

PROGRAMMING FOR JACKSON SQUARE:
A COMMUNITY CONTROLLED LAND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

by

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(1972)

M.Arch., Harvard Graduate School of Design
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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in May, 1978 in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of City Planning

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a planning report to the Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation. It addresses how a local "CDC" might capitalize on a major public investment at Jackson Square in the form of the relocation of the Orange Line public transit system. Excess public land will be made available to prospective developers. The strategy outlined aims to ensure local control over development and to influence transit and related decisions that affect the land's and the overall neighborhood's development potential. Issues addressed are how the land and other resources can help stabilize a residential area threatened by incipient abandonment, reinforce recent improvement of a business district that has evolved into a metropolitan Hispanic center, create job opportunities, and improve the physical environment. Primary attention is given to alternative housing development strategies. The strategy consists of sets of time-phased tasks. A way of deciding whether to undertake an action immediately, soon, or later is discussed that takes into account uncertainty without using formal methods of decision analysis.

Name and Title of Thesis Supervisor: Philip B. Herr, Associate Professor

Jackson Square:
A Land Development Strategy

Prepared for the
Jamaica Plain Neighborhood
Development Corporation

by Robert Bluhm

May, 1978

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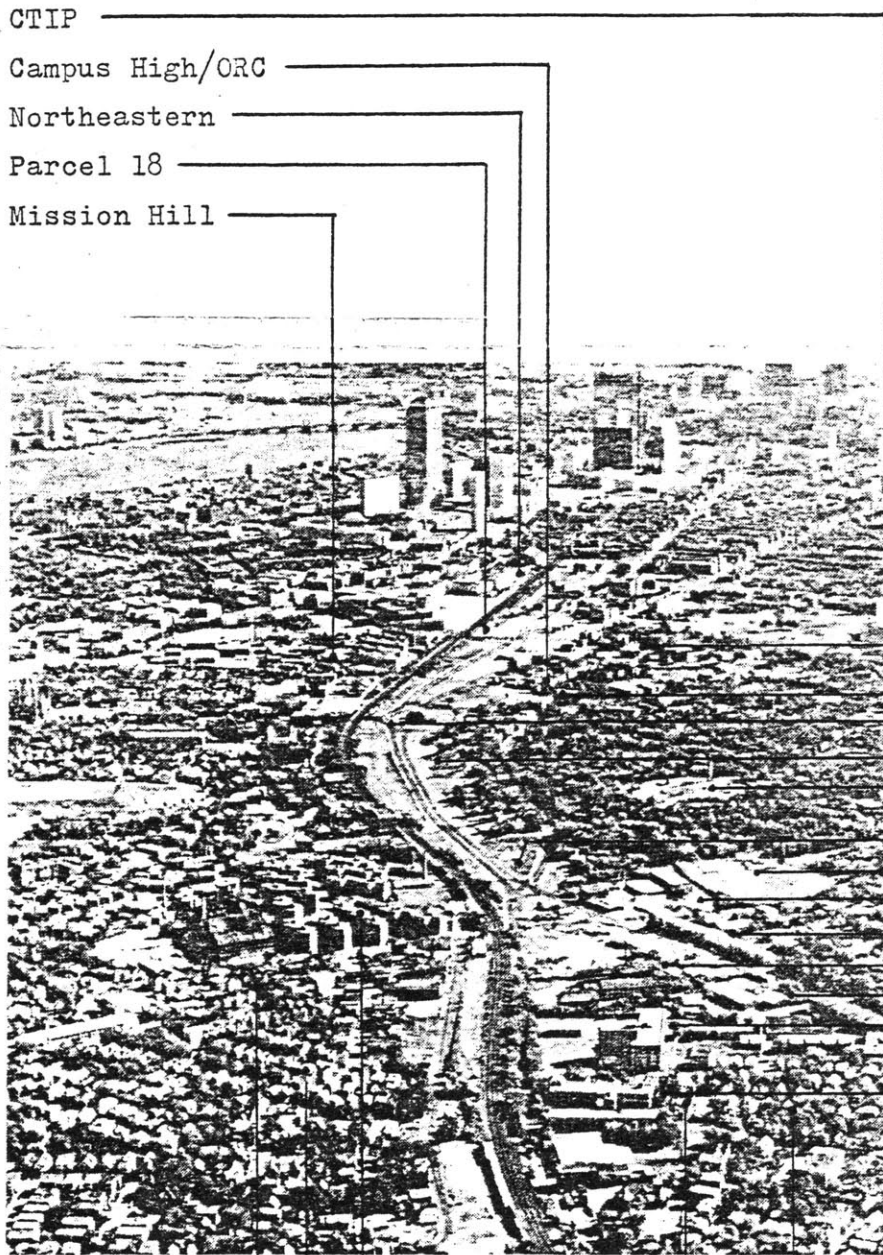
Owner Occupancy, 1970 Census

Housing Development - Construction and Development Budget

Housing Development - Operating Budget

Centre Street Retail Inventory

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF SW CORRIDOR
OBLIQUE VIEW LOOKING NORTH



CTIP
Campus High/ORC
Northeastern
Parcel 18
Mission Hill

Dudley Area
J. Eliot Sq.
Roxbury Crossing
RCC Site
Highland Park
Jackson Sq.
Connolly Playground
Roxbury PWD Yard
Academy Homes
Winer Corp. Factory
White Rock Warehouse
Elderly Housing Rehab
Colourpicture Corp.

Centre St.
Hyde Sq. Housing
Bromley-Heath
JPNDC
Egleston Sq. Housing

INTRODUCTION

This report is in response to a request by the Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation (NDC) for outside assistance in assessing Jackson Square's development potential, and in designing a strategy to ensure that local residents reap the economic and social benefits from that potential. No previous work has recently addressed these issues in any depth. The study focuses heavily on land as a community resource because that resource is substantial at Jackson Square and, most importantly, it is the subject of imminent public decisions. The Southwest Corridor transportation project has brought a multi-million dollar public investment to Jackson Square. Corridor project decisions are now at hand that will very significantly affect the availability of excess public land to prospective developers and the land's ultimate development potential. Improvements associated with the project will also affect the neighborhood's overall investment climate and environmental quality. Though the major attention, then, is on land, other resources as well will be identified which, in combination with the land, might improve the lot of Jackson Square's residents, many of whom are low income Hispanics and blacks.

The logic behind a development strategy is derived from several sources. Broad development goals, such as residential stability or job creation, were formulated over time from frequent discussions with the NDC, contact with other individuals and public and private organizations, background reading, and general observation. Possibilities for future activities to further these goals were then proposed, initially based upon study of the qualities of the available sites: their size, accessibility, visibility and neighboring uses. The feasibility of these activities was tempered by first-cut market analyses and by consideration of political constraints, among them the limits of

grassroots power to influence the plans of public authorities. Development problems and opportunities were investigated in more detail by playing out alternative development 'scenarios'. For example, housing development for families by a limited dividend corporation under MHFA financing might be compared to Section 202 elderly housing. The scenarios in turn suggested sets of tasks for achieving development, such as seeking a zoning change or hiring a housing consultant. Throughout the studies, special notice was given to the many contingencies that are liable to impact the development process at any step along the way, and how they may affect development timing and probability. Tasks were then phased, or assigned to different levels of priority, by weighing such considerations as the potential benefits of a task, the likelihood that those benefits will, in fact, accrue, and the resources demanded to undertake the task.

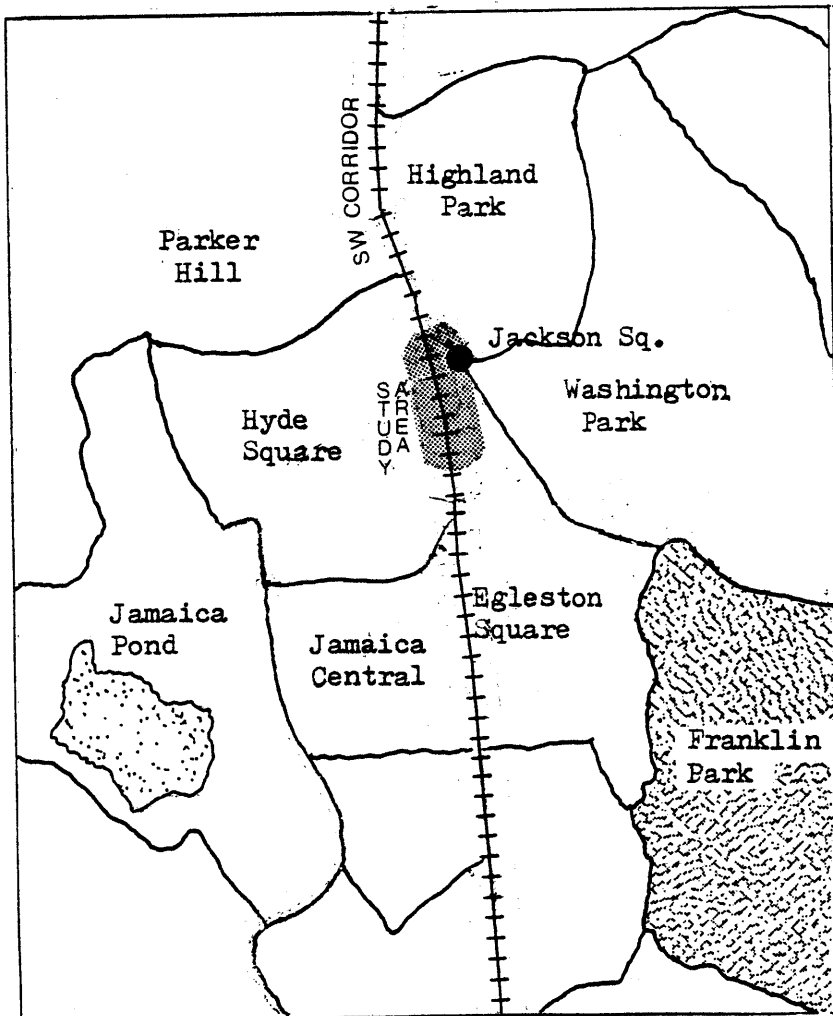
The final report is the culmination of an eight month process lasting from late September of 1977 to early May of 1978. Throughout this period, at least weekly consultation with the NDC took place. Conversations were also held with many other groups and individuals, including representatives from local tenant and merchant organizations, real estate agents, store proprietors, local community service and development groups, public officials, and consultants to the transit project. Much time was devoted to walking around the neighborhood, mapping land use and physical character, and making an inventory of retail activity.

In late December, an interim report was prepared that outlined an initial sense of development potential, and highlighted public decisions affecting future development. Following that, individual development possibilities were examined in more depth with respect to market trends and other uncertainties. In the final months, phased sets of tasks were formulated. Draft chapters of the final report were prepared and given to the NDC for review.

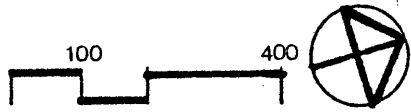
The report reflects the author's close interaction with the NDC and benefited greatly from the NDC's review of it, though the ultimate responsibility for its content lies solely with the author.

CHAPTER 1: JACKSON SQUARE DEVELOPMENT: ISSUES AND SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS

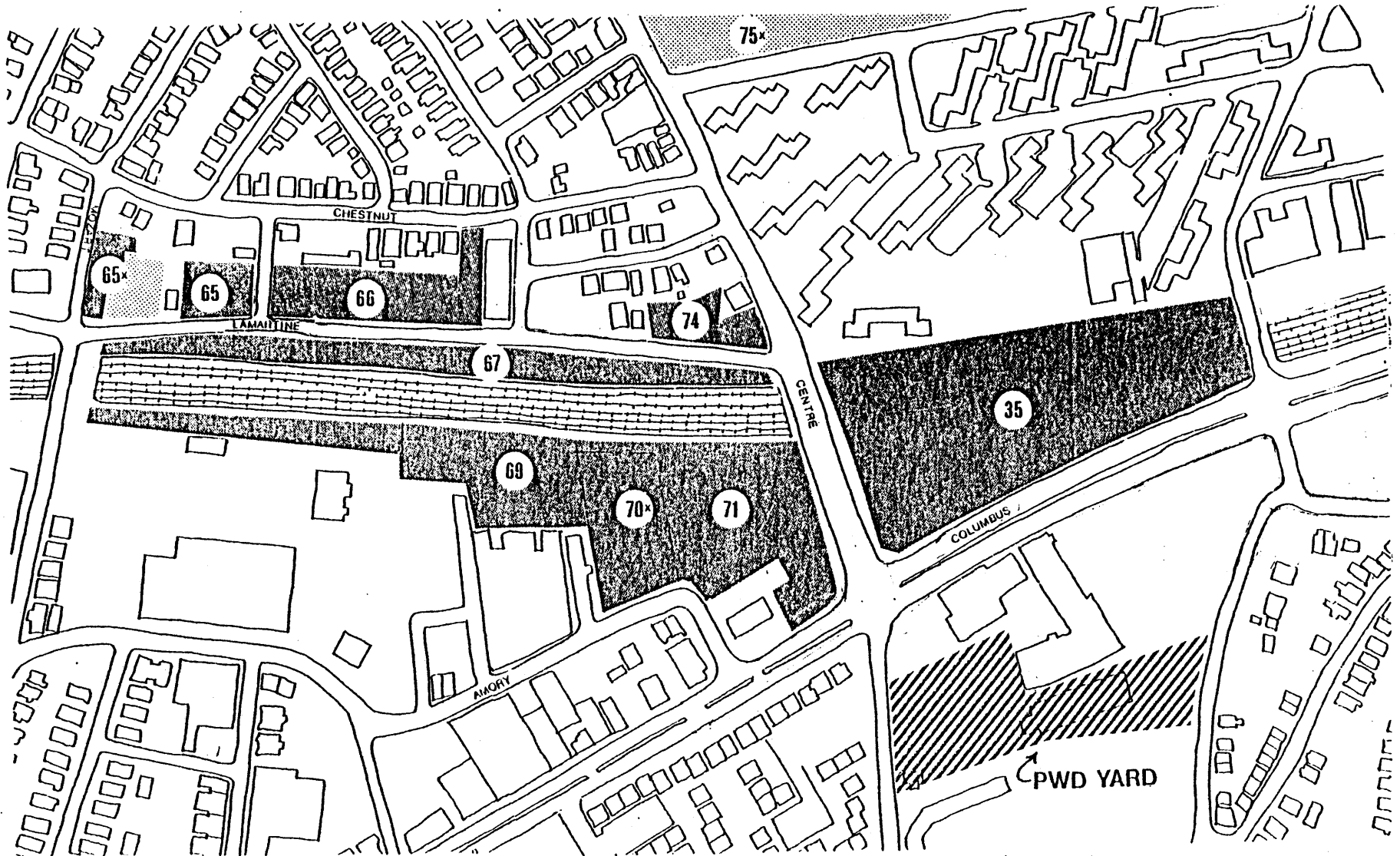
Jackson Square lies at the intersection of Centre Street and Columbus Avenue at the borderline between Boston's Jamaica Plain and Roxbury districts. It is flanked on the south by the Hyde Square and Egleston Square neighborhoods of Jamaica Plain and on the northeast by Roxbury's Highland Park and Washington Park neighborhoods.



Study Area



⑥9: parcel numbers according to EIS



The population is poor, largely Hispanic and black, and beset by high unemployment. Like many low income areas, it faces problems of residential instability, struggling commercial centers, limited access to jobs, and poor environmental quality.

The one factor that brings the issue of community controlled land development to the forefront at this location is the major public investment in the Southwest Corridor transportation project. Beginning in early 1979, the Penn Central embankment will be demolished and will be replaced by a trench housing the new Orange Line subway system with a stop at Jackson Square. During this time, excess land that had been cleared alongside the embankment for I-95 will be made available by the State at a substantial writedown to prospective developers.

The subject of this report is whether this land might be utilized as one resource for community economic development, and, if so, by what process. The bulk of the land potentially available for development lies south of Centre Street within Jamaica Plain and occupies about ten acres. It is on these parcels, the largest within the Jamaica Plain Corridor, where this report's attention is focused. The client for this report is the Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation (NDC), established almost two years ago through the impetus of other community groups within Jamaica Plain as a mechanism for residential preservation and upgrading, job development, and land development in the Southwest Corridor.

THE ISSUES

Three overarching issues that a land development strategy must address are:

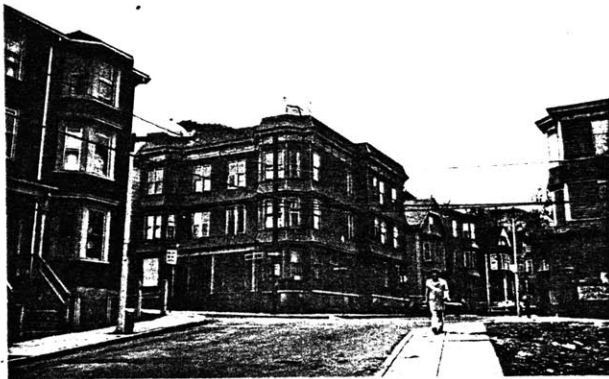
- (1) What development potential, if any, does the cleared land possess?
- (2) How might the community, with its very limited resources, exercise con-

trol over its land resources? How can it influence transit-related design decisions that affect development potential as well as broader, area-wide issues using the participatory mechanism provided by the State or other means?

- (3) How might the community itself utilize the land, in combination with other resources, either now or in the future? If the land must be preserved for future use, what alternative resources can be used in the meantime to address current problems?

More specifically, how can the land with other resources speak to the following goals?

- To stabilize and upgrade the Corridor residential neighborhoods near Jackson Square without displacing current residents. These are among the greatest pockets of disinvestment within Jamaica Plain. Confidence there must be bolstered to encourage resident commitment to the neighborhood and to stem the incipient abandonment that now threatens it.



Mozart and Chestnut intersection



Chestnut Avenue

- To reinforce the ongoing revitalization of the Hyde Square/Centre Street retail district. During the 1970s there has been a tremendous influx of Hispanic residents to the Hyde Square area making it the largest Hispanic population center in Boston. Coinciding with this has been a rapid up-

grading of the business district to its present status as a regional center for Hispanic grocery items and other goods and services. This is an asset that must be preserved and strengthened. Though the improvement has been dramatic, there are still half-a-dozen storefront vacancies and many existing businesses are marginal.



Centre Street near Hyde Square

- To provide job opportunities to local residents burdened with low incomes, a lack of skills, and a language barrier. The area's heyday as a brewery center has long past and it is being hit with continuing industrial plant disinvestment. Resources to be utilized for jobs, in addition to land, include the existing manpower training programs of Oficina Hispana, NDC's Tradewinds program in housing rehabilitation, language and vocational education at the Occupational Resource Center, and the major public construction projects such as the transit system, Roxbury Community College and the new Occupational Resource Center.

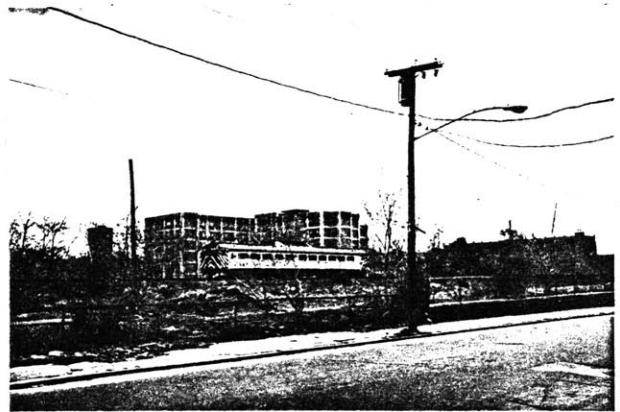


Clearwater Laundry on Amory Street

- To improve the physical image of the Jackson Square area. The climate for investment, whether for housing, retail activity, or industry, will be improved indirectly, though substantially, by improving Jackson Square's overall visual environment. Resources include the design of the transit station and regional open space system; the City's street, lighting, and lot improvement programs; the City's housing rehabilitation incentives and storefront improvement programs; and a sensitive use of the available tools of land use policy.



Jackson Square



Embankment from Lamartine Street

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the NDC take the following actions:

Of highest priority are the first two:

- (1) Ensure that the NDC and the Jamaica Plain community have a role in future land development at Jackson Square by making its interest clear and on-the-record to its constituency and to the public agencies managing the Southwest Corridor Project.

- Join the Jackson Square Station Area Task Force to formally enter the process.
- Publicize to its constituency, through a newsletter or otherwise, the potential in Jackson Square for community economic development.
- Coordinate its Jackson Square efforts with the other Jamaica Plain and Roxbury organizations with whom it jointly plans and operates programs. Should there be sufficient interest, be prime mover behind a Jackson Square Development Task Force.

In addition, the NDC should press the State to recognize and support the Jamaica Plain community's legitimate interests in Jackson Square. The Southwest Corridor Project Office should be urged to:

- Publicize Jackson Square Station Area Task Force meetings to Jamaica Plain residents, merchants, and agencies within the station area.
- Make no land disposition decisions without full public discussion at SATF meetings.
- Lend its land development consultants to the NDC to help formulate a development proposal for an early housing venture west of the transit alignment.
- Work with the Third World Jobs Clearinghouse and the Boston Jobs Coalition to maximize access of Jamaica Plain's unemployed to Corridor jobs.

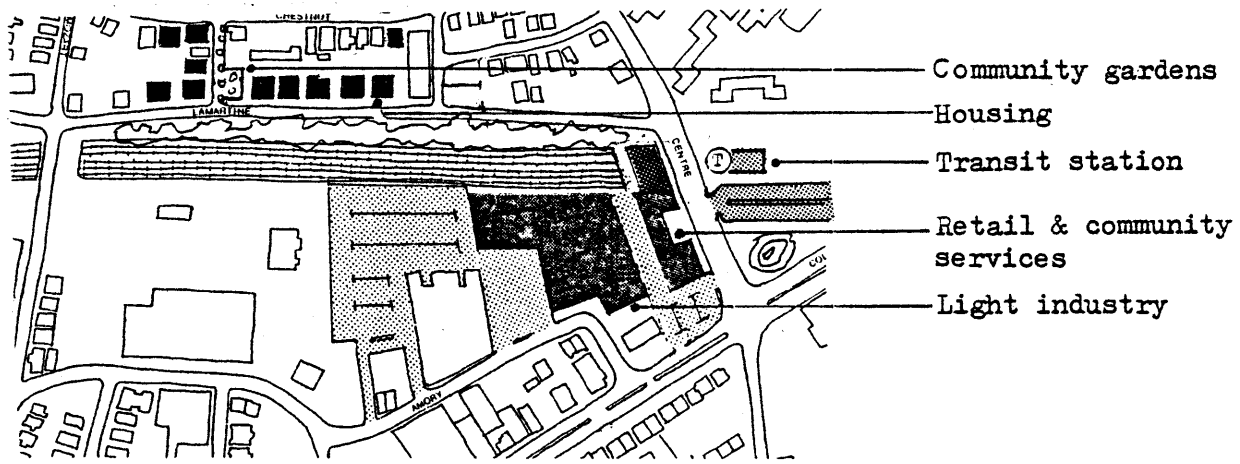
(2) Influence transit-related plans now, before engineering and design are completed, to ensure they support the potential for community development and environmental upgrading.

- Parcels 65 and 66 should remain clear of transit construction storage to allow for early housing development there or to enable the Corridor Farm to continue undisturbed.
- The width of space reserved for Centre Street commercial frontage on Parcel 71 should be increased from 100 to at least 150 feet to permit flexible site planning of such activities as a future Hispanic shopping mall or multi-service center integrated with shops. Decking of sufficient size and strength to accommodate a store should cover the tracks adjacent to Parcel 71 to afford retail street continuity between new and old development.
- The Roxbury Public Works Department Yards should not be relocated onto Parcels 69, 70 and 71. The future industrial potential of this, the largest tract of land in the Jamaica Plain Corridor, should be preserved. Negotiations on Roxbury Community College's plans for the existing Yards and on alternative sites for the Yards should begin. Street improvements at Amory Street and Columbus Avenue should reinforce the site's locational advantage by facilitating truck access onto the site.
- The alignment from Mozart Street northward to Jackson Square should be formally added to the list for future "Category II" decking* to help stabilize the edge of a residential neighborhood and to minimize

* "Category II" refers to locations where decking will not be funded through the capital grant for Corridor transit construction. They may, however, be given priority by the State for decking at a later date should other funding sources then be available.

noise impact on the largest elderly housing development in Jamaica Plain.

- The design of both the station and the open space on Parcel 35, the most highly visible land at Jackson Square, should be distinctive and very highly imageable to signal the area's upgrading and confidence. The number of bus berths provided there should be minimized; traditional on-street bus stops could be substituted.



ILLUSTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL

At the earliest time possible after the tasks in Recommendations 1 and 2 have gotten underway:

- (3) Plan and implement a housing development combining rehabilitation with new construction on Parcels 65 and 66. Action is needed now to stabilize and upgrade the edge of a residential neighborhood that has suffered incipient abandonment.

- Stage an "event" during the Summer of 1978 on the above parcels - a "garden party", Hispanic cultural fair, and/or a community information exhibit. This would provide an opportunity to publicize to abutters and others the NDC's images for the area. It could boost confidence

in the area and facilitate neighborhood involvement in planning housing or community gardens.

- Lobby the City, together with other groups, to adopt a more flexible policy on Section 8 utilization that would favor modest projects combining new construction and rehabilitation, that might have a significant bolstering impact on marginal areas and that might readily catalyze nearby rehabilitation.
- Within the next four to six months, prepare a thorough feasibility study and development package to be used as a basis for negotiating early disposition of the land and for obtaining financing. The work should be coordinated with the NDC's Housing Committee, a Development Task Force, if formed, grassroots support, and a consultant such as GBCD or the State's (if loaned to the NDC).

The remaining actions should be undertaken as time permits, after work on Recommendations 1, 2 and 3 is proceeding:

(4) Broaden the community's power and influence over the direction of area-wide changes beyond those immediately related to the transit project.

- Attain a role in the design of DPW land disposition mechanisms and in Jackson Square land use policy. Immediately urge selected rezonings more compatible with the community's desires than the regulations now in place. Next, support a Special Corridor Zoning District for Jackson Square with performance standards to guide development and in which a board, including NDC membership, might exercise review over significant proposals.
- Impact the City's general area improvement policies on such matters as lighting, trees, street furniture, and application of the housing and storefront improvement programs so that they are more responsive to Jackson Square's individual context.

- Secure a voice over the direction of large neighboring developments. Press for an accelerated master planning for and modernization of Bromley-Heath; seek input into Roxbury Community College's planning so that both its physical and program orientation to Jackson Square are responsive to residents.

(5) Initiate discussion of the desirability and feasibility of a future multi-service center integrated with shops on Parcel 71's Centre Street frontage with NDC's Economic Development Committee, Oficina Hispana, the Hyde Square Businessmen's Association and with a Development Task Force, if formed. Although the land is unavailable until near the completion of transit construction around 1983 at the earliest, negotiations with the City would have to begin soon to line up commitments from public sector tenants and/or to press for the center's inclusion in the future public facilities budget.

(6) Formulate a strategy for continuing the revitalization of the existing retail areas on Centre Street near Jackson Square with the groups mentioned above.

- Activities that could begin early include assisting the financing and start-up of new ventures to fill existing vacancies, image building through the media, and improving the block between Lamartine and Wise Streets closest to the planned transit station to afford continuity between future development near the station with existing stores further west on Centre Street.

- Detailed planning for a possible new Hispanic shopping mall, or other plans for Parcel 71 should wait until at least the early 1980s, still well ahead of the land's availability, and pending careful market study.

(7) Postpone active planning for industrial development until there are

clear indicators of demand such as the filling up of the Crosstown Industrial Park.

Beyond those actions necessary to keep that option open for a later date as described in Recommendation 2, efforts now might be channeled toward keeping existing firms in the area, maximizing minority access to jobs on public construction contracts, and, eventually, establishing a self-supporting housing services entity to build upon the experience with Tradewinds by offering low cost rehabilitation and energy audit services.

- (8) Set up an area-wide "reconnaissance" network to ensure that the NDC is regularly kept abreast of changes in land use, ownership, and building condition around Jackson Square.

The area is in flux; residential abandonment, store vacancy rates, and industrial ownership may all change quickly as can the availability of large, privately held parcels. New conditions, emergencies and opportunities can arise to alter one's planned course of action. An NDC member might be in charge of surveying his or her street every six months to note significant change. Members might also conduct industrial surveys and retail surveys together with the Businessmen's Association. Because such information should be very helpful to the BRA's district planning work, City funding should be sought.

- (9) Institutionalize an annual self-assessment system to compare task achievement with goals.

Tasks planned at one time may later be accelerated, postponed or cancelled for many reasons. Action may be postponed, for example, because market conditions are worse than expected or funding is unavailable. Other actions may be cancelled because new conditions render them moot, or because the task has already been accomplished on one's behalf by friends or supporters. Formal assessment of why plans do not keep to their sche-

dules may help suggest where future efforts might be more effectively allocated.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONTEXT

This chapter presents a brief overview of the area's population, its land use and physical characteristics, the transportation changes impinging on it, and its institutions. More detailed information about many of these aspects is left to later chapters in relation to specific issues.

THE POPULATION

Jamaica Plain's population declined by 12% over the 1960s to a 1970 level of about 46,000 as residents followed shifting employment patterns to the suburbs, sought to escape the City's high taxes and poor schools, or left in fear of racial change. The population continued to decline into the early 1970s, but at a much slower rate, has now stabilized, and is projected to gradually increase again.* Especially significant are the racial and ethnic changes in the composition of the population. The proportion of blacks increased from 5% in 1960 to a 1970 level of about 11%, and thereafter up to around 15%, where it now appears to have stabilized. The change in the Hispanic population has been more dramatic. From a 1970 level of 7%, Jamaica Plain is currently estimated to be 25% Hispanic and its Hispanic growth is expected to continue.

It is in the Hyde and Egleston Square areas of Jamaica Plain near Jackson Square where the influx of low-income blacks and Hispanics has concentrated. Egleston Square's 1970 black population proportion of 15% may now be a majority, and the Hispanic proportion is at least 15%. In the Hyde Square

* See B.R.A., Jamaica Plain District Profile, Summer, 1977.

neighborhood, the black population's proportion appears to have increased only gradually since its 1970 level of 30%; the overwhelming proportion of Hyde Square's blacks live in the Bromley-Heath public housing project. Hyde Square's Hispanic population has, however, soared. In Census Tract 1205, that part of Hyde Square south of Centre Street, the change is especially striking, increasing from 28% of the population in that Tract in 1970 to, perhaps, half now; near the Corridor, the proportion may be two-thirds. Hispanics comprise a majority of the residential replacement buyers in Hyde Square and own or operate a majority of the businesses along Centre Street in that neighborhood. The Hispanic population is by no means homogeneous. Approximately 40% are Cubans, of middle-class origins and with professional and business backgrounds. They have generally fared well, leading in the revitalization of the retail district. Most of the remaining 60% are Puerto-Ricans who have had fewer opportunities to obtain adequate incomes and skills. Their economic prospects merit special attention. Dominicans and other Central Americans comprise another small percentage.

In the areas of Roxbury on Jackson Square's northeast edge, population losses were greater than Jamaica Plain's during the 1960s, both absolutely and proportionately. In the 1970s, the rate of decline stemmed. Unlike Jamaica Plain, the racial composition has remained fairly stable over the last two decades, with the black population comprising about 80% of the total.

For reference, 1970 social-demographic data from the Census are mapped and tabulated in Appendix A. Hyde Square roughly consists of Tracts 1205 and 812 (the Bromley-Heath project covers most of 812). Egleston Square approximately coincides with the western half of Tract 813.

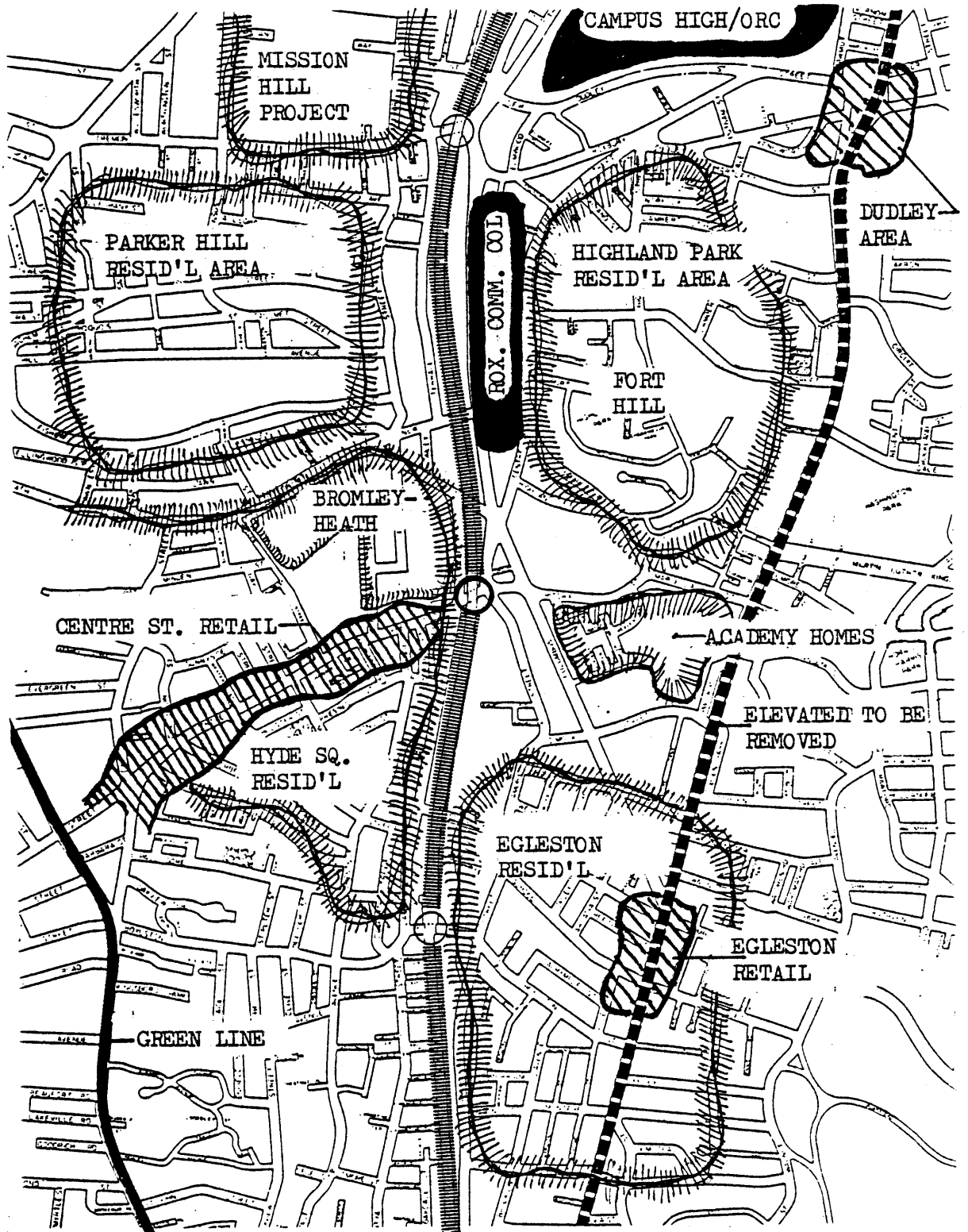
LAND USE AND PHYSICAL CHARACTER

The Southwest Corridor near Jackson Square runs along the valley of the former Stony Brook, now entirely culverted on its journey to the Muddy River in the Fenway. Just north of Jackson Square, two hills rise steeply up to about 130 feet above the floor of the valley: Parker Hill to the northwest, and Fort Hill, capped by its famed water tower, to the northeast.

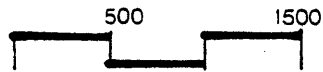
The water source and the rail embankment were early determinants of the area's land use. Large industrial structures, many of them former breweries, occupy a swath of land to the east of the embankment. Smaller industries occur intermittently along the west side. These industries attracted low-middle income residential growth predominantly as three-deckers, further spawned by the opening up of this section of Jamaica Plain by inexpensive streetcar service along Centre Street in the 1870s. The area was no longer to be exclusively a rural retreat for large estate owners and farmers. In part because the land along the embankment was seen as less desirable by the private market, it was selected as the site for the Bromley-Heath public housing project, largely built in the early 1950s. Its red brick, seven to eight story blocks are the area's most prominent visual landmarks.

The other residential sections, Hyde Square to the west of the embankment and Egleston Square to the east are dense neighborhoods of two- and three-decker structures of a mix of styles - Mansard, Greek Revival, and Italianate - except for Academy Homes, a subsidized 500-unit development built in the 1960s that appears starkly modern by contrast though of a low-medium rise scale.

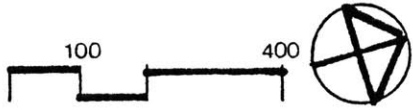
The main commercial center follows Centre Street and occupies a one-level strip of shops; sometimes the upper two levels of a three-decker are set back above the shops. A smaller center occurs along Washington Street near Egleston Station.



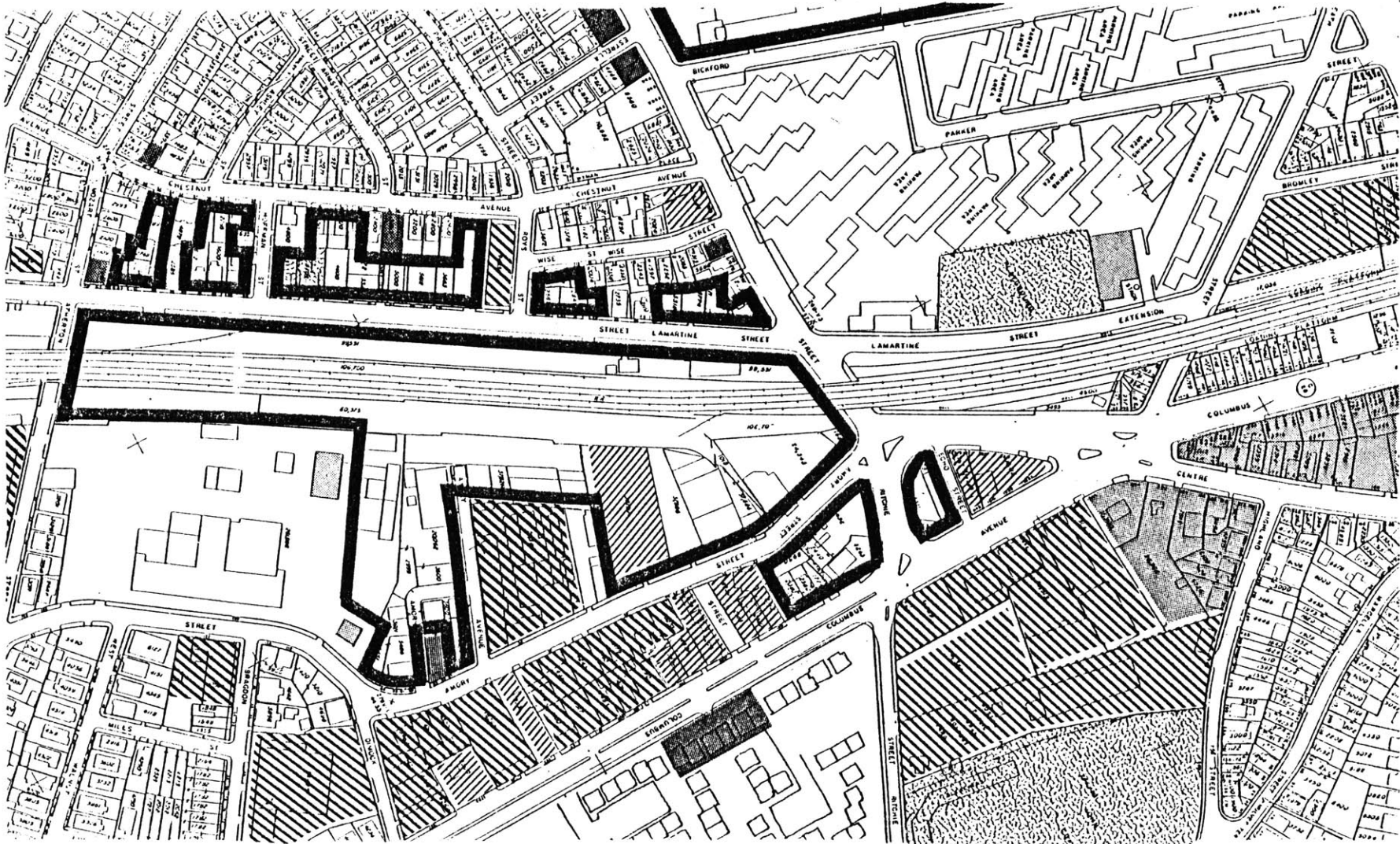
General Context

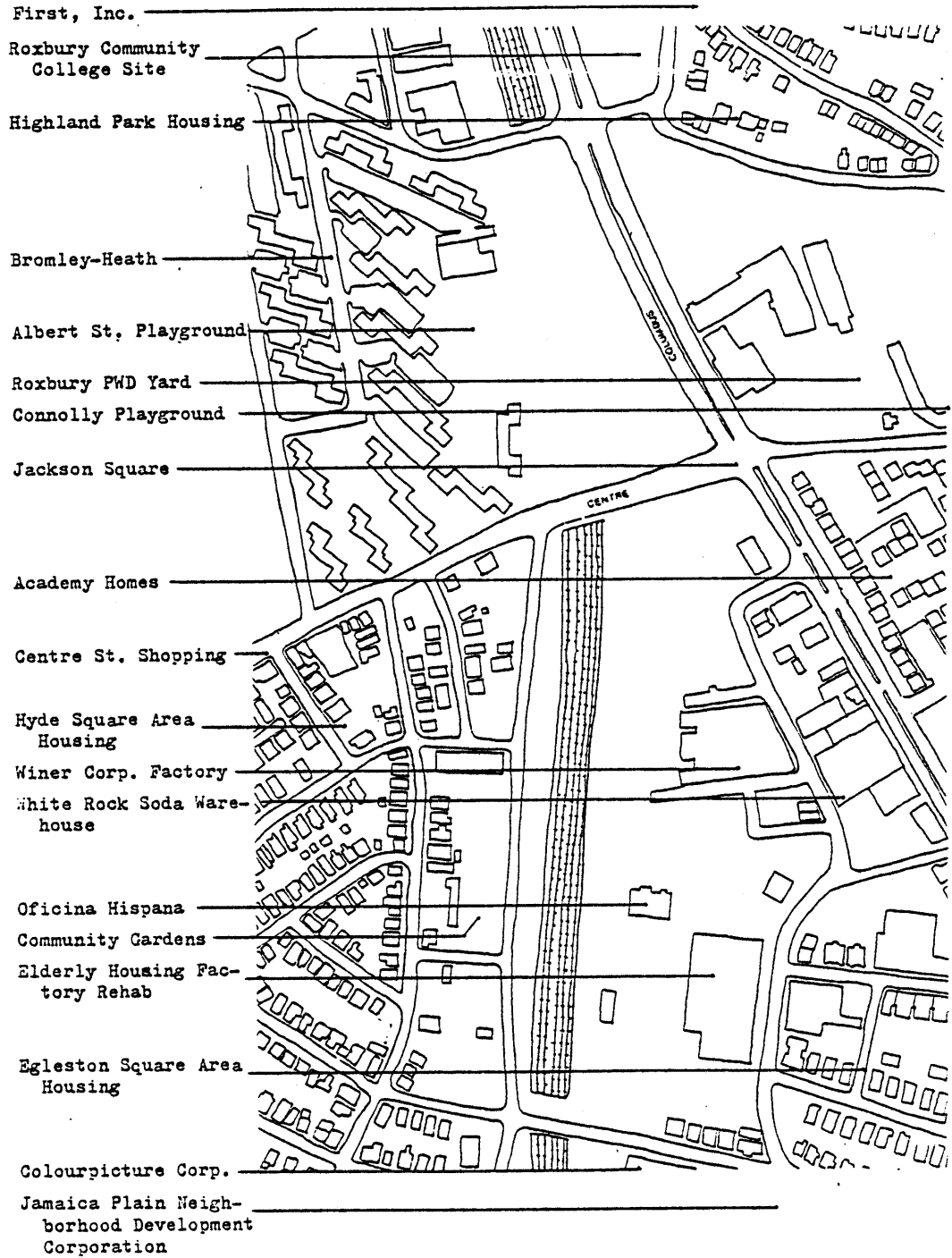


Local Land Use 1



- LOCAL LAND USE - 1
- LT. INDUSTRY
 - RETAIL COMM'L
 - AUTO RELATED COMM'L
 - RESIDENTIAL
 - INSTITUTIONAL
 - OPEN RECREATION
 - VACANT





Local Land Use 2



Among the most predominant of land "uses" is the Corridor's cleared land. Part of the land to the embankment's west is utilized as a community farm. Most, however, lies unused and often in a state of disrepair, either overgrown with weeds or covered with abandoned automobile parts and trash.

A last major component of the area's image is the maze of streets that now converge near the Centre Street and Columbus Avenue intersection. Planned street changes in conjunction with the transit project will simplify the intersection and substantially reduce the desert of asphalt. Directly in the line of vision of automobile riders northbound at this spot is a minor landmark: a large outcropping of Roxbury puddingstone. Equally visible there, however, is the huge concentration of billboards atop the embankment.

TRANSPORTATION CONTEXT

The relocation of the Orange Line to the Southwest Corridor is expected to be completed by early 1983, if construction begins, as scheduled, in early 1979. Major population centers such as Bromley-Heath, Hyde Square's eastern sections, and much of Highland Park will be among those near Jackson Square that will be served directly by rapid transit for the first time. Expected patronage (projected for 1980, though service will not begin until at least 1983) is tabulated below for Jackson Square Station.*

<u>City or Town of Origin</u>	<u>7-10 AM Inbound Boardings</u>				<u>1980</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1995</u>
	<u>Walk</u>	<u>Bus</u>	<u>Kiss</u>	<u>Park</u>	<u>Peak Total</u>	<u>24 Hr. Total</u>	<u>24 Hr. Total</u>
Dorchester	0	231	0	0	231	600	590
Jamaica Plain	303	408	20	0	731	1900	1860
Parker H/Fen	3	76	0	0	79	205	210
Roxbury	99	1304	86	0	1489	3875	3720
Total	405 (16%)	2019 (80%)	106 (4%)	0	2530	6580	6380

* EIA, pp. 4-16.

The projected 24-hour patronage of 6580 compares to a projection of 3660 for Egleston Station, if the "E1" were not being eliminated. Compared to other stations along the relocated Orange Line from Forest Hills to Back Bay, Jackson Square ranks fourth out of nine in the projection of daily boardings, behind Ruggles, Back Bay and Forest Hills. It might best be characterized as a subnode, midway in activity between system termini or major interchanges, and neighborhood stops. The scale of expected feasible land development around Jackson Square similarly ranks as a subnode; Parcel 18 at Ruggles Street is a major bus terminal for the transit system, can capture a market from Northeastern University, and is planned as a site for a hotel or convention center. Major joint development over the Massachusetts Turnpike is planned at Back Bay, and a large garage facility at Forest Hills.

Most of Jackson Square's transit patrons will arrive by bus, especially in peak hours, and the station will play a role as an important bus interchange, though not as great as Ruggles. Bus routes have been mapped and are listed below:*

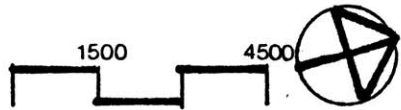
<u>Route</u>	<u>Peak Period Headway</u> (minutes)
15 Kane Sq. to Jackson Sq.	10
16 Andrew Sq. To Jackson Sq.	24
22 Ashmont to Jackson Sq. via Talbot	-
29 Mattapan to Jackson Sq.	5
41 Center St. to Dudley	10
43 Jackson Sq. to Park St.	7
46 S. Huntington to Jackson Sq.	30

Of the seven routes, all but one, No. 41, terminate at Jackson Square.

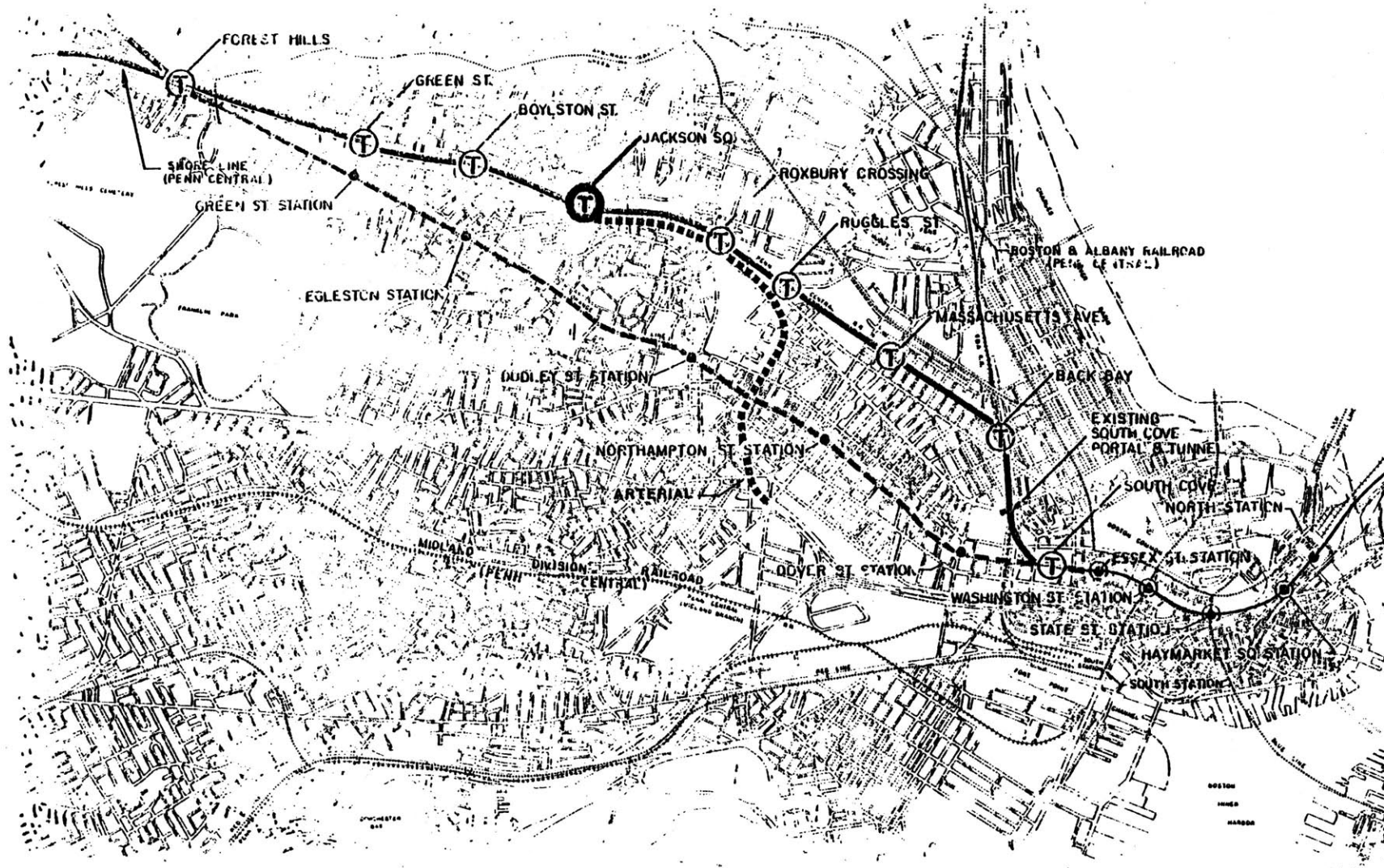
Traffic and environmental improvements will accompany the station construction. An "Arterial Street" will replace Columbus Avenue north of Jackson Square to improve traffic flow, though not to serve or attract an

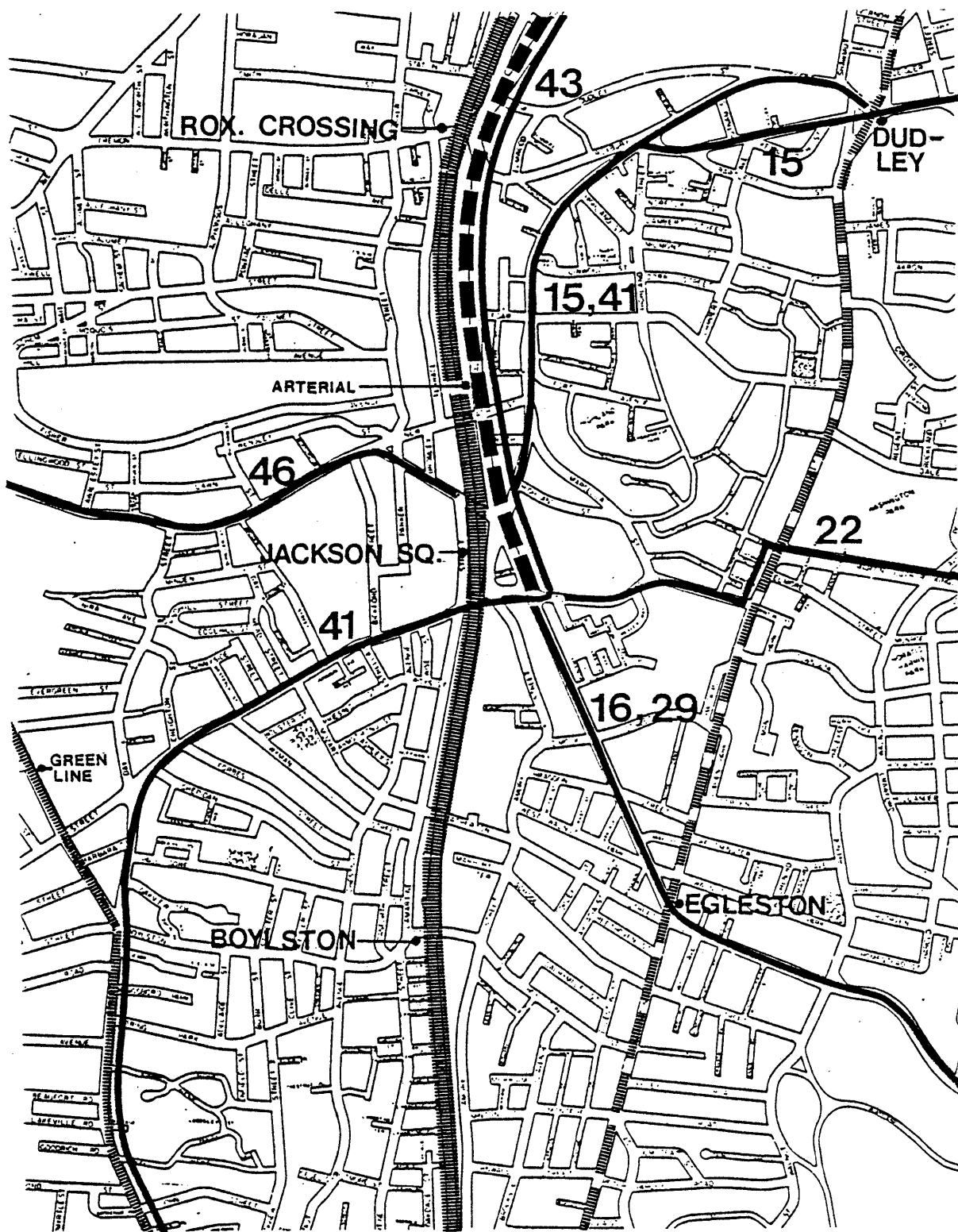
* EIA, Figure V-4, and MBTA, Jackson Square Urban Design Considerations, January 18, 1978.

Regional Transportation Context

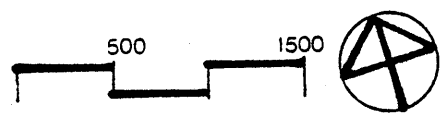


Source: adapted from EIS

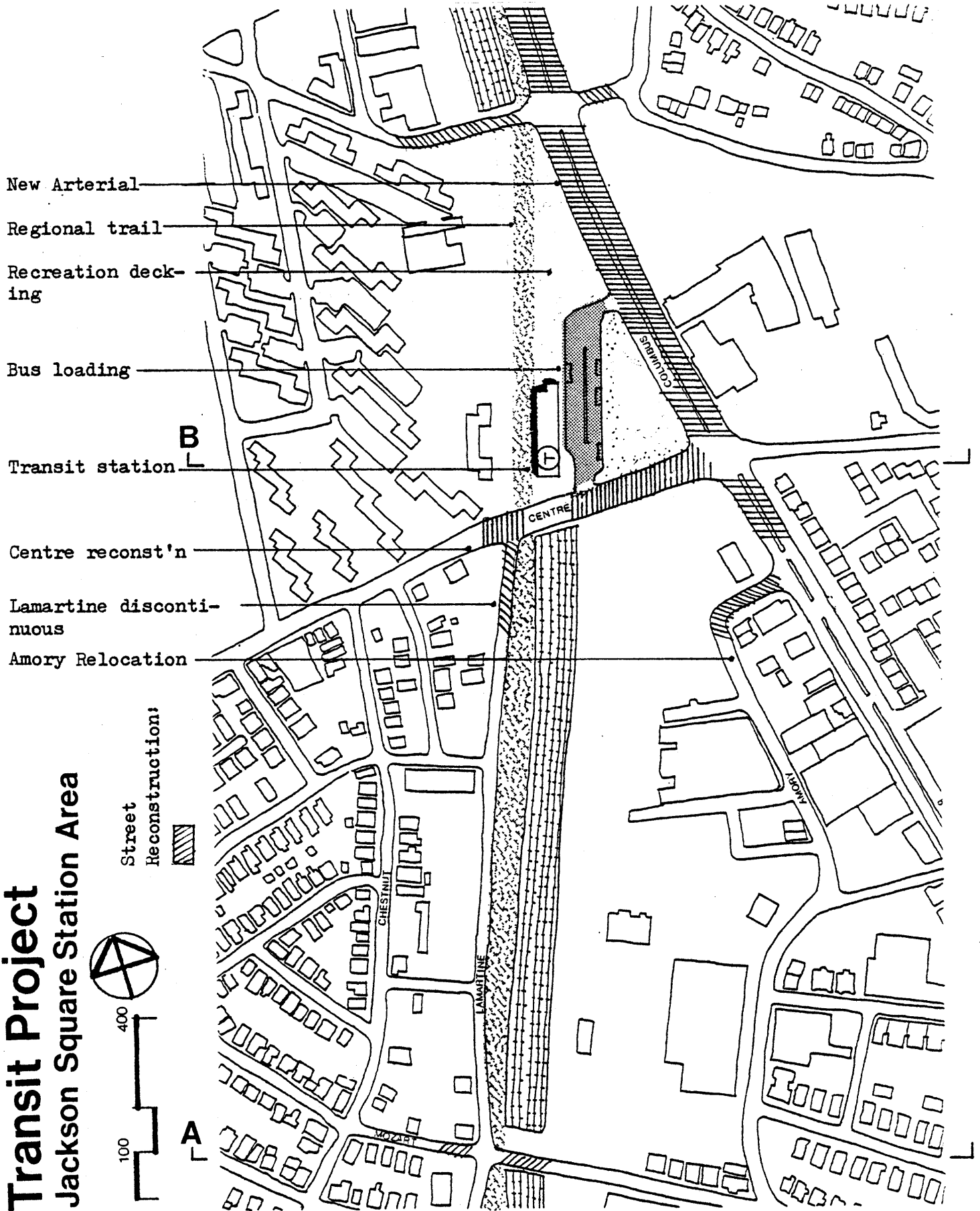




Jackson Square Bus Routes



Transit Project Jackson Square Station Area



- New Arterial
- Regional trail
- Recreation decking
- Bus loading
- Transit station B
- Centre reconst'n
- Lamartine discontinuous
- Amory Relocation

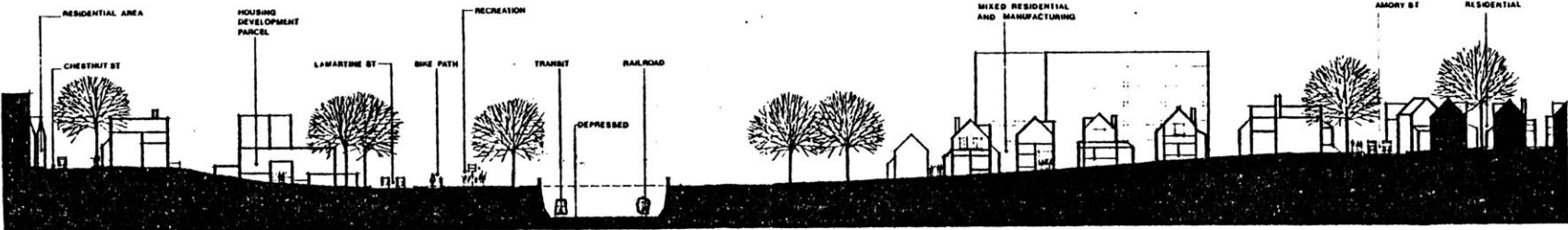
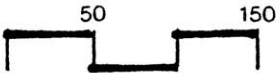
Street Reconstruction:



100
400

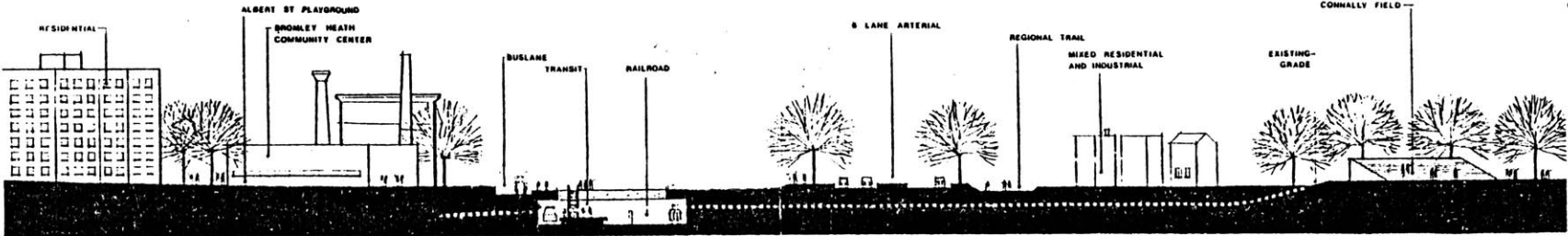
Sections

Jackson Square Station Area



JAMAICA PLAIN AT ATHERTON STREET

Section A



ALBERT STREET PLAYGROUND AT JACKSON SQUARE

Section B

Adapted from: Orange Line Draft EIS, Volume Two, Fig. IV-33A, IV-55A, Feb., 1977.

appreciable increase in traffic. The intersection at Jackson Square will be greatly simplified by the elimination of the extension of Lamartine Street in front of Bromley-Heath, and the rerouting of Amory and Centre Streets.

Environmentally, the blighting influence of the embankment - excessive train noise, cast shadows, blocked visibility and circulation, image as a barrier between communities - will be eliminated with the depression of the Orange Line. A regional parkway system with bicycle and footpaths, planned for the entire Corridor, will parallel the transit alignment, opening onto a larger recreational space on Parcel 35 by the station and bus holdover areas. Decking over the transit will be provided north of Centre Street and will extend along the entire length of Parcel 35, enlargening the open space just described and benefitting adjacent Bromley-Heath.

Construction phasing and its precise impact on the availability of development parcels is now being formulated. In general, construction of this section of the transit line will start at Mozart Street and proceed northward. Parcels 65 and 66 should remain undisturbed throughout, pending discussions about the State's construction storage needs. Parcels closer to Centre Street will likely not be available until transit construction is approaching completion in 1982-83 because of the reconstruction of the arterial, the relocation of Amory Street, and the reconstruction and slight relocation of Centre Street that will enable it to bridge over the soon to be depressed tracks.

INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

A major resource for development efforts is the broad network of community service, development, merchant and tenant groups near Jackson Square.

Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation. The impetus for the NDC's formation was provided by other community organizations within Jamaica Plain, such as the Jamaica Plain Area Planning Action Council, the

Ecumenical Social Action Committee, Urban Edge, the Neighborhood Coalition of Jamaica Plain, and the Jamaica Plain Banking and Mortgage Committee, some of whom are described below. These groups and other residents voted in the early spring of 1976 to establish a steering committee open to all Jamaica Plain residents to formulate plans for the NDC. Nearly 300 residents participated. Subgroups, well publicized through the media, met regularly thereafter and recommended, in May of 1977, to a large community-wide conference that the NDC be incorporated. In the fall of 1977 the NDC was incorporated as a non-profit corporation to focus on:

- preservation and upgrading of residential neighborhoods
- land development in the Southwest Corridor
- generation of job-producing opportunities for local residents.

Since then NDC's first and biggest undertaking has been the establishment of Tradewinds, a housing rehabilitation service and job training program for Jamaica Plain teenagers. With CETA and Neighborhood Youth Corps funding, Tradewinds has completed the rehabilitation of about 40 owner-occupied structures, largely in the Hyde and Egleston Square areas. Tradewinds provides labor free (donations are sought from those able to pay); the owner supplies money to purchase materials. Small, racially and economically integrated work crews operate under the close instruction and supervision of experienced carpenters and tradesmen. About 40 youths have thus far participated in the program since it began in the summer of 1977 and six full-time crews should be running in the summer of 1978.

Ecumenical Social Action Committee (ESAC). ESAC is closely affiliated with the NDC as its fiscal agent and provider of office space, as well as some staff assistance. Its programs focus on three areas: youth programs such as "Rent-a-Kid"; elderly programs such as "Meals-on-Wheels" and home

care; and, in affiliation with Oficina Hispana, counselling and language training to Spanish-speaking residents.

Oficina Hispana. Oficina provides day care services, English as a Second Language classes, job counselling, and pre-natal care (in conjunction with St. Elizabeth's Hospital). It has recently expanded its programs to include demonstration bi-lingual training in the building trades, clerical training, and a program in distributive education to enable Hispanics to obtain jobs as cashiers-checkers.

Urban Edge. Urban Edge has two programs. First, it is a non-profit real estate brokerage firm that seeks to advocate and educate the prospective home-buyer, as well as the seller, and to foster equal and open access by all races and ethnic groups to the housing market. Second, its Vacant Housing Program rehabilitates abandoned houses in Jamaica Plain with loans and subsidies from the City's block grant funds and with special funding from the Federal Urban Reinvestment Task Force. The houses are then resold to owner-occupants. If a prospective buyer's highest bid is insufficient to meet Urban Edge's original acquisition and renovation costs, a subsidy pool makes up the difference.

Roxbury Action Program (RAP). RAP has had extensive housing development and preservation experience in Highland Park. It is planning commercial revitalization at John Eliot Square, and is also a member of the Parcel 18 Task Force. It is co-sponsor, with NDC and ESAC, of the Southwest Corridor Community Farm on Parcels 65/66. CETA funded, the farm has undertaken training, research and experimentation in urban agriculture and neighborhood beautification. Construction of a small greenhouse on the site has recently been completed.

Hyde Square Businessmen's Association. The Association has been among the leaders in the recent upgrading of the business district and has worked with

the City on implementation of the RESTORE storefront improvement program and on security efforts.

Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Council. The TMC has administered a resident security patrol program, has management responsibility for the project, including rent collection and the hiring of staff, and plans to be involved in modernization work on the project.

Academy Homes Tenants Association. They represent the more than 500 families at Academy Homes and have been active in Station Area Task Force meetings at Jackson Square.

CHAPTER 3: AREA-WIDE ISSUES

Several leading issues that cross over the bounds of individual parcels must be considered in the context of the Jackson Square area as a whole. Among these issues are: establishing a Jamaica Plain role; land disposition policy; transit issues affecting general development potential and environmental quality; neighboring large developments such as Bromley-Heath and Roxbury Community College; and land use policy.

Yet, even these broad issues often manifest themselves most clearly at specific locations, such as those focusing on development potential. For this reason, parts of this chapter overlap with the next two chapters on housing, commercial and industrial development. Some issues that are treated in more depth later will only be highlighted here.

Totally reserved for later chapters are other cross-cutting issues: municipal street, lighting, and security programs, and overall housing and business district programs and policies. Though applied to specific sub-areas within Jackson Square, they are readily extendable throughout Jackson Square and beyond.

Of those examined, two area-wide tasks merit priority attention. First is that of ensuring NDC and Jamaica Plain representation in planning for Jackson Square. Second is seizing the opportunity to influence Corridor project decisions at this very last phase of preconstruction planning. Though the biggest issues have long since past, those 'mere details' that remain to be resolved will powerfully shape Jackson Square's development potential and environmental quality for decades.

ESTABLISHING A JAMAICA PLAIN ROLE

Legitimacy

The State's prime mechanism for community participation in the Corridor project is the Station Area Task Force (SATF). At SATF meetings, any individual residing or working in the general station area, and any group, business or institution located in or serving residents there, may advise the Corridor Development Coordinator on matters of station design and on related land development issues. The names of those attending the meetings, issues discussed, and any consensus arrived at are recorded in the meeting's minutes and distributed to agencies involved in the project; at the very least, formal recognition is given to expressions of consensus on any issue. Without participating through the SATF, an individual or group risks not being recognized by the State as a legitimate voice in the planning process on any transit-related issue, even if it is not on the SATF agenda.

To ensure that there is representation from the significant Jamaica Plain population within the Jackson Square station area, the State should be pressured to meet its responsibility to publicize the meetings. While some agency offices along Centre Street have been issued posters advertising the more distant Boylston Street meetings, neither the NDC, nor residents, merchants and other community agencies nearby have been regularly informed of Jackson Square meetings. In contrast, much of Roxbury's community within the station area has been more conscientiously outreached. All parties with legitimate interest should be made to feel welcome at the meetings. The Jamaica Plain Caucus of the Southwest Corridor Coalition might be enlisted to advocate this position. The NDC itself must take the initiative in joining the Jackson Square SATF as its next phase of meetings begins in May of 1978.

In addition, the NDC might stimulate interest among its constituency in

the opportunities at Jackson Square for community economic development and environmental improvements through a newsletter, meetings, or less formal contacts. It might coordinate its work on Jackson Square with other groups with whom it collaborates on other issues, such as Oficina Hispana, the Hyde Square Businessmen's Association, Urban Edge, and RAP, perhaps by establishing a joint committee solely for that purpose. A Jackson Square Development Task Force of the above and other groups could wield its organized voice behind the many lobbying tasks required to impact public decisions more effectively than any one group could. If sufficient interest arises, it might also become a development entity.

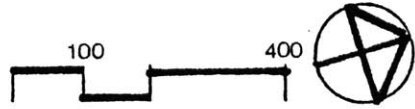
Finally, the State should be urged to lend its land development consultants on the Corridor project to the NDC (or to a Development Task Force, if formed) to help formulate development plans for an early housing opportunity on Parcels 65 and 66 (see Chapter 4). A gesture of this kind would confirm the State's recognition and support of an NDC role at Jackson Square.

A Role in Disposition of Excess State Land






The vacant Corridor land at Jackson Square is predominantly owned by the State's Department of Public Works. Under longstanding agreements, ownership will not be transferred to private hands without the knowledge and advice of the Project Coordinator. He, in turn, is to be advised by local neighborhood committees and task forces. Contiguous to the State-owned land there are, in some cases, City-owned vacant plots and property subject to City tax or demolition liens. The City will coordinate disposition of this land with the State's plans.

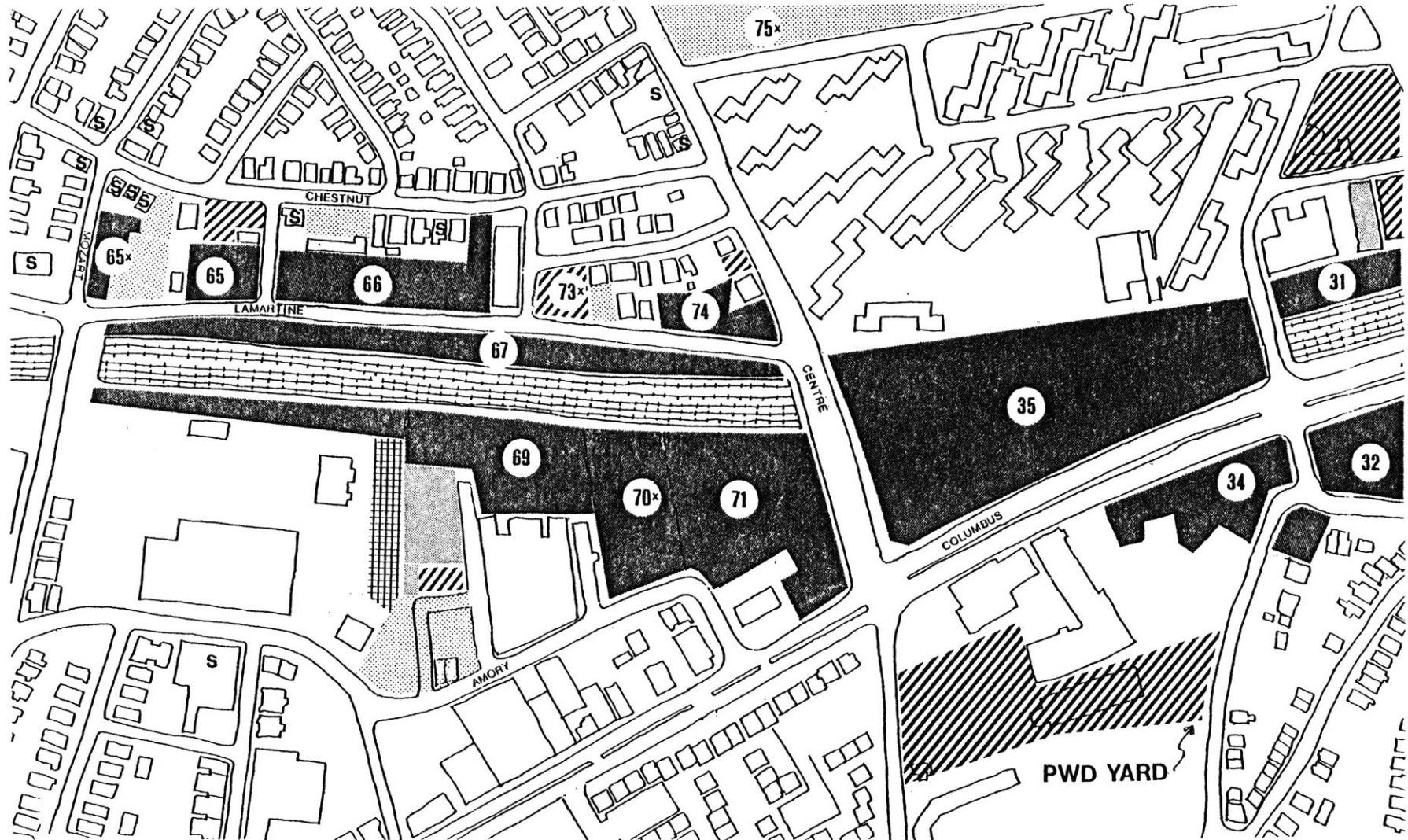
The key issues to be addressed in deciding on alternative disposition mechanisms are who is to retain interim ownership and control of the land, to whom may it be conveyed, under what criteria or set of controls and at

Land Ownership



LAND OWNERSHIP OF KEY PARCELS

- | | |
|---|---|
|  STATE |  TRANSITION (private, but with city liens) |
|  BIA |  PRIVATE |
|  CITY | S BUILDING FOR SALE |



what price. These issues take on special prominence at Jackson Square because of the large tract of land available on Parcels 69, 70x and 71, which has site qualities advantageous for retail and industrial development.* Though the demand for such activity there is clearly not imminent, demand may increase after the transit construction project is completed, the area has been environmentally upgraded, and access improved. A major concern is that the community benefit as much as possible from any development potential the land may then have. However, there is a danger that competition for the land may come from outside developers whose plans may not be compatible with local desires without careful controls. Moreover, the DPW (or any other government body to whom the interim control might be conveyed) may wish to relieve itself quickly of its landlord burden without closely scrutinizing the merits of prospective buyers.

To guard against that danger, one option is to create a review board whose formal approval would be required before the DPW may dispose of land. The mechanism would differ from the present one in two ways. First, the review board would include voting community representation, ideally with NDC membership or other Jamaica Plain votes acceptable to it. Second, an explicit set of disposition criteria and controls would be created. For example, proposals might be ranked with respect to the following:

- willingness to hire and train local unemployed;
- level of competition with local retail businesses;
- contribution to storefront continuity on Centre Street;
- compatibility with any urban design guidelines that might be established for the area;

* If the community, over the next few years, is unsuccessful in resisting government plans to relocate the City's Public Works Yards onto this land, little excess land would then be available for disposition, and any disposition mechanism becomes moot (see Chapter 5).

- truck access points in relation to residential streets;
- level of screening of industrial uses from residences (especially after the embankment is removed);
- preservation of views to Fort Hill and downtown;
- avoidance of billboards (which now grossly dominate the landscape at the intersection of Amory and Centre Streets);
- willingness to enter into a deed agreement giving the State an option to repurchase the land if it remains undeveloped after a set period of time (to discourage speculation).

However, setting up a new disposition mechanism and arriving at proper criteria will be time consuming and may unnecessarily delay good, as well as bad, development. Therefore, it might only be applied to selected parcels (designated well ahead of any development proposals), including large and important tracts of land that will likely remain vacant for a long time, such as much of Parcels 69, 70x and 71.

A second alternative disposition mechanism that had been discussed in 1977 for the Roxbury section of the Corridor is the transfer of ownership from the DPW to a community land trust.* The trust, whose board would consist of one representative each from the City and State and five members selected by an advisory planning commission open to all residents, would manage the land and dispose of it through long-term leasing. Criteria, perhaps like those previously described, would be created as a basis for selecting developers. The application of this concept to the Jamaica Plain Corridor, however, may not be worth the considerable energy, political (enormous opposition by the State) and administrative, that would be demanded to implement it. By the time it was established, it might be obsolete, especially given

* Southwest Corridor Land Development Coalition, The Community Land Trust, April, 1977.

the small amount of Corridor land still available.

Corridor Jobs

The State's "Altshuler Plan" establishes a minimum requirement of 30% for minority hiring on State contracts in Boston, including the Corridor project. To maximize access by Jamaica Plain's minority community to transit construction jobs, the NDC might support the Third World Jobs Clearinghouse, the City-funded affirmative action agency since 1975. The Clearinghouse has been highly successful in placing minority workers on public construction projects and monitoring compliance with employment guidelines. The NDC could free up its time for other duties by largely relying on the Clearinghouse for these matters. It might also join the Boston Jobs Coalition, recently organized by the Clearinghouse and others to increase job opportunities on public projects for both minority and non-minority unemployed in the City.

Access to permanent jobs created by the transit project might also be most effectively managed by the Clearinghouse and the Boston Jobs Coalition. Such jobs will include station maintenance and security, fare collection, and the management of the regional trail and recreation system, which might be subcontracted to community groups by the Department of Environmental Management.

TRANSIT-RELATED DESIGN ISSUES

A number of specific decisions about the transit design and about related planning issues are being made over the next few months. Many of them directly affect a particular kind of development potential and will be discussed more fully in the following two chapters. Others will affect the overall environmental quality and level of amenity at Jackson Square and, indirectly, the development climate.

Development Potential

- Construction Storage. Unless there is a guarantee that Parcels 65 and 66 will remain free of any need for transit construction storage, any early housing development there would have to be delayed. Interim use as a community garden will also be eliminated. (See Chapter 4.)
- Reservation of DPW Land for Commercial Development. The amount of space allotted for commercial development on the Centre Street frontage of Parcel 71 is insufficient to allow for flexible site planning for facilities with a high level of amenity. An increase in the reserve's width from 100 to 150 feet is preferred. (See Chapter 5.)
- Relocation of Roxbury Public Works Department Yards. Relocation of the Yards from their current site near Connolly Playground onto the bulk of Parcels 69, 70x and 71 would preclude any future industrial potential at Jackson Square. (See Chapter 5.)
- New Amory Street-Columbus Avenue Intersection. To preserve future industrial development potential, Amory Street at this location should be wide enough for trucks, and northbound movement onto Columbus Avenue should be facilitated. (See Chapter 5.)
- Decking Over the Tracks. Minimal extra decking where the alignment passes under Centre Street would allow future development on Parcel 71 to readily join existing development further west without any break in the continuity of street frontage. Decking from Mozart Street northward in front of Parcels 65 and 66 would help stabilize the residential area along the alignment and should be added to the list for future "Category II" decking. (See Chapter 4, 5.)

Environmental Design Issues

- Transit Station and Bus Area Design. At this time, Jackson Square itself

is a maze of intersecting roads. An imageable or striking design for the transit station could help the public identify the location and symbolize the area's upgrading. Also, the station entrance should be as close to Centre Street as possible.

The bus loading and holdover space to be located in front of the station will visually dominate the site and act as a wall between Bromley-Heath and the open space on Parcel 35, if it must accommodate as many as 12 buses as schematic plans have suggested. The number of berths seems excessive to handle the seven routes planned (Chapter 2). Traditional on-street bus stops might be substituted along Centre Street and Columbus Avenue.

- Parcel 35 Open Space Design. This location will be the most highly visible point at Jackson Square for people passing by on Columbus Avenue. Design boldness, as with the station, may be called for to positively imprint the area. A powerful landform, such as the existing puddingstone rock outcropping or a newly created form, might be a focal point around which a bus waiting area could be placed. Continued maintenance must be given high priority; subcontracting the work out to local community development groups should be considered.
- Maintenance of DPW-held Excess Parcels. Several parcels have become greatly littered, often with automobile shells. Their chronic disrepair in such places as Parcels 74 and 67 can blight adjacent residential areas.
- Centre Street Width. Any widening of Centre Street near the station could destroy the sense it now has of a neighborhood "main street" and might harm future retail potential by discouraging transit patrons and others on the north side from crossing the street.
- Construction Noise. Machinery should be adequately muffled to at least abide by the regulations of the City's Air Pollution Control Commission.

The residential areas along Lamartine Street are especially vulnerable.

(See Chapter 4.)

NEIGHBORING PUBLIC DEVELOPMENTS

Besides the Corridor transit project, two other large investments will have an impact on Jackson Square as a whole: modernization efforts at Bromley-Heath and the coming of Roxbury Community College to its Corridor site.

Bromley-Heath Project

As of the summer of 1977, about 25% of Bromley-Heath's 1154 units were vacant, many marked by boarded up windows. Slightly more than 80% of its tenants are black. The remainder are predominantly Puerto-Rican with a small number of white elderly families. Almost half-a-million dollars in modernization funds had been allotted in 1975 to rehabilitate vacant apartments and to combine adjacent small apartments into larger ones.

Successful modernization of the project would significantly boost the overall image of the Hyde Square area. In the meantime, the project's Tenants Management Council has operated a resident security patrol, funded by the City; the TMC has also assumed the major proprietary responsibility for the project by collecting rents and hiring staff. As a result, resident morale and safety is said to have improved in recent years. Community groups near Jackson Square, ideally unified, perhaps as a Development Task Force, should firmly lobby for continued modernization and for an early start on the recently promised new master planning for the project. Also, funds for the security patrol should be sufficient to provide a uniformed presence on Centre Street in front of the project during shopping hours.

Roxbury Community College

After long uncertainty, the decision to site the College on a strip of

Corridor land running between Roxbury Crossing and Jackson Square has finally been made. In its first phase, enrollment is expected to reach 3,000-5,000 students. Its impact on Highland Park should be beneficial, stabilizing and enlivening the western edge of that neighborhood.

Its impact on Jackson Square will be less marked, though surely positive. Its precise effect will depend upon its detailed physical orientation to Jackson Square and upon its program focus on the needs of the Hispanic community near Hyde Square. Earlier feasibility studies suggested that the College's main administrative and social focus would lie closer to Roxbury Crossing; athletic facilities would cluster toward the Jackson Square end. In that case, future retail development at Jackson Square would only irregularly capture much of the student market from the College.

The College's program focus may be far more consequential to Jackson Square's communities than its site planning. Outreach efforts to Hyde Square and bilingual programs would greatly benefit local Hispanics. Community input into the College's physical and program design may well be advantageous to pursue.

Access by Jamaica Plain's unemployed to construction and permanent jobs created by the College might best be managed by the Third World Jobs Clearinghouse, together with the Boston Jobs Coalition, as in the case of the transit project. Extension of the Clearinghouse's program to Bromley-Heath's modernization and to other construction projects such as the Occupational Resource Center near Roxbury Crossing might also be undertaken.

LAND USE REGULATION AT JACKSON SQUARE

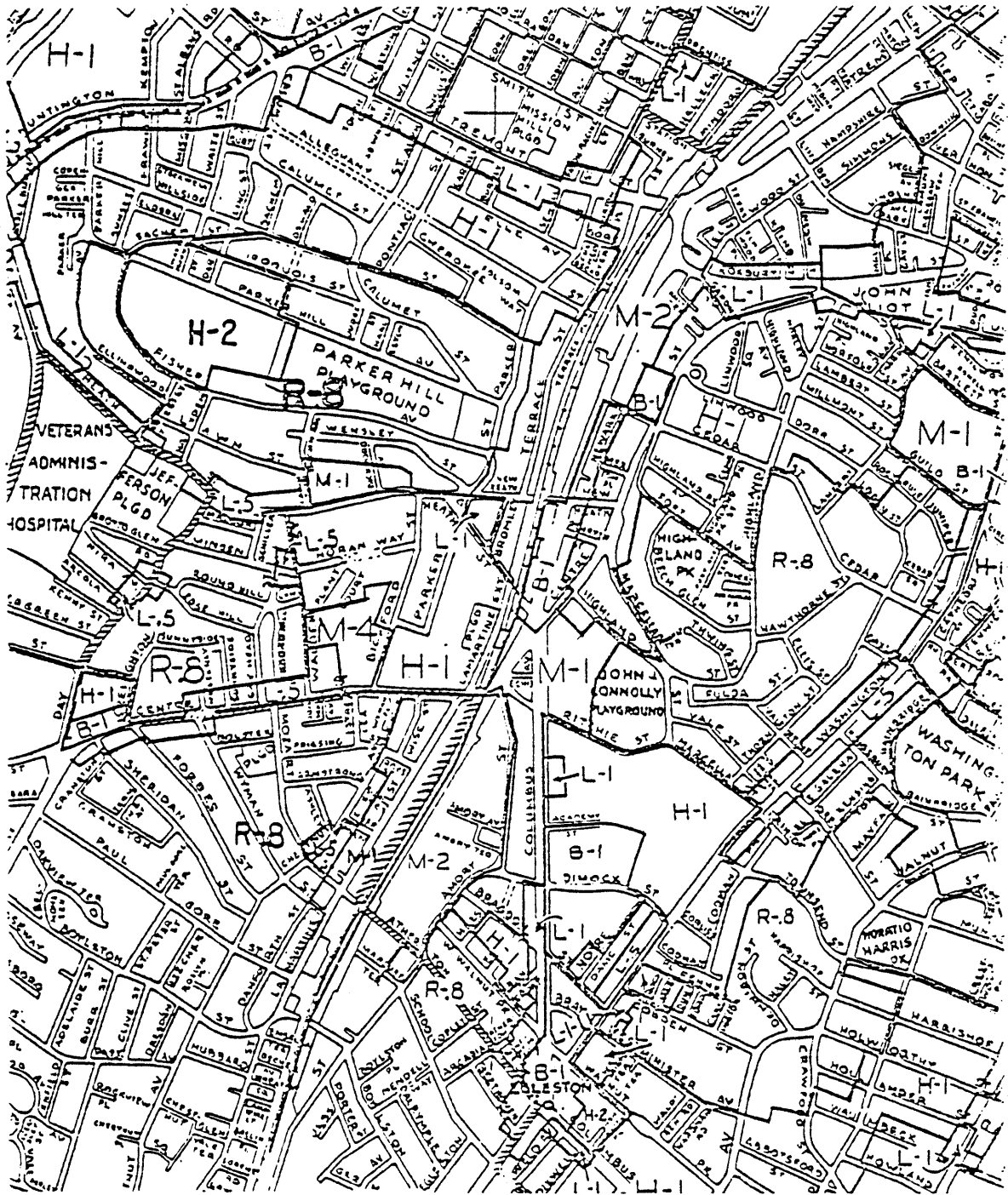
Any private development at Jackson Square must comply with the City's zoning regulations. Several parcels, however, are now assigned to use categories incompatible with their site qualities and with uses recommended by this report, the State's consultants, and by many in the community. Mis-

matches become especially evident in light of the physical changes the Corridor will soon undergo. Removal of the embankment, street changes, and the design of a park system will render many environmental justifications for prior zoning decisions irrelevant.

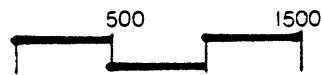
One such mismatch occurs at Parcels 65 and 66, inappropriately zoned "M-1" for light industrial use, which forbids low-moderate density housing in such a form as two-family townhouses, and which only allows denser multi-family housing as a conditional use. This site is identified as a priority location for housing in Chapter 4. The Centre Street frontage of Parcel 71 that will be significantly lengthened by local street changes is also mis-zoned into use categories "M-1" and "M-2". Auto-related strip activity allowed by such zoning has already begun to blight a stretch of Centre Street near Parcel 71, which might better be preserved for its future potential for retail shopping (Chapter 5). Alternative locations for gas stations and garages will be available alongside the reconstructed Columbus Avenue.

The City should be urged to survey the general neighborhood for other conflicts and to remedy them. As a first step, Parcels 65 and 66 should be rezoned to a residential district and Parcel 71 to a business district. The NDC might press for such changes directly, or also obtain an expression of consensus on this matter from the Station Area Task Force.

Rezoning of this kind should not be misinterpreted as judicially invalid attempts at "spot zoning". They are not urged at the behest of a private land owner rather than in the public interest; nor are they proposed arbitrarily without adherence to a public plan for the area. It is likely the most of the land will remain under State ownership for several years, indicating in both appearance and fact no immediate pressure by a prospective developer to obtain a rezoning. Any early development that the NDC might like to implement on Parcels 65 and 66 would be undertaken as a non-



Current Zoning



profit or limited dividend sponsor with minimal financial gain anticipated. All rezonings would be considered part of massive City and State land development planning efforts linked to the Southwest Corridor project.

Ultimately, however, a land use policy for Jackson Square should be designed that goes beyond periodic piecemeal rezonings. The broad use categories and dimensional standards in the current zoning ordinance are crude and inflexible. To make regulation more responsive to the local context, a special Corridor zoning district might be established to include most of the Jackson Square station area, the shopping district along Centre Street, and the Hyde Square residential neighborhood. A special set of performance standards might be applied to new development within the district that would focus on its responsiveness to local and unique traits: its location at a junction between neighborhoods; its siting in a valley between Parker Hill and Fort Hill; its regional attraction as a Hispanic shopping and residential area; its broad band of large industrial structures along the transit alignment.

The performance standards might be very much like several of those mentioned earlier as disposition criteria and controls for State-owned land. Zoning is recommended in addition to disposition standards in order to enlarge the geographic area subject to guidance and to ensure that a guidance system remains in place over time, regardless of land ownership changes.

As was also suggested in the discussion on land disposition, a community review board with NDC representation might be one component of this land use strategy. The board might review those proposals that are designated as especially significant because of, for example, their scale, their controversial program, or their request for special exceptions to the guidelines. As in any review proceeding, due process demands that clear, pre-stated criteria be applied when judging development proposals. The NDC might seek

a student to undertake a study demonstrating to the City that a special zoning district at Jackson Square is a realistic and implementable innovation.

AN AREA-WIDE STRATEGY SUMMARY

A Set of Tasks

The course of action in this section contains elements that will reappear in the next two chapters at the occasion of specific parcel explorations.

As actions of highest priority, the NDC should start work on the first two tasks below:

- (1) Formally enter the Jackson Square planning process by making its interest in a development role clear and on-the-record to its constituency and to the public agencies managing the Corridor project.
 - Join the Jackson Square Station Area Task Force.
 - Publicize to its constituency, via a newsletter or otherwise, the potential at Jackson Square for community development.
 - Coordinate Jackson Square efforts with its colleague agencies in the Jamaica Plain-Roxbury neighborhoods. Consider founding a Jackson Square Development Task Force.
 - Press the State to meet its responsibility to publicize Jackson Square SATF meetings to Jamaica Plain folk within the station area; not to make any land disposition decisions without full public discussion with the SATF; to lend its land development consultants to the NDC for housing development; and to work with the Third World Jobs Clearing-house and the NDC to ensure Jamaica Plain's minorities have access to Corridor jobs.
- (2) Influence transit and related plans impacting Jackson Square development potential and environmental quality while they are still on the drawing board.

Among the key issues that should be raised at SATF and other meetings are (see also the following two chapters for more detailed discussion): transit construction storage on Parcels 65 and 66; size of Parcel 71's commercial reserve; relocation of PWD Yards; access to Parcels 69, 70x and 71 via Amory Street and Columbus Avenue; decking now at Center Street bridge and later (Category II) toward Mozart Street; size of bus terminal; imageability of station and open space design on Parcel 35; DPW parcel maintenance; Centre Street's new width; and project construction noise.

(3) Lobby the Corridor Project Office to establish a disposition mechanism for State-held Corridor land at Jackson Square that includes formal community review power and a clear set of disposition criteria and controls. This mechanism should address selected large tracts of land that will likely remain vacant for a long duration, such as Parcels 69, 70x and 71 (if the PWD Yards do not relocate).

(4) Urge the City to appropriately rezone selected parcels at Jackson Square so that the community might fully benefit from their development potential.

Priority candidates are Parcels 65/66 and the Centre Street frontage of Parcel 71 (along with the rest of Centre Street's frontage up to Chestnut Avenue). They should be rezoned from industrial use to, respectively, residential and business use categories (also see the next two chapters). As the need or opportunity periodically arises:

(5) Broaden the community's influence over neighboring major public developments.

- Push for an accelerated modernization of and master planning for Bromley-Heath.

- Seek input into the planning of Roxbury Community College so that its

physical site orientation and its programs are responsive to Jackson Square residents.

- As with the transit project, together with the Jobs Clearinghouse and the Boston Jobs Coalition, maximize job opportunities for Jamaica Plain's unemployed in the above projects and in the construction of the Occupational Resource Center or other major public developments in the future.

As time permits:

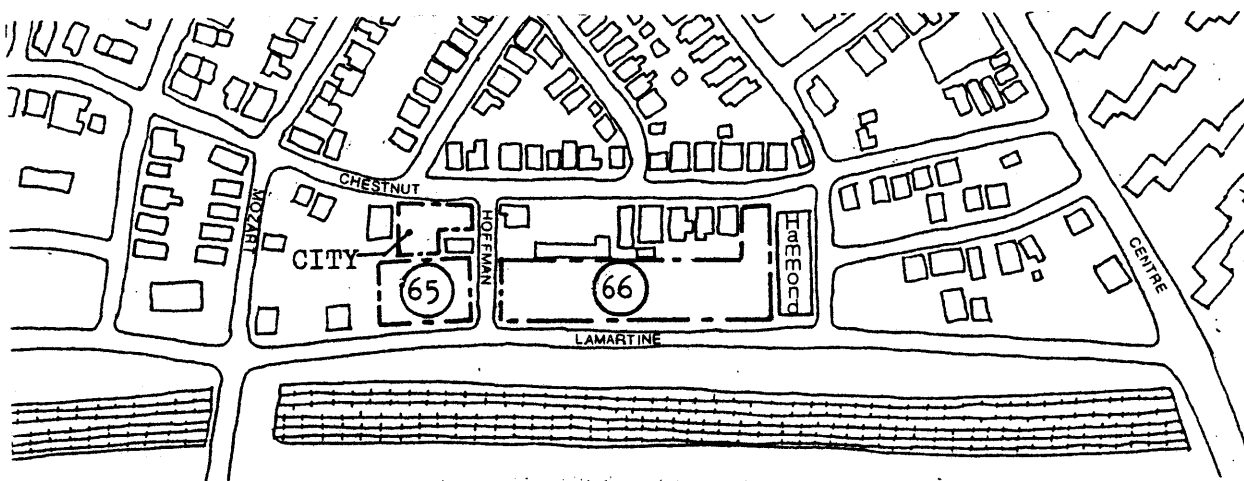
- (6) Persuade the City to undertake an innovative implementation of a Special Corridor Zoning District around Jackson Square to reinforce more sensitively than conventional zoning the unique qualities of Jackson Square as a regional Hispanic shopping district and living area. Key components of this strategy would be performance standards for guiding new development and community review powers over significant proposals.

CHAPTER 4: A STRATEGY FOR HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

The 1966 clearance for I-95 shredded the edge of a dense residential area on the west side of the embankment from Jackson Square southward to Mozart Street. In the dozen years since that action, areas adjacent to the cleared land have suffered the most severe residential instability and disinvestment of any within the Jamaica Plain stretch of the Corridor. This land, together with improvements associated with the transit project, is a major resource for meeting a demand for inexpensive, quality housing tailored to the Hispanic community. Development could also bolster neighborhood confidence, and thereby catalyze additional upgrading and rehabilitation. Moreover, development under several mechanisms might raise seed money for other community ventures.

Alternative strategies for housing development, both new construction and adjacent rehabilitation, will focus on and near State-owned Parcels 65 and 66. The land is on interim lease to the Southwest Corridor Community Farm, of which the NDC is a co-sponsor, until the fall of 1978.



PARCELS 65 AND 66



Southwest Corridor Community Farm now on Parcel 66



View toward Chestnut Avenue alongside Hammond's warehouse

The development scale envisioned is small; approximately fifty units of low or moderate density might be accommodated on about one-and-three-quarters acres and in several contiguous abandoned shells. The site forms the edge of a dense neighborhood of two and three-decker wood frame structures. The local land use on this side of the transit alignment is predominantly residential together with a few scattered grocery stores and Hammond's Office Products, a small brick stationery warehouse on the north side of Parcel 66.

The following analysis establishes a priority for family housing at this location, although elderly programs are also examined. Among the available options, implementation by means of a limited dividend corporation under MHFA financing is studied the most closely because it ranks high with respect to the benefits of possible NDC control, flexibility, low equity requirements, community support, and the potential for generating seed capital.

In contrast to other opportunities at Jackson Square, there is an opportunity here for an early NDC venture that could proceed well before the anticipated 1983 completion date of the entire transit project. Finally, a set of tasks is outlined to facilitate housing development here, should that be deemed a priority area.

POTENTIAL

In order for development to go forward under NDC sponsorship, at least three conditions must be met:

- (1) The venture must be ripe from the perspective of the NDC's goals and abilities. The steering committee that created the NDC mandated, with the strong endorsement of a conference of over one hundred residents, that the NDC undertake as priority areas the preservation and upgrading of residential neighborhoods and land development in the Southwest Corridor. An institutional void was filled, as no other private or public

group, inside or outside the community, assumed a development interest. Other groups with skills that can be applied to housing development have refined their own special capabilities, such as Urban Edge, which carries out, with the mutual support and collaboration of the NDC, real estate brokerage and the rehabilitation of small (usually one- and two-family) vacant houses under a specially funded program

Since its incorporation, the NDC has built up a significant base of community support near the parcels under study. About one fourth of its membership lives within the Hyde Square neighborhood. Beyond its early and continuing community support, the NDC has also gained highly valuable experience in housing. Though it has no track record in housing development, it has gained rehabilitation know-how and management capabilities through its Tradewinds program. Its other resources include possible collaboration with the housing development consulting group Greater Boston Community Development, Inc.; NDC's Housing Committee, moreover, includes professional housing skills.

The small scale of a project on Parcels 65 and 66 increases its appropriateness as a first or early development venture. Also, development need not be highly constrained by the timing of the transit project and need not depend excessively on supporting city actions such as a major provision of infrastructure.

- (2) Government agencies with powers over land disposition and over development financing and subsidizing must be amenable to NDC development. The State has no wish to be a long-term owner and maintainer of vacant land. Development of cleared Corridor land has long been stated as a prime hope by the City and the State; they would presumably welcome an intelligent proposal backed by grassroots support. There is no evidence of other groups' competing interests in the development of these parcels.

The willingness of agencies administering housing finance and subsidy programs to support development here cannot be predicted unless preliminary proposals are submitted to them. However, the availability of land at no cost or at a substantial writedown, coupled with strong support from other government agencies, would be positive incentives. Several programs have newly available funds, such as HUD's Turnkey program. Furthermore, agencies who in the past have not backed financing in this section of Jamaica Plain have recently expressed a willingness to explore Corridor potential here more seriously.

- (3) The site itself must merit development - it must be a desirable place to live. A major influence on the qualities of the site will be the environmental improvements undertaken as part of the transit project. Substantial noise reduction over current levels will occur as a result of the embankment's removal and the selection of a "modified-depressed" profile alternative. All noise projections assume that no special control features, such as noise barriers, will be provided, and no decking is assumed to exist. Assessments, according to the EIS, are made for the design year 2000 when frequent scheduling, multi-car trains and high speeds are anticipated.* Levels are reported in terms of the exterior noise levels time-averaged over the loudest, peak hour of the day at given distances from the alignment. New housing along Lamartine Street, according to these predictions, will experience exterior noise levels of 62-65 dBA, roughly equivalent to 'moderately quiet urban daytime' conditions. These levels would be experienced, subjectively, as about one-quarter the level of current conditions (about 72 dBA). They would easily meet HUD's residential standard of 67 dBA.

* MBTA, Orange Line Relocation and Arterial Street Construction, Environmental Impact Analysis, Boston, pp. 5-77 to 5-79.

The open space system designed for the Corridor will run along Lamartine Street across the street from new development, affording a buffer to the transit trench as well as a view onto greenery. The site now enjoys views of the Fort Hill water tower and downtown Boston that good design could exploit.

The site is very much a part of an existing neighborhood, perceived both physically and socially. The community is largely Hispanic, and ethnic and family ties are strong. The dense residential neighborhood supports a concentration of stores along Centre Street that has become the metropolitan center for Hispanic grocery items. Along this stretch of Centre Street a dramatic commercial revitalization has occurred during the past five years that has coincided with the large influx of Cubans and Puerto Ricans into the area. This population concentration supports other social services; within walking distance are several community health centers (Martha Eliot and Dimock) and the new Hennigan Community School with athletic facilities open to residents. The accessibility to services and jobs in Greater Boston will be made especially convenient by the relocated Orange Line with both the Jackson Square and the Boylston Street stations within a few minutes' walk.

No major site construction problems are foreseen. The land slopes gently down to the east and soil conditions are suitable for residential construction. Power and utilities can be easily tapped from Lamartine Street and Chestnut Avenue.

Beyond the positive qualities of the site and neighborhood, a prime factor in favor of this site is political. There are available very few other sites in the Jamaica Plain Corridor where moderate and low income family housing may be contemplated without the likelihood of battling strong opposition.

Finally, alternative uses that might reasonably be considered for this land are far less advantageous than housing. The land might be held for industrial use, for which it was originally zoned. It could serve as an extension of an industrial park across the tracks on Parcels 69, 70 and 71 (see Chapter 5). The market for industry at this location is, however, poor at this time. The land might well remain idle for years, aggravating neighbors' perceptions that nothing is planned to upgrade the area. Even if industry did unexpectedly locate here quickly, it could be incompatible with the adjacent residential neighborhood; negative traffic and visual impacts would further destabilize the area.

As another option, the Southwest Corridor Community Farm might be continued indefinitely here. Hispanic specialty items or organically grown food might be marketed or distributed for sale to the Jamaica Plain/Roxbury Food Coop or to the local Meals-on-Wheels program for the elderly. But the size of the plot, even if combined with others, and the short New England growing season would make it impossible to achieve an adequate, steady supply. The seasonal employment benefits would be minimal.

As a third option, the Farm might be continued, not as an income or job producing venture, but rather as a community service or "victory" garden, if there is sufficient interest. Though such an activity is important, there exist alternative vacant lots onto which it might be relocated with the help of the NDC, rather than to preempt a harder to find, suitable residential site. As an adjunct to housing, however, a small community garden could well be an amenity to promote social interaction among neighbors. If new funding sources can be found, a continuation of small-scale research in urban soils and gardening techniques

might also be continued.

Housing Market Characteristics Near the Site

Some of the components of a traditional market study may indicate trends that might be reinforced or slowed down through intervention. Even where not obviously useful for making policy decisions, much data of this nature may be required as part of an application to funding agencies.

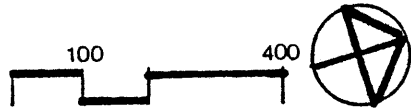
The data that follows is heavily specific to the site and its immediate neighborhood, the southern part of the Hyde Square residential area. It must be supplemented with the broader picture outlined in Chapter 2. Appendix A contains other supplementary data from the 1970 Census.

Population and Income. Roughly 2500 people live in the dozen blocks south of Centre Street shown on the Owner Occupancy map in this chapter. This area closely coincides with the boundaries of Census Tract 1205. The Census indicates that 28% of this population was Hispanic in 1970. A scan of the 1977 Police Census or the 1976 Polk Directory reveals that Hispanics now comprise at least 65% of this neighborhood, by far the highest concentration in Jamaica Plain. In Hyde Square as a whole, about 35% of the residents are under 18 years old, compared to 29% in the entire section of the Jamaica Plain Corridor (Section III). Median family income in 1970 was \$ 7200; the City's median was \$ 9133. 19% of the households were below the poverty level, compared to 12% throughout the City.

Owner Occupancy. Data from the City's Housing Improvement Program in early 1976 show that about 55% of the structures in the project area are owner occupied. This is comparable to the 1970 figure of 59% for Hyde Square as a whole, but below Jamaica Plain's overall 1970 average of 74%. It is estimated that about half of the new buyers in the area are owner occupants.* Owner

* John Wilbur, Promoting Homeownership through Real Estate Brokerage - A Study of Urban Edge, Master of City Planning Thesis, MIT, 1976, p. A17.

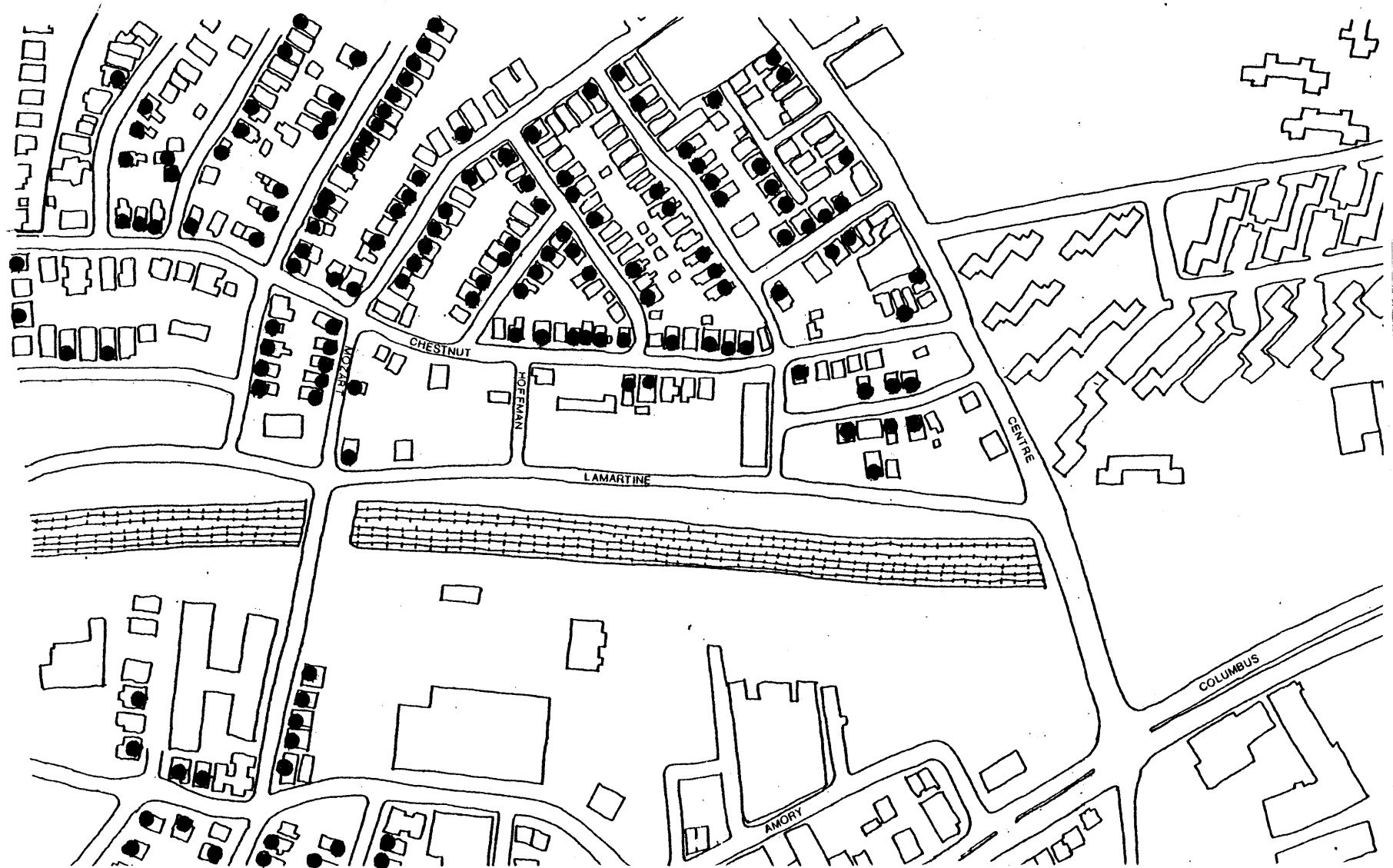
Owner Occupancy



● owner-occupied

Date: early 1976

Source: BRA



occupancy rates in adjacent areas just to the south and west (Tracts 1206 and 1204) are somewhat higher.

Exterior Condition. Building conditions over the last several years have substantially improved throughout most of Jamaica Plain north of Green Street. A survey by the former manager of the Jamaica Plain Little City Hall reveals that conditions over the three-and-one-half years from the summer of 1974 to the early winter of 1977 improved in about 40% of cases, stayed the same in 50%, and deteriorated in 10%. Near the site, improvement took place more often; deterioration, however, was also more frequent, especially on Mozart Street.* Data is not recorded for the houses on Chestnut Avenue adjacent to Parcel 66. Most of the homes on both sides of the street, however, show clear signs of recent care. Up to the end of 1977, 22 homes have taken advantage of the 40% and 50% Housing Improvement Program rebate incentive for major systems rehabilitation or for elderly homeowners within the areas mapped. Fewer have participated in the more general 20% rebate program (work had been certified in only seven cases as of early 1976).**





Some of the improvements along Chestnut Avenue and Lamartine Street beginning just south of Boylston Street are the results of incipient gentrification. It is unknown if the trend will continue or if it will extend several blocks further north into the areas focussed on here.

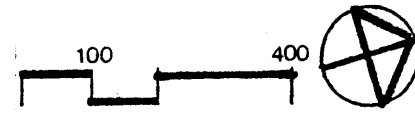
Recent Property Transactions and Prices. The record of sales in the

* The later survey was conducted using the same criteria for measuring exterior building condition and the same forms for recording the data as the earlier survey, though with different personnel. Each year, a structure was placed in one of three categories: A if the condition was perfect, B if it needed three or fewer minor repairs from a list (outside walls, roof materials, windows and doors, porches, etc.), and C if it required one or more major repairs (walls or foundation out of plumb, large cracks in walls, or sagging roof) and/or four or more minor repairs. Any one or two grade change indicates an improvement or a deterioration.

** Date from Boston Redevelopment Authority.

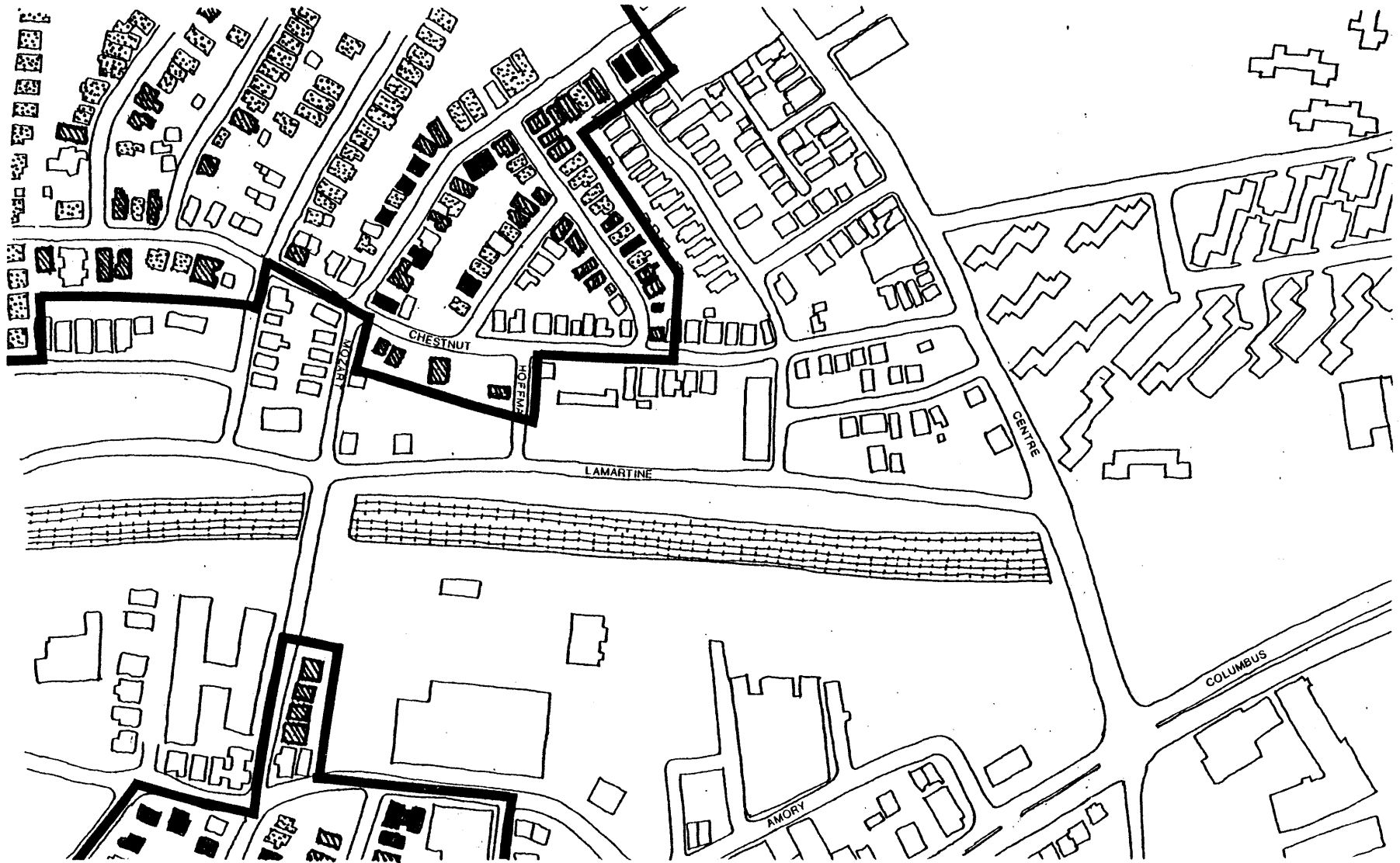
Exterior Building Condition Change

-  IMPROVED
-  SAME
-  DETERIORATED
-  SURVEY BOUNDARY



Date: 7,8/1974 to 12/77, 1/78

Source: John Spears



Suffolk County Real Estate Transfer Directory in 1975, 1976 and 1977 shows about 30 property transfers on the streets closest to the site and listed in the following table. Prices ranged from about \$ 4,500 to around \$ 20,000 with an average sales price over the three-year period of approximately \$ 10,400. Wilbur reports figures consistent with these, with an average price of \$ 12,100 in the market area along Lamartine and Chestnut Streets closest to the embankment, increasing to about \$ 14,500 further west into the Hyde Square area, and increasing still more to \$ 20,600 further south in the Boylston Street area during 1975 and the first half of 1976.* Only one-third of the sales had the benefit of bank mortgages (only one of eight on Mozart Street). In Jamaica Plain as a whole, 52% of all home sales received bank mortgages from 7/75 to 6/76 and 64% from 7/76 to 6/77.**

Many of the buyers listed in the Directory had Hispanic names. There was no evidence of significant concentrated buying by one person or by trusts - there is thus no overt evidence of speculation or of interest in the land that might compete with the NDC's plans. As indicated previously, about half the buyers in the recent past have become owner occupants in this area.

Vacancies, Abandonment, and Crowding. The 1970 Census disclosed a sharp discontinuity in rental vacancy rates between a narrow strip of Tract 1205 along Lamartine and Chestnut Streets by the Corridor, which had a vacancy rate over 10%, and the major piece of the Tract west of Chestnut with a rate smaller than 3%. The 1976 Polk Directory shows vacancy rates on streets in these areas ranging from 6% to 15%, with no discernable trend from one street to the next.

Abandonment, the extreme case of vacancy, is currently worst adjacent

* Wilbur Thesis

** Massachusetts Commissioner of Banks, Home Mortgage Lending Patterns in Metropolitan Boston, December, 1977, Table 5.

RECENT PROPERTY TRANSFERS

Street		# of Transfers	Average Sales Price	# of Bank Mortgages
Lamartine Street	<u>1975</u>	1	\$20,400	0
	<u>1976</u>	2	6,000	1
	<u>1977</u>	2	16,250	2
	<u>1975-77</u>	5	13,000	3
Chestnut Avenue	<u>1975</u>	4	9,700	0
	<u>1976</u>	1	14,000	1
	<u>1977</u>	7	8,000	3
	<u>1975-77</u>	12	9,100	4
Priesing Street	<u>1975</u>	1	6,000	1
	<u>1976</u>	0	-	-
	<u>1977</u>	2	16,250	1
	<u>1975-77</u>	3	12,800	2
Armstrong Street	<u>1975</u>	1	12,000	0
	<u>1976</u>	1	4,500	0
	<u>1977</u>	1	5,500	0
	<u>1975-77</u>	3	7,300	0
Ashley Street	<u>1975</u>	2	14,750	1
	<u>1976</u>	0	-	-
	<u>1977</u>	0	-	-
	<u>1975-77</u>	2	14,750	1
Mozart Street	<u>1975</u>	4	10,800	0
	<u>1976</u>	2	7,000	1
	<u>1977</u>	2	11,000	0
	<u>1975-77</u>	8	9,900	1

NOTE: In addition to these transfers, two foreclosures took place in 1977, one on Lamartine Street and the other on Chestnut Avenue.

Some transfers may apply to lots only. Accuracy is not guaranteed, especially for Lamartine and Chestnut Streets; addresses are not always given and some properties may lie south of Mozart Street and away from the project area.

Source: Compiled from Suffolk County Real Estate Transfer Directory

to Parcel 65 on Chestnut Avenue; this location is probably the worst section of the Jamaica Plain Corridor by this measure. Abandonment has by no means reached the avalanche proportions it has in other sections of the city, however, though there is concern over its potential acceleration near the cleared land. There are now about four vacant shells along Chestnut Avenue from Hoffman to Wyman Streets. At least one was caused by fire. There has been no increase in abandonment along the cleared parcels from October, 1977 to April, 1978.

Suprisingly, the number of persons per household at 3.25 is the highest in the Corridor. Part of this can be attributed to the large average size of Hispanic families. In 1970, 38% of the units in the Hyde Square area were overcrowded (housing 1.01 or more persons per room), though many were concentrated at Bromley-Heath. For Boston as a whole, the rate was 7.6%.

Recent Characteristics of the Subsidized Market. Within the past decade, a number of elderly and family subsidized developments have been completed in Jamaica Plain and Roxbury close to Jackson Square. All are in demand as evidenced by waiting lists, except for Bromley-Heath. On the east side of the embankment directly opposite Parcels 65 and 66 in Jamaica Plain, the Holtzer Cabot Factory was converted to 234 units of low-income public housing for the elderly under the Turnkey program of HUD in 1974. The waiting list for units numbers 24; the low turnover of the residents may make such a wait significant. At 1990 Columbus Avenue in Egleston Square another BHA elderly development of 168 units built in 1970 has a waiting list of 37. Somewhat more distant from Jackson Square, 545 Centre Street, an MHFA financed mixed income elderly development of 147 units completed in 1976, has waiting lists of 90 for the moderate income units and 47 for the low.

Recent family developments are also in demand. A superior 36-unit rehabilitation was completed in 1973 at Cleaves Court near Egleston Square under MHFA financing. Immediately adjacent to Jackson Square, the 500-unit Academy

Homes development built in the 1960s has waiting lists of over 100 for every bedroom mix. The two largest family developments recently constructed near the Corridor lie further north in Lower Roxbury and the South End. The Lower Roxbury Community Corporation during the past decade has built 260 units, both family and elderly, most MHFA financed, on Southwest Corridor land near the Crosstown Arterial. Another hundred are under construction and more are awaiting funding. In the South End, IBA has developed about 500 units for families and the elderly, some sold to the BHA and some with MHFA financing. Another 200 units await funding. They are occupied primarily by Hispanics and have been considered to be among the best multi-family moderate and low income housing in the city. Potential housing on and near Parcels 65 and 66 would likely meet a similar demand by Hispanic residents.

The financial status of the newer Section 8 developments is also positive. Not one of MHFA's developments in Boston that is completely subsidized through Section 8, such as LRCC's or IBA's housing, is in any financial difficulty whatsoever. Older projects financed under the 221(d)3 and 236 programs are, in contrast, not faring well. Academy Homes II foreclosed in 1975 and Academy Homes I is in danger of foreclosure. Unlike Section 8, the older programs do not provide automatic annual subsidy increases to keep pace with inflation.

Conclusions

The market information suggests the following:

- The unsubsidized residential market near the site is clearly "soft", characterized by low prices, little bank mortgage activity, some abandonment, and vacancy rates estimated at 10% on many streets. The presence of half-a-dozen 'For Sale' signs on Chestnut Avenue from Center to Wyman Street, some up for at least six months, strengthens this impression.

- Much of the lack of demand might be attributed to the negative impact of the cleared Corridor land and the embankment. Abandonment is highest immediately adjacent to the cleared parcels, 'For Sale' signs predominate there, as do deteriorated structures and low prices, and markedly higher vacancy rates (at least according to the 1970 Census). The neglect of parcel maintenance by the State and the presence of abandoned shells damages the image of contiguous houses, decreases their value, and spurs more deterioration. The decade's uncertainty over the transit improvements is a blighting influence itself. So too are the train noise, and the embankment's blocked views and shadows.
- There is countering evidence of encouraging trends. Exterior building condition has improved throughout the area; along Chestnut Avenue across from the cleared parcels there are clear signs of stock upgrading. Owner occupancy holds a strong majority; if it is declining, it seems to be doing so slowly.
- These trends might be reinforced by tying the area into firmer neighboring blocks to the south and west, that are physically and socially similar (such as Tract 1206 and the northern part of Tract 1204). Prices step up gradually to the south in the Boylston Street area and in the southwestern parts of Hyde Square. These blocks have higher homeownership, better building conditions, and a steadier upgrading of the stock. Like Tract 1205, they are also heavily Hispanic.
- Effective demand for low and moderate income subsidized housing is indicated by the speedy rent-up and the waiting lists of recent developments. What is probably the highest population of Hispanics in Boston would absorb an added supply of new and rehabilitated housing at least as readily as the much-praised Villa Victoria development in the South End. Supporting this are the indications of large families and some overcrowding.

The area, then, although it bears some marginal market qualities, appears highly salvageable by small scale redevelopment at modest cost. The site's natural assets, such as its views and neighboring handsome housing stock, and the Corridor improvements, including large noise reduction, the provision of an open space landscaped system fronting the site, and the embankment removal, form a base for upgrading. A concentrated and visible development effort could boost neighborhood confidence. The benefits of abutters' individual housing investments would seem less risky and more tangible. The risks to an individual bank of financing such investment would also decrease.

Evidence of grassroots interest in and commitment to the area, easily lost in statistics, surface in two activities. Abutters to Parcels 65 and 66 have supported the interim garden project and have expressed grave concern over the site's disrepair. Also, an active resident group in adjacent blocks in Hyde Square, originally formed during the NDC membership drive, has successfully pressured the City to demolish two vacant housing shells beyond repair. They have also submitted a proposal for Community Development Block Grant money to maintain and beautify vacant lots. Residents will offer voluntary free labor and community organizations will supply voluntary architectural assistance.

DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS

- Any development will embody a multitude of choices. Among them are:
- the intended clientele: elderly or families; low or moderate income;
 - physical design priorities: scale, responsiveness to the intended clientele, cultural and ethnic sensitivity, site planning and the provision of amenities;
 - the development entity and the financing program, one often dictating the other: non-profit, limited partnership, sole or co-general partner, coop;

HUD or State funding or both.

These choices will be examined, a possible program outlined, and a selected financial analysis for one development mechanism performed.

The Intended Clientele

Overall, a preference for family housing, perhaps with some small units available to either young or elderly singles and couples, appears justified. There are stronger indicators of demand for family housing at this site, family housing might fit in more naturally with the existing physical and social fabric of the neighborhood, and better sites for elderly development will be available soon. Few alternatives exist for new family housing in Jamaica Plain.

In the Section III part of the Corridor (Jamaica Plain), about 16% of the population is over 65 years old, not much higher than the City's overall percentage, and much of that population is concentrated in the Amory Street BHA development across the tracks from the site. The waiting list for that development is now smaller than that of others nearby, including the tower at Egleston Square that many perceive to be in an inferior location and of poor design. Thus, much of the elderly demand within the neighborhood near Parcels 65 and 66 may have already been absorbed by the Amory Street housing. In comparison, evidence of a demand for family housing appears stronger, including the high under-eighteen population, some overcrowding, and the success of comparable housing at Villa Victoria.

An important issue to elderly in this location is security. Common entry and security checkpoints are more easily integrated into a larger development that what might be compatible with the adjacent neighborhood scale here, whereas the scale of a family development of two or three-deckers, or town-houses, some possibly detached, would be highly compatible.

Other opportunities for elderly housing in areas they might prefer should be available soon, and in areas with a higher elderly population. Further south in the Woodbourne section of Jamaica Plain construction will soon be underway for 75 units. Development opportunities in which the NDC can play a role may be available soon in the reuse of Jamaica Plain High School in the Sumner Hill neighborhood and in the development of congregate housing in former nursing homes in the Glenside, Parkside and Sumner Hill areas. Yet, an overarching issue is that alternative family sites may be very difficult to find in Jamaica Plain without arousing community opposition.

There are, however, some advantages to an elderly development here. Because of its proximity to the Amory Street development, common social programs could efficiently serve both. The volume of elderly would assure continued support and concentration within this location of such activities as the Meals-on-Wheels program and the elderly shuttle bus that runs along Amory and Centre Streets. Another important advantage is that funding sources may find new construction more easily justified for elderly housing because of special maneuverability requirements and special facilities need.

Whether housing is for elderly or families, an often expressed preference is that development attract as many moderate income residents as possible. It is felt that upgrading would be facilitated by avoiding an undue concentration of low incomes.

Design Issues

The following is a set of design guidelines for development on this site. It is intended only as an illustrative and suggestive set. Most should be derived with professional and with grassroots assistance.

Site Planning Considerations

- Development bulk and height should be compatible with the existing low and

broken scale of the neighborhood.

- Views toward downtown Boston and Highland Park should be taken advantage of if possible.

Off-site Public Improvements.

- Hoffman Street should be closed to automobile traffic and made into a pedestrian path linking new development to the rest of the neighborhood to the west. Its utility as a vehicular route is, at best, marginal. The path might be shaded with trellises, planted with new trees, and have seating areas alongside it. One end might open onto a small community garden plot or plaza.
- New lighting stanchions on Lamartine and Chestnut Streets would be highly desirable. New lighting has recently been installed on Chestnut Avenue south of Mozart Street and on Amory Street. The City should extend that program here. Street trees, in great shortage throughout this area, should also be planted on Lamartine and Chestnut Streets.

Unit Design Issues.

To confidently arrive at sensible guidelines, a design process must be established to elicit user preferences. Preferences may differ strikingly from group to group, especially in matters of unit design. For example, American suburbanites may enjoy an open floor plan in which the kitchen, dining, and living spaces loosely flow into one another. In contrast, inner city Puerto Ricans may prefer a kitchen well removed from the living room to allow the family to segregate itself into two groups when entertaining guests - children and adults, or women and men.* Some groups may willingly sacrifice a small kitchen for a larger living space, and others will seek the opposite tradeoff.

* Zeisel, John, "Symbolic Meaning of Space and the Physical Dimension of Social Relations," September, 1969 paper to American Sociological Association.

Because preferences like these may be very elusive and not easily drawn out by simple questionnaire or untrained observation, empathic designers, specifically skilled in user participatory techniques, will be required.

The Legal and Financial Development Mechanism

NDC's actions are largely constrained by the availability of State and Federal programs and their current funding outlook. The nature of the programs will also further limit the choices of development entity open to the NDC and/or its codevelopers. This section outlines and evaluates some realistic mechanisms, and mentions, if known, where such a program has been implemented recently and what the current prospects for funding are. Finally, the issues of development for cooperatives, condominiums, and homeownership will be briefly mentioned. Because of the fierce competition for funding, the services of a development consultant will be necessary to help select and implement any mechanism.

A commonly sought route for a development such as this is MHFA financing with rental subsidies for low and middle income tenants under Section 8 or the State's Chapter 707. The program applies to either elderly or family development. Interest rates are usually kept about two or three percentage points below market rates. For non-profit sponsors, 100% financing is provided; limited dividend sponsors are given close to 99% financing.

Under MHFA financed limited dividend sponsorship, cash benefits may accrue to the developer for use as seed capital on other projects. Though return on equity is limited to 6%, the major financial benefits derive from the sale of depreciation tax losses to limited partnership investors. The sponsor can be sole general partner with the major project management role, though some control will inevitably be wielded by the limited investors. Often the sponsor will be co-general partner with the building contractor or

with an investment banker making it easier to raise equity, attract limited partners, and achieve higher syndication proceeds, and also lending know-how and prestige to an inexperienced group. Such a joint venture may not be as necessary in a project of as small a scale as the one contemplated here if professional development consultants are found. The equity alone will not be so high as to require a co-general partner. The legal structure often assumed by community development groups wishing to utilize this mechanism is a non-profit, tax-exempt umbrella organization that owns a for-profit holding company. The for-profit corporation creates the limited dividend subsidiary. The optimum organizational strategy depends on the state laws; legal council is obviously required.

The advantages of MHFA financing via a non-profit corporation are 100% financing (a minimal benefit compared to the 99% granted to limited dividend groups), complete ownership and control since there are no limited partners nor generally a need for a codeveloper, and the avoidance of the legal and administrative preparations required for limited dividend sponsorship. Of course, no seed money is generated; any proceeds beyond what is necessary to cover project costs is returned to a replacement or maintenance reserve fund.

Most of IBA's work has been by means of limited dividend sponsorship with MHFA financing and Section 8 or 707 subsidies. Though LRCC's Madison Park developments had been non-profit sponsored, they have recently switched their ownership to the limited dividend entity. The change seems to be worth their effort because of the potential for generating seed money and the generally minimal infringement by limited partners of project control from the prime sponsors.

At this time, MHFA has minimal capacity to fund new projects, especially if they involve new construction, because its Section 8 set-aside is so small. It is possible to obtain Section 8 subsidies directly from HUD (still

obtaining MHFA financing); at this time, however, new construction funds are especially lean there, too.

For the first time in four years, funding is available for new public housing construction from HUD. It is likely that funds will soon be provided to the Boston Housing Authority for 350 units under the Turnkey program; 150 units will be for rehabilitation projects. No sites have yet been considered; Southwest Corridor sites are looked upon favorably and they are conveyed at no cost to the BHA for a selected development. The BHA works closely with the Southwest Corridor Project Office in these projects.

Under the Turnkey program, the BHA contracts to a private developer who constructs the development and sells it back to the BHA for a negotiated price called the Developer's Fee, which might be approximately 10% of the project cost. Financing arrangements are left to the developer. The clientele is limited to low-income households, either family or elderly. BHA will welcome community proposals in collaboration with the Corridor Office. Both NDC development and management are realistic possibilities under this mechanism. The developer's fee might be substantial for use as seed capital, and much project control would be exercised through either design, management, or both - though ownership would reside with the housing authority. Financing might be raised through MHFA.

A 200-unit elderly development by IBA was implemented by the above route with MHFA financing. In Roslindale, 120 units of elderly housing recently opened on Corridor land, developed by this mechanism (but not with MHFA financing), although the builder was not a community corporation. Collaboration among the Corridor Office, the City, the BHA and the Roslindale Neighborhood Committee took place throughout development and design. The development won the 1977 Award for Design Excellence of the Boston Society of Architects.

State-aided public housing funds are also available now, though only for elderly tenants under Chapter 667. In the coming year, Chapter 705 money for state-aided family housing will not be offered. Unlike the federal program, turnkey development is not employed in the State program. Potential NDC roles would be limited to project 'initiator' and/or possible manager.

Under this program, about 100 units are scheduled to be constructed on Corridor land in Hyde Park. Community involvement has been guided by the Hyde Park I-95 Neighborhood Committee. Both this development and the Roslin-dale project are low rise structures. It is expected that funds for 200 additional units under Chapter 667 will shortly be available to the BHA for, perhaps, one rehabilitation project and one new development.

Last among the options considered here is the federal Section 202 direct loan program for elderly low and moderate income housing. One hundred percent financing is provided at below market interest rates (around 6 7/8%). Section 8 subsidizes the rents. Front money may also be offered through Section 106b at no interest to cover up to 80% of the preconstruction costs. Only non-profit groups may apply for the 202 program. Sole ownership and control could accrue to the NDC under this program with almost no front money required. Also, moderate income tenants are eligible, unlike the federal or state public housing programs. However, the project is aimed only for an elderly tenancy and no money for other ventures can be raised through this mechanism because of its non-profit stipulation. The housing in Woodbourne, Jamaica Plain used this mechanism.

The following chart summarizes the merits and disadvantages of the programs. In cases where the NDC is not owner or co-owner, management is often listed as a potential means of control if, for example, the Housing Authority is willing to contract out the management to the NDC. The NDC may, indeed, wish to exercise such management control. Depending on its

SUMMARY OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MECHANISMS

Mechanism	Clientele	Level of NDC Control	Cash Benefits*	Neighborhood Support	Other
A. MHFA/Section 8 (NDC as limited dividend corp.)	family or elderly; low and moderate incomes**	partial owner with main project manag't control	syndication proceeds & maybe part of cash flow	few anticipated problems	1% equity needed; time needed for legal & admin. arrang'ts; little funding avail. now
B. HUD Turnkey NDC as developer	family or elderly; low incomes only	major devel't control; not owner; possible manager	developer's fee	possible opposition espec'y if family dev't	financing must be obtained independently, ideally from MHFA; new funding available
C. HUD Turnkey NDC not developer	same as B	control via pressuring from the outside; not owner; possible manager	none	same as B, plus possible opposition to outside developer	
D. State Chapter 667	elderly only; low incomes only	same as C	none	?	new funding available
E. HUD Section 202/Section 8	elderly only; low & mod inc's	owner	none	few anticipated problems	100% financing & front money

* Beyond possible management fees

** It is assumed that rentals at market rate would not be feasible.

other commitments and resources, however, it may also choose not to assume that responsibility, limiting its involvement to assuring that some other acceptable agent hires residents or local unemployed, and provides quality management services.

Excluded from the table is non-profit development through MHFA financing because a limited dividend entity seems far preferable and worth the energy required in legal preparation. Should non-profit MHFA development be pursued, however, its advantages and disadvantages are very similar to those in the HUD 202 program without the restriction of only elderly development.

If family housing is considered a priority, a clear ranking of the available programs can be made, with MHFA/Section 8 heading the list because it allows for a mix of incomes, gives major ownership control to the developer, generates substantial seed money for other projects, and appears to be acceptable to the neighborhood. Since Section 8 allotments seem to run out faster than MHFA's financing capability (derived from its bond issues), a fallback option might reasonably be community development under the Turnkey program, still financed through MHFA. Although only low income households would be eligible for the housing, the community could exercise substantial control as developer and possible manager. Capital would also be generated from the developer's fee. Even if an outside developer were selected, the community might wield much control as a possible manager and through close collaboration with the developer, as in the example of the Roslindale Neighborhood Committee's influence over a successful Corridor BHA development (though elderly in that case).

Low and moderate income homeownership opportunities, including cooperatives and condominiums are not as closely studied here as rental mechanisms are. Few cooperatives have been carried out in the State. They demand several years' lead-time planning, require complex arrangements for selling

the equity acquired by a departing member to a newcomer, and, in any case, build up a resident's equity only very slowly over the long (usually 40 years) amortization period. Countless resident meetings must take place and conflicts over management are likely.

Homeownership of newly constructed units seems unpromising under existing programs. The cost of a new, small (1000 square feet) unit might be \$ 45,000. Under a program like Section 235, a developer could construct housing on a site such as Parcels 65 and 66 and resell units to low income clients who would pay a 6% downpayment and receive mortgage interest subsidies down to 5%. For a \$ 45,000 home, the annual debt service obligation would be at least \$ 2,500. A major constraint, however, is that the developer must obtain his own financing; MHFA financing is not available for condominium or homeowner-ship development. FHA mortgage insurance might be obtained, but not at below market interest rates.

Homeownership might be highly worthwhile, however, if a new program were created in which mortgage terms similar to those issued by MHFA to a community developer (99% loan, 40 year term, 7% interest) could then be transferred to individual home buyers. Ideally, a moderate income person could then acquire, for example, a two-family townhouse, and rent out the second floor to a tenant who would receive Section 8 rent subsidies, insuring a high enough income flow to the owner that he might live rent-free, or, at least, at minimal cost. The result would be highly compatible with the existing neighborhood of owner-occupied two- and three-deckers leased to tenants.

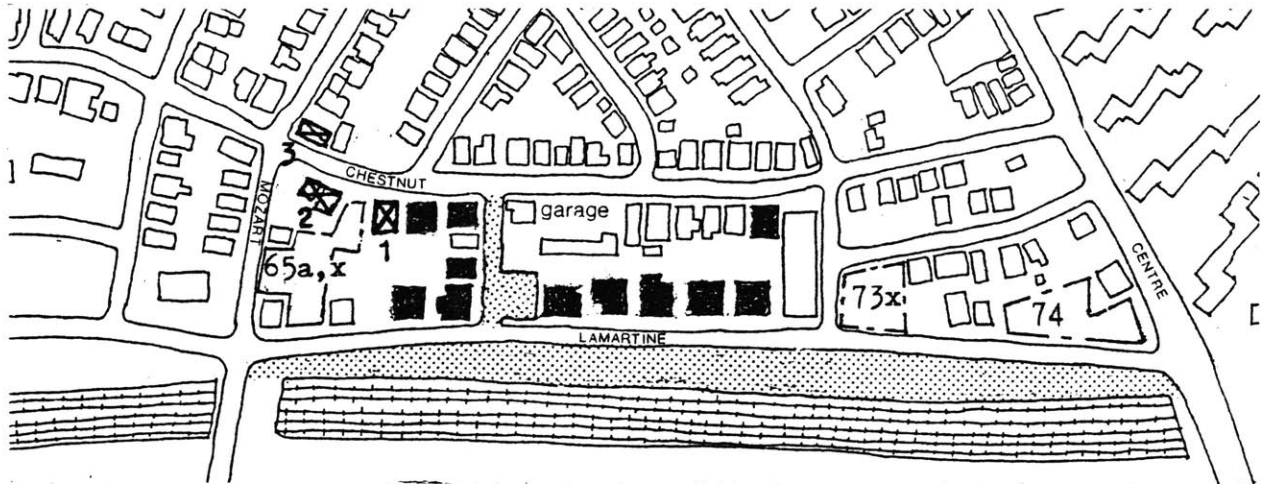
Though such a program does not exist, alternative routes are now available to moderate income home seekers. Jamaica Plain has a variety of two and three-deckers, some luxurious in their roominess compared to modest newly constructed homes, available for \$ 20,000 and located in many sections of the district superior to Hyde Square. The lower prices at Hyde and Eggleston Squares make

homeownership viable to upwardly mobile black and Hispanic buyers of low-moderate incomes.

Homeownership or condominium opportunities might be more realistic economically in rehabilitation projects. Abandoned multi-family shells that have been acquired by the City might be conveyed to the NDC at a minimal price, rehabilitated with MHFA or other financing, and resold to owners. If the price still were not within the reach of low-moderate income interested buyers, Tradewinds might be utilized to complete the construction of interior finishings. One buyer might take an entire three-decker or half of a six-family structure and, if Section 8 or 707 subsidies could be arranged, rent out the remaining units. Such a program, with or without the rental component, could be coordinated with Urban Edge's similar vacant housing program but with more of a focus on larger than three-family structures, and on possible Tradewinds involvement in the latter phases of construction after acquisition by the ultimate owners.

A Possible Program

This site might accommodate 50 units of new and rehabilitated family housing. As shown in the sketch plan, perhaps 38 new large units could be provided in three-level structures on Parcels 65, 66 and on a small City-owned plot on the west edge of Parcel 66. These lots comprise about one and three-quarters acres. Twelve more rehabilitated units could complement the new development in three vacant structures concentrated near the intersection of Chestnut and Mozart Streets. The structures are listed following the sketch plan.



Structure #3 at Chestnut and Mozart intersection

Map reference number	Address	Structure size	Comments
1	60-62 Chestnut Ave.	6-family	partially damaged by fire in the back
2	68-70 Chestnut Ave.	3-family	needs roof work; poor condition
3	77 Chestnut Ave.	3-family	originally commercial space on first floor

It is necessary to thoroughly assess the condition of the structures; in some cases demolition and replacement with new construction may be more economical. In addition, if rehabilitation cannot be undertaken very quickly, neighbors will justifiably demand that the City demolish the blighting shells.

In the sketch plan, Hoffman Street has become a pedestrian promenade

opening onto a small plaza or community garden on Lamartine Street. Across the street is the Corridor bicycle path and open space system. No off-street parking is shown because Lamartine Street currently has much excess on-street parking capacity and the public transit system is immediately accessible. If development is held to the zoning requirements, however, an additional 35 spaces might be necessary. Either an adjacent privately held vacant parcel would then have to be acquired, or one or two of the planned new structures or the plaza would have to be eliminated to make space for parking.

If Parcel 65x and the garage land on the west edge of Parcel 66, both privately owned, could be acquired for a reasonable price and be fully utilized for housing, an additional 20 units could be provided. Other parcels that are potentially available have not been considered priority locations for housing. Parcel 73x, City-owned, serves the necessary function of parking space for the Hammond's Office Products warehouse. Parcel 74 is small, is separated from Parcels 65 and 66, and is closer to the noise and traffic of Centre Street. Its Centre Street frontage might better serve a commercial function.

Financial Analysis of the Program

A first-cut financial analysis was done for the above program for the case of a limited dividend corporation financed by MHFA and subsidized through Section 8. Appendix B contains approximate construction and operating budgets. A table summarizing those findings follows.

Rental income was found to be sufficient to cover mortgage payments, operating expenses, and taxes, assuming an interest rate of 7.1%. In the case of new construction, however, the margin was fairly close. Whether the land was written-down to a price of zero or to \$ 1000 per unit did not affect the gross results, though, of course, if the land is not obtained free, the cash

flow margin for new construction grows even slimmer.

Results are sensitive to a change in the interest rate. If a rate of 7.5% is used, an annual loss of almost \$ 2,000 occurs on new construction by this analysis if land acquisition will cost \$ 1,000 per unit. If land is obtained at no charge, cash flow is positive, but very small, approximately \$ 1,000. Rehabilitation profitability is much less sensitive to interest rate changes of this magnitude; cash flow will fall from \$ 10,500 to \$ 9,000.

This analysis assumes that all the units are quite large (3 BR, 1000 s.f.). The site can accommodate a larger number of smaller units. Any analysis performed next would require the precise breakdown by unit size, as well as a detailed breakdown of the construction and operating expenses. The analysis here also assumes that rent levels are the maximum allowed under Section 8. A vacancy rate of 4% is used (lower than the usual 5 or 6%) because it is assumed that there are no market rate rentals on this site with a higher vacancy risk, and because Section 8 covers part of the rental income lost during turnover and during rent-up. A 121A property tax agreement is also assumed, as required by MHFA.

The cash benefits to the NDC from a project like this would come primarily from syndication proceeds from the sale of depreciation tax losses that accumulate especially during the early years of the project. A negotiated portion of the project's cash flow would also probably go to the limited partners.

If further analysis indicates that project costs are too high, it might be possible to utilize Tradewinds to complete minor phases of the construction process, such as interior dry wall construction, if the unions will not prevent it.

SUMMARY FINANCIAL ANALYSIS

	<u>New (38 units)</u>		<u>Rehab (12 units)</u>
	<u>Land write-down to \$ 0</u>	<u>Land write-down to \$ 38,000</u>	
Total replacement cost	\$ 1,682,500	\$ 1,720,500	\$ 411,700
Equity	15,300	19,100	4,800
Net cash flow (if 7.1% int. rate)	7,200	4,700	10,500
Net cash flow (if 7.5% int. rate)	1,000	(1,700)	8,900
Possible syndica- tion proceeds	181,700	185,800	44,500

A STRATEGY

Development Timing

This site provides an early development opportunity largely because of its relationship to the phasing of the Corridor transit project. The construction of the transit project on this section of track will begin at Mozart Street and proceed northward. If it begins as scheduled in early 1979, it is then anticipated that the heaviest and noisiest construction will have passed Parcels 65 and 66 by 1980 or 1981. This would be well before the entire completion of the Orange Line in 1983.

Given this rough schedule for transit construction, there are two basic choices as to when to undertake housing development:

- (1) Start immediately to plan and implement development.

A complete development cycle, from the preparation of a proposal, to obtaining a commitment for financing, up to the end of construction might take two-and-one-half years. If the process began now, a development could conceivably be ready for occupancy in the late fall of 1981.

If the Orange Line proceeds on schedule (or even falls behind six

months), the worst of the construction noise and dust would by then have already passed by the site.

The advantage of quick action is that it could stem further decline in a marginal area now threatened by additional disinvestment. It could, as well, meet a known and present housing demand.

But this timing also incurs a risk. If the transit project were delayed, the housing might be complete and ready for occupancy in the midst of major noise from the transit construction. Exterior noise levels near units on Lamartine Street 100 feet from the tracks might range from 8-hour time averaged readings of 81 dBA up to 89 dBA.* If the quietest equipment available were used, levels might reach 81 dBA, or that of a typical 'noisy urban daytime' setting.** If the regulations of the City's Air Pollution Control Commission are followed, levels should not exceed 86 dBA ('a diesel truck at 50 feet'). Levels of 89 dBA might occur in a 'worst case' situation of typical equipment and no precaution. Inside dwellings, levels would be substantially reduced. The State estimates that major construction noise in any one location would probably last no more than six months. In sum, evaluation of this strategy requires a balancing of the advantages of early action in upgrading and stabilizing a neighborhood against the risk of a delay in the transit project that would result in annoying, though obviously temporary, impacts from construction noise. That risk could be substantially reduced, however, because HUD would probably allow (or might even require) the NDC to delay use of its subsidy allocation for a reasonable period of time if that delay would avoid major disruption from transit construction activity.

* Orange Line EIA, pp. 5-55 to 5-57

** Orange Line EIA, p. 2-34

A key prerequisite for following this fast schedule is that the land be clearly available for early development; it cannot be required for transit construction staging or storage. The State is sympathetic to leaving the land undisturbed to avoid disrupting the community gardens now sited there. However, at this time it has not promised outright that the land will not be temporarily preempted. Because there is a substantial tract of vacant land on the east side of this part of the transit alignment on Parcels 68 and 69 (and more available on the site of the former Club Arbeiter), it should be feasible to completely avoid interference with Parcels 65 and 66. A statement of community interest in early development there could provide the impetus for a commitment by the State to keep the parcels clear.

- (2) Wait a year or two before proceeding so that the completion of a housing development would follow the completion of the transit project and the environmental improvements associated with it.

The transit project itself, including the landscaped open space system, might upgrade the area and improve the climate for housing investment. On the other hand, delaying development until 1983 at the earliest might increase the risk of further deterioration and abandonment. The area, now marginal, might become an area that finance agencies will become less confident of salvaging. Or, if the area does indeed improve somewhat, competition for development of this land might surface.

If the State requires the land for construction storage, or if financing is now unavailable, then a wait is unavoidable. In that case, special care must be given to such holding actions as increased maintenance of the vacant parcels or active community involvement in the interim gardens (if they are not disrupted by transit construction).

In any case, rehabilitation of abandoned buildings near the parcels might proceed immediately. If that is not possible, demolition will be preferable to allowing them to stand indefinitely.

A Set of Tasks

To be able to implement housing development, the set of tasks below is recommended.

The following are immediate concerns:

- (1) Ensure that the NDC and the Jamaica Plain community have a role in development on Parcels 65 and 66 by making the Corridor project public agencies formally aware of the NDC's interests. Participation in the next phase of Station Area Task Force meetings is one important means to that end.
- (2) Simultaneously, discuss its interests with the co-sponsors of the South-west Corridor Community Farm that currently make use of the site, and with other community organizations with whom it jointly plans, such as Urban Edge and Oficina Hispana. Publicize the potential of the site to its constituency.
- (3) Influence those transit-related decisions that affect the potential for housing development:
 - Parcels 65 and 66 should remain clear of transit construction storage or other encumbrance during the course of the transit project. The Corridor Farm should be able to continue undisturbed, or early housing development initiated. Alternative storage areas are easily available.
 - Special attention should be given to muffling noise from transit construction here. Existing housing, including an elderly development, are very close to the alignment. Early new development might

also be hampered by failure to follow the strictest noise guidelines. At a minimum, noise regulations of the City's Air Pollution Control Commission should be enforced.

- Funds for decking over the tracks at this site should be sought. At the very least, the area should be formally added to the list for future "Category II" decking from Mozart to Centre Streets. Decking would boost the efforts to stabilize this residential edge.
- The open space system in front of Parcels 65 and 66 should be designed with care to buffer the land from the transit trench and to provide an amenity. Early collaboration with the Corridor project's landscape team is called for.
- Management of State-owned parcels nearby must be taken seriously by the DPW. Parcels 67 and 74, for example, are now dumping grounds and blight neighboring residential property.

After the actions above have been initiated, the next set of tasks below should be undertaken over the next few months:

- (4) Stage an "event" during the early summer of 1978 on Parcels 65 and 66 - a "garden party", Hispanic cultural fair, and/or a community information exhibit. This would provide an opportunity, together with door-to-door canvassing, to publicize to abutters and to the rest of the neighborhood the NDC's development images for the area. A colorful, large-scale rough model of the immediate environment could be presented.

This action might help boost confidence in the area and facilitate neighborhood involvement in new development, or participation in the interim garden project.

- (5) Lobby the City, together with other groups, to modify its housing policy to support the use of subsidies for selected instances of new construction as well as rehabilitation. The City should support development

like that proposed for Parcels 65/66 because it involves both new and rehabilitated housing as part of one strategy; the new is intended to catalyze adjacent private rehabilitation; the development's scale is small requiring only modest subsidy allocations; little, if any, City funds are required for street or other service improvements to support the development; there has been little previous allocation within Jamaica Plain; and the parcels are on cleared Corridor land considered a development priority by the City and State.

- (6) Within four to six months, prepare a thorough feasibility study and development package to be used as a basis for negotiating early disposition of the land and for obtaining financing. The work should be coordinated with the NDC's Housing Committee, a Development Task Force, if formed, and with grassroots support. The services of a housing development consultant, such as GBCD, should be employed. The MBTA might also be pressed to lend its development consultants for the Corridor project to the NDC.
- (7) Press for City actions, beyond those directly related to the transit project, that strongly affect the housing site and its development potential.

- The site should be rezoned from its current M-1 classification. Current zoning forbids two-family townhouses that might be contemplated here and allows, only conditionally, multi-family dwellings for three or more families. Moreover, M-1 allows outright light industrial activity that could compete directly with the residential plans for the site, as well as conflict with other adjacent residential areas because of traffic generation and usual unsightliness.

- Hoffman Street should be changed to a pedestrian way to link new development or gardens to the rest of the community to the west. The City should design the pathway as a mini-park with benches and trees in conjunction with housing development plans for the adjacent parcels.

- New lighting and street trees should be scheduled for Lamartine and Chestnut Streets north of Mozart Street. Thus far, replacement has stopped at Mozart.

- Vacant City-owned lots should be maintained; abandoned structures near or on the site should either be secured or quickly demolished.

The following two tasks should be undertaken in the mid-run, as time permits:

- (8) Urge selected improvements to existing neighborhood housing programs to upgrade the general Hyde Square area and improve the climate for further investment. The new Hispanic outreach worker for Hyde Square under the City's Housing Improvement Program should target his efforts along the Corridor where disinvestment is highest. The HIP 40% rebate program for major systems repair should be publicized there. HUD Section 312 funds for owner-occupied rehabilitation loans at low interest should be extended to Hyde Square immediately since allotments to other sections of the City are not being utilized. The HIP absentee-owner experiment in Egleston Square should be closely watched and, if successful, applied to Hyde Square. Block grant money should be budgeted for the rehabilitation of abandoned housing; Urban Edge's vacant housing program has proven the effectiveness of that strategy. The distribution of Section 8 and Chapter 707 money in the City's neighborhoods should be monitored to ensure that Jamaica Plain gets its fair share. Finally, the policy of local banks toward Corridor investment should be closely

scrutinized because of the extremely low proportion of bank mortgages used to finance property transfers in the neighborhood near the potential housing site. Jamaica Plain's Banking and Mortgage Committee and the Boston Urban Mortgage Review Board might examine this.

- (9) Building upon the success of Tradewinds, establish a self-supporting housing services entity to provide low cost rehabilitation and consultation. The service could also conduct energy conservation audits and retrofitting. MCDFC funding might be sought for such a venture. The NDC might try to export part of the service's business to wealthier neighborhoods or towns to support its work in poorer areas. It might be linked to Oficina Hispana's manpower training programs in the trades as well.

CHAPTER 5: COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

INTRODUCTION

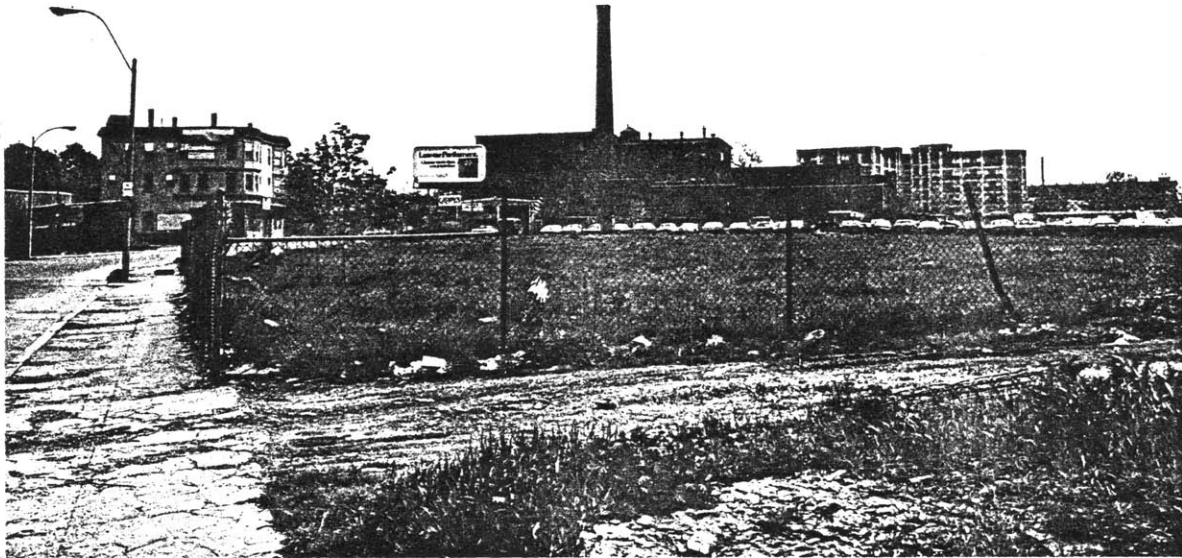
The recent revitalization of the Centre Street/Hyde Square business area has stirred optimism in Jackson Square's future. Over the past several years, it has become the major center for Hispanic retail goods in the metropolitan Boston region. A prime goal of a development strategy for Jackson Square is to reinforce that business growth by boosting the area's overall image, expanding and diversifying the current mix of goods and services, and, contingent upon the future market, providing space for local entrepreneurs.

A second often-stressed development goal is to expand job opportunities in an area of critically high unemployment. One means to that end that many support is to reattract light manufacturing and stable blue-collar jobs to an area that has traditionally been put to that use.

Among the resources at Jackson Square that might be utilized for both goals are Parcels 69, 70x and 71, the largest tract of cleared land in the Jamaica Plain section of the Corridor and one of the largest now available in the entire Corridor. The land, comprising about four-and-one-quarter acres, is entirely State-owned. All lies vacant except for Parcel 70x which is in interim use as a yard for Cappy's Towing and Wrecking Company. Acquisition of contiguous vacant City and private land would increase the size to over five acres; if air rights over the tracks are utilized, the size climbs to about seven acres.

The Centre Street frontage of this land has future potential for such

PARCELS 69, 70x, AND 71

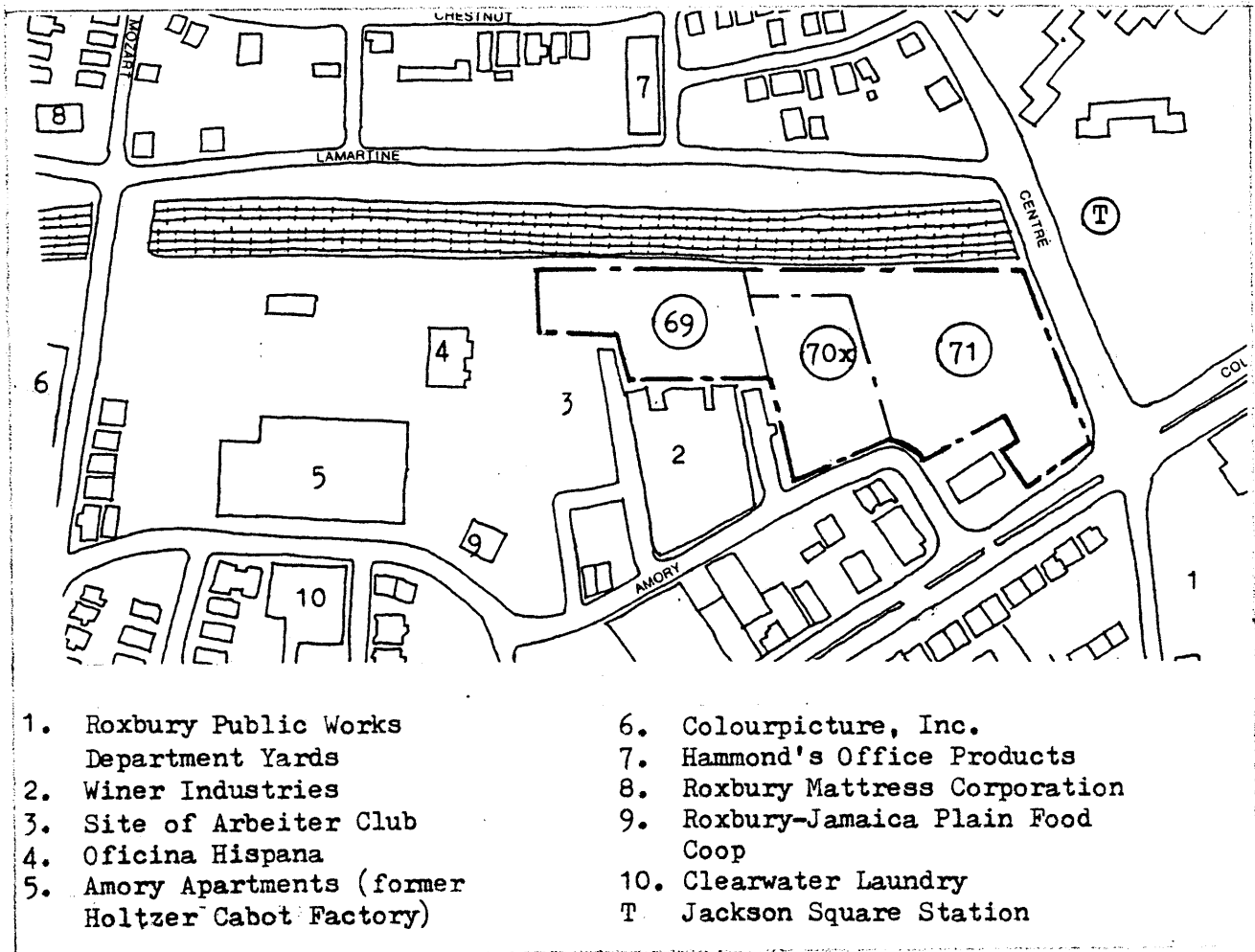


View toward Winer Industries and Amory Street elderly housing (former Holtzer Cabot factory)



View toward Bromley-Heath public housing project

activities as a small Hispanic shopping mall or multi-service center. On the remaining major part of the land, the development of one or two light manufacturing plants is physically feasible. However, unlike the housing opportunities discussed in Chapter 4, an expenditure of major planning time on any of these fronts is better postponed until near the completion of the Corridor transit project.



Postponement is suggested for the following reasons:

- The land toward Centre Street will be unavailable until late into the Corridor project because of the reconstruction of Centre and Amory Streets. Tenants of any planned retail shops will not make lease commitments until

the Orange Line is near completion. As a result, it will be very difficult to obtain financing.

- At this time there is no market evidence of demand for the rest of the land by light industry. Moreover, the Southwest Corridor Project Office contemplates relocating the City's Roxbury Public Works Department Yards onto that part of the site. Future industrial development will, then, be contingent upon the community's success in reversing those plans as well as on the need for an improved market climate.

Therefore, a development strategy for this land will instead emphasize only those critical actions that need to be undertaken now to preserve the land's future potential. Also, the strategy will highlight other resources for business and job development that may be utilized in the short- and medium-run.

RETAIL POTENTIAL

Current Market Characteristics

The disinvestment experienced by many neighborhood business districts in poverty areas arises from several causes. A store must maintain a threshold sales level to stay in business. If population or income declines, the shop must draw upon a larger trade area from which to attract sales; alternatively, it can raise prices. Thus, many ghetto communities have a lower density of neighborhood stores, a narrower selection of goods, and often higher prices than urban wealthier areas of comparable density. A second factor hurting the neighborhood business district is competition from shopping centers that offer a wide variety of goods at reasonable prices at a single location. Those benefits, however, do not reach the many residents without cars in low income areas.

Furthermore, low income shoppers tend not to purchase the high mark-up

or luxury items that generate the greatest profits to merchants. Insurance and pilferage costs are high and eat into already slim profit margins. Stores tend to be small and less efficient than the supermarkets and department stores that cater more to shoppers with automobile access.

As recently as four or five years ago, deterioration plagued the Centre Street/Hyde Square business area. Storefront vacancy rates reached about 25%, according to the BRA. Since that time, the area has experienced a dramatic influx of Hispanic residents. Accompanying that influx has been renewed investment, making the district the regional center for Hispanic grocery and other goods. The majority of store owners are Hispanic, many of them Cubans with backgrounds in the professions and with a tradition of entrepreneurship.

As of the spring of 1978, about seventy establishments are operating on Centre Street between Jackson Square and the Hi-Lo Market just beyond Hyde Square. Seven vacant storefronts occur yielding a vacancy rate of about 9%. Appendix C contains a complete inventory of establishments. A summary indicating the distribution of shops by type follows. Also, all businesses have been mapped together with the locations of vacancies and of shops established within the past year.

The stores form two broad clusters. One is geographically centered around the Stop and Shop near Bromley-Heath, largely serving Bromley-Heath and the housing on Chestnut, Estrella and Mozart Streets. The second cluster focuses around Hyde Square itself, serving residents on Wyman, Forbes, Sheridan, Creighton, Day and Paul Gore Streets. The latter cluster is somewhat larger than the first and contains more new establishments and somewhat fancier ones (jewelry, fashion stores). It is also plagued by more vacancies than the first cluster, especially towards its eastern tip near Wyman Street.

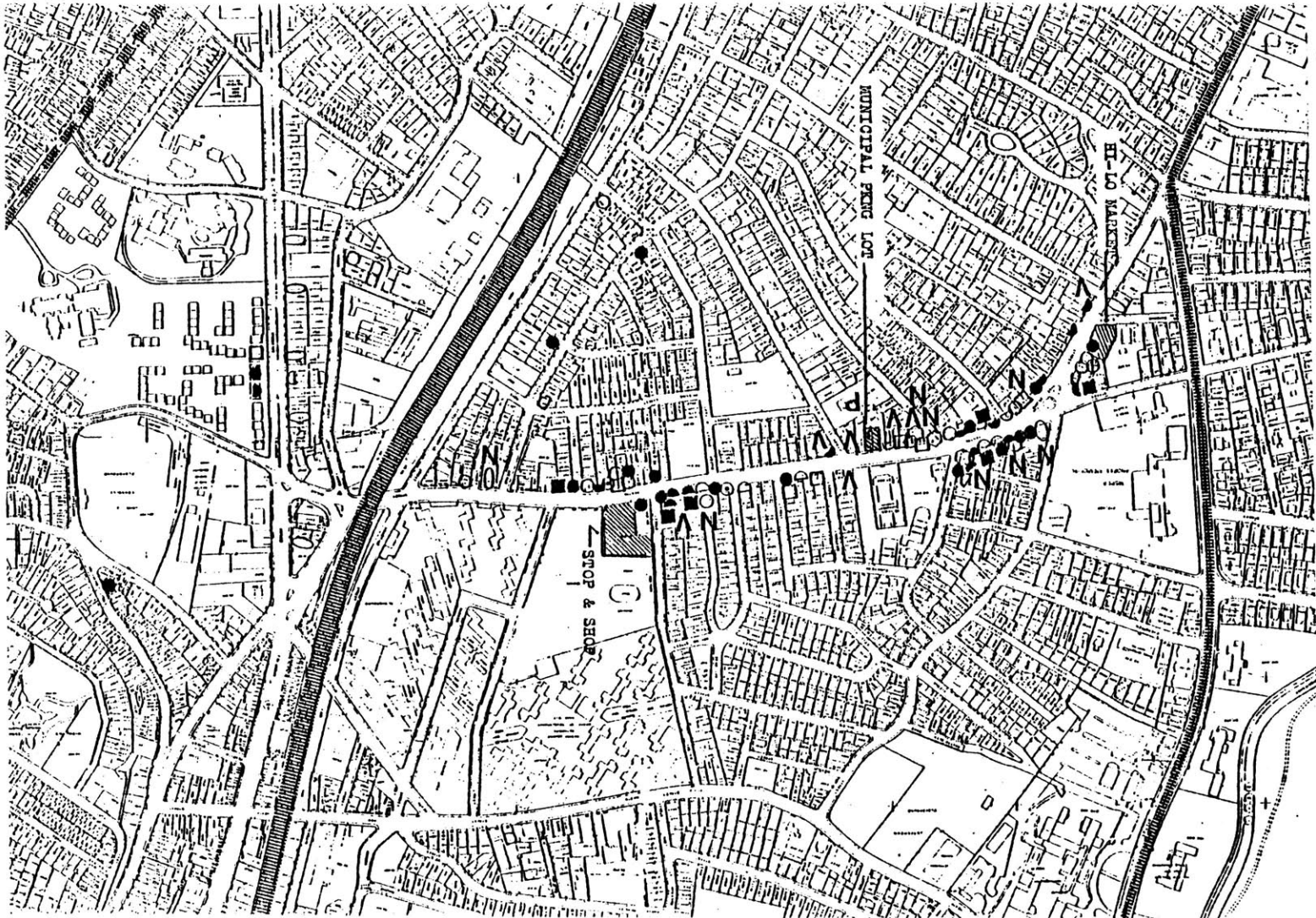
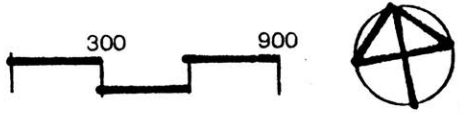
RETAIL SURVEY SUMMARY

Type	Number	Comments
Food and drink (groceries, liquor stores)	15	Includes 2 liquor stores
Eating and drinking (restaurants, taverns)	10	Includes 4 bars
Drug stores	2	
Entertainment	1	Bowling alley
Business services (real estate, printers, photographers)	10	
Personal services (laundry, barbers)	13	
General merchandise and specialty (5&10, records)	8	
Household appliances and furniture	6	Includes 2 hardware stores
Clothing	3	
Auto service	3	

Typical Centre Street shop rents run around \$.13 per square foot per month (\$ 1.55 per year). A small 2000 square foot store might thus rent for \$ 250, though rents are, of course, negotiable. They range, for typical shops, from \$ 200 to \$ 400 per month. Land prices are more difficult to estimate. A building foundation and basement of 7500 square feet between Chestnut and Estrella Streets has reportedly been for sale by the Small Business Administration for \$ 7500. Originally, it had sought \$ 30,000.

The Centre Street shopping area comprises the bulk of the activity near Jackson Square. Other minor clusters do, however, dot the area. The Columbus Avenue frontage of Academy Homes houses a grocery store, beauty parlor, and refrigerator appliance store. Across the street from Academy Homes on Columbus Avenue lie several used car dealers and garages. Scattered groceries

Retail Survey



- RETAIL SURVEY (Centre Street to Hyde Sq. and within 1/4 mi. of Jackson Sq.)
- FOOD (INCLUDING LIQUOR)
 - EATING AND DRINKING
 - ⊙ DRUG STORE
 - ⊗ ENTERTAINMENT
 - PERSONAL SERVICES (barber, laundry)
 - BUSINESS SERVICES (printer, real estate)
 - GENERAL MERCHANDISE & SPECIALTY
 - HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES & FURNITURE
 - CLOTHING
 - AUTO SERVICE
 - ∇ VACANCY
 - N NEWLY ESTABLISHED (within year)
 - P MUNICIPAL PARKING
 - ▨ OFF-STREET PARKING

and taverns are on Chestnut and Mozart Streets; a small grocery cluster is at Highland and Marcella Streets in the southern end of the Highland Park neighborhood.

Outside a quarter-mile radius from Jackson Square, the nearest business concentration is at Egleston Square, which now contains primarily convenience stores serving the local neighborhood. In several years, John Eliot Square on the northern side of Highland Park may become another small center.

It is unlikely that small new commercial development at Jackson Square would have major impact on any of these areas. A larger new development here might, in contrast, draw customers away from their local grocery stores. For those with cars, a large center might also compete somewhat with centers in Roslindale and Hyde Park where many residents near Jackson Square now shop.

In addition to the recent growth of population and of retail activity along Centre Street, other factors suggest that new commercial development may be justified in the mid-run. Foremost is the coming of the Jackson Square Station. The transit stop will give the area an identity for the first time: psychologically, people will recognize it as a 'place' and may feel more comfortable shopping and investing there. The transit patronage itself may provide a small market for convenience goods. In general, though, transit ridership will only support a market at the very largest stations; even newstands and candy counters usually survive only at system interchanges and termini. Finally, future users of Roxbury Community College may contribute to the market demand. But this impact may also be secondary because the College's 'front door' facilities will probably be closer to Roxbury Crossing (see Chapter 3).

The Site

The Centre Street frontage of Parcel 71 has several features making it an advantageous location for retail activity. The relocation of Amory Street so that it exits onto Columbus Avenue rather than Centre Street lengthens the frontage available for development to about 300 feet. It also eliminates a maze of intersections at that location. The site is highly visible and accessible. Development there can readily join more new and existing development west of it on the same side of Centre Street. It is directly in the path of the Hyde Square residential neighborhood to the southwest, and Academy Homes and the Egleston Square neighborhood to the southeast.

Such continuity would not be possible across the street; Parcel 35, even though it is adjacent to the future transit station, is somewhat of an island between Bromley-Heath with no commercial frontage, and the industrial activities on Parcel 34. Also, the amount of land available for development after the station, bus loops, and open space system are in place will be minimal. The Corridor consultants have rightly recommended that Parcel 35 not be designated a development parcel, but rather that it be integrated with the rest of the linear open space network along the Corridor. An imageable and bold design for that open space including the puddingstone rock formation could contribute to the overall potential for commercial development across the street on Parcel 71. Yet, it would not compete with it, as more shops on Parcel 35 would.

RETAIL DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS

Several choices for future development on Parcel 71 will now be outlined. Though a detailed study of these choices is premature until the early 1980s when the site's availability may come on the horizon, a quick look now will identify some future opportunities and may spotlight actions that must be taken now to preserve them.

The Scale of Development

Several residents, understandably distressed at the absence of an easily accessible department store, have expressed a preference for large development - a Zayres or a bigger and superior Stop and Shop or Hi-Lo supermarket. Others have urged that the scale of development not hurt existing Centre Street businesses. At this time, development at the modest end of the scale seems appropriate for three reasons:

- In spite of the renewed vigor of the Centre Street business district, many establishments are still only marginally profitable. There is a large proportion of small and medium-size grocery stores that might be especially hard hit by new large-scale competition. They would, however, be more likely to survive an incremental addition that was scaled only to absorb some new growth from the continuing influx of Hispanic residents that is projected and from the attraction of the transit system.
- It would be very difficult to physically accommodate a large store of, say 15,000 square feet plus parking space for 100 cars to serve it without penetrating more than 200 feet into the site from Centre Street, and into land held for future industrial development.
- A modest expansion of the overburdened Stop and Shop on its existing site may be feasible and is currently under study by community-based groups.

If development of small-medium scale is assumed, two images are explored - an Hispanic shopping mall and a multi-service center integrated with shops. Other options may arise later during future in-depth retail studies. All, of course, must await close examination of the market at that date.

An Hispanic Shopping Mall

If off-street parking is limited to about thirty spaces, approximately 15,000-20,000 square feet of retail space could be provided on one level.

This is roughly 8-9% of the retail space now occupied on Centre Street from Jackson Square to the Hi-Lo market near Hyde Square. The impact of new business competition on others would thus be small. Additional population growth may absorb the new retail activity. In 15,000-20,000 square feet of space, six or seven small shops of around 2400 square feet each could be accommodated. Alternatively, several medium-sized establishments (or one) could occupy the space.

At this time, additional newly constructed small shop development seems unfeasible. Rent levels of \$ 6 per square foot per year and upwards are generally required to support new retail development. Current rents of \$ 1.55 are dramatically lower. Since larger and more efficient retail spaces are now less available in existing Centre Street buildings, new stores of moderate size should be investigated. The survey of Centre Street retail establishments suggests several medium-sized potential clients to fill gaps in the market. There is no 'quality' Hispanic restaurant in the area to replace the successful La Fonda Antioquena that, unfortunately, recently burned. There is no 24-hour store, and no family clothing store selling inexpensive and sturdy work clothes or shoes.

Existing gaps in the market, however, may also signal the kinds of stores to be wary of - a class of shop may be missing from the current mix for the very good reason that it is especially difficult to make a go of it. For example, small family clothing stores mentioned above have experienced poor luck competing with Filene's Basement. If such a venture is to succeed at Jackson Square, it must be carefully tailored to a local clientele of Hispanics and blacks and must have a competitive price range.

If at a later date incomes continue to grow, and existing vacancies fill, new construction to house small stores may seem more feasible than it does now at first glance. Potential clients for the space might then

include several small convenience stores such as a grocery specializing in Hispanic foods or a coffee shop that might attract transit patrons. Some repetition of this kind of store, although now typical of Centre Street, may be entirely appropriate because the trade areas that such convenience stores draw upon are quite small. The area's expected growth from the factors discussed earlier may support additional 'bread and butter' establishments of this sort without the danger of saturating the market. There may also be a market for small professional offices for a local doctor or dentist in a possible second level to the mall. If a neighborhood credit union that the NDC is now exploring takes shape, it might be located here.

A Multi-Service Center

A multi-service center on this site would provide an opportunity to consolidate scattered community organizations and public service facilities onto a highly visible and accessible location: Potential clients for the facility might include food stamp and welfare offices, offices where utility bills could be paid, day care and youth programs space, and agency space for Oficina Hispana. The facility might be a two- or three-level structure, each floor housing about 15,000-20,000 square feet as in the shopping mall. Retail space might be integrated into the ground floor, rather than occupying it with 'dead' agency space as is now the case at various points along Centre Street. Upper level space above stores of the kind traditionally used to house such offices does not exist in this part of Centre Street.

Two mechanisms by which such a center might be developed are outlined:

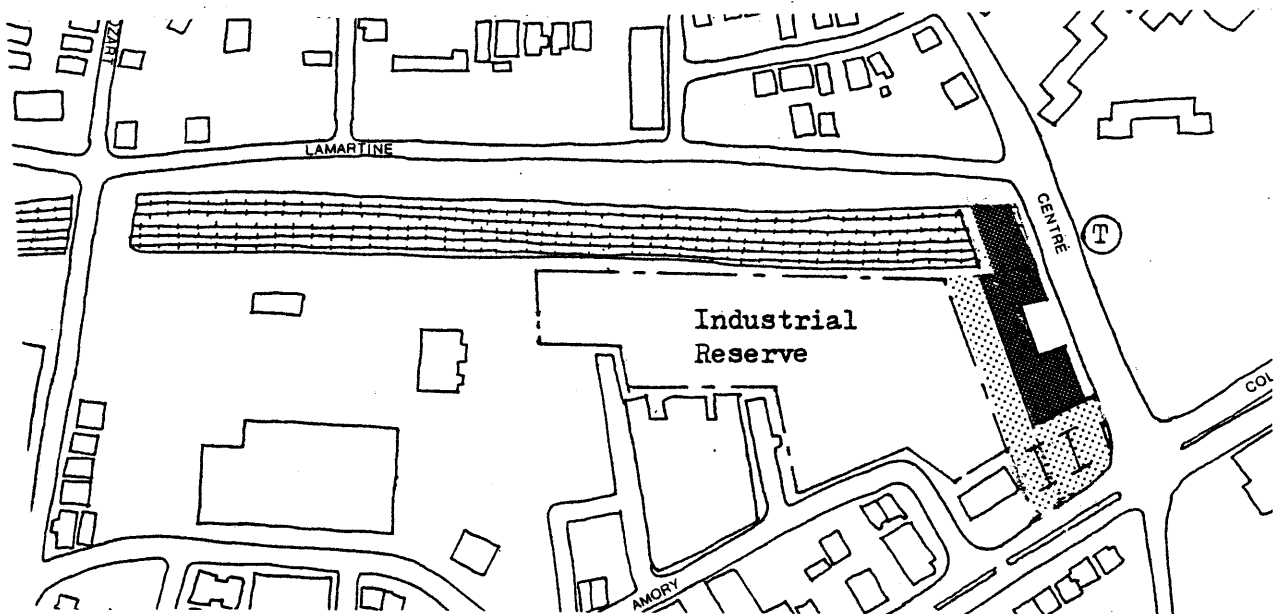
- The center is developed privately (with government loan and subsidy programs) by the NDC and/or other groups, just as the shopping mall might be developed. Upper-level space is then leased to government and community agencies, and the ground floor leased to community retail entrepreneurs. Financing would be greatly facilitated by this mechanism's

promise of steady government tenants.

- Joint development is attempted. The City builds the center with funds from its public facilities budget and then leases ground floor space to community entrepreneurs at low or competitive rents. The City has allotted funds for a similar multi-service center, without the retail component, sponsored by Alianza Hispana in the Dudley Street area of Roxbury.

* * *

In order to preserve the potential to flexibly accommodate either a shopping mall or multi-service center, it is critical that the State increase the reservation of land allotted to retail use on Parcel 71. The Southwest Corridor Project Office now assumes that the land over 100 feet away from Centre Street will be used by the relocated Public Works Department Yards (or by industrial development if its plans are changed). However, a setback of only 100 feet allows for only small-shop strip development. At least 150 feet is needed to organize shops around a plaza, or to provide service or parking space behind the buildings, as sketched below.



Also, as sketched, decking should be provided over the tracks as they pass under Centre Street's southern edge. The decking should be wide and strong enough to facilitate future shop construction. In this way, storefront continuity between old and new development could occur. In the meantime, the decking would serve to broaden the sidewalk over the tracks and improve the environment for pedestrians. A bus stop with a shaded seating area might be sited there.

LIGHT MANUFACTURING POTENTIAL

Current Market Characteristics

Originally, breweries and tanneries located along this section of the Corridor to tap the water resources of Stony Brook and to benefit from the access provided by the Boston and Providence railroad along Washington Street. These activities have long since left the area together with the steady blue collar jobs they provided to local residents. Industry's suburbanization has resulted from several factors. Transportation of goods by trucks has loosened the attraction of manufacturing plants to the rail yards of the old cities. New manufacturing technologies make sprawling one-level plants more efficient than multi-level designs. Large land tracts to accommodate such plants are more available outside the city. Most importantly, land costs are cheaper away from the core. In the Boston area, firms with regional markets will usually find location along the circumferential highways such as Routes 128 and 495 more profitable than inner city sites with higher land, insurance and tax costs.

Within the city, a shift away from manufacturing toward services has developed. The change in the occupational and industrial structure within Jamaica Plain charted on the next page illustrates this shift and mirrors that of Boston as a whole. The emerging dominant sector has tended

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE IN JAMAICA PLAIN, 1960-70

	1960	1970	Absolute Change	% Change	% Change Statewide
<u>Population</u>	45,348	42,156	-3,192	-7	
<u>Occupations:</u>					
Prof., Tech., Mgrs.	3,217	3,452	235	7.3	44.3
Clerical & Sales	4,692	4,842	150	3.2	31.2
Craftsmen & Foremen	2,049	1,752	-297	-14.5	7.9
Operatives	3,470	2,340	-1,140	-32.6	-7.2
Service & Laborers (Not Reported)	2,948 (1,885)	3,766	818	27.7	31.3
Total	18,683	16,152	-2,531	-13.5	
<u>Industries:</u>					
Construction	788	625	-163	-20.7	23.0
Manufacturing	4,470	2,802	-1,668	-37.3	-5.5
Transportation	815	650	-165	-20.2	3.5
Communications & Utilities	653	499	-154	-23.6	26.5
Wholesale Trade	666	682	16	2.4	49.3
Retail Trade	2,351	2,168	-183	-7.8	29.9
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	--	1,499	--	--	37.9
Business, Repair & Personal Services	1,204	1,140	-64	-5.3	9.6
Educational & Profes- sional Services	2,031	2,351	320	15.8	146.3
Public Administration	1,194	1,162	-32	-2.7	24.3
Health Services	1,078	2,430	1,352	125.0	140.4
Other	2,978	153			
Total	18,228	16,161	-2,067	-11.3	

Source: M. Gondek, Jamaica Plain Employment Profile, 1976 and U.S. Census, 1960 and 1970.

to stratify into two layers: high paying, steady professional and managerial positions at the top and a secondary labor market of unskilled, low-pay and high-turnover laborer jobs at the bottom. It is these relatively undesirable jobs that, in many cases, are the only ones available to unskilled blacks and Hispanics, who are further hampered by a language barrier and by racial and ethnic discrimination. These barriers are joined by transportation inadequacies in hindering access to whatever steady blue collar jobs with advancement opportunities may exist in the suburbs. For this reason, renewed manufacturing investment in the city, combined with job training, could benefit low income neighborhoods like northeastern Jamaica Plain.

The immediate prospect for new investment near Jackson Square, however, does not appear strong for the following reasons:

- (1) Much existing light manufacturing has experienced disinvestment; vacancies and low prices predominate. There is little sign of new investment. Between Amory Street and the embankment lies a band of large industrial structures; Colourpicture, a publishing plant; the Holtzer Cabot plant that was converted in the early 70's from furniture manufacturing to low-income elderly housing; and Winer Industries, which contains furniture and trunk manufacturers and a chemical company producing soaps, waxes, brooms, mops and barrels. Formerly, the upper floors of the Winer building housed warehouse space for Paperback



Colourpicture



Winer Industries

Booksmith. Now, much of that space is vacant.

Smaller structures are scattered along the west side of the embankment on Lamartine Street. Hammond's Office Products occupies a warehouse for stationery. A small structure by Parcel 66 was once a sheet metal shop and now serves as storage and garage space for the Southwest Corridor Community Farm. A structure at Mozart and Lamartine Streets that once housed a distillery, and after that the Roxbury Mattress Corporation is vacant.

Between Amory Street and Columbus Avenue is another band of light industrial structures. The Clearwater Laundry plant at Amory and Bragdon is vacant. One block north on Amory is a White Rock Soda warehouse that once may have been its bottling plant. Next to it are several small activities such as Chicago Pneumatic Tools, Boston Hydraulic, and Boston Electric Motor which repairs and sells equipment.

Immediately north of Jackson Square, the former Croft Brewery is one of several structures near Parcel 31 that have been recently acquired by the City for tax delinquency. Last of the industrial structures within a few minutes walk of Jackson Square are those on Parcel 34x: New England Systems and Supply, and the Abbott Box Company which has vacant space.

Further south, one of Jamaica Plain's largest employers, American Cellophane, recently left to join one of its branch facilities in Tennessee. Kinney Vacuum will also soon move out.

Typical land prices for industrial properties range from \$1 to \$2 per square foot. In the Winer facility, rents were quoted at \$ 1.00 to \$ 1.25 per square foot per year on the first floor and \$.60 to \$ 1.00 on the second and third floors, but all prices are presumably negotiable.

- (2) Efforts to reattract industry to the city are focused on other sites that, for the time being, have a comparative advantage over Jackson Square. A prime example within the Corridor is the Crosstown Industrial Park (CTIP) located at the intersection of Massachusetts Avenue and the Southeast Expressway ramp near Boston City Hospital. The site is being developed jointly by CDC of Boston and the City's Economic and Industrial Development Commission. Ultimately, the scale of development might reach 40 acres. At present, about five acres are being developed on which Digital Equipment Corporation will imminently begin construction of a 58,000 square foot plant that will provide an estimated 300 jobs. The adjacent Baltimore Brushes, Inc. building, now vacant, is providing incubator space for small minority ventures.

CTIP's location adjacent to a major transportation interchange, and its generous size make it a far more promising site than Jackson Square. The City is committed to providing costly road, lighting and utility improvements to the site and is actively promoting it to prospective tenants. It will also provide employment assistance money from CETA and other discretionary federal grants to tenants to compensate them for hiring and training the unskilled.

The City is directing similar efforts at other sites. At the Boston Marine Industrial Park (the old Boston Navy Shipyard), more than a dozen firms have located on the 100-acre site increasing employment there from nothing to over 800 from 1975 to 1977. Improvements have been made at the 7-acre Alsen-Mapes Industrial Park in Dorchester near Fields Corner and some tenants have been lined up. The Fort Point Channel Industrial Park is another City-supported undertaking. At all these sites and at others there is much excess capacity for future industrial growth. Even at these advantageous locations and in spite of the City's

financial support, many find the development pace sluggish and would question the efficacy of another such attempt at Jackson Square.

There are, however, strong arguments for preserving the option for future industrial development here:

- Even though the development pace may now be sluggish at other sites, there is reason to expect it to soon accelerate. The construction of the Cross-town Street alongside CTIP that is expected to begin in early 1979 will likely spark new commitments by firms to locate there. Similarly, Massport's decision on whether to locate its containerport at the Marine Industrial Park, which seems imminent, will, if positive, attract additional firms who manufacture heavy products to be shipped by sea. The filling up of those sites, especially CTIP, may signal additional demand at Jackson Square.
- Though there are vacancies in existing plants at Jackson Square, many of these are old and inefficient with inadequate loading and elevator space. At the Winer building, for example, truck access onto its cramped driveway is difficult. Thus, there may be a demand for new space on land adequate for one or two-level structures and with good access.
- Federal support for inner city industrial development may grow if the Carter Administration's new proposals for a national development bank and for tax credits to firms that hire the 'unemployable' are passed.
- The land for Jackson Square that the State could make available at a minimal price has positive site qualities for industrial development. These qualities are described below and in the illustrative development scenarios that follow.

The Site

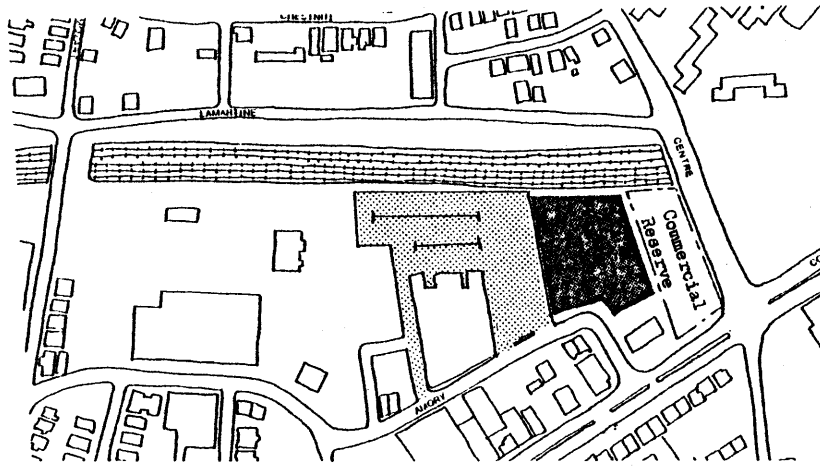
The land available ranges in size from about three-and-one-half to just over six acres depending upon whether adjacent land, mostly city-owned, and

air rights are utilized. At a minimum, sufficient space is available for one large plant. The site is approximately flat and soil conditions stable. Access onto the Arterial Street could be excellent if Amory Street is properly relocated as planned. Adjacent uses are compatible; the site is part of a band of large industrial structures. Most utilities exist, though the adequacy of existing water mains must be confirmed. The site's size and shape allows for flexibility in plant siting and expansion, as will be demonstrated. Alternative opportunities for large industrial development within the Jamaica Plain Corridor do not exist. Moreover, alternative income-producing uses for this site are difficult to imagine in the foreseeable future. There is, thus, little opportunity cost incurred in banking it for future use.

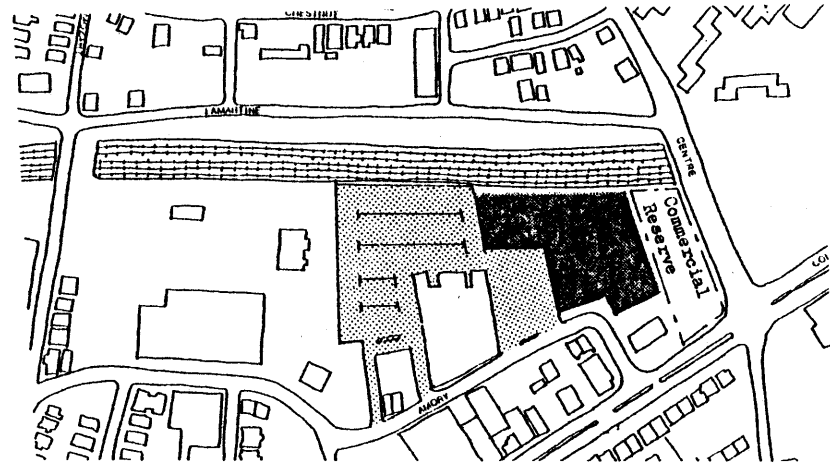
SCENARIOS FOR LIGHT INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

A small industrial park at Jackson Square is physically feasible. All scenarios assume that Winer Industries remains - it is privately owned, is a sound structure (though in need of maintenance), and could provide inexpensive rental space for new and marginal enterprises. Assuming the most limiting situation of development confined to State-owned Parcels 69, 70x and 71, and further assuming no air rights construction over the tracks, a one-level plant of about 65,000 square feet can be accommodated with ample loading space of 15,000 square feet and parking for approximately 120 cars (see Site Plan A). Acquiring the unused loading dock space on the north edge of the Winer building may improve truck circulation. A small easement may be required to allow for access to the Stony Brook culvert that runs along the east edge of the transit alignment. In this analysis and those following, any plant is set back at least 150 feet from Centre Street to permit a flexible disposition of commercial activity as discussed earlier. If the site of the Arbeiter Club

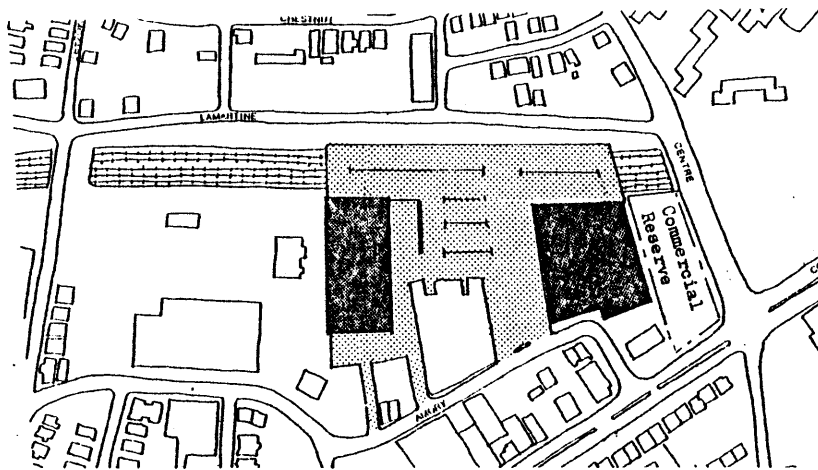
Illustrative Site Plans for Light Industry



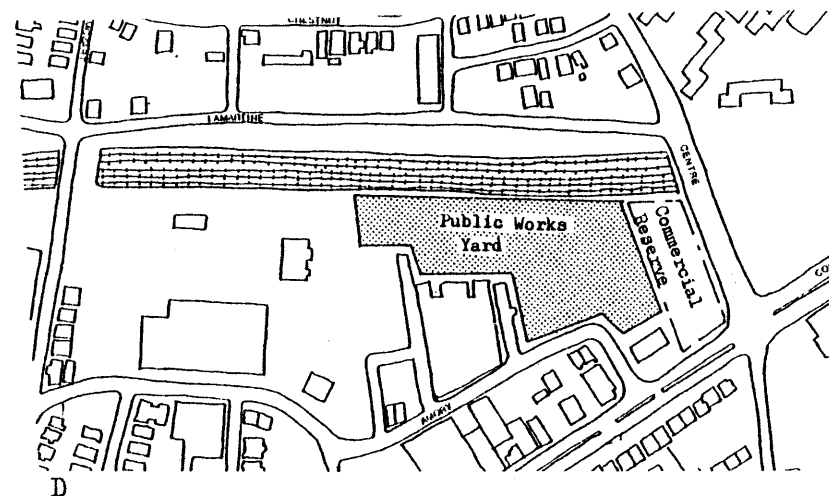
A



B



C



becomes available, additional expansion space for the plant (by a third) and for parking is feasible (see Site Plan B).

Before expansion, development of this scale might generate about 160 job opportunities, increasing to over 200 with expansion. This assumes an average of 400 square feet per employee, which is in the range of those labor intensive industries that have been mentioned as desirable in CDC of Boston's and EDIC's study of target industries for the Crosstown Industrial Park.* Such industries include precision instruments, fabricated metals, and chemicals; all have good projections for growth, offer well-paying steady jobs, and are labor intensive, especially in the blue collar category. Computer industries are even more labor intensive, providing on average, one job for every 200 square feet of plant area. If such a plant located on the site, the number of job opportunities would double. Boston's average is, however, only one job per 520 square feet. To assure that any of these opportunities would go to local unemployed, intensive job training would be required, as is planned at the Crosstown Park.

If decking over the transit trench is constructed, and if the Arbeiter site and a small piece of unused land owned by the Boston Housing Authority is acquired, an additional plant of about 45,000 square feet is possible with over 250 parking spaces, some on an air rights deck (Site Plan C). If necessary, small pockets of additional parking, or perhaps a small plant, could be accommodated on Parcels 65 or 66 via a driveway onto Lamartine Street. However, these parcels would, at this time, serve a better use for housing as seen in the previous chapter.

An element upon which development potential hinges is the plan to relocate the City's Roxbury Public Works Yard onto Parcels 69, 70x and 71

* Community Development Corporation of Boston, Inc., Preliminary Review of Target Industry Groups, 1976.

from its present site adjacent to the Connolly Playground. If that were to occur, no plant construction would be feasible (Site Plan D). Though the Arbeiter site might be available, insufficient loading, parking and expansion space would preclude industrial development there. Relocation has been proposed to accommodate Roxbury Community College, which, based upon very early feasibility studies, might wish to locate a gymnasium on part of the present Yard site. The plan deserves more discussion, however, because sufficient land is available on RCC's site for many alternative site plans. Any visual noxiousness of the Yard's location adjacent to the College's playing fields could be easily mitigated by screening. Industrial development at Jackson Square would clearly benefit the College's Roxbury constituency as much as Jamaica Plain. Should further study confirm RCC's need for the site, however, alternative possible sites are worth investigation including Parcel 22 adjacent to the Occupational Resource Center now under construction near Roxbury Crossing, the MBTA's Bartlett Street Yards near Dudley Square, and Parcel 1 near Forest Hills.

A second element impacting development potential is the detailed plan for the reconstruction of the end of Amory Street and its intersection with Columbus Avenue. In the Environmental Impact Analysis, the width of Amory Street has been reduced to about 25 feet as it meets Columbus Avenue. This may be insufficient for proper truck access to and from the development site. Also, trucks leaving the site must be able to access the northbound lane of Columbus Avenue immediately; any median strips in place at the intersection would prevent such left-turn movements.

Should new development efforts prove fruitless, a fallback option, also for the future, might be to lease space in the Winer building or in other available buildings as an incubator for small community ventures. For the short and medium-term, however, the strategy below will suggest other

mechanisms for job retention or creation that seem more readily achievable.

A STRATEGY FOR COMMERCIAL AND JOB DEVELOPMENT

A Set of Tasks

To preserve important future options, the following two tasks should be undertaken now:

- (1) State the NDC's interest in future commercial development on Parcel 71 to its constituency and to the public agencies responsible for the Corridor project. Influence those transit-related plans that impact the potential for commercial development:

- The width of space reserved for Centre Street commercial frontage on Parcel 71 should be increased from 100 feet to at least 150 feet to allow for flexible site planning of such activities as a Hispanic shopping mall or multi-service center integrated with shops.
- Decking over the tracks, wide and strong enough to accommodate a future store, should be provided along Centre Street's southern sidewalk. This would facilitate storefront continuity from new to existing development.
- The design of both the transit station and the open space on Parcel 35 should be distinctive and very strongly imageable.
- Joint retail development with the station is not highly recommended. It could compete with the much better retail location of future development across the street on Parcel 71.

- (2) Influence the transit-related decisions that affect future industrial development potential:

- The Roxbury Public Works Department Yards should not be relocated onto Parcels 69, 70 and 71. The future industrial potential of the largest

tract of land in the Jamaica Plain Corridor should be preserved.*

Negotiations on Roxbury Community College's plans for the existing Yards and on alternative sites for the Yards should begin.

- The relocation of Amory Street should reinforce the site's locational advantage by facilitating truck access to and from Columbus Avenue.

After the above two tasks have begun:

- (3) Initiate discussion of the desirability of a future multi-service center integrated with stores on the Centre Street frontage of Parcel 71 with NDC's Economic Development Committee, Oficina Hispana, the Hyde Square Businessmen's Association and with a Development Task Force, if formed. Although the land is unavailable until completion of transit construction is near, negotiations with the City would have to begin soon to line up commitments from public sector tenants and/or to press for the center's inclusion in the future public facilities budget.

As soon as possible thereafter, begin the following two tasks:

- (4) Formulate a strategy for the revitalization of the existing commercial areas on Centre Street near Jackson Square with the groups mentioned above.

- Activities could include image building through the media to the metropolitan Hispanic community by special reports in El Mundo and on WUNR. Outreach might be extended to the non-Hispanic community; the Real Paper once gave a glowing review to Centre Street's Miami Super Subs.

The NDC could help others start up new ventures in existing vacancies by establishing its planned Business Development Office, performing market and feasibility studies, and applying for SBA 502

* A disposition mechanism for this land if it is to be held over the long-term is discussed in Chapter 3.

loan funds to Local Development Companies for constructing space and for purchasing land and equipment. SBA's Economic Opportunity Loans program and its lease guarantee insurance might also be investigated.

Special attention might focus on stabilizing and improving the block between Lamartine and Wise Streets closest to Parcel 71 in order to afford continuity between future new development and existing stores further west on Centre Street. The intersection of Wyman and Centre Streets is another location in need of improvement.

- Detailed planning for a possible Hispanic shopping mall or other plans for Parcel 71 should wait until at least the early 1980s, still well ahead of the land's readiness for development in 1983 if transit construction proceeds on schedule and if the market is favorable.

(5) Seek City actions that will support existing and future commercial development:

- The Centre Street frontage between Columbus and Chestnut Avenues should be rezoned from an industrial to a business district. The widespread concern over the recent construction of a garage on potential retail frontage suggests a mismatch between regulation and the community's hopes for the area.
- Centre Street should be refurbished with lighting, trees and furniture.
- Security should be increased. Bromley-Heath's resident security patrol should be funded to patrol Centre Street in front of the project. A uniformed presence there during shopping hours might allay the fears of potential shoppers, especially elderly. The City's Be Sure program providing a 50% rebate to shopkeepers for the purchase of security hardware should be publicized.
- The City's RESTORE program that offers a 20% rebate for storefront improvements should stop trying to make the shopping district

"attractive" as its brochures endlessly stress (signage that doesn't obscure the buildings' structure, maintaining original facing materials, etc.); rather, the area's uniqueness, its potential color, excitement, and Hispanic flavor should be emphasized. BRA staff should prepare a special RESTORE brochure solely for Hyde Square merchants. Also, a sheltered arcade might be mounted along one stretch of stores, and blank building fronts resulting from merchants' attempts to reduce glass area should be creatively handled.

Finally, as the need or opportunity arises:

- (6) Preserve the area's existing jobs and take advantage of the job opportunities in upcoming public projects and programs. Postpone active planning for industrial development until there are clear indicators of demand such as the filling up of the Crosstown Industrial Park.

- Promptly notify EDIC of any rumored plans of existing major plants to leave the area. They recently helped the Araban Coffee Company of South Boston and the T.J. Edwards manufacturing firm to stay in Boston when they were considering moving to the suburbs.* When such cases arise in Jamaica Plain, EDIC's help should be demanded.
- Together with other groups, ensure that other major public construction projects besides the transit project, such as Roxbury Community College, Occupational Resource Center, and modernization of Bromley-Heath provide temporary and permanent jobs to the City's unemployed (see Chapter 3).
- Urge that the future vocational training programs of the Occupational Resource Center and of Roxbury Community College outreach to Jamaica Plain's Hispanic community.

* "Pacing Boston's Growth," editorial in Boston Globe, April 15, 1978.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS: INFORMING A COURSE OF ACTION

Jackson Square is in a special state of flux. Its land market is 'soft' and its residential stability uneasy. The impact of the Corridor transit project is uncertain, even if all the outstanding design issues that might affect its future development potential were settled. Any development strategy in a context like this must contain mechanisms that enable it to cope with flux and uncertainty. This chapter outlines two such mechanisms and adds them to the list of tasks.

First, a "reconnaissance" system is recommended by which area trends, new opportunities and emergencies might be noted and acted on. Second, a periodic self-assessment mechanism is recommended to compare task achievement with goals, and to accordingly root out obsolete tasks, reorder the priority of others, and formulate new ones. To inform that assessment process, a rationale behind organizing tasks into categories of different priority is discussed. Finally, that rationale is used to organize the entire set of tasks for Jackson Square onto a worksheet on which the status of each task can be noted at later dates.

RECONNAISSANCE

Accurately sensing trends in the market that might impact development decisions is an elusive skill. Will abandonment rates change, Hispanic immigration continue, store vacancies fill, or industries vacate? At a minimal cost, a grassroots monitoring system can be established to discover traces of these changes at intervals far more useful than provided by both State and federal Censuses, and at a finer level of detail.

Benefits could accrue at several levels. First, a frank display of hard data (if relevant and not overdone) can strengthen the credibility of an application for funding by showing that the NDC has "done its homework" and, indeed, knows its neighborhood. Second, the information can help identify target areas for Tradewinds' or the NDC's future programs. Should residential efforts focus on marginal but, perhaps, salvageable areas along the Corridor (as argued in Chapter 4) or, rather, in preserving stronger areas to the south and west? Which stretches along Centre Street merit the most attention for business development? Third, special emergencies or opportunities may be discovered and referred to public agencies in time for them to help. If there is an unexpected rash of abandonment on one block, for example, the City might be pressed to focus building securement and lot maintenance there, and to quickly assume public ownership so that the properties might be transferred for rehab to Urban Edge and/or the NDC, given funding. If a large industrial employer hints at relocating, EDIC can be dispatched to help. If an area is discovered where a concentration of recent Hispanic immigrants are assuming ownership, then the NDC can promptly notify HIP's Hispanic outreach worker and its own Tradewinds staff to assist. Finally, the NDC, through door-to-door monitoring activity, can introduce itself to more residents, merchants and industrial owners than it otherwise could, publicize its programs, and gain supporters.

Approximately every six months, an NDC volunteer could examine the homes on his street from the outside, record whether a "For Sale" or "For Rent" sign is displayed, evaluate exterior building condition (using City standards from the HIP program), and note any abandoned structures, unkempt vacant lots, or anything else relevant that comes to his attention. Covering the street should not exceed two weekend afternoons. If the area is a target for NDC's community organizing and neighborhood liaison work, an NDC staffer or volunteer

might also, in the course of his door-to-door canvassing about other matters, deepen the above monitoring efforts. He might ask the resident he is visiting (after assuring that no one need cooperate if he feels an invasion of privacy) whether he is an owner or renter, whether, to his knowledge, the building is for sale and whether vacancies exist, the date he moved in, his last place of residence, and the extent of any interior and exterior renovations undertaken. Feedback about the NDC's programs and about any community concerns could also be elicited. To supplement any data on turnover obtained in this way, NDC staff can annually examine the Suffolk County Transfer Directory and the Banker and Tradesman to determine the total number of residential sales in Jamaica Plain, their locations, prices, and whether a bank mortgage was provided. Corridor locations might further be screened for evidence of large-scale buying or speculation, sometimes evidenced by a predominance of trusts or by repeated names as buyers. That effort should not exceed one day's work.

The business district, similarly, can be surveyed in collaboration with the Hyde Square Businessmen's Association, noting types of businesses, space, rent and vacancies, and semi-annually thereafter recording changes. Major industrial facilities within NDC's target areas can also be monitored for vacancies, rent levels, and intent to remain. Because much of this work should be critical to improving the BRA's District Planning Program, the City should provide what little extra funding might be required for compiling and distributing the findings and implications.

To institute the system, the NDC staff and board could solicit volunteers, first from among themselves. Then, with the help of community organizers and neighborhood liaison staff, they could identify general members who might like to volunteer, are long-time residents, and, if the area is heavily Hispanic, are bilingual. Streets covered by these volunteer candidates should be mapped to ensure they include prospective target areas like those along

the Corridor. Survey forms may then be developed to elicit only that information considered critical. A method and schedule for data compilation should be outlined.

Finally, as a secondary component of the reconnaissance system, several large properties near Jackson Square not discussed earlier should be periodically watched because their ownership, availability, land use and condition might quickly change. Though they offer few prospects for development in the short or middle-run, their existence and any property transfers involving them should at least be noted to determine if they indicate any general demand trends. At a later date, they might, if available, prove to be a community resource. A survey of each follows:

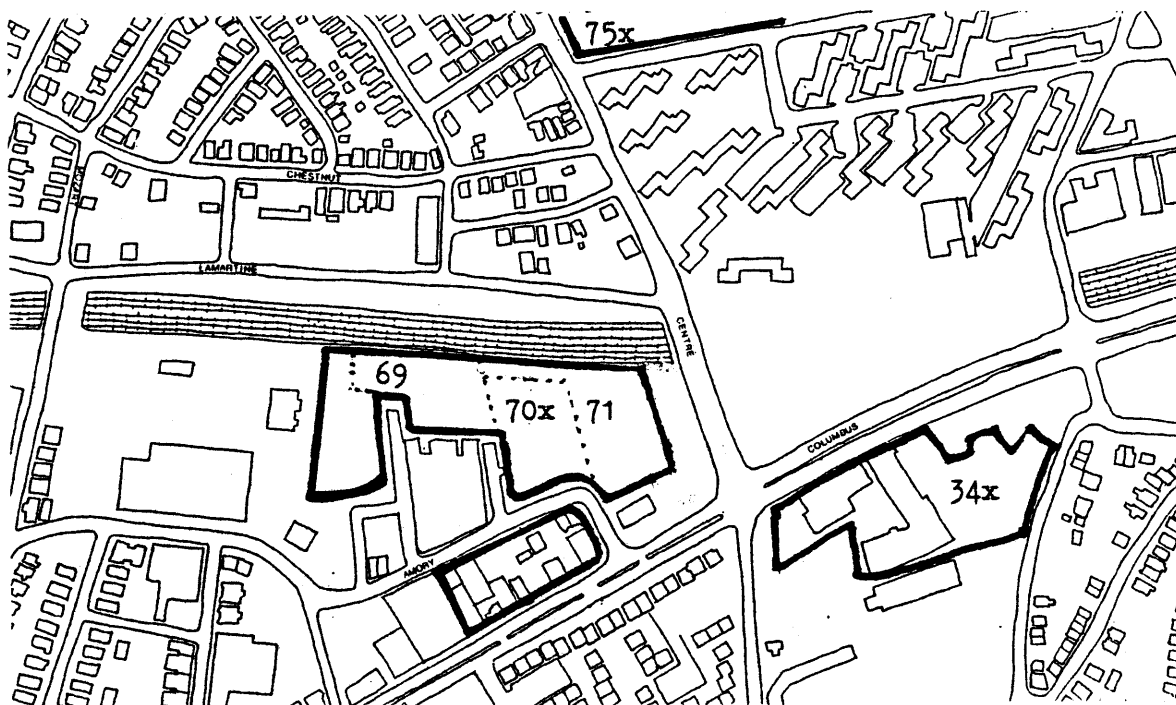
Parcel 75x. This is the largest tract of vacant land at Jackson Square, comprising almost six acres. It is privately owned and was formerly the site of a large shoe factory which burned several years ago. Little development opportunity is evident here. The purchase of the bulk of its Centre Street frontage is under negotiation by the Martha Eliot Health Center for its planned new facility. Any expansion plans of the adjacent Stop and Shop might impact the remainder of that frontage. The remainder of the land abuts the grounds of Bromley-Heath. Should the land come into public ownership for tax negligence, its interim use by the housing project as a playing field appears to be a realistic possibility.

Parcel 34x. The nearly three-acre site (excluding the existing PWD Yards) is privately owned and occupied by two light industrial facilities that seem to be underutilized. Its future status will be closely tied to that of Roxbury Community College, whose athletic facilities may be sited adjacent to it. If industrial activity further declines there and if the College has no interest in it, the land may have future site potential as a housing area because of its adjacency to both Highland Park and Academy

Homes. Its access and visibility at the corner of Columbus Avenue and Centre Street also suggest long-term retail potential of medium to large scale.

Amory Street and Columbus Avenue block opposite Academy Homes. Located here is a strip of marginal auto-related commercial activities. Inexpensive incubator space for small light industrial ventures may be available in the long-run.

Parcels 69, 70x and 71. If neither the Roxbury Public Works Department Yards nor industrial development locates on this land (excluding its Centre Street frontage), few alternative uses can be envisioned beyond auto-related activity like that of Cappy's Towing and Wrecking Yards now on Parcel 70x or, perhaps, large recreational or athletic activity.



"SOFT" LAND AREAS

REFLECTING ON THE STRATEGY AND ASSESSING IT

Throughout this report, sets of tasks are organized by levels of priority - some demanding immediate action, others of a less urgent calling. The logic behind matching actions to an appropriate priority class is based on several factors. Among them are answers to the following questions:

- What outcome is envisioned if action begins now? What are the consequences of not proceeding or delaying?
- What is the likelihood that these outcomes will, in fact, occur? Are they highly contingent upon others' actions, or upon a very uncertain market climate?
- How much energy is required to proceed? Is the allocation of staff, time and money worth the anticipated outcome, taking into account one's sense of its likelihood?

All Jackson Square tasks have been organized later in this chapter into six categories: five levels of priority and a special sixth class. Assignments are not rigid. They will depend upon one's personal valuations of outcomes, risks and required efforts.

(A) Prerequisites to Further Action

Within this class are those steps to ensure any significant NDC and Jamaica Plain voice in Jackson Square transit planning and land development: Station Area Task Force involvement and the publicizing of the issues among NDC's constituents. Though proceeding immediately on these tasks will by no means guarantee any positive outcome, not proceeding will render the chances of gaining a role, now or later, slim.

(B) Preserving Future Options

Once recognition is achieved, the next cluster of recommended actions focuses on influencing those transit and related decisions that impact future potential, such as keeping Parcels 65/66 free of construction storage to

facilitate early development there, and designing the relocated Amory Street to facilitate later industrial development. Opportunities lost now will be lost forever if construction proceeds on schedule in early 1979. But lobbying efforts should be keyed not only to the importance of an outcome, but also to its timing and likelihood. Thus, preserving an early housing option might be worth substantial effort, while preserving a distant and uncertain potential for small industrial development, important as that is, might be worth little additional energy over that expended on the tasks in class "A".

(C) Critical Short-run Opportunities

Initiating housing development activity on Parcels 65/66 with adjacent rehabilitation has been designated as the next level of priority. The expected benefits of this action are tangible; they are critical to boosting confidence along this part of the Corridor and to avoiding further disinvestment and abandonment. Moreover, waiting incurs a risk of leaving the land open to competition from outsiders, especially in the years after the completion of transit construction.

Though the benefits are high, the level of effort demanded is also large, requiring technical assistance and probably additional staff. Obtaining financing and city support will be difficult. Yet, housing development will be far less contingent on outside events beyond the NDC's control than either retail or industrial development. The land's availability need not await road changes or the completion of the transit project. Public services are already in place. If constructed, the risks of not finding tenants or of being unable to meet mortgage payments are nil. Ample experience in Boston has proven that housing development at a scale far greater than that envisioned here is well within the capabilities of CDCs.

(D) Important, but Less Urgent Tasks

These generally fall into two categories: first, such direct NDC actions

as assisting in the overall revitalization of Centre Street's retail district, and second, the many urgings in support of City programs that facilitate commercial and residential reinvestment (RESTORE, HIP, land use policy, etc.). Inability to undertake these actions incurs minimal harm; the market alone will carry much of the retail growth as it has over the past five years, and many other lobbyists and voters, in addition to the NDC, will ensure the continuation of the other programs. All the programs make their impact felt only gradually over time. Fine tuning them to the specific demands of Hyde Square, for example, is, indeed, important. However, efforts should concentrate on these tasks only as time permits after actions in "A", "B" and "C" are already underway.

(E) Mid-long Range Planning

Actions in this class aim toward outcomes that may be achievable only in the mid to long-range future. As in the case of retail and industrial development on Parcels 69, 70x and 71, they are simply unavailable now because they must await either street and transit construction, or resolution of alternative plans the State has for the site. More uncertainties lie in wait even after these are resolved. The market must be supportive of new retail or industrial development, and the City must, in the case of industrial development, cooperate by promoting the site, renovating infrastructure, if necessary, and funneling job-training funds to prospective tenants. Any expenditures of effort on planning for this land should wait until signals indicate viability in the short to mid-run, when ample lead time will still exist. In the meantime, only those preservation actions in "B" are recommended.

(F) Intermittent, Unscheduled Tasks

Actions in this special category are initiated at any time in response to discovering new information, opportunities or emergencies - perhaps

through reconnaissance, as described before. Or, for example, a new public facility planned for Jamaica Plain may, by chance, come to the attention of the NDC, suggesting that action be taken up with the Boston Jobs Coalition to maximize local job opportunities on the project.

* * *

On the next pages, all the tasks that make up a development strategy for Jackson Square have been organized by these six classes onto a worksheet. In a year, the strategy should be reassessed. Progress in taking up the tasks, the results, whether resources consumed differed from expectations, and any new knowledge suggesting a change in strategy, should all be noted on the worksheet and discussed.

During the year, new conditions may arise to alter one's earlier assessment of a task's worth, the likelihood of its accomplishment, and the energy that may be required to make it go. A decision may then be made to accelerate work on some tasks because, for example, new funds or programs may unexpectedly be available. Other actions may be postponed because the time for them is not deemed 'ripe': the wrong politician may be in office, a policy shift may soon be anticipated, or market conditions may not yet be encouraging. Still other tasks may be cancelled because results have already been won by other groups sharing the same goals. Or, accomplishing one task, such as receiving a finance commitment for housing development, may itself have already yielded another victory with no additional effort - receiving a rezoning approval from the City. Cancellation of tasks may, of course, arise in less happy situations, whether through missed chances, or inability to get to a task through overambition. Formal annual self-assessment of progress at Jackson Square may suggest, in all these ways, where the next year's very limited resources may best be allocated.

TASK WORKSHEET

GOALS (Date: May, 1978)		ACHIEVEMENT (Date: _____)	
Task	Purpose	Anticipated Resources Needed*	Status Report (achievement level, actual resources used, new conditions, implications)
A. Prerequisites to further action:			
Join Station Area Task Force	Recognition by State; get SATF backing on issues		
Publicize issues to constituents (newsletter, meetings)	Mobilize support		
Coordinate with other groups (form Development Task Force)	Create organized voice; tap skills		
Urge State to publicize SATF to Jamaica Plain	Ensure representation opportunity for those impacted within Station Area	Jamaica Plain Caucus of SWCC	
Urge no State land disposition decisions without full SATF discussion	"		
Press State to loan consultants to NDC for housing	Technical assistance and show of recognition		
Work with 3WJ-Clearinghouse and Boston Jobs Coalition re lobbying for transit construction jobs	Jamaica Plain unemployed job access		

* Beyond current staffing

TASK WORKSHEET (Continued)

GOALS (Date: May, 1978)			ACHIEVEMENT (Date: _____)
Task	Purpose	Anticipated Resources Needed	Status Report (achievement level, actual resources used, new conditions, implications)
B. Preserving future options:			
Influence the following:			
No construction storage on Parcels 65/66	Allows early housing option or garden continuance	SATF & Dev't Task Force backing	
Reserve 150 feet for Parcel 71 commercial reserve	Improve future retail siting options - plaza, service	"	
Build decking adjacent to Parcel 71 along Centre St.	Retail continuity allow	"	
Joint retail development not highly recommended	Avoid future competition with south side of Centre	"	
Minimize construction noise	Housing (elderly) nearby & facilitate early resid. dev.	"	
Avoid PWD Yards on 69, 70, 71	Preserve future indus. pot'l	"	
Facilitate truck access via Amory and Columbus intersec'n	"	"	
Get on list for Category II decking from Mozart northward	Resid. edge stabilize; help new develop't; recreation	"	
Minimize number of buses at station on Parcel 35	Creates wall before Bromley-Heath and hurts site image potential	"	

TASK WORKSHEET (Continued)

GOALS (Date: May, 1978)			ACHIEVEMENT (Date: _____)
Task	Purpose	Anticipated Resources Needed	Status Report (achievement level, actual resources used, new conditions, implications)
Make design of T and Parcel 35 open space imageable	Puts Jackson Square on the map	SATF & Dev't Task Force backing	
Keep Centre St. width small	Preserve its neighborhood scale	"	
Maintain DPW parcels	Eliminate dumps that blight adjacent housing	"	
C. <u>Critical short-run opportunities:</u>			
Stage Parcel 65/66 event: garden 'party', Hispanic cultural fair, etc.	Generate involvement in housing development or garden participation	Volunteers	
Lobby for modification of City policy on use of subsidies	Make case for selected new as well as rehab building	SATF, Dev't Task Force & other backing	
Prepare housing devel't feasibility study for 65/66 and surroundings	Basis for negotiating land disposition, gov. support and financing	Consultant: GBCD and/or State's T consultants	

TASK WORKSHEET (Continued)

GOALS (Date: May, 1978)			ACHIEVEMENT (Date: _____)
Task	Purpose	Anticipated Resources Needed	Status Report (achievement level, actual resources used, new conditions, implications)
D. <u>Important, but less urgent tasks:</u>			
Discuss desirability/feasibility of eventual multi-service center on Parcel 71	To decide whether to pursue future public tenants and funding		
Design a strategy for revitalization of existing Centre St. businesses & vacancies	Broaden range of goods and provide entrepreneurial opportunities	Tech assist: B-student, GRCDC co-work	
Push for land disposition policy with standards & community review	Avoid devel't plans incompatible with local residents	SATF & Dev't Task Force backing	
Urge City to survey approp. locations for rezoning, with first attention to Parcels 65/66 & 71	"	"	
Seek City street, lighting, vacant lot, etc. improvements; closing of Hoffman St.	To support general improvement and specific dev't	"	
Impact City's HIP, RESTORE, etc. policies; City should prepare a special Hyde Square RESTORE brochure	Tailor policies to individual context, especially Hispanic regional center	Businessmen's Association support	

TASK WORKSHEET (Continued)

GOALS (Date: May, 1978)			ACHIEVEMENT (Date: _____)
Task	Purpose	Anticipated Resources Needed	Status Report (achievement level, actual resources used, new conditions, implications)
Scrutinize Hyde Square bank mortgage practices	Correct scarcity of bank-financed property transfers	Boston Urban Mortg. Review Board & J.P. B&M Committee	
Input neighboring develop't planning: Bromley-Heath modernization and Roxbury Community College	Ensure RCC's site plan & programs reflect Jackson Square concerns	Dev't Task Force	
Plan a housing rehab & energy audit venture	Create jobs, \$; improve neighborhood housing	Extra staff-person	
Call for Jackson Square Special Zoning District	Provide community review of devel't; guide area image change	Student to do field project to show City it's possible	
Set up an area-wide "reconnaissance" system	To inform NDC early of area changes that might alter its strategy	NDC general members	

TASK WORKSHEET (Continued)

GOALS (Date: May, 1978)			ACHIEVEMENT (Date: _____)
Task	Purpose	Anticipated Resources Needed	Status Report (achievement level, actual resources used, new conditions, implications)

E. Mid-long range planning:

Plan new retail development on Parcel 71	POSTPONEMENT ARGUED EXCEPT FOR THOSE ACTIONS IN B.
Plan new industrial development on Parcels 69, 70 & 71 or in old available plant space	" " " " " " " "

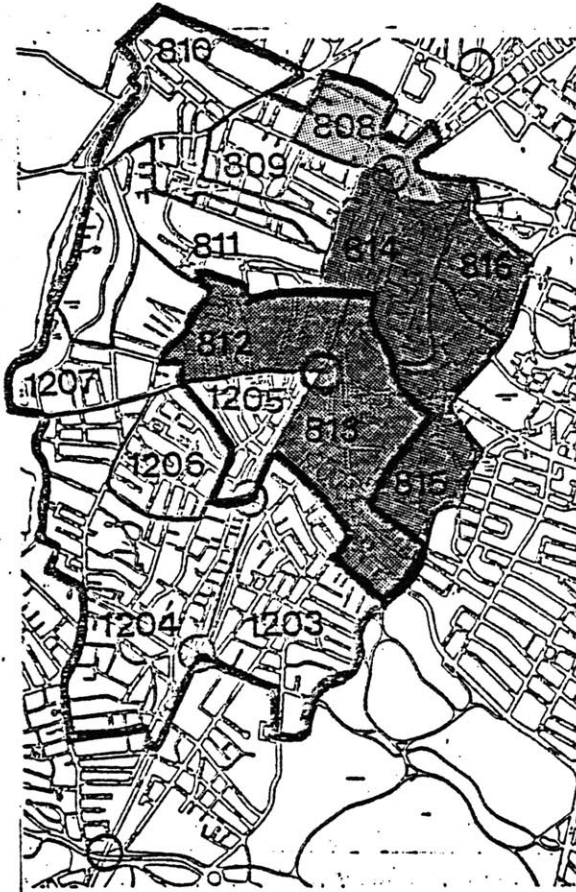
F. Intermittent, unscheduled tasks:

Notify EDIC of rumored exodus of any major industrial employer	Preserve existing jobs
Ensure jobs from new public developments	Adapt already in-place 3WJ-Clearinghouse/Boston Jobs Coalition system
Input planning of new programs & developments	
Other tasks suggested by reconnaissance system or other means	

APPENDICES

- A. 1970 Census Data
- B. Housing Development - Construction and Development Budget
Housing Development - Operating Budget
- C. Centre Street Retail Inventory

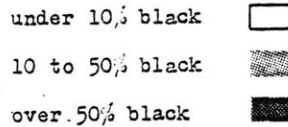
APPENDIX A



BLACK POPULATION (1970 Census)

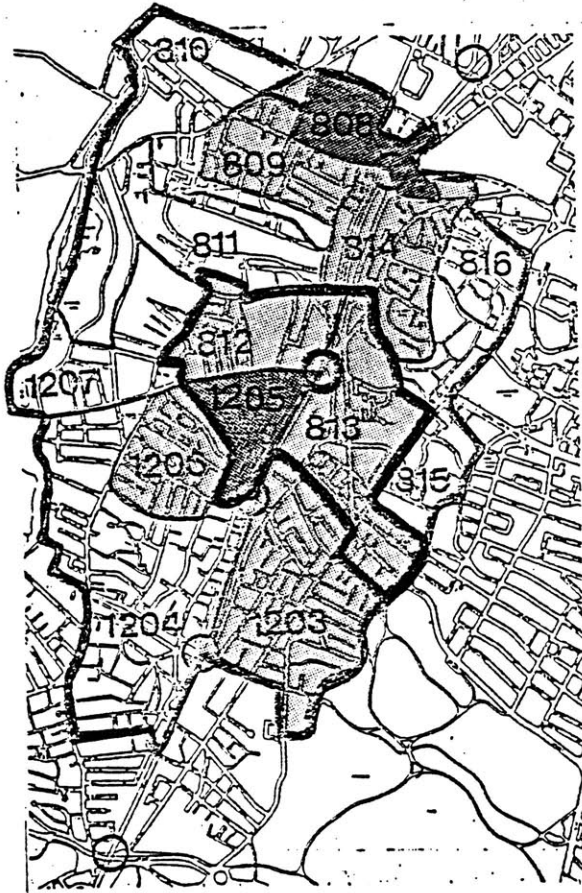
Tracts 812, 813 and 1205 roughly comprise the immediate area around Jackson Square impacting pedestrian transit users. These tracts are underlined in the tables below and bounded by a heavy line in the maps. Tracts 812 and 1205, and half of 813 lie within Jamaica Plain. Bus service to Jackson Square is provided to the other tracts mapped, the southwestern half of which fall in Jamaica Plain, the remainder in Roxbury.

Bromley-Heath Project is in tract 812, Mission Hill Project in 808.






	Total Population	Black	% Black
808	2864	1251	43.7
809	3210	210	6.5
810	5068	326	6.4
811	2954	266	9.0
<u>812</u>	5048	2927	58.0
<u>813</u>	4048	2795	69.0
814	2419	1225	50.6
815	2906	2287	78.7
816	1049	852	81.2
1203	5567	444	8.0
1204	7297	119	1.6
<u>1205</u>	2404	75	3.1
1206	3443	65	1.9
1207	2308	19	0.8

APPENDIX A (cont.)



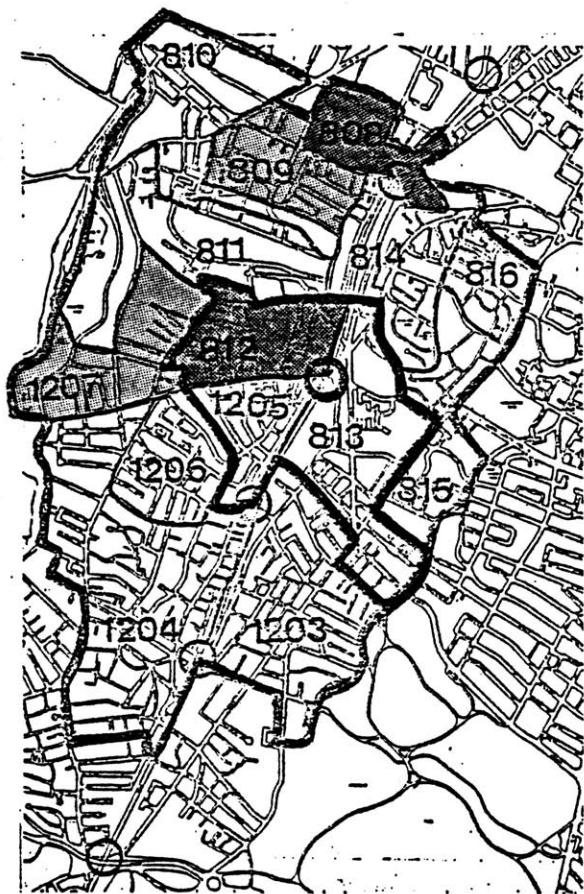
HISPANIC POPULATION (1970 Census)

Note: Since 1970, the Hispanic population has dramatically increased and is now estimated to be 25% of Jamaica Plain's population. Within much of the inner impact area surrounding Jackson Square, especially tract 1205, the Hispanic population is substantially higher.

under 5% Hispanic 
 5 to 15% Hispanic 
 over 15% Hispanic 

	Hispanic	% Hispanic
808	561	19.6
809	171	5.3
810	212	4.2
811	69	2.3
812	349	6.9
813	599	14.8
814	234	9.7
815	93	3.2
816	-	-
1203	566	10.2
1204	189	2.6
1205	675	28.1
1206	413	12.0
1207	104	4.5

APPENDIX A (cont.)



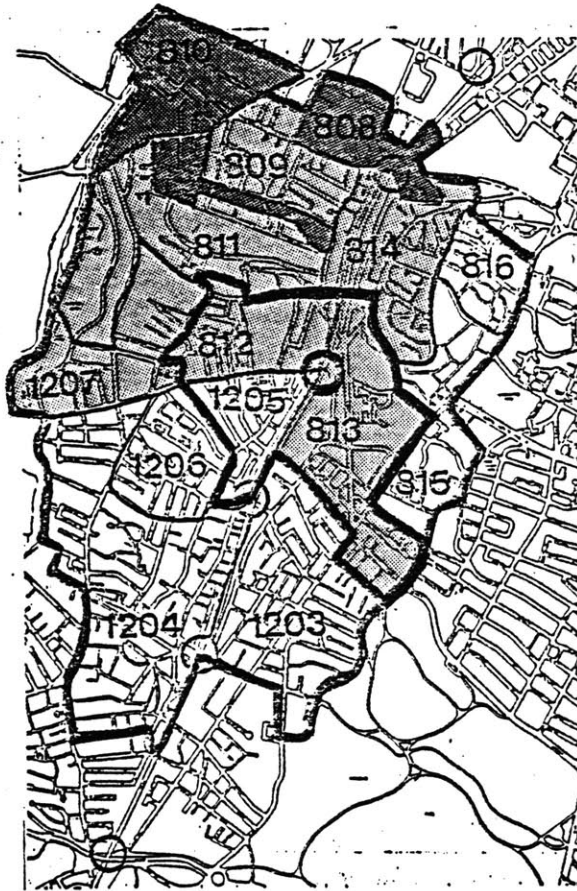
MEDIAN INCOME (1970 Census)

under \$5000 ■
\$5000 to \$10000 □
over \$10000 ▨

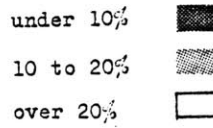
Median
Family Income

808	\$ 4473
809	10481
810	8250
811	8625
812	4099
813	6852
814	6075
815	7438
816	7574
1203	7651
1204	9670
1205	7186
1206	9363
1207	11595

APPENDIX A (cont.)



OWNER OCCUPANCY (1970 Census)



	Number of Units	Owner Occupants	% Owner Occupancy
808	1305	27	2.1
809	1292	192	14.9
810	2001	171	8.5
811	1047	105	10.0
812	1712	175	10.2
813	1436	214	14.9
814	1013	193	19.1
815	973	221	22.7
816	402	93	23.1
1203	1777	464	26.1
1204	2486	696	28.0
1205	822	177	21.5
1206	1174	337	28.7
1207	977	155	15.9

	<u>New (38 units)</u>		<u>Rehab (12 units)</u>
	<u>Land write-down to \$ 0</u>	<u>Land write-down to \$ 1000/unit</u>	
Size (sq.ft.)	38,000	38,000	12,000
Construction cost per s.f. floor area	\$ 35	\$ 35	\$ 26
Construction cost	1,330,000	1,330,000	312,000
Cost of building shells (\$ 1000 for 3-family, \$ 2000 for 6-family)	-	-	4,000
Development costs (15%)	199,500	199,500	47,400
Developer's fee (10%)	152,950	152,950	36,340
Land cost	0	38,000	12,000
Total replacement cost	1,682,450	1,720,450	411,740
Mortgage (90%)	1,514,200	1,548,400	370,570
Total equity (10%)	168,240	172,040	41,170
Developer's cash equity requirement	15,290	19,090	4,830

	<u>New (38 units)</u>		<u>Rehab (12 units)</u>
	<u>Land write-down to \$ 0</u>	<u>Land write-down to \$ 1000/unit</u>	
Section 8 monthly rent (3-BR walk-up unit)	\$ 465	\$ 465	\$ 465
Scheduled gross rent	212,040	212,040	66,960
Vacancy (4%)	8,480	8,480	2,680
Effective gross rent (EGR)	203,560	203,560	64,280
Real estate taxes (20% EGR)	40,710	40,710	12,860
Operating expenses (20% EGR)	40,710	40,710	12,860
Annual debt service (7.1% interest, 40 years, 7.58% constant)	114,900	117,400	28,100
Cash flow	7,230	4,730	10,470
Rate of return on total equity*	4.3%	2.7%	25.4%
Rate of return on developer's cash equity involvement	47.3%	24.8%	217%
Estimated syndication proceeds (12% of mortgage)	181,700	185,810	44,470

* Dividends over 6% are returned to a replacement/maintenance reserve fund.

Food and Drink

Jamaica Plain Market
 Meatland
 American Foods
 Hi-Lo Market
 Hyde Square Wine Co.
 Centre Variety
 Gracia's Superette N*
 Pendleton Liquors
 Joe's Fruit Store
 Emilio's Grocery
 La Plasta Fruit
 Stop and Shop
 2 small groceries

Eating and Drinking

Spring Place Tavern
 Kozy Corner Restaurant
 Centre Tavern
 Pop's Steak and Onions
 Miami Super Subs N
 Hyde Square Tavern
 La Hispaniola
 El Rancho
 Alfredo's Diner N
 1 pizza/sub shop

Drug Stores

Leonard Pharmacy
 Rexall Drugs

Entertainment

Hyde Square Bowl

Business Services

E.J. Bruce Insurance (auto, fire, theft)
 1 recording studio
 1 travel agency
 McCarthy Real Estate
 Mantacolor Fotolab
 D & F Plumbing and Heating
 Sun Printing Co.
 Kenia Upholstering
 Eastern Construction Co.
 Cadillac Window Construction Co.

Personal Services

Super 1-Hour Cleaners
 Austria's Beauty Salon N
 Rocky's Barber Shop
 Elly's Beauty Shop
 George's Shoe Repair
 1 optometrist
 1 launderette
 1 tailor-dry cleaning
 Paul's Barber Shop
 International Beauty Shop
 Bell Cleaners
 La Reina Dress Shop
 Centre St. Launderette

* N designates a store opened within the past 15 months.

General Merchandise and Specialty

La Casa de los Regalos (gift shop)
 Medina's Enterprises (plastic seat covers, drapes)
 Soul Sound Records (and bikeparts, skateboards)
 1 leather shop
 Medina Jewelry
 Acme Watch
 George's Department Store
 La Voz (records)

Household Appliances and Furniture

Coolidge Hardware
 Discoteca Riverita (radios, tapes)
 McCarthy Bros. (contract furniture)
 Nelson Radio and TV N
 Reyes Appliances (refrigerators, air cond.)
 Teddy's Hardware

Clothing

Penny and Peggy Children's Boutique N
 Vasallo's (men's fashions)
 Linda's Fashion N

Auto Service

1 garage/muffler shop N
 1 gas station (next to Hi-Lo)
 Jamaica Plain Auto Parts N

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