estimate based on figures that are available, but should not be taken as an actual count.
75. Information based on 1970 US Census on Housing and Population. Census figure used was "units with roomers, boarders or lodgers" under Table H-1.

76. USES Research of Boston City Records, 1978. For more information contact David Adams of USES.
77. Data was obtained by plotting the number of remaining lodging house units on a map by street address and determining their appropriate census tract. Adding together the numbers for each tract a comparison could be made from 1960-1978.
78. BRA, "Test Banner Tabulations South End Urban Renewal Survey" done by Consensus, Inc., 1978.
79. See article by Walter McQuade, op.cit.
80. BRA, "Residential Property Value and Rent Impact Analysis for Copley Place Development" prepared by Economic Research Associates, December 1978, p. IV-10.
81. Ibid, p. II-5 and II-7.
82. Methodology was based on an estimate derived from BRA survey figures that 25-30% of all office workers live in Downtown Core. Many of these have moved into the city over the years, representing such an increase in demand.
83. BRA, "Why Boston" July 1977, p. 31.
84. Some of these workers already live in the downtown area but the total in-movers is close to these percentages as different workers live in the Core area at different times, and thus are in-migrating.
85. BRA, "Why Boston", op.cit, p. 22.
86. The expansion and location of hospitals has been a key renewal issue as persons were displaced when their homes were destroyed, and then continued to be displaced from their neighborhoods as prices escalated.
87. Discussions with local real estate agents over the past year who deal in apartments and condominiums in the Core Area.
88. UPA, "Report on South End Urban Renewal Plan", op.cit, pp. 26-31.
89. BRA, "Residential Property Market Values in Boston", 1973.
90. South End Streets which were surveyed include: Chandler, Dartmouth Place, Warren Avenue, Montgomery, Rutland Sq. and Worcester Square. For detailed discussion of results please speak to author of this report. Graphs and maps were prepared from this survey.

91. Real estate prices gathered from discussions during 1978-1979 from South End realtors and from Boston Globe advertisements April 1979. (Rondeau Real Estate was particularly helpful as they did a presentation at a community meeting on April 24 on real estate trends in the area).
92. A similar conclusion was noted in the North End Neighborhood Task Force Report, "Housing in the North End", December 15, 1978.
93. Between 1950 and 1960 the population in Tract I-2, the site of the New York Streets Project, lost over 3500 persons (Refer to Chapter 4: Summary of this report).
94. Data was derived by multiplying a percentage factor of .65 for population in tract 703 that is in the South End area derived from dividing 1970 figures in BRA Report, "South End Neighborhood Profile" op cit, by the TOTAL census tract figure. To determine the figures for the Original South End Area the population in 703 outside of the South End was subtracted from the addition of all population in 703-712. The Lower Roxbury figures were the difference between this total and the total South End population.
95. In 1970 Census Tract 703 had a population of 2907 and subtracting from this 1903 in South End leaves 1004. Dividing this by 24,688 leaves 4% difference.
96. Map 5.1a is based on data displayed in Tables 5.1a&b in Appendix 3.
97. Map 5.1b derived from Consensus Survey (1978) Question 1d.
98. Information based on 1960 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey
99. Data derived from 1960 and 1970 Census for tracts 703-712 on population and households. Refer to Tables 5.2c,d,&e in Appendix 3.
100. Based on estimate of household migration derived from multiplying percentage of households who have moved into the area (see Table 5.1b of Appendix 3) by the number of households in each area (see Table 5.2c of Appendix 3).
101. Based on aggregate figures for Consensus Survey, Question 1g.
102. Map 5.2a based on Consensus Survey Question 1g.
103. Map 5.2b derived by multiplying percentage of households who had lived in South End for past five years in 1970 by the number of households in each census tract in 1970 census.

104. Of households surveyed in 1970 Census none had lived there before 1965 when Castle Square had been a residential neighborhood. As most Castle Square units were rented at moderate income rents few were available to those who were displaced.
105. Refer to Chapter Four, Section 3 of this report. Map 5.2c based on data displayed in Tables 5.2c&d on Appendix 3.
106. Map 5.2d based on data displayed 5.2a in Appendix 3.
107. Map 5.2e based on data displayed 5.2b in Appendix 3.
108. Map 5.2f based on data from Consensus Survey (1978) Question 3a.
109. Refer to Table 5.3a in Appendix 3.
110. Refer to Table 5.3b in Appendix 3.
111. Between 1960 and 1970 the South End lost 4644 older persons (refer to Table 5.3b in Appendix 3). Between 1970 and 1978 based on estimates derived by multiplying 1978 Consensus Survey percentages of age groups (displayed in Table 5.3b of this section) by 24,688 (US Census figure) estimates were derived of the percentages of the population present in 1978 and these were compared and subtracted (or added) to those present according to the 1960 and 1970 census. As direct comparisons could not be made between age groups and estimate was made of the percentage of persons that would have have been represented in the age groups chosen for the 1960 and 1970 Census. For example 8% was used for 55-64 age group (being a little over two-thirds of total for 50-64 age groups of 11%).
112. The loss of families was over 2000 (see Table 5.2d in Appendix 3).
113. Map 5.3a based on data displayed in Table 5.3c of Appendix 3.
114. Map 5.3b based on data displayed in Table 5.3f of Appendix 3.
115. Based on Consensus Survey (1978) Question 3.c.
116. For more detailed information refer to Table 5.4a in Appendix 3.
117. BRA, "Special Housing Committee Report, " op cit, pp. 56-57.

118. Ibid, p. 55 for percentage of blacks and p.59 for percentage of Asian Americans.
119. Estimate based upon multiplying $.46 \times 24,688 = 11,356$
 $.29 \times 24,688 = 7,160$ and
 comparing with 1960 and 1970 Census figures. See Table 5.4a of Appendix 3.
120. Map 5.4a based on Table 5.4b in Appendix 3.
121. Table 5.4a based on 1960 and 1970 Census Date. Also refer to BRA, "Special Housing Committee Report," op cit, pp. 55-56.
122. Based on 1970 Census Data by Tracts—Ethnic Origin of Persons surveyed.
123. Three major developments in Tract 705: Viviendas 1, ETC Elderly Housing and Casa Borinquen Rehabilitation Housing.
124. Table 5.4b derived from 1960 and 1970 census for ethnic groups.
125. Refer to Chapter Four on Housing, Sections 1 and 2.
126. Map 5.4b displays these figures from Table 5.4b.
127. Map 5.4e based on Consensus Survey Data from survey interview—interviewer noted race of respondent.
128. See p. 118 and Map 5.5d.
129. Based on figures published in BRA, "South End Neighborhood Profile," op cit, and 1978 Consensus Survey figure (Median income may be between \$8700 and \$10,000 depending on how data is derived from Survey. The average income was \$10,000 and 55% of the population earned less than \$10,000 so as an approximation I chose \$9,000).
130. Income categories were chosen using an inflation factor of 1.3 for 1960 to 1970 and 1.2 for 1970 to 1978. (Also chosen on the basis of income categories of 1960 and 1970 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey.
131. Table 5.5b (and Maps 5.5b and c) were derived by taking the percentage of households in that income category for 1960 and 1970 census and the percentage of respondents by income category in 1978 Consensus Survey.
132. Looking at Table 5.5b one can see the shrinking of the moderate income group between 1960 and 1970 that has continued until 1978. In revitalizing areas the moderate income groups are less than 20%.

133. Median Incomes from 1960 and 1970 Census and estimated from 1978 Consensus Survey by dividing the number of respondents in each income category by two to determine within which income category the median would occur. An estimate of a dollar figure obtained by proportion of median contained in income category.
134. From Map 5.5c one can see that the median incomes of these areas have increased since 1970, and comparing with Map 5.5a reveals that these have rapidly increased at a higher rate between 1970 and 1978 than 1960 and 1970. Refer to Table 5.4b in Appendix.
135. Comparisons were derived by adding together all blue collar, white collar and professional subcategories to get total for each category. Dividing this number by the total of all three to derive percentages of groups.
136. Table 5.6c and corresponding Maps 5.6a,b,c derived from US Census Data 1960 and 1970 and 1978 Consensus Survey by dividing the number of employed persons by the total of all three added together.
137. City average as published in BRA, "Why Boston," July, 1977.
138. Based on conversations with realtors about renters in South End. Map 5.7a derived from Consensus Survey.
139. Based on 1960 Census Data. See Table 5.8 in Appendix 3.
140. Refer to Table 5.8a in Appendix 3.
141. Map 5.8b based on Table 5.8b in Appendix 3.
142. According to 1978 Consensus Survey average South End household size is 2.5. Using 1975 Census figure of 24,688 the South End has about 10,000 households. With 71% renters (according to Consensus Survey then there are about 7000 rental households, of which 33% are subsidized, or about 5000 rental households on private market.
143. Map 5.4b based on 1978 Consensus Survey Question 10c and 12c.
144. Keyes, op cit, pp. 85-86.
145. See chapter 4, Section 1, of this report and for more information refer to BRA, "Special Housing Committee Report," op cit, pp. 35-38 and referenced news articles for 1968.
146. See Chapter 4 of this report. Based on research done on housing only 1160 new units were built as of 1972 and by 1975 only 435 more (see Table 4.1a).

147. BRA, "Special Housing Committee Report, op cit, pp. i-ii of Introduction and pp. 1-4 of Recommendations and Findings.
148. Ibid, pp. 65-66.
149. Ibid, p. 68.
150. Ibid, p. 1.
151. Ibid, p. 69.
152. Ibid, p. 77.
153. Ibid, p. 78.
154. Ibid, pp. 2-3.
155. On page 1 of BRA, "Draft Environmental Assessment," the Authority stated that it had conducted an in-house staff review of housing and published a report, "Subsidized Housing in South End," September, 1978. This report was a "revised second printing" of the 1974 report and has not been adequately updated or put together in a clear and organized fashion. Also no SEPAC findings were included. In the comment period for the Draft Environmental Assessment, SEPAC requested the BRA to respond to the entire SEPAC housing report.
156. BRA, "Subsidized Housing in the South End," op cit, p.34.
157. See Table 4 of Chapter Four.
158. Refer to Table 2 of Appendix 2 for more detailed information.
159. Based on rental surveys in SEPAC report and in this report, see BRA, "Special Housing Committee Report", op cit, p.73 and Chapter 4, p. 66 of this report.
160. See Chapter 4, p. 45 of this report.
161. Ibid, p. 39.
162. See Chapter 3, p. 30.
163. Chapter 5 of this report is documentation of this.
164. Chapter 4, Sections 2 and 3, discusses this.
165. Areas surrounding publicly subsidized developments, especially in Lower Roxbury. Based on a tour around entire area.
166. Hospital expansion through Census Tracts 710 and 711 has enhanced demand for housing in nearby areas, like Springfield Street and Worcester Square.
167. A number of real estate offices now operate in the

166. Hospital expansion through Census tracts 710 and 711 has enhanced demand for housing on streets such as Springfield, Worcester Square and Rutland Square.
167. A number of real estate offices now operate in the area, Rondeau, Gibson, Landmark Associates, Bennett and Bowen to mention a few. Transactions are increasing, especially as the Back Bay market tightens.
168. Tent City Task Force proposal to develop site to meet such guidelines. First proposed in 1974, guidelines updated in Fall of 1978. Pursuing such a development to be a symbol of the South End's diverse character as you enter from Back Bay.
169. See Chapter 4, page 45 of this report.
170. See page 135 of this Conclusion section.
171. Based on research presented in Chapters 4 and 5 of this report.
172. SEPAC recommended this in the BRA, "Special Housing Committee Report", op cit, p. 3.
173. Public Hearing on April 26, 1979 on Close-Out of South End Project and conversation with Bill Leonard.
174. Proposal by Tent City Task Force to BRA for four years, updated and negotiating currently with BRA to achieve such goals.
175. Conversations with:
 Diane Kelly Tenants Development Corporation
 Jorge Hernandez IBA
 Val Hyman United South End Settlements
 (~~As a~~ Member of Tent City Task Force I am familiar with goals for development of Frankie O'Day block and other buildings in South End.)
176. Based on findings in this Report, Chapter 4, Section 3 I would suggest such action. In conversations with Community Housing sponsors and advocates I found much support for the idea.
177. 188 rehab, 341 new construction from Table 2-Major Parcels of BRA, "Draft Environmental Assessment", 3/28/79.
178. (Minor Parcels) Ibid. Survey by TDC of City Owned Buildings.
179. Tent City Task Force guidelines supported by SEPAC.
180. Based on figures in "Draft Environmental Assessment", op cit, p. 87. Rents of over \$590 affordable to persons with household incomes above \$25,000.

APPENDIX 1Key Provisions of South End Renewal Plan

1.	<u>Displacement</u>			
a.	<u>Numbers Affected</u>			
	Total Households	3550		
	Families	1730	Individuals	1820
	Non-white	1725	White	1825
	Total persons (approx.)	7500		
b.	<u>Income and Rent Levels</u>			
	Median Monthly Rental	\$304		
	Non-white	\$289	White	\$318
	Qualifying for Public Housing			2368 (67%)
	Planned for Public Housing			746 (21%)
	Planned for Other Low-Rent Housing			1000 (28%)
	Not Planned For			622 (18%)
2.	<u>Assumed Relocation of Displaced Households</u>			
a.	<u>Public Housing</u>			
	Total Units	746		
	Non-white	396	White	350
b.	<u>Purchased Homes</u>			
	Total Units	414		
	Non-white ₂	204	White	210
c.	<u>221(d) (3) Housing</u>			
	Total Units	2390		
	Non-white	1125	White	1265
	Rental Assistance			
	Leased (B.H.A.)	300	Fed. Rent Supplement	320
d.	<u>Existing Housing</u>			
	Total Units	380 ³	(Leased by B.H.A.)	
3.	<u>Acquisition and Re-Use of Land</u>			
a.	<u>Acquisition</u>			
	Total Area	186.0	acres	
b.	<u>Re-Use</u>			
	Residential Dwellings	80.4	acres	
	Commercial/Industrial	47.4	acres	
	Streets	31.3	acres	
	Public/Semi-Public	26.9	acres	
4.	<u>Changes in Housing Stock</u>			
a.	<u>Demolished</u>			
	Total Units	5215		
	Standard	1084	Substandard	4131
b.	<u>New Construction</u>			
	Total Units	4100		
	Public Housing	1100	221(d)(3)	3000 ⁴
c.	<u>Net Reduction</u>			
	Total Units	1115		

Source: Appendix 1 of UPA Report, "Urban Renewal's Effect on Low Income Housing in Boston's South End", October 1967.

APPENDIX 2Summary of Data Analysis for Tables 1-3

Research was done of the number of new and rehabilitated housing units constructed during renewal by cross-correlating information presented in:

BRA REPORTS:

"Subsidized Housing in the South End", September 1978.

"Publicly Assisted Housing Developments in Boston", June 1976

"New Housing Production in Boston", Computer Print-Out, January, 1976.

MHFA REPORTS

"MHFA Annual Report", 1978

HUD REPORTS

"Housing Development Assisted by HUD", Fiscal Year 1978.

"List of Insured Multi-family Projects", July 1977.

"Section 8 Active Projects". June 1978.

A listing was made by development of information contained in these reports of:

*year of construction

*mortgage subsidy

*income mix

*number of bedrooms

*number of units for elderly persons

On the following pages are three tables based on the above information and tabled for easy display.

Table 1 Public Housing, Elderly Housing and Mixed Income Housing in South End
(Based on Research in this Report of HUD, MHFA and BRA Documents)

<u>Public Housing</u>								<u>Elderly Housing</u>						
	Year	Fund.	# Units	1BR	2BR	3BR	4BR		Year	Fund.	# Units	OBR	1BR	2BR
Lenox	1940	BHA	306	144	120	42		Castle Square	1967	BHA	102	19	69	12
Camden	1949	BHA	72	36	18	18		155 Northamp.	1973	BHA	78			
Cathedral	1951	BHA	508	160	164	150	24	755 Tremont	1973	BHA	78			
TOTAL			886	340	302	210	24	704 Washington	1973	BHA	78			
Percent				38%	34%	24%	3%				234	126	105	3
								ETC	1974	BHA	201	116	84	1
								TOTAL			537	261	258	18
								Percent				49%	48%	2%

Mixed Income Housing

	Year Built	Funding Source	# of Units	Income Mix		Rent Subsidy		# Bedrooms						Elderly	Handi-capped
				Low	Mod	RAP RS	23	OBR	1BR	2BR	3BR	4BR	5BR		
Castle Square	1967	221(d)(3)	500	110	390		110								
Roxse	1972	221(d)(3)	364	95	269		95		60	82	39	117	65		
Methunion	1971	221(d)(3)	150	53	97				19	85	28	18			
Canfield Gdns.	1972	221(d)(3)	134	41	93		41		35	42	22	36			
Grant Manor	1972	236	180	45	135	45			64	77	19	20			
Rutland Hsg.	1972	221(d)(3)	43	18	25	18			15	12	4	12			
Westminster	1972	236	120	24	96	24		8	38	34	24	18			
Willard	1972	236	169	32	137	32		7	77	27	32	24			
Concord Homes	1976	MHFA	181	101	80		29		144	27	8	2			
Viviendas I	1976	236	181	72	109	72		11	52	64	24	26	4	86	8
TOTAL			2022	591	1431	191	275		26	648	610	330	339	69	
Percent				29%	71%				1%	32%	30%	16%	17%	3%	

Table 2 Rehabilitated Housing With Rental Subsidy

(Based on Research in this Report of HUD, MHFA and BRA Documents)
 Income Mix Rent Subsidy # bedrooms

NAME	Year Built	Funding Source	# of Units	Income Mix			Rent Subsidy					# bedrooms						Elderly	
				Low	Mod	Mkt	RAP RS	8	23	13	707	0	1B	2B	3B	4B	5B		
Brownstones	1972	MHFA/236	35	10	25														
Chester Park	1975	MHFA	29	8	18	3				29		5	9	14			1		
Columbus Ave.	1974	MHFA	97	37	60				97	37		8	29	54		6			
Coop Proj. 3	1974	MHFA	31	18	13					31		14	10	7					
		Private	32	29	3							14	10	4	4				
Ebenezer	1972	MHFA	32	12	20				32			8	16		8			24	
ETC 1	1972	236	72	51	21			28	69	23		14	17	31	9	1			
		BHA	136	136								43	58	16	2	11	6		
G-BCD/SECD																			
1) 13-15 Dwight	1969	221-d-3	9	4	5					9	4	2		5		2			
38 E. Spring.			5	2	3					5	2		5						
216 Northamp.			5	3	2					5	3		5						
210-212 "			9	8	1					8			5	4					
220-224 "			12	9	3					9			2	4	5	1			
2) SECD-2 (312)	1970	221-d-3	10		10									7	2	1			
549-551 Mass.			10		10			10					1	2	6	1			
23 Green. Pk.			5	5					5	1		1		4					
10 Dartmouth			5	5					5	3		1	1	3					
Tremont St.			23	23					23	17			3	13	6	1			
			(93	59	34)			(10	52	47)		(4	22	42	19	6)		
Habco	1970	912	34	34									8	6	17	3			
I'faith/W. Con.	1973	236	74	25	49			15		25			47	18	9				
Low Cost Hsg.	1974	236/221	72	21	51			15				9	17	18	15	7	6		
		Conv.	78	78								10	16	19	24	5	4		
Pianocraft	1974	MHFA	174	44	86	44				130	44		116	52	6				
TDC 1	1969	236	100	58	33	9		3	57	30		20	34	27	15	4			
TDC 2	1975	236	185	94	77	24		35	126			21	69	71	8	12	4		
Franklin Sq.	1977	MHFA	193	116	77				193			51	121	21				193	
144 Worcester	1977	MHFA	8	2	6					8				6	1	1			
Casa Borinquen	1977	MHFA	36	18	18				36				18	6	7	5			
TOTAL			1511	850	581	80		108	527	125	264	86	221	652	412	150	56	20	217
Percent %				56	39	5							15	43	27	10	4	1	

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Table 3 Composition of Subsidized Housing Constructed During Renewal
 (Based on Research in this Report of HUD, MHFA and BRA Documents)

INCOME MIX OF SOUTH END SUBSIDIZED HOUSING CONSTRUCTED DURING URBAN RENEWAL								
	<u>Low</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Mod.</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Market</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
New	591	15%	1431	35%			2022	50%
Rehab	850	21%	581	14%	80	2%	1511	37%
Elderly Public Housing	537	13%					537	13%
TOTAL	1978	49%	2012	49%	80	2%	4070	100%

NUMBER OF BEDROOMS							
	<u>0BR</u>	<u>1BR</u>	<u>2BR</u>	<u>3BR</u>	<u>4BR</u>	<u>5BR</u>	<u>Total</u>
New	26	648	610	330	339	69	2022
Rehab	221	652	412	150	56	20	1511
Elderly Public Housing	261	258	18				537
TOTAL	508	1558	1040	480	395	89	4070
Percent	13%	38%	25%	12%	10%	2%	

Table 4PROJECTIONS IN HOUSEHOLD FORMATIONSCity of Boston

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1985</u>
Total Population	697,197	641,071	637,986	639,400
Number of Households	224,718	217,622	223,768	236,800
Population/Household	3.10	2.94	2.85	2.70
Change in Number of Households	(7,096)	6,146	13,000	
Average Annual Change		(710)	1,200	1,300

Core Area

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1985</u>
Total Population	109,878	101,101	104,064	110,600
Number of Households	-	43,700	49,700	59,800
Population/Household	-	2.32	2.09	1.85
Change in Number of Households		6,000	10,000	
Average Annual Change		1,000	1,100	

Source: U. S. Census 1960 and 1970, State Census for 1975 and Metropolitan Area Planning Council estimates for 1976, Boston Redevelopment Authority Population Projections for the City in 1985, and Economics Research Associates

From: ERA Report Residential Property Value and Rent Impact Analysis for Copley Place Development
Dec. 1978

Table 5

TRENDS IN THE HOUSING STOCK
CITY OF BOSTON AND THE IMPACT AREA

<u>Total Housing Units</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1978</u>
City of Boston	222,079	238,816	233,388	241,897
Core Area:				
Fenway-Kenmore	13,082	15,049	13,129	14,747
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	9,188	13,111	16,677	17,064
South End	15,356	20,849	10,936	13,081
Central Area A	10,612	9,782	8,376	10,792
Sub Total	48,238	58,791	49,118	55,684

Average Annual Change:

City of Boston	1,673	(543)	1,063
Impact Area	1,055	(967)	820

A Includes the West End, North End, Downtown, the waterfront and South Cove.

Source: U.S. Census for 1950, 1960 and 1970 and the Boston Redevelopment Authority for 1978.

from ERA Residential Property Value and Rent Impact Analysis for Copley Place Development Dec. 1978

Methodology for Data Analysis

(Chapter 5: Demographic Analysis of Displacement)

To begin to track the changes that have occurred in the demographic characteristics of the population since renewal was first announced, a baseline of the 1960 Census data was chosen and comparisons were made using the 1970 Census and the tabulations from the recent 1973 Consensus Survey.

The 1970 Census tracts were used as the easiest units of analysis as the Consensus Survey was tabulated by 1970 Census tract and the 1960 Census figures could be approximated to match the 1970 Census. The following match was made between 1960 and 1970 Census tracts:

1970 Tract	1960 Tract(s)
703	J(1)
704	I(1) & I (2), tracts G (1,2,4) were not included as they had few people
705	L(4)
706	L(1)
707	J(2)
708	L(2)
709	L(3)
710	L(6)
711	L(5)
712	I(4), part of tract I(2) was all included into census tract 704
804	.29 X Q(2)
805	.65 X R(1)
806	.25 X R(3)

The Lower Roxbury Tracts (804, 805, 806) are only partially included in the South End, so a factor was used derived from BRA estimate published in South End: Neighborhood Profile.

Most aggregate data for 1960 and 1970 for entire South End area was obtained from BRA Research document South End Data Analysis and Correlations Draft, 1972.

All Census Tract Data for 1960 was obtained from:

Social Facts by Census Tract, Research Department of United Community Services, March 1962, Table 1.

US Census of Housing and Population, 1960, PHC(3)180 Series.

All Census Tract Data for 1970 was obtained from:

Social Facts by Census Tract, Research Department of United Community Services, April 1971, Summary Data.

US Census of Housing and Population, 1970, PHC(1) Census Reports.

All Census Tract Data for 1978 was obtained from estimates derived from BRA commissioned 5% sample survey of the South End:

Test Banner Tabulations South End Urban Renewal Survey, Consensus Inc., July 1978.

This survey was based on a household survey by Census Tract which included interviews of the following number of households per census tract:

	#sampled	%sampled
703	82	08%
704	68	07%
705	209	21%
706	115	11%
707	59	06%
708	125	09%
709	91	09%
710	70	07%
711	24	02%
712	49	05%
804	14	01%
805	77	08%
806	25	02%
Total South End	1009	100%

All data used in this report from Consensus Survey was either obtained from their aggregate figures or was derived by adding the total number of responses for each question used and dividing that number by the number responding affirmatively to each category within that question to obtain a percentage distribution by tract. (This was not done by Consensus—they disaggregated each data point by the Total South End and by the % of respondents of the total South End in that Census Tract. For example, their data analysis shows 17.3% of all South End persons of the ages 35-34 are estimated to live in Census Tract 705. My analysis indicates rather that of all South End persons living in Census Tract 705, approximately 30% of them are between the ages of 25-34. My data thus gives a profile by census tract which can be cross-correlated with 1960 and 1970 Census Data. (Consensus Survey data is accurate to within a 5% range on most data points and a 10% range on others, so Consensus predicts.) All Consensus Data is rounded off to nearest 1%.

All data correlations, additions and percentages derived are subject to error. Although I have tried to check and cross-check such data analysis is difficult to do independently with absolutely no error.

On the following pages are tables numbered to correspond to each section in Chapter 5 used to document displacement in the rapid compositional changes of the area.

Table 5.1a Loss of Population (1960-1970)

	1960	1970	Change	
			#	%
703	3815	2906	-909	-24%
704	2263	1842	-421	-19
705	6869	5051	-1818	-26
706	3262	2245	-1017	-31
707	2114	916	-1198	-57
708	3728	2305	-1423	-38
709	2861	2120	-741	-35
710	2226	1369	-1143	-38
711	1188	725	-463	-39
712	2928	2247	-681	-23
	<u>31,254</u>	<u>21,726</u>	<u>-9190</u>	<u>-30%</u>

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data

Table 5.1b Number of Years in South End (1970)

	1 yr.	% of Population			
		2-4	5-9	10-19	20+
703	.59%	.12%	.14%	.08%	.07%
704	.34	.66			
705	.41	.14	.24	.13	.08
706	.44	.24	.23	.06	.03
707	.38	.07	.25	.15	.14
708	.38	.26	.11	.07	.16
709	.41	.14	.27	.19	.13
710	.34	.21	.14	.14	.13
711	.47	.12	.21	.15	.18
712	.22	.28	.25	.20	.05
City	.36	.20	.15	.15	.15
So. End	.39	.23	.16	.12	.10

Based on 1970 Census Data

Table 5.2a Loss of One Person Households (1960-1970)

	1960	1970	Change 1960-1970	
	#	#	#	%
703	1897	930	-967	-51%
704	417	212	-215	-49
705	2647	937	-1710	-65
706	1619	299	-1318	-82
707	740	123	-617	-84
708	1063	441	-622	-59
709	1061	728	-333	-31
710	753	306	-447	-59
711	114	387	+273	+239
712	273	209	-64	-23
	<u>10,584</u>	<u>4572</u>	<u>-6012</u>	<u>-57%</u>

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data

Table 5.2b Percentage of One Person Households (1960-1978)

	1960	1970	1978
703	75%	62%	32%
704	45	34	36
705	68	30	36
706	74	41	40
707	62	36	28
708	55	46	28
709	65	66	33
710	68	63	49
711	35	78	40
712	30	30	40

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data and 1978 Consensus Survey

Table 5.2c Households and Percentage of Families (1960-1970)

TRACT	1960		1970		Change
	TOTAL	% FAMILY	TOTAL	% FAMILY	TOTAL
703	2504	21%	2137	19%	-367
704	901	48	614	66	-287
705	3930	31	2544	33	-1386
706	2217	25	1692	19	-525
707	1197	35	378	37	-819
708	1661	53	1580	27	-81
709	1093	50	1144	29	+51
710	1147	32	901	18	-246
711	334	63	554	12	+220
712	946	69	940	58	-6
					<u>-3446</u>

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census data

Table 5.2d Households: Families (1960-1970)

	1960		1970		Change	
	#		#	#	%	
703	527		411	-116	-22%	
704	436		406	-30	-7	
705	1216		827	-389	-32	
706	552		327	-225	-41	
707	413		138	-275	-66	
708	875		421	-454	-52	
709	552		332	-220	-40	
710	371		158	-213	-57	
711	209		66	-143	-68	
712	656		543	-113	-17	
				<u>-2178</u>	<u>-38%</u>	

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data

Table 5.2e Household: Unrelated Individuals (1960-1970)

	1960	1970	Change	
			#	%
703	1977	1726	-251	-13%
704	465	208	-257	-55
705	2714	1717	-997	-37
706	1665	1365	-300	-18
707	784	240	-544	-69
708	786	1159	+373	+47
709	541	812	+271	+50
710	776	743	-33	-05
711	125	488	+363	+74
712	290	397	+107	+37
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			-1268	-12%

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data

Table 5.3a Age Composition (1960)

Age	SOUTH END		CITY
	#	%	%
0-4	2622	7.5	9.5
5-14	3956	11.3	15.2
15-19	1923	5.5	7.4
20-24	2354	6.7	7.8
25-34	4305	12.3	12.7
35-54	9422	27.0	24.1
55-64	4797	13.7	11.0
65+	5617	16.0	12.3

Based on 1960 Census data

Table 5.3b Age Composition (1960-1970)

	SOUTH END			%
	1960	1970		
0-4	2622	1608	1014	-.39
5-14	3956	2966	990	-.25
15-19	1923	1575	348	-.18
20-24	2354	2195	159	-.07
25-34	4305	3379	926	-.22
35-54	9422	5265	4157	-.44
55-64	4797	2450	2347	-.49
65+	5617	3320	2297	-.41
	CITY			
	1960	1970		%
0-4	66110	49922	16188	-.24
5-14	105702	102759	2943	-.28
15-19	51989	61000	+9071	+.17
20-24	54547	77103	22556	+.41
25-34	89004	79353	9651	-.11
35-54	168197	126176	42021	-.25
55-64	76863	62831	14032	-.18
65+	85669	81718	3951	-.05

Based on the 1960-1970 Census Data

Table 5.3c Elderly Population (1960-1970)

Pop 65+	1960	1970		%
703	837	530	-307	-.37
704	342	251	91	-.27
705	1160	716	-444	-.38
706	788	322	-466	-.59
707	313	129	-184	-.59
708	479	307	-172	-.36
709	381	279	-102	-.27
710	378	220	-158	-.42
711	115	101	-14	-.12
712	429	307	-102	-.25
			<u>2040</u>	<u>-.39%</u>

Based on 1960-1970 Census Data

Table 5.3d Age Composition (1960-1970)

Age Group	1960	1970	Age Group	1978*
	%	%		%
0-4	7.5	7.1	0-5	8
5-14	11.3	13.0	6-12	10
15-19	5.5	6.9	13-17	8
20-24	6.7	9.6	18-24	12
25-34	12.3	14.8	25-34	26
35-54	27.0	23.1	35-49	15
55-64	13.7	10.8	50-64	11
65+	16.0	14.6	65+	8

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey data

Table 5.3e Age Composition (1978)

	703	704/5	706	707/8	709	710/804	711/12	805/6
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0-5	9%	8%	7%	8%	8%	5%	9%	11%
6-12	4	12	5	12	5	10	7	15
13-17	6	7	5	9	5	11	8	12
18-50	65	50	59	52	58	53	48	45
50-64	11	14	14	12	14	11	9	9
65+	4	8	10	8	10	9	18	8

Data compiled from Consensus Survey 1978

Table 5.3f Elderly Population (1960-1978)

	1960	1970	1978
	%	%	%
703	22%	18%	20%
704	15	14	08
705	17	14	08
706	24	14	10
707	15	14	08
708	13	14	08
709	13	13	10
710	17	16	10
711	10	8	18
712	14	14	18

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census and 1978 Consensus Survey data.

Table 5.4a Racial Composition (1960-1970)

	1960	1970	Change	% Change
<u>BOSTON</u>	698,081	641,071	-57,010	-8.2%
<u>White</u>	629,588	506,751	-122,837	-19.5%
<u>Minority</u>	68,493	134,340	+65,847	+95.5%
Black	63,165	104,707	41,542	+65/7%
Other	5,328	29,633	24,305	
Spanish	--	11,649		
<u>SOUTH END</u>	34,990	22,773	-12,217	-34.9%
White	20,356	9,220	-11,135	-54.7%
Minority	14,634	13,553	-1,081	-7.3%
Black	13,772	8,904	-4,868	-34.0%
Other	862	4,649	+3,787	*
Spanish	--	1,640*		*

Data derived from 1960 and 1970 Census (Spanish persons were not separated out in 1960 Census)

Table 5.4b Minority/Non-Minority Persons (1960-1978)

	Non-minority			Minority		
	'60	'70	'78	'60	'70	'78
703	95%	86%	85%	05%	14%	15%
704	76	36	11	24	64	89
705	85	63	70	15	37	30
706	74	72	79	26	28	21
707	39	34	64	61	66	36
708	09	13	26	91	87	74
709	27	19	34	73	81	66
710	94	73	48	06	27	52
711	93	80	04	07	20	96
712	63	46	51	37	54	39

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data and 1978 Consensus Survey

Table 5.5a Income Distribution* (1970)

TRACT	0-4	4-7	7-10	10-15	15+	25+
703	.15	.14	.15	.30	.18	.08*
704	.31	.27	.20	.20	.02	-
705	.24	.28	.21	.17	.08	.01
706	.29	.20	.08	.18	.17	.08*
707	.18	.40	.16	.15	.10	-
708	.38	.24	.14	.18	.07	-
709	.26	.45	.11	.10	.04	.02
710	.17	.42	.17	.16	.08	-
711	.32	.09	.17	.23	.20	-
712	.44	.27	.09	.14	.05	-
S.End	.30	.92	.16	.16	.07	.02
Boston	.16	.19	.22	.26	.15	.03
Metro.	.17	.15	.18	.25	.19	.06

Based on 1970 Census Data

* income groups: \$0-3999; \$4000-6999; \$7000-9999
\$10,000-14,999; \$15,000-24,999; \$25,00 and up

Table 5.5b Median Income by Racial Group (1970)

For 1970	Under \$5,000	\$5,000- \$10,000	\$10,000 plus	total	Median Income
All families	1574 40%	1376 35%	1002 25%	3952	\$6,464
White families	284 24%	368 31%	534 45%	1186	\$9,212
Chinese etc. families	226	231	148	605	\$6,666
Black families	851 37%	665 36%	303 17%	1819	\$5,312
Spanish-sp. families	213 62%	117 33%	17 5%	342	\$4,038

Data based on 1970 Census

Table 5.7a Change in Educational Level (1960-1970)

	Median No. Years in School		No. of College Graduates	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
703	9.4	12.5		523
704	8.3	10.9		51
705	8.5	9.6		222
706	8.9	11.6		305
707	10.7	12.5		90
708	9.3	11.0		186
709	8.9	9.0		71
710	8.9	12.0		59
711	11.7	12.4		133
712	9.5	9.6		77

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data

Table 5.3a Owner Occupancy (1960-1970)

	1960		1970		Change	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Owner Occupancy	1607	9.1%	1033	11.4%	574	-36%
Single Family	738	4.2	416	4.6	322	-44

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data

Table 5.8b Owner Occupancy (1960-1978)

	1960	1970	1978
703	09%	14%	38%
704	08	01	04
705	07	11	27
706	11	29	34
707	12	22	53
708	10	10	21
709	08	03	17
710	07	05	17
711	17	03	00
712	05	02	30

Based on 1960 and 1970 Census Data and
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