



RELOCATION
GOALS, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION
OF
THE PROCESS
WITH REFERENCE TO
THE WEST END REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT
IN
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
by

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B.S., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
(1955)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER IN
CITY PLANNING
at the
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June, 1960

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Department of City and Regional Planning
May 21, 1960

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ABSTRACT

The satisfactory relocation of families from urban redevelopment projects is a major objective of Title One Programs under the National Housing Acts.

Urban redevelopment, with reference to the West End Project in Boston, becomes involved with economic, physical and social factors in low rental, blighted residential areas. Relocation of families from such areas may virtually eliminate positive social patterns and strong neighborhood ties which frequently exist there.

A basic problem is to satisfactorily relocate particularly low income people into decent homes in adequate residential areas. To do this, the city may have to build housing and improve the standard of living for these families or compromise its renewal objectives and standards for relocation housing. In Boston, the latter course is presently most consistently followed.

Major changes in local attitudes and procedures will be necessary to bring relocation up to a level of acceptability in Boston.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Thesis Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Dedication	v
Introduction	vi
Section I. The West End Area In Boston	4
Section II. Urban Renewal: The Spirit and Letter of the Law	10
The Spirit of the Law	10
The Letter of the Law	16
Urban Renewal Administration Procedures and Regulations	22
Local Administration	32
Operations in Regard to Relocation Housing	34
Operations in Regard to Site Families	34
Section III. Urban Redevelopment in the West End Proper	37
Redevelopment And Relocation: The Beginning	46
Relocation Before the "Taking"	64
Relocation Implementation	67
The Actual Relocation Process	71
Section IV. Relocation As An Administrative Process:	
Results and Conclusions	77

Non-Residential Establishments	82
Single Person Households	83
Sales Housing	84
Rental Housing, Public, Private Self-Relocation, LPA Referrals	84
Public Housing	84
Private Rental Housing: Self-Relocated	86
Private Rental Housing: LPA Referrals	87
Section V. Relocation of West End Households. The Reception Areas	94
The Seven Major Reception Areas	94
Patterns of Distribution in the Inner Metropolitan Area	105
Section VI. Major Recommendations and Redirections	112
General	112
Administrative	113
Major Redirections	118
Glossary	122
Appendix	123
Bibliography	141

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the families from the West End Redevelopment Project in the hopes that their experience will, in the long run, prove beneficial to them and that from such evaluations of their relocation, substantial improvements may be realized in relocation from future redevelopment projects in Boston, Massachusetts.

To many who offered counsel, and particularly for the following with whom there were long and frequent consultations for a period of six months, I am deeply indebted.

Boston Relocation Office - Mr. Joseph Charyna, Chief of Field-workers.

Boston Redevelopment Authority Staff - Mr. William Johnson and Mr. Lloyd Sinclair.

Boston Housing Authority - Mr. Cornelius J. Connors, Chief of Research Statistics.

United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston - Mr. Vincent Ciampa, Director of Community Organization Service Division.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology -
Department of City and Regional Planning - Professor John T. Howard, Professor Burnham Kelly, and Instructor Bernard Frieden.

Department of Political Science - Professor Robert Wood.

And to Professor Roland B. Greeley of the Department of City and Regional Planning, without whose initial and continual guidance this thesis would not have been written, and to my wife, Barbara, without whose steadfast devotion and inspiration I would not have attended the School of Architecture and Planning at M.I.T., my especial thanks.

INTRODUCTION

Mrs. B. is a widow who claims to be sixty years of age. She owned a three-story row house with three apartments on Charles Street in Boston's West End. The building faces on the Charles River, Storrow Drive, Esplanade Park and the Museum of Science.

There, in four rooms on the first floor, Mrs. B. has lived with her son for at least sixteen years. Occasionally, other relatives have lived in for short periods of time. In pre-redevelopment days, the other two dwelling units were rented out and provided a source of income for the family.

On April 23, 1958, after approximately eight years of redevelopment maneuvering, the City of Boston had a mass "taking" of all property in the West End Redevelopment Project. This area is to be totally cleared, after relocation of the present tenants, with predominant reuse for high-rental apartment housing.

Before final clearance, however, the law requires that all the former residents of the Project be rehoused in decent, safe and sanitary housing in other residential areas in or outside of the city.

For two years Mrs. B. has remained in her former home. She has engaged legal counsel, contacted political representatives in Washington, made the front pages of all Boston newspapers and developed a serious case of hypertension. She cannot remain in her riverfront property, and cannot purchase a new home in the same general location after redevelopment.

To the local public agency, Mrs. B. is a problem. She still lives in her former home on Charles Street overlooking the River, the Drive, the Park, and the Museum of Science.

The extreme action taken by this West End household faced with relocation from an urban redevelopment project points up some of the basic problems which may arise when a city such as Boston undertakes to clear blighted areas.

Boston is in desperate need of economic aid. Renewal offers an opportunity to clear "slum" or blighted areas and, through new development on the cleared land, to realize increases in tax revenues. Although the renewal process is complex and time consuming, it presents an economic opportunity to a city such as Boston.

Also, urban renewal becomes involved with people. People living in blighted low-rental housing areas represent a range of income and social groups. Some are property owners, some businessmen. Frequently, families have lived in such areas for many years. For others, the time of residence may be only a few months. For the former, there may be strong economic and social ties to the neighborhood, and to certain cultural symbols and with other groups of people in such areas.

Urban renewal, it would seem, is at least involved with the economy, the physical environment and the people of the city. All are important parts of any program that attempts to improve cities physically and economically, and to improve the living conditions for people in cities.

Within this frame of reference, an attempt has been made to evaluate the relocation of people from an urban redevelopment project, the West End Redevelopment Project in Boston, Massachusetts.

First consideration was given to the base of operation, a blighted residential area in Boston. An attempt was made to evaluate the area's historical role and function, until redevelopment, as a predominantly low rental private housing area, noting the substantial social patterns and neighborhood ties which existed in the area for several nationality groups.

Some consideration was given to the urban redevelopment process as structured in the National Housing Acts from the 1930's on, the major revisions to redevelopment in 1949 and 1954, and the federal requirements and local determinations in regard to relocation.

An attempt was made to evaluate the actions of the local redevelopment authority, the social agencies, community organizations and the people in the Project Area as redevelopment and relocation became at last realities.

The official relocation process was analyzed as to its operation, effectiveness, and major deficiencies as presently implemented. Recommendations for changes in the administration of relocation from future Boston redevelopment projects have been made.

Analysis of the reception areas for West End residents was conducted at three levels, these being several concentrations of low income families throughout the metropolitan area, the seven major reception areas (census tracts) adjacent to the Project and North of Boston, and finally metropolitan distribution and implications of relocation from this Project.

The thesis concludes with recommendations as to major redirections which must occur locally if a more substantial realization of the accepted objectives and goals of the redevelopment and relocation processes is to be achieved.

It is recommended that the reader first review the Glossary in the first page of the Appendix.

Section I. The West End Area in Boston. (1)

The West End Area in Boston in 1950 was a relatively self-contained, high-density housing area, in which the major land uses were residential, streets and alleys, public and semi-public and commercial-industrial, in that order. The Area has served as a housing area since the time of the Revolutionary War, with population composition constantly in flux and with three major changes in the physical environment. (2)

1. 1700-1795: mainly open land in the early part of the 18th Century with one "community" of one hundred and seventy dwellings and a meeting house near Bowdoin Square and a colony of freed slaves in "cheap dwellings around the North end of Joy Street (North side of Beacon Hill) subsequently spreading over the entire slope".

2. 1795-1850: three major housing areas, including a development of mansion-type buildings after the Revolutionary War on Mt. Vernon Street on Beacon Hill; the "miserable huts of the Negroes" on the north

(1) The bibliography for Section I is listed in the Appendix. The West End Health and Welfare Area is one of fifteen such areas in Boston, as defined by United Community Services. It contains the three "neighborhoods" described above, and includes Census Tracts H-1, H-2, H-3, H-4, K-1, and K-2. Tract F-6 is assigned to the North End Health and Welfare Area, but in defining the "neighborhood" on the North side of Beacon Hill, Tract F-6 is included in that neighborhood. The comparisons of the West End neighborhoods are based on United Community Services boundary determinations- Beacon Hill being Tract K-2, the North side of Beacon Hill being K-1, F-6 and $\frac{1}{2}$ H-4, and the West End Proper being H-1, H-2, H-3, and $\frac{1}{2}$ H-4. The West End Redevelopment Project, as shown, encompasses a major portion of the West End Proper. (See Maps 1 and 2, pages 38 and 39)

(2) Department of Research and Strategy. Massachusetts Council of Churches, Boston's West End, December, 1949 (pp 1-138).

Robert A. Woods, Editor. Americans In Process, A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of the South End House. North and West Ends, Boston. Cambridge, 1902 (pp 1-383).

side of the hill, and in the West End Proper, a "comfortable, fairly well-to-do residential area splendidly representative of Anglo-Saxon American life". At this time, a distinct local feeling was said to have developed in the West End Area.

3. 1850 to the early 1900's: First, under gradual pressure from business expansion, and then from encroachment of boarding house uses into the residential areas, and finally from immigration, the West End Area was transformed from single homes, huts and mansions to a predominantly tightly-packed, multi-family tenement housing area.

The population changes that have occurred in the Area have probably corresponded more nearly in quantity than in composition to the physical changes. The major role for much of the West End Area after the "Anglo-Saxon community life" of the first half of the 19th Century has been as a second reception center for various ethnic groups making their first outward move from the North End, a primary reception area in Boston. This reception center function served three major ethnic groups, while at all times there was a number of smaller nationality groups in one or more of the "neighborhoods" of the West End Area. The major groups housed were:

1. 1846-1880: Irish moving from the North End to the West End; by 1885, one-fourth of the West End population was Irish, and in 1895, this was still the dominant nationality group.

2. 1880-1910:(approximately): Jewish immigration from the North End started in 1880, and by 1910 this group was the dominant in the population. Also at this time, smaller concentrations of British, British-Americans, Portuguese and Negroes (on the North side of Beacon Hill) were present.

3. 1900 to the present: Italian immigration from the North End gradually replaced the remaining Irish and predominating Jewish as the major group. In 1950, the Italians were the predominant group, followed by those from U.S.S.R. (Russian, Ukranian and Jewish), Canadian (other than French), Polish and Irish.

The West End Area, as late as 1950, contained three relatively distinct "neighborhoods" which are described as follows: (3)

1. Beacon Hill: More correctly the south side of Beacon Hill, a high-density housing area, second of the three neighborhoods in population and area. Predominant ethnic groups were Canadian (other than French), Irish and English. Traditionally, this area has been the center of Boston's 'upper class', and was laid out in 1795 so as to minimize north-south (vehicular or foot) traffic between it and the two housing areas to the north. Of the three areas, it had, in 1950, the lowest indices of deterioration and the highest monthly rentals. It retains today much of the 'quality' assigned to it in the 18th Century and has tended to stabilize the West End as a residential area in the center of the metropolis.

2. North Side of Beacon Hill: The development in this neighborhood more closely resembles that of the West End Proper. This neighborhood was third in population and in area. Russians (including Ukranians and Russian Jews), Canadians (other than French), Italians and Irish were, in

(3) Boston's West End. Op cit (pp 1-50)
Firey, Walter, Land Use in Central Boston, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947 (pp 87-135). U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950 United States Census of Housing, Boston, Massachusetts Block Statistics Volume V, Part 21 (pp 1-59). U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950 United States Census of Population, Boston, Massachusetts and Adjacent Area, Volume III, Chapter 6 (pp 1-118).

1950, the predominating ethnic groups . Characteristically, since the 1850's, this has been the rooming-house neighborhood of the Area. Indices of deterioration and the levels of rent are both approximately half-way between the other two neighborhoods. The Negro district of post-Revolutionary War days is now gone. The North Side of the Hill has strong social ties in at least the Jewish and Italian groups that occupy sections of this side of the Hill. Its predominant character remains, however, that of a rooming-house area for transient population groups.

3. West End Proper: The highest in density of population, largest in population and largest in area; this neighborhood had three dominant elements: the Massachusetts General Hospital complex, the high-density housing area in the center, and the heavily-mixed and more generally deteriorated commercial-industrial skid-row area in the eastern portion towards Scollay Square. Predominant ethnic groups were Italian, Russian (including Ukrainian and Jewish), Canadian (other than French), Polish and Irish. This was the 'working class' housing section for the larger West End Area. It had the highest indices of deterioration and the lowest rental levels. Its major use was as a housing area for a range of household sizes from one person to ten or more person households. In its history, an ethnic group was usually predominant, rising or descending in importance. However, there were typically several strong nationality groups within the neighborhood. These lived in close proximity and were somewhat inward oriented with strong patterns of social ties and firm attachment to cultural symbols (national church, ethnic club and store) in the area, these latter usually being inside the neighborhood. However, there was also an overall feeling of "neighborhood" of these several ethnic groups, due in part to the separation

of the area from the other two neighborhoods by Cambridge Street, a major street.

The three neighborhoods, although distinct in some respects as to housing role, were similar in physical development, and to some degree, in density of occupancy. The diverse ethnic and income groups living there had for their use an abundance of cultural and community facilities such as churches, stores and settlement houses- these being fairly well distributed throughout the entire area.

The neighborhoods, particularly the North side of Beacon Hill and the West End Proper, had through history readily adapted to different ethnic group uses. The former, at one time predominantly of Negro population, is now a rooming house area with small cohesive Italian and Jewish minorities. The Jewish people now use the 19th Century African Churches for their own religious function. Other community and private commercial facilities, and certainly the housing itself, were similarly interchangeable both in use and user. Some, such as the Elizabeth Peabody Settlement House, were focal points for a variety of ethnic group activities in any period of time.

From the time of the Revolutionary War, there were in the three neighborhoods so described and in the Area as a whole, changes in intensity and type of use on the land, and gradual shiftings of population groups with social patterns and neighborhood ties varying in strength and importance.

Against this historical and perpetuating association of numerous ethnic and income groups in a housing area conducive to the formation of such social patterns and local ties is posed the urban renewal program of the early 1950's. In the sense that the use of land and the character of the population gradually, but continually changed over the

entire area, any delineation of an urban renewal project might tend to be arbitrary. It would not, in all probability, cover the entire West End, and could not separate out the areas of physical decay without disrupting the complex social processes that have been as continuous as has the physical aging of the area.

Section II. Urban Renewal: The Spirit and Letter of the Law.

The first effort of the federal government in the field of urban renewal was a mid-1930's program which had a three-fold purpose: reduce unemployment, clear "slum" areas, and reuse the cleared land for public housing for needy families.

The frame of reference to guide these first attempts to cope with urban "slum" problems is expressed in The United States Housing Act of 1937, Public Law 412, 75th Congress, Declaration of Policy, Section One:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to promote the general welfare of the Nation by employing its funds and credit...to assist the several States and their political subdivisions to alleviate present and recurring unemployment and to remedy the unsafe and insanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings for families of low income...that are injurious to the health, safety, and morals of the citizens of the Nation."

The minimum success of this program resulted in later urban redevelopment movements, such as those under state laws in the early 1940's, extending governmental powers beyond public housing to any private reuse after "slum" clearance.

In 1949, under Title One of the National Housing Act, authorization was given to use federal funds to write-down land costs in local "slum" clearance actions. Reuse alternatives were controlled in part by the existing land use in project areas.

The declaration of national housing policy in 1949 states in part ~~that~~:

"...the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the

elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family...such production (being) essential to enable the housing industry to make its full contribution to an economy of maximum employment, production and purchasing power..." (4)

The policy to be followed in realizing the desired housing production, slum clearance, and maximum employment was to encourage private enterprise to serve as much of the total need as possible, and to offer governmental assistance to enable private enterprise to serve more of the total need. Further, local bodies were to be assisted and encouraged to undertake positive programs for neighborhood development, community development and redevelopment and production of lower cost housing of sound standards. Governmental assistance would be extended to those communities who estimated their needs and could show that these were not being met solely by private enterprise.

The 1949 Act perhaps stated more explicitly than did the 1937 Act the overall purpose of such legislation. Policy declarations in regard to housing production and elimination of slums and blighted areas were substantially the same in both cases. The 1949 policy noted that these programs were related to the health and living standards of people, and specified that an overall goal was to provide a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.

In addition, a major purpose remained that of encouraging the development of an economy of maximum employment, production and purchasing power. Emphasis in achieving the several purposes was on private enterprise as

(4) 81st Congress, Housing Act of 1949, Public Law 171, Declaration of National Housing Policy, Section 2, in part.

the primary vehicle for implementation of the program.

The "slum" clearance-low rental housing relationship of the earlier Housing Acts was still relevant in 1949. Some indication of this can be seen in the following:

"Senator Douglas: It will be necessary to get land to rehouse the slum dwellers who are being displaced before the initial slum clearance project can go forward...Secondly, since we want to decrease the density of population in the slum areas, there will necessarily be a spill-over of people who can't be rehoused, but must be housed on the outskirts of the city." (5)

Further, Senator Sparkman stated:

"...To avoid any undue hardship to present slum dwellers, the bill prohibits the undertaking of slum clearance projects unless adequate permanent housing is or will be available to them... no large scale program..could hope to succeed without the provision of decent, low-rent housing for the low income families now occupying the slums..aside from public housing, the only substantial volume of housing now available to these families at this average rent is slum housing, or other substandard quarters..." (6)

Three operations which appear to have been involved in the 1949 program are: the production of housing with some attempt to provide lower cost housing, the satisfactory relocation of the people from "slum" project areas, and the clearance of such areas with alternatives as to reuse development.

(5) United States Senate. The Congressional Record, April 14, 1949 (page 4734)

(6) Op cit. (pages 4604-4605) The quotations cannot be construed as indicative of the intentions of the entire Congressional body. They do, however, indicate the concern of at least some of the members of Congress.

In 1954 a more comprehensive renewal program was incorporated into the National Housing Act, perhaps due in part to the tendency of local governments to emphasize the clearance phase of redevelopment. This re-direction resulted in part from greater understanding by the Congress of housing and "slum" problems, gained from at least three sources: housing subcommittee hearings by Congressional groups in various large American cities in the interim five-year period, annual hearings of the United States Senate and House Committees on Banking and Currency, and reports from the President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs.

Intentions as to the direction of the new renewal approach are indicated in various public documents from these latter sources and from the President's Message to Congress on January 25, 1954.

"What we hope we are doing is to help the cities help themselves... There is no single dramatic solution. There must be well-planned and well-organized action, using all the tools of slum prevention, physical rehabilitation, neighborhood conservation and slum clearance. No one tool will do the job. Each is absolutely essential..." (7)

In the January message to Congress, transmitting recommendations later embodied in the Housing Act of 1954, a basic fact-of-life for urban renewal programming was summed up in the first sentence:

"In order to clear our slums and blighted areas and to improve our communities, we must eliminate the causes of slums and blight."

(7) Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs. December 1953. As quoted in the H.H.F.A. booklet How Localities Can Develop a Workable Program for Urban Renewal, Washington, D.C. R-1 Revised-December 1956. (p 1)

The Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator, Albert M. Cole, testifying for the 1954 Housing Act, supported these recommendations by stating that:

"The broadened authorization provided...is designed to assist our cities to increase both the scope and effectiveness of their efforts to eliminate slums and blight, and to develop and preserve well-organized residential neighborhoods of good homes in suitable living environments for adequate family life...

Slums and blighted areas are the symptoms, not the causes, of this particular urban disease...(and) we cannot cure the disease by eliminating only the symptoms and doing nothing about the causes..demolish and clear our slums..add good, new housing to the supply..go after the causes as well as the symptoms.

Any effective program to accomplish this desirable objective should provide for these three things: First, prevention of the spread of blight; second, rehabilitation of areas of a community which still can be saved. Third, demolition and clearance of slums and blighted areas..." (8)

Since the 1954 Act, no major revision comparable in scope to that of 1954 has been incorporated into Title One legislation.

From the mid-1930's on, certain overall purposes, in some instances particularly appropriate to urban renewal, have been stated or implied in the policy declarations of the National Housing Acts. These relate to the economy, the physical environment, and to the people of the city.

In regard to the economy, the Congress appears to be concerned that maximum employment, production and purchasing power be maintained. To promote economic growth and improve the physical environment, housing production and related community development are considered important, as is clearance

(8) U.S. Senate, The Congressional Record, Washington, D.C. Statement before the Senate committee on Banking and Currency, March 12, 1954 (pp 213-214)

of "slums" and blighted areas. Through clearance, the community has an opportunity to add new development, increasing tax revenues, strengthening the local economic base, and perhaps reducing the total cost of providing municipal facilities and services in at least some areas of the city.

For the people, although the policy declarations are perhaps not as specific, improvements in housing and the residential environment are stated as being important. The Congress indicates in the policy declarations that by increasing housing production and by improving the residential environment, this will promote the general welfare and security of the Nation, and also maintain and improve the health and living standards of people.

New housing production or improvements in existing housing areas could, in the long run, improve the health of people and certainly the residential environment in regard to light, air and open space. However, housing production and improvements in the living environment do not assure similar improvements in the standard of living, particularly in regard to family income or job type. Living standards, with emphasis on income, can be more readily improved through positive educational and training programs, which are not presently tied in with urban renewal programming.

Title One (Urban Renewal) programs alone cannot accomplish all of the purposes of the Housing Acts. However, Urban Renewal is strongly related to other programs in the Acts, including production of public and private housing and other community development.

Urban renewal itself becomes significantly important in that:

1. The dominant type of project has been that in which predominantly residential areas have been cleared. (9) This usually means at least a (9) 354 of a total of 408 redevelopment projects in the nation (as of June 30, 1959) approved for advanced planning or execution were blighted residential areas. Of these 354 projects, reuse in 114 is for non-residential exclusively, 200 for residential and non-residential, and 30 for residential exclusively. HHFA, Urban Renewal Administration, Urban Renewal Project Characteristics, Washington, D.C. June 30, 1959 (pp 8-9)

temporary reduction in the supply of low rental housing in the community.

2. This is a major program involving large area operations in the city for total clearance, major rehabilitation, or code enforcement actions.

3. It presents the city with an opportunity, after clearance particularly, to increase tax revenues and to diversify its economic base through reconstruction.

4. It provides the major opportunity to move people from a "slum" or blighted area to better housing in an adequate residential environment, a major purpose of the entire program.

With other programs under the National Housing Acts, many types of housing may be constructed, rehabilitated, or protected. But redevelopment operations under Title One are the major process by which people must physically move from one area to another.

Economic stability and growth, improvements in the physical environment, and improvements in housing and living standards for people are all important purposes of the program. As components, each is important in and of itself, and also in relation to the others.

All three must be evaluated and given proper consideration in comprehensive renewal programming in the city.

The Letter of the Law.

The National Housing Acts have incorporated several sections related to housing production which serve at least two purposes: to increase overall housing inventories in private sales and rental housing and in public housing; and to encourage local programs to provide housing with particular reference to housing in redevelopment project areas, and housing for families displaced from such areas.

In the former category, the housing programs include: (10)

(10) The following information was taken from HHFA, Summaries of National Housing Acts, Washington D.C. 1949-1959.

Regular FHA Programs

Section 203: sales housing program (one and two family housing)

Section 207: regular rental housing program (multi-unit housing)

Section 213: housing for the elderly (non-profit and profit-motivated rental housing in new or rehabilitated structures)

Since the inception of urban renewal, Congressional action in regard to these regular housing programs has generally included increases in maximum amount of mortgage insurable, extension of insurance programs on an annual basis, increases in general mortgage authorizations of the FHA, and increases in maximum interest rates on mortgages for all types of housing.

Public Housing Program

The regular low-rent public housing program is an additional source of housing of use in achieving the overall purposes of the National Housing Acts. Additional subsidized rental housing can be constructed in housing projects for the elderly and at the state level, in state-aided public housing.

Since the early 1950's, federal action in regard to public housing has generally consisted of an overall reduction of authorization for new units. Authorization to develop smaller, scattered developments in housing projects for the elderly has been granted. Further, land in renewal projects can be made available for construction of public housing, at a price equal to the fair market value of the land to a private developer desiring to build housing similar in character to the proposed low-rent housing.

Housing Programs under the Urban Renewal Title of the Housing Acts.

Section 220: new and rehabilitated rental housing in redevelopment project areas.

Section 221: new and rehabilitated housing outside project areas, specifically to assist in relocating families displaced by governmental clearance operations.

Changes in these two sections have included increases in mortgage limits and amounts insurable per project, unit and room, and reduction in downpayments per unit for new construction.

Provision is made for production of housing in regular FHA programs not directly related to urban renewal, in public housing programs which may or may not become significantly related to urban redevelopment programs, and in the Title One Sections, which are intended to provide housing in redevelopment project areas and in areas outside projects for displaced families.

These several programs have evolved under the National Housing Acts over a period of years. The regular housing and public housing programs, which may be used to increase housing inventories in a range of prices and rental levels, evolved more or less independently of the urban renewal program as structured under Title One from 1949 on. Section 220 and 221 programs were incorporated into the Housing Act of 1954, and were specifically tied to local redevelopment and renewal action.

These three approaches to housing production - the regular housing programs of the FHA, the public housing programs, and the Title One programs - can result in significant contributions to the housing inventory at the local level, and can be of great value for the relocation of people from urban renewal projects.

In 1954, the scope of the urban renewal program was broadened and an additional tool, intended to further the overall purposes of the housing-renewal programs, was incorporated into the Acts. This was the Workable Program requirement under Title One.

The Workable Program is an official and flexible plan of action which a community develops for effectively dealing with the problem of urban "slums" and blight. Its seven basic parts include codes and ordinances, a comprehen-

sive community plan, neighborhood analysis to identify the extent and intensity of blight, administrative organization for implementing the total program, financial means to carry out the program, housing for displaced families, and citizen participation - a community-wide participation of individuals and organizations to foster understanding and support of the total program.

A major purpose of this new requirement was to promote comprehensive local renewal operations of long-range nature. This would include, for example, operations to improve the quantity and quality of housing through rehabilitation and code enforcement as well as new construction.

In order to fulfill the requirements of the workable program, the community is required to commit itself to the attainment of objectives for each of the seven major elements. One of the seven major elements in the workable program is housing for displaced persons. The objective in regard to displaced families is:

"to facilitate the rehousing, in decent, safe and sanitary accommodations, of families displaced by governmental action." (11)

With federal approval of the workable program, the local community initiates and/or continues its renewal program. Section 105 of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, provides that Title One contracts for financial assistance must require that:

"There be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area, and that there are or are being provided, in the project area or in other areas not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities and at rents or prices within the financial means of the families displaced from the

(11) HHFA How Localities Can Develop a Workable Program for Urban Renewal. Washington, D.C., R-1 Revised, December 1956. Housing for Displaced Families (p 10)

project area, decent, safe and sanitary dwellings equal in number to the number of and available to such displaced families and reasonably accessible to their places of employment..." (12)

Participation by the city in urban renewal programs is not required by law. It is a voluntary action of the local community. The Federal Housing Acts provide the programs and tools by which housing and renewal programs can be implemented. Programs for public and private housing production are structured in the Acts. Urban renewal programs, which, in many ways become significantly involved with housing, have a direct relationship to some of these housing programs.

If the city takes the initiative to pursue urban renewal, it assumes certain responsibilities in so doing. It commits itself to the attainment of at least some of the housing objectives of the Acts, and, with urban renewal, to those of the workable program including the objective referring to the rehousing of displaced families.

To adequately rehouse families, the city determines the scope of its relocation workload and the adequacy of the housing inventory. If the inventory is deficient in some type of accommodation or rental range, the housing programs of the Acts offer possible solutions to the problem. The city also develops the workable program, and for specific projects determines that a feasible method for relocating displaced families exists.

The city must also determine the quantity, quality, and rental levels of the housing inventory available for relocation if it is to undertake redevelopment operations. It must further determine that the population to

(12) HHFA Manual of Policies and Requirements for Local Public Agencies
Washington, D.C., 1950-1960, Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 6, Section 1,
Introduction (p 1)

be displaced from its project areas has the necessary characteristics, with particular reference to income classification and housing standards, to permit such people to make use of the available housing.

If housing inventory and rental levels are such that existing housing (and the normal increases through new construction) will take care of the relocation workload, perhaps no substantial problem exists in regard to physical displacement of families. However, if housing inventories and rentals are insufficient to meet the needs of the population to be displaced, a conflict may arise.

The law requires that families be relocated in decent, safe and sanitary housing at rentals within their financial means. The city then has little alternative but to provide such housing at the aforementioned rental levels, if such does not exist. This must be done because the alternative to providing low rental housing is to increase family income. There are no specific programs in the Housing Acts which encourage or require the city to improve the standard of living (with particular reference to income) for families to be displaced before, during, or after undertaking specific redevelopment projects.

With the tools and programs provided by the law, with local initiative to participate in the renewal program, and acceptance by the city of the objectives and requirements of the Acts, urban redevelopment and renewal programs can be initiated. If the economic character and the value standards of the population are such that existing housing will meet relocation needs, the program should, in the housing accommodation respect, encounter no overpowering difficulties. In the event that sufficient housing is not available, the aforementioned conflicts arise, to be resolved by: 1) production of additional housing as needed, 2) increasing the income levels of varying numbers of low-income families in "slum" or blighted areas, 3) compromising

the objectives and requirements of the law and the objectives and standards of the city in regard to relocation housing.

Urban Renewal Administration Procedures and Regulations.

The Urban Renewal program is administered by the Urban Renewal Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The program for New England is administered through the Regional Administration for Region One, New York City. Documentation for local renewal programs is submitted to the regional office where detailed analysis occurs. The material is then forwarded to the Federal office for final approval, and for distribution of funds in connection with each project.

Administrative procedures are outlined in Manuals, Circulars, and similar material which are made available to the Local Public Agency. The procedures are structured at two general levels in regard to urban renewal, particularly the relocation phase. These may be categorized as the overall procedures related to a continuous local renewal operation, and the more detailed rules and regulations affecting specific projects.

For the first level, with particular reference to relocation from renewal projects, the frame of reference is the workable program. This is, in a sense, "a bona fide and practical expression of the community's own projected program to deal with its own problems, presented in good faith and with the firm resolve to carry that program through to accomplishment". (13) The workable program serves as the outline for the city's long-range urban renewal program.

(13) U.S. Senate. The Congressional Record, Washington, D.C., March 12, 1954. Statement of HHFA Administrator, Albert M. Cole. (quoted in part) (p 213)

Of the seven major elements of the workable program, a division can be made on the basis of those that can be in the process of development while specific projects are carried out and those that are essential in whole or part to any specific project.

In the former category are the following:

1. Codes and Ordinances: Although specific ordinances may be necessary for a project (zoning for reuse, for example), building and housing codes need not be adopted locally as a prelude to proceeding with specific redevelopment projects.

2. A Comprehensive Community Plan: Portions of the plan may already be in effect prior to the implementation of a project, such including zoning ordinances, and tentative land use plans. The community may continue to develop the plan during the renewal process.

3. Neighborhood analysis: Neighborhood analysis sufficient to designate one or several tentative project areas (as against city-wide surveys) is carried out prior to redevelopment action.

For these three items of the Workable Program, a statement of intent by the city is sufficient to meet Urban Renewal Administration requirements. However, although these three elements need not be in a final stage of preparation prior to undertaking projects, it does not mean that action can be postponed indefinitely, or that these are not important parts of a total local urban renewal program.

Those requirements which the city must meet in whole or part for specific projects include the following:

4. Administrative Organization: Included here are the local governing body and various governmental departments, a Local Public Agency (housing authority, redevelopment agency), and a technical redevelopment and relocation staff sufficient for project implementation.

5. Financing: Adequate financial means must be available to the city to carry out at least the project under consideration. Local governmental and/or public approval of bond issues and some expenditures prior to final approval of a project is necessary.

6. Citizen Participation: Citizen participation, in regard to a long-range local renewal program, is a process which requires continuous and time-consuming efforts by the local community. This phase of the renewal process is usually evolved while specific projects are implemented.

For specific projects, citizen participation entails support of at least a portion of the local governmental units, usually the press, various other interest groups including real estate, financial institutions, chambers of commerce and taxpayer's associations. These must combine efforts to the extent of assuring that the voting public will approve bond issues for projects, and will be "for" a project and the program instead of "against" redevelopment.

Citizen participation for specific projects may or may not include support of the church, the social agencies, the neighborhood improvement associations, and various other groups within the urban population. In redevelopment projects, it generally does not include the support of people residing in "slum" or blighted areas. For other than total clearance projects, participation of people in blighted area renewal is essential to the success of any such undertaking.

7. Housing for Displaced Persons: Rehousing in decent, safe and sanitary accommodations of families displaced by urban renewal activities is a requirement for specific projects and in the workable program. Contracts for Federal assistance with a duly authorized Local Public Agency are made only if:

"There be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area, and...there are or are being provided... decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings equal in number to the number of and available to such displaced families...." (14)

In light of the major objectives of the housing and renewal programs, including housing production, rehousing of displaced persons, and clearance of project areas for various reuses, it would seem that Housing for Displaced Persons is a major factor in any redevelopment project, particularly those in which total clearance is pursued, and of any contemplated long-range renewal program. Relocation becomes a major function in that it is the process whereby people are moved from "slum" and blighted areas into such housing.

In addition to requirements that the city consent to carrying out the seven major operations of the workable program, certain documentation is required for each item in the program. In regard to Housing For Displaced Persons, besides acceptance of the overall objective for this item (mentioned previously), the city in submitting its workable program for annual certification must include information on the following:

" 1. A description of measures which are now followed in rehousing families displaced by governmental action.

2. An indication of the measures contemplated in the locality to provide opportunity for relocation in decent, safe and sanitary housing, within the financial means of the family, to families displaced by governmental action, including, if appropriate, a discussion of the necessity for newly-constructed units for this purpose, whether privately or publicly financed.

(14) HHFA, Urban Renewal Administration, Manual of Policies and Procedures for Local Public Agencies, Washington, D.C., Book I, Part I, Local Determinations, Section 105 (Para (c) (p XII)

No numerical estimates of new construction requirements are necessary as a part of the workable program, but are a significant factor in relocation planning for specific projects.

3. An outline of the ways in which foreseeable problems in the rehousing of minority group families can be met." (15)

The workable program then, besides the seven elements discussed earlier, requires further identification by the city of its anticipated relocation housing problems, with proposed methods for dealing with deficiencies, if any exist. It is certified annually so that the Federal administration may determine if cities are making progress in the attainment of the objectives stated in the law and accepted by the local community as desirable local renewal objectives.

Through annual certification, the federal administration has an opportunity to check up on local progress in approaching comprehensive, long-range renewal programming. However, the basic question in regard to the adequacy of relocation housing remains for the local community to determine and resolve.

If adequate housing for a range of the income types in "slum" or blighted project areas is available, the description of measures for rehousing mentioned above and the certification serve to substantiate this claim, and to show that the community really has such housing.

On the other hand, should the community proceed with redevelopment (particularly clearance) without having adequately inventoried housing as to quantity, size of units, rent levels, physical condition and location, it is not in the position to say definitely that sufficient relocation housing is or is not available. Failing to have the basic facts on housing

(15) HHFA, How Localities Can Develop A Workable Program For Urban Renewal, Washington, D.C., R-1 Revised - December 1956 (p 10)

inventory, local action, if there are deficiencies, will not be forthcoming towards solution of the problem, whether local determinations so made state that there is no need for such housing, and whether or not the workable program is certified.

The local determination of housing inventory, and analysis and evaluation of alternative measures for meeting deficits (if these exist) assumes then a much greater significance in those cases where the community proceeds with clearance projects in predominantly residential areas than do some of the workable program requirements which may be temporarily postponed.

The Urban Renewal Administration suggests, in regard to rehousing, that "... (This) will not ordinarily be resolved if efforts are confined to the utilization of existing accommodations." (16) The Administration then suggest programs (including residential development on open land, FHA housing programs, Section 221, and 213, for example) which the local community should consider as means to increase housing inventory, if deficits exist.

Administrative procedures at the second level consist of the more detailed rules and regulations affecting specific projects. Certain documentation in regard to relocation must be submitted with any urban renewal project.

Projects approved prior to 1954 (West End Redevelopment Project) required a Survey and Planning Application (including a Relocation Report) and a two-stage Application for Loan and Grant (including a Final Relocation Plan). These two major reports, plus an Eligibility and Relocation Report (redocumenting eligibility of the project and refining the reloca-

(16) HHFA, Urban Renewal Administration, Manual of Policies and Procedures for Local Public Agencies, Washington, D.C., Book I, Part II, Chapter 6, Section 4 (p 3)

tion report findings) were required for projects from 1954 to 1959. After the Housing Act of 1959, project documentation has reverted to the old system.

The Relocation Report and the Final Relocation Plan are documentations intended to illustrate that there is a feasible method for relocating project families, and that there are adequate housing resources available for the relocation of families from the project.

The Relocation Report estimates housing available for relocation purposes. The Local Public Agency is advised to contact representatives of local real estate agencies, housing authorities and other sources for information on rates of construction of sales and rental housing and to get some idea of the inventory of housing and turnover rates. Further sources include U.S. Census of Housing reports, surveys of local planning boards (physical conditions), and local building department records of permits.

The Relocation Report consists of a narrative description of the proposed methods for meeting relocation problems, and identifies and develops proposed solutions to problems of providing new private and public housing if existing resources are inadequate. In the report, the local authority must indicate its intentions of coordinating project relocation with relocation from other local governmental displacement activities which create competition for rehousing facilities.

For the single person families, roomers, businesses and institutions, this Report is to develop proposed solutions where special problems are indicated.

Also included are a simple statement of local standards for evaluating relocation housing, and copies of studies and surveys which indicate racial character, composition, income, tenure, rent-paying ability, rehousing re-

quirements and rehousing desires of families who will be displaced by the project. These studies (if conducted at all) need not be done prior to submission of the Relocation Report, but surveys of project families to be displaced must be completed prior to the submission of the Final Relocation Plan.

In the first part of the Application for Loan and Grant, the Final Relocation Plan is submitted for federal approval. This is a sophistication of the relocation report. The Local Public Agency is advised to enlist cooperation of civic groups, minority interests, veteran's groups, labor, industrial and commercial organizations, women's clubs, welfare and religious organizations, real estate organizations and the local government to assist in preparation of the relocation material for use in this Plan.

The Plan includes a description of the proposed administrative organization for relocation, cost estimates for relocation, policies and procedures for locating, inspecting and referring site occupants to permanent accommodations, the Notification to Site Occupants Form, a statement of policy in regard to financial assistance to tenants, the relocation schedule and a statement that the local government has held a public hearing on the relocation proposals.

In addition to survey and analysis of housing, the Administration requires the local authority to conduct a sample survey in the project area to secure racial composition, income data, and information on the needs and desires of the population in regard to housing accommodations. A correlation of project population and available housing is then made and the relocation plan is finalized (assuming adequate housing is available). With completion of this Plan, the local governing body determines that relocation is feasible, and the Application for Loan and Grant is

forwarded to the regional office.

The Urban Renewal Administration policy in regard to the formation of the Plan is that the local community makes the determinations as to the housing available, the economic and other characteristics of the population to be rehoused, and from this develops the Plan. The regional review of the Plan is not based on field checks, but is more an analysis of administrative and financial aspects of the operation. As for relocation itself, the review is a check of the number and composition of the staff in relation to total workload, and a similar check on computations as to the relocation schedule in relation to housing available and population to be rehoused, using the information in the Plan.

Other policies and administrative requirements in regard to relocation include the following:

1. Relocation payments: up to \$100 for family moving expenses, and \$2500 for non-residential establishments.
2. Scope of the relocation problem:
 - a. "Family...is interpreted as a group of two or more persons living together and related by blood, marriage or adoption". (17)
 - b. In regard to single person households, and industrial and commercial establishments, while not part of the official workload, the Local Public Agency should consider this problem in light of its effect on the expeditious acquisition and clearance of the land.
3. Relocation housing: first preference for accommodations in public housing are given to families displaced by any governmental clearance actions. For families from redevelopment projects, maximum income limits

(17) Op cit. Section 3. Scope of the Relocation Problem (p 1).

for admission are raised to coincide with maximum income limits for continued occupancy.

4) Number of Referrals: "If a family that appears eligible for public housing refuses to file an application or refuses a reasonable offer of a permanent public housing unit, the administration by the Local Public Agency of the Relocation Plan with respect to that family may be considered fulfilled. However,...the Local Public Agency should continue its efforts to rehouse the family..." (18)

5) Information Statement: "The information statement to advise site families of the relocation program and of plans to assist them in finding new accommodations shall include the following: ...

(3) Assurance that families will have the opportunity of being rehoused in accommodations which are in accordance with locally approved standards of decent, safe and sanitary housing...

(7) Advice to the family that they undertake to seek suitable accommodations..." (19)

6) Advisory Committee: To enlist community aid and cooperation, the Local Public Agency is advised to encourage formation of an Advisory Committee to advise on methods and techniques for relocation, to obtain cooperation of property owners and real estate agencies in securing information on available housing, to enlist cooperation of social agencies, and to act as a two-way channel to reach the larger "community" with an explanation of relocation, and to keep the Local Public Agency informed of citizen reactions (including project families).

(18) Ibid.

(19) Op cit. Part III, Chapter 4, Section 6. Securing, Evaluating, and Offering Rehousing Accommodations (p 1)

Local Administration. (20)

After the Application for Loan and Grant is approved at the regional and national levels, and the contracts are signed, federal funds are advanced and the Local Public Agency sets up a relocation office in the Project Area, and begins official relocation.

The relocation service may be a central family relocation agency serving other agencies in the community, another public agency having a relocation staff, or a relocation staff within the Local Public Agency.

The Federal Administration recommends that this service be conducted under competent supervision, with professionally qualified supervisors, experienced inspectors and interviewers.

In the period immediately after approval of Loan and Grant (and the advance of federal funds), and while the official relocation office is being set up, two important events usually occur locally:

1. a 100% survey of the population remaining in the Project is carried out. The information from this is entered on cards, and is for the field-worker a major source of information on the families remaining in the area.

2. preparations are made for a staged or mass "taking" of property in the Project. By this process the city assumes legal title to all land and buildings and becomes rent collector, property manager and relocation service for project families. Negotiations with former property owners are later consummated.

To begin the relocation process, the staff has as resources the information from the Relocation Plan and from the 100% Site Occupants

(20) The following material is based on the relocation requirements outlined in the Manuals. It is intended to convey a general impression of local administrative procedures without reference to a specific project.

Survey, the (assumed) cooperation of at least some of the several interest groups mentioned previously, and an (assumed) adequate supply of relocation housing.

As a frame of reference for local administration, the Manuals list the following requirements (besides those previously mentioned in regard to standards of housing and meeting needs and requirements of families): (21)

1) Maintenance of records on inspection and evaluation of dwelling units, including interior and exterior structural conditions, plumbing and heating, sanitary facilities, fire hazards, and the surrounding environment.

2) Minimization of unknowns, including efforts to determine causes for disappearance of families, and subsequent modification of operational methods as required.

3) Inspection of dwelling units for all families, before or after relocation.

4) Eviction in case of complete failure to cooperate with the Local Public Agency.

The first step in the actual relocation process consists of sending an Advisory Statement (22) by registered mail to each project family, informing each of its rights under the law, of action it may take to seeking housing on its own initiative, and of the Local Public Agency's relocation service.

(21) HHFA, Urban Renewal Administration, Manual of Policies and Requirements for Local Public Agencies, Washington, D.C., Book II, Part III, Chapter 4, Execution of the Relocation Plan, Section 1-10. (in part)

(22) See Appendix, Page 123 , for example of Advisory Statement and Vacancy Survey Card.

Actual relocation consists of the following general procedures broadly outlined or implied in the Manuals, and subject to local interpretations and modifications:

Operations in Regard to Relocation Housing:

1. From newspaper ads, real estate listings and telephone calls to the relocation office, potential housing accommodations are listed on Vacancy Survey Cards.

2. Inspection by relocation personnel of such accommodations, evaluation of these in comparison with local standards of acceptability and publication of lists of acceptable and potentially available dwelling units.

Operations in Regard to the Site Families:

1. Workload: fieldworkers are assigned specific "blocks" for the entire project. Workload is flexible though, and may be concentrated temporarily in areas scheduled for early demolition.

2. Interviews: the fieldworker makes daily (or more frequent) trips to assigned households, with lists of apartments vacant and potentially available to the family; holds informal discussions with the family, and (theoretically at least) attempts to interpret their housing needs and requirements.

3. Referrals: referrals of specific apartments to specific families, with the family (with possible agency help) then looking over the various referrals, and accepting or refusing the dwelling unit offered.

4. Additional services: depending on the local interpretation of the relocation service required, additional services (buying groceries, transportation, advice) can be offered to the families. In hardship cases, rent reduction or waiver of back rent may be made.

The operation, including these many functions, entails also the morass of progress reports, documentations, eviction notices, telephone calls, cor-

responsiveness, and other "red tape" requirements associated with the highly complex administrative processes of urban renewal.

The Local Public Agency is not legally responsible for the following:

1. Families that relocate prior to the "taking"- although one objective of the program is to minimize unknowns, there is no legal requirement that the agency attempt to trace such families, or to find out into what housing area relocation occurred or the quality of housing received.

2. Single person families, roomers, boarders, businesses- there is no legal requirement for relocation of these several groups. In regard to these, the Agency is advised to identify and develop proposed solutions where special problems exist. For the individuals, the listings and other ancillary services may be made available (advice, small relocation payments). For commercial and industrial establishments relocation service in practice can range from making out a site occupants card and taking down the address after the tenant self-relocates, to conducting a full business relocation service, including referrals based on agency field work, with legal and financial advice to the tenant. This is also a local determination.

The whole process of relocation from urban renewal projects then is set up to function within broad federal objectives and somewhat more specific administration policies and requirements as a frame of reference. The local community accepts these objectives, interprets the requirements, and implements the relocation program.

Relocation is a major process in the implementation of any redevelopment project, particularly in those where total clearance is contemplated. As long as there is such redevelopment, there will also be relocation.

The federal emphasis on local interpretation, local determinations as to housing accommodations available for relocation purposes and much of the other basic information is likely to continue. In the regional review of local relocation operations, the field representatives are concerned chiefly with the administrative aspects of relocation, such as the size of staff, the allocation of staff time to various administrative functions (receipt of rents, property management, demolition procedures), and particularly as to where and how the federal funds for relocation have been spent.

Urban Renewal Administration inspection of relocation housing is at best insufficient. (23)

With such emphasis on the local approach to renewal, particularly with respect to relocation from project areas, it would appear that the burden of responsibility for satisfactory relocation implementation rests with the city, the Local Public Agency, and the community of interests that support local urban renewal programs.

(23) The following information was gained in discussions with Mr. Peter Stockbower and other Site Representatives of the HHFA, URA, working out of the Boston Office. May, 1960.

A Site Representative inspects a sample of relocation housing each month. Mr. Stockbower, for example, is responsible for eight projects in New England. Each month he takes three or four cards from the local files, and interviews the relocated family. He and the other representatives agreed completely that: 1) the evaluation of housing is not based on any systematic method of inspection (an APHA type, for example), and is not recorded; 2) the evaluation is of the dwelling unit, and to a minor extent, the structure. The physical environment is not evaluated; 3) it is up to the local community to set the standards and to inspect and evaluate relocation housing according to these standards.

The intent to check relocation housing appears to exist. The actual inspection in quantity and methodology is inadequate.

Section III. Urban Redevelopment in the West End Proper.

The West End Redevelopment Project Area is a 48 acre tract in the center of the West End Proper (See Map 1, page 38). A 1953 Boston Housing Authority "West End Project Report" noted building coverage of 90% in 11 of the 48 blocks of a larger 78 block area being studied, and, excluding streets and vacant tracts, of 72% for the net land area. Ground density was in excess of 152 dwelling units per net residential acre.

The Project totals 48 acres with 16 in streets and alleys, 24 in residential use, 4.5 in public and semi-public uses, and 3.5 in commercial uses. There were 3671 dwelling units in the Project. (24)

The predominant housing type was 3-5 story walkups, in rows, with building coverage by lots ranging from 70 to 100%. Buildings were generally without setback from the sidewalk.

Non-residential development of the neighborhood service type was scattered throughout the Project. This included 315 nonresidential establishments of which approximately 60% were neighborhood retail-service facilities.

The area was well serviced by community facilities of four types. (25)

These included:

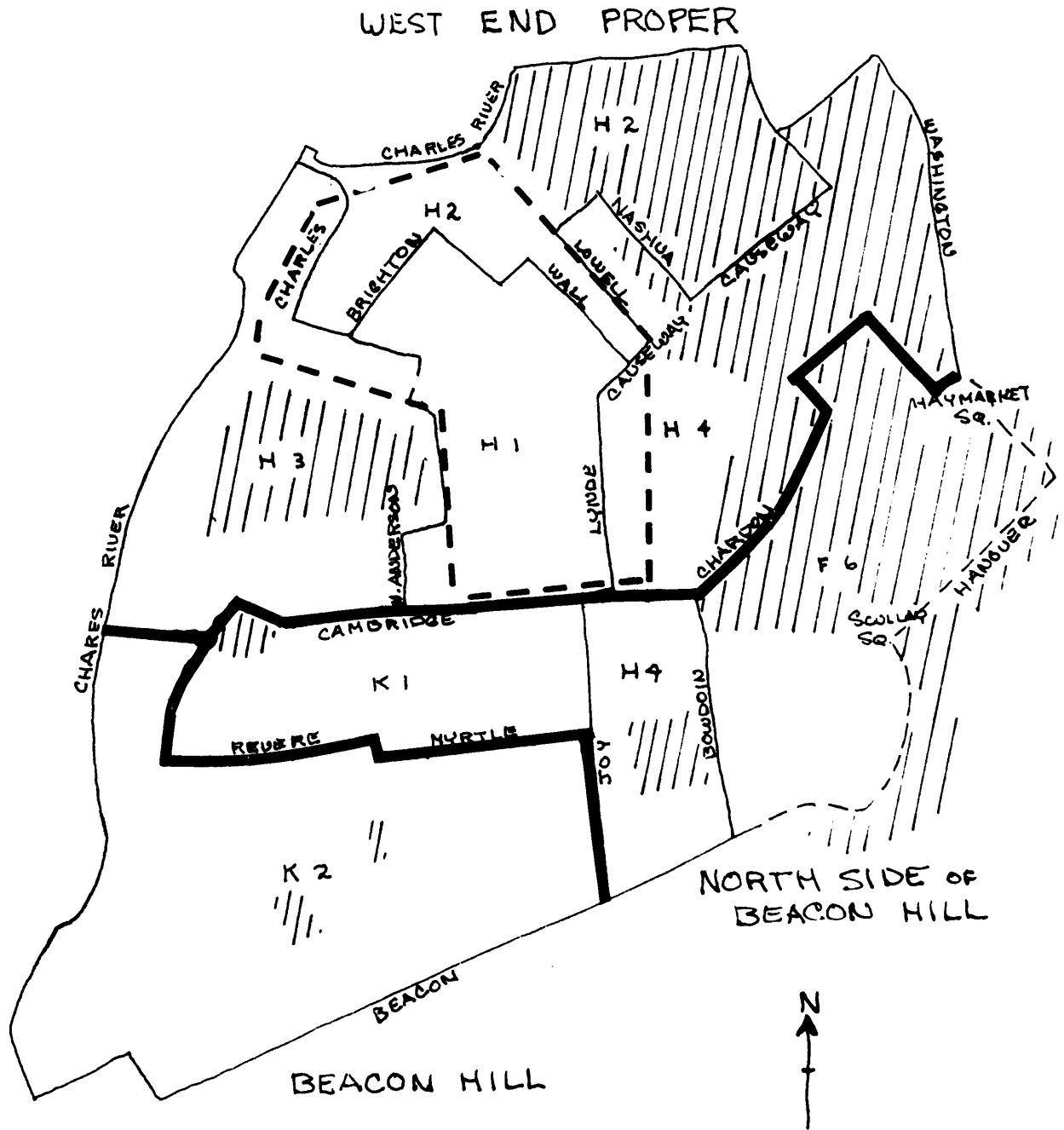
1. Service to Individuals: public and private casework agencies rendering direct service to individuals, including such as the Jewish

(24) Boston Housing Authority, Declaration of Findings, West End Redevelopment Plan, Boston, Mass. May, 1956. Revised March, 1957. Revised May, 1957 (pp 11-18). Other figures are from Site Occupants Cards in the Boston Redevelopment Authority Relocation Office.

(25) Information regarding community facilities and service was drawn from unpublished United Community Services reports, from Mass. Council of Churches, Boston's West End, A Study of Church and Community, Boston, Mass., December 1949. (pp 1-138) The categorization of these facilities, and later information on the level of facilities in reception areas was made available by Mr. William Baird, with assistance from Mr. Ben Hersey of the Elizabeth Peabody House, who are presently conducting a study of this phase of relocation from the West End Redevelopment Project.

THE WEST END HEALTH & WELFARE AREA

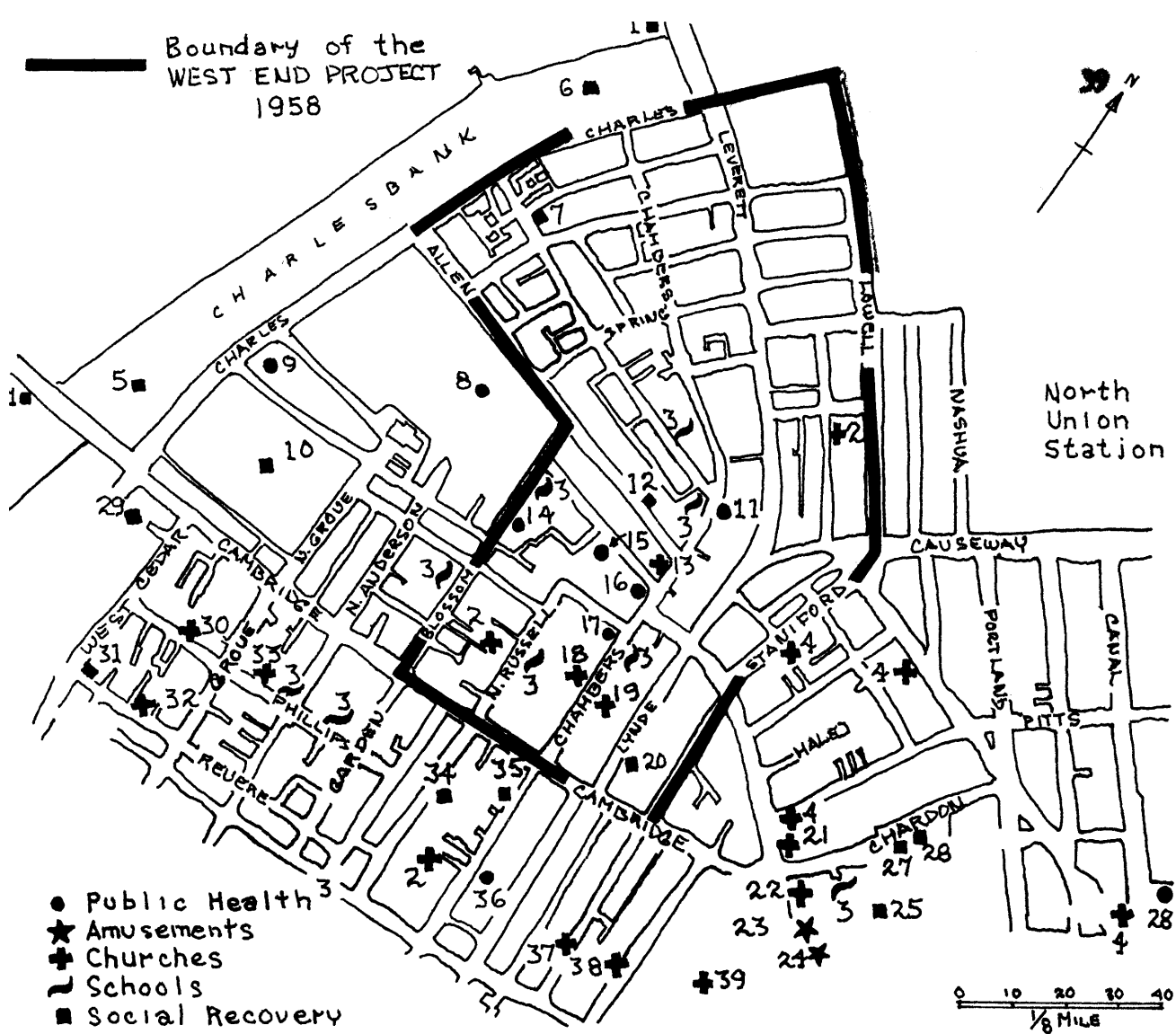
SHOWING THE THREE NEIGHBORHOODS
AND THE SEVEN CENSUS TRACTS



- NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARIES
 - - - - BOUNDARY OF THE PROJECT
 - ||||||| GENERAL AREAS OF NON-RESIDENTIAL USE
- SCALE: 1/10 MILE

SOURCE: US CENSUS OF HOUSING 1950; "BOSTON'S WEST END" 1949
BOSTON PLANNING BOARD LAND USE MAPS 1960

Boundary of the
WEST END PROJECT
1958



MAP SHOWING CHIEF INSTITUTIONS AND MEETING PLACES IN THE WEST END, BOSTON. 1902

Note: all such facilities in the Project Area are underlined.

(X) denotes facility vacating Project Area between 1902-1950

(*) denotes facility changing use or user (St. Andrew's to Heath Baptist Christian Center- No. 18; Reformed Presbyterian to Polish R.C. Church- No. 19) or from one location to another within the Project Area (West End Branch Library- No. 20).

The five public schools remain as located in 1902, with changes in class use. New facilities, in the Project Area only, after 1902 (partial list): 1 synagogue, 2 nurseries, Boston Music School, West End House, Blossom Street Health Unit.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Public Baths(X) | 15. <u>Boston Lying-In Hosp.</u> (X) | 31. <u>Associated Charities</u> |
| 2. <u>Synagogues</u> | 16. <u>House of Good Samaritan</u> | 32. <u>Revere St. Methodist</u>
(Colored) (*) |
| 3. <u>Public Schools</u> | 17. <u>Vincent Hospital</u> (*) | 33. <u>12th St. Baptist</u>
(Colored) (*) |
| 4. <u>Missions</u> | 18. <u>St. Andrew's Church</u> (*) | 34. <u>Villard Y Settlement</u> |
| 5. <u>Gym (Women's & Girls)</u> | 19. <u>Reformed Presbyterian</u> (*) | 35. <u>Police Station No. 3</u> |
| 6. <u>Gym (Men and Boys)</u> | 20. <u>West End Br. Library</u> (*) | 36. <u>St. Monica's Hospital</u> |
| 7. <u>Elizabeth Peabody House</u> | 21. <u>Salvation Army</u> | 37. <u>1st M.E. Church</u> (*) |
| 8. <u>Mass. General Hospital</u> | 22. <u>Baptist Tabernacle</u> (X) | 38. <u>St. John The Evangelist</u> |
| 9. <u>Eye and Ear Infirmary</u> | 23. <u>Bowdoin Sq. Museum</u> | 39. <u>Bulfinch Pl. Chapel</u> |
| 10. <u>Suffolk City Jail</u> | 24. <u>Bowdoin Sq. Theatre</u> | |
| 11. <u>Mt. Sinai Hospital</u> (X) | 25. <u>Wayfarer's Lodge</u> | |
| 12. <u>Hebrew Industrial School</u> | 26. <u>Temporary Home for Women</u> | |
| 13. <u>St. Joseph's R.C. Church</u> | 27. <u>Charity Building</u> | |
| 14. <u>West End Day Nursery & Infant's Hospital</u> (*) | 28. <u>Relief Sta. City Hosp.</u> | |
| | 29. <u>Sunnyside Day Nursery</u> | |
| | 30. <u>St. Augustine's Church</u> (*) | |

Family and Children's Service, and the in and outpatient services at Massachusetts General Hospital.

2. Service to Groups: this included the Elizabeth Peabody House, the West End House, and other centers for organized recreation.

3. Religious Organizations: in the Project there were 6 churches (3 Synagogues, 1 Protestant and 2 Catholic-Polish and Irish-Italian churches) and similar services of the Salvation Army. Adjacent to the Project were approximately 11 additional facilities of this type.

4. Other Leisure Time Centers: this included 3 schools within the area, numerous ethnic clubs and cellar clubs, and various open spaces adjacent to the Project, as well as the street corners, door stoops and sidewalks within the Project.

The 1950 population of approximately 12,000 consisted of the following ethnic groups in order of size: Italian, U.S.S.R. (Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish), Polish, Canadian (other than French), and smaller subgroups of English-Welch, Irish, German, Austrian, Lithuanian, Romanian, and Greek, and other Europeans. The other major ethnic group was the Jewish, which included members from several of the European countries.

The long-term trend for the population in the West End Area was a sharp decline from 1910 to 1930 and a much more gradual decline from that time on. "Neighborhood" and census tract populations fluctuated significantly. (26)

(26) The population in Census Tract H-1, which covered about 75% of the Project, increased by 3.2% from 1930-1940 and decreased by 5.5% from 1940 to 1950. It probably cannot be concluded that the Project population would or would not continue downward. However, two factors would contribute to the decline outside the Project Area, but within the West End Proper (neighborhood), these being the greater deterioration and higher vacancy rate of the mixed use area east of the Project, and the demolition program of Massachusetts General Hospital on Cambridge Street, west of the Project. (See Map 2 , page 39).

Of these population groups, there were very significant cultural-social ties among at least four of the five groups noted below.

Italians: The dominant ethnic group in the Project with strong, extended family ties. Percent of foreign-born dropped significantly from 1940 to 1950, but the Project was still a second reception center from the North End. Public and commercial facilities for this group included the St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, numerous ethnic stores, and various clubs, and the like.

Jewish: Essentially an elderly group, second in size and with strong social ties. Of all the groups, this probably had the least chance of survival without redevelopment of the West End. Numerous facilities, including 3 Synagogues in the Project and 2 on the North Side of Beacon Hill, and numerous stores served this group, at one time the dominant one in the West End Area.

Polish: Third in size, with foreign-born taking a substantial drop between 1940-1950. Facilities for this group included a Polish Church, some commercial facilities and joint use of area facilities separately and with other groups (Peabody Settlement House, West End House, the nurseries and the streets).

Irish: Fourth in size, this group seemed to be similar in age composition to the Jewish, without evidence of such strong ethnic ties. The major in-project facility for this group was St. Joseph's Church.

Ukranian: A smaller group, the Ukrainians were oriented out of the Project for much of their activity, this being centered around either of three national churches in the South End and Jamaica Plain.

One additional group for which there were no specific indications of strong nationality ties in the Project was the Canadian, other than French.

These several groups were located in varied concentrations and scatterings in relation to one another, with varying degrees of in-group and out-group orientation towards or away from the Project. Within the Project and the larger area, there were community and commercial facilities to service at least the major ethnic groups.

That strong social ties existed even after some of the ethnic group members left the West End (before and after project selection) is evidenced by at least three general occurrences.

1. Ethnic group members moving to other housing areas returned to visit friends and meet at the churches and clubs and other facilities in the area even after demolition began. Some found that "service" facilities in other areas were deficient or lacking in opportunities for social contact as were the West End's. Numerous return visits and contacts of this kind occurred with the members of the Elizabeth Peabody Settlement House and the West End House where, for specific activities or for regular group meetings, former residents returned.

2. Second and third generation national families remained or moved back into the West End to live near or with relatives (particularly the Italians). In some instances, they moved in temporarily to be with relatives after "official" relocation started.

3. Some ethnic group members who left the West End returned regularly to patronize West End food stores. Such included some Jewish families living in Brookline, for example.

The cultural ties and social patterns in such housing areas are frequently of substantial significance and their "value" cannot be ignored or discredited in any program to improve housing for urban people.

Of these many facilities, adaptation to reuse by different groups within the population was a characteristic. This included the churches,

stores and, of course, the housing. Other facilities, such as the Pea-body House, the nurseries and West End House, tended to remain unchanged in their roles of bringing families and individuals of mixed ethnic, age and income backgrounds together. This was a valuable role of the Project as a housing area.

It would appear that there were positive and negative aspects of the West End Proper as a low rental and family-oriented housing area.

High density housing and high building coverage reduced light and air to the dwellings. Large areas of open space (other than the 1/3 of the Project in streets and alleys) were not interspersed through the Project.

However, this type of row housing on narrow streets had positive character also. It tended to place families and individuals in close proximity to each other, fostering numerous social contacts at the countless door stoops, windows and at the many local stores. The streets served as a circulation system for pedestrians and cars, but were more important as communication paths through the entire area for the people.

The neighborhood stores served as shopping centers, employment centers, and leisure-time centers for West End families, and were focal points for social contact on these circulation paths mentioned above.

The major roles of the Project as late as 1950 in relation to various ethnic, income and age groups appear to have been the following: (27)

(27) Mass. Council of Churches, Boston's West End, Op cit. Robert A. Woods, Editor. Americans in Process, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1902 (pp 1-383), Herbert J. Gans. The Human Implications of Current Re-development and Relocation Planning, AIP Journal, Vol XXV, No. 1, February 1959 (based on an eight-month sociological community study while a resident in the West End Redevelopment Project). John R. Seeley, The Slum: Its Nature, Use and Users, Op cit. Also from personal discussions with members of the relocation staff, and from the information on Site Occupants Cards.

1. A reception area, second stop for the Italians moving from the North End to the more spacious and less deteriorated housing units of the Project. Also, a primary reception area for minor immigrations from Europe, including Polish, Hungarians and Italians, and for specific immigration programs, such as that in the early 1950's.

2. A permanent housing area for other relatively stable ethnic groups such as the Polish and Ukrainians and for the declining Jewish and Irish groups.

3. A processing area serving as a private, low-rental housing area for those who would remain until sufficient savings permitted a further outward move; for those, who by reason of choice or preference, remained in the area (irregardless of income, ethnic group or age), and for those who, because of economic or other limitations, never made the move out - this latter group including perhaps some of the larger families and some of those with permanent low-income jobs (janitors, bus-boys, waitresses, low-skill factory jobs). (See Appendix, page 131).

4. The accessibility role: Although inconsistently noted on the Site Cards, there were references to Project families working in the area and more frequent references to employment downtown or at Massachusetts General Hospital.

The low-rent role of this housing area was important for at least the following reasons:

1. This was a low-rental private housing area which meant that some of the institutional factors such as found in public housing did not exist. Included here are the factors of rental itself which was among the lowest in the city and which represented a form of security against loss of residence due to rent increases, and the fact that where tenant-landlord ties were strong, rent could be postponed in case of job loss.

Further, deviant behaviour need not cause concern about loss of residence.

2. The West End Area provided numerous part-time jobs for the elderly as well as others. The reduced rent in return for janitorial services was frequently noted on the Cards.

3. Another function of the area, a combination of its low rental and locational character, was as a housing area for perhaps 75-100 households with specific medical problems (mental, cardiac, psychiatric) who were on weekly outpatient care at the Massachusetts General Hospital under any one of several health programs. (28) This service included visitations to the home by Hospital personnel in cases where the family was unable to go to the hospital.

A final factor was the location of the Project in relation to downtown employment, shopping facilities and leisure-time centers, as well as to recreational areas such as the Esplanade Park. These were within convenient walking distance of the housing area. This was important, particularly for the retired and elderly with limited money for entertainment and other activities. (29) To assign "costs" to these many roles is probably not possible. It is, however, desirable and necessary in planning residential area development and in relocating people from one housing area to another to understand such functions and to evaluate these in relation to the character and composition of the population served when programming improvements in the urban environment.

(28) The level of data recording on the Site Cards precludes a more precise statistic.

(29) United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, Housing Preferences of Older People, Study No. 2, Boston, Massachusetts, February, 1959 (pp 1-68)

Redevelopment and Relocation. The Beginning. (30)

In 1949, the National Housing Act was passed making federal funds available for cities to clear "slums" and blighted areas, to rehouse particularly low income families into decent homes, while providing an opportunity to reuse cleared land to increase tax revenues and diversify the economic base, as well as to reduce municipal expenditures in cleared areas.

In December of 1950, the Preliminary Report of the Boston City Planning Board on the General Plan for Boston delineated some 15 general areas as most in need of redevelopment, including the West End Proper.

The first redevelopment project in Boston was the New York Streets Project, implemented under Boston Housing Authority administration. Loan and Grant Contracts were signed in May, 1955; funds were made available one month later, and a Site Relocation Office was opened one month after that. A year prior to that, 931 families had lived in the Project Area. When the relocation office opened, 368 remained. Of these, 214 were tentatively eligible for public housing. Fifty seven went into this type of housing, 27 in the only project in the South End. (31)

(30) The chronology of events was from two sources: Mr. William Johnson, Boston Redevelopment Authority Staff, and from the newspaper clipping files (on the West End and housing in general) of the Christian Science Monitor. Where headlines are quoted, they are from The Monitor. Possibly other local papers gave somewhat greater publicity to the West End Redevelopment operation.

(31) Boston Redevelopment Authority, Final Relocation Report, New York Streets Project-UR Mass. 2-1, March, 1958, Boston, Massachusetts. (p 1-15). It is not known if any families from this project relocated into the West End Redevelopment Project Area.

In 1950, the City made application for advance funds for three study areas: the South End, the West End, and Mattapan.

In 1951, preliminary planning was completed on all three areas and in 1952, the West End was selected as a Project Area. Determinations of physical conditions supporting redevelopment action were published in the West End Redevelopment Plan, Declaration of Findings, May 1956, March 1957, and May 1957, from earlier studies.

Why would the West End Proper, as described earlier, be selected as a locus for redevelopment operations with predominant treatment being total clearance?

There appear to be at least three reasons.

With federal funds available, it would be possible for the city to renew portions of the West End Area which were "slum" or blighted. Urban redevelopment offered an opportunity for physical improvement in this housing area.

It would also be possible for the city to renew portions of the Area in which costs for municipal housekeeping and welfare services were as high or higher than many other housing areas in the City. (32) The locational characteristics of the area presented an excellent opportunity for reuse with potentially greater tax revenues.

(32) Available information as to "costs" for provision of such services precluded a complete evaluation of the economic factor. However, some indication of this can be gained from the following.

A favorability ranking of 63 neighborhoods for 5 economic factors (aid to dependent children, dependent aid, median rents, old age assistance, unemployment) by the Greater Boston Community Council in 1945 showed the West End Health and Welfare Area (later so defined), the East Boston, Charlestown, North End, South Boston, South End and Roxbury Health and Welfare Areas as least favorable for these factors. These "costs" are attributable to economic and other limitations of the population residing there, and not to the condition of housing (excepting rent, of course).

In line with the objectives of urban renewal, it would seem that an opportunity was presented for the city to improve living conditions for people, which is a third purpose of such operations.

The "community" that supported renewal apparently thought that by such action in the West End, living conditions for people would be improved. (33) As noted below, this can be interpreted in two ways. However, it is as important in urban renewal operations that the people in project areas achieve overall improvements in their living environment as it is for the greater urban population to benefit economically and socially from such operations. A major purpose of the Act is to move project families from undesirable environments and somewhat inadequate housing to decent homes in adequate residential areas.

To qualify for federal aid, the local government must support a determination that "slum" or blighted conditions exist in an area, requiring some type of community action.

"The HHFA doesn't undertake to establish specific criteria of blight to which project areas must conform. What is required is that the local public agency support a determination based on any combination of the factors set forth below, or on other factors which it feels render the area inadequate for decent living...(these) fall into two principal categories; those which are in themselves characteristics of residential inadequacy or unfitness (including inadequate dwelling facilities, obsolete dwelling facilities, improper building locations, coverage and use of land, and unsatisfactory community facilities); and those which

(33) In discussions with personnel of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, The Relocation Staff, and others interested in the program, it was generally agreed that the "community" felt that redevelopment would improve living conditions for people. This was subject to two interpretations though. One was that redevelopment would be for the good of West End residents, as well as for the greater community. The other interpretation was that, although sacrifices might be made by West End households, the greater good for the greater number of people would be in the long run, a justification for redevelopment of the area.

are not themselves characteristics but which have been found to be symptoms of blight (including economic deterioration, such as declining property values, high incidence of tax delinquency, and low average rents; existence of social problems; high incidence of juvenile delinquency.!) (34)

The letter of the law is a broad outline or guide from which the local authority selects those criteria which are most appropriate to the area under study. The process of qualification is not overly difficult. First, there is an abundance of criteria, covering many indices of physical decline and various economic and social conditions which exist in older, low rental urban areas. Secondly, as with most other phases of the redevelopment process, responsibility rests with the local governmental agencies to determine that physical, economic and social conditions are such as to require "community" action.

Early in 1953, shortly after the City Council received and approved the Preliminary Report of the West End, a seven-page pamphlet entitled "Urban Redevelopment and The West End" was published for public distribution by the Boston Housing Authority. It attempted to explain some factors of the renewal process to justify in part redevelopment in the West End, indicated tentative reuse plans for the area, cited major reasons for redevelopment and noted briefly what would happen to the people in the Project. From this report, the following is noted:

"Although the West End is not our worst residential area, it is clearly substandard - no longer an asset to Boston..and it seems to have the best chance of being rebuilt into a modern neighborhood because of its good location near the Charles River with its recreation area and near good transportation...

(34) HHFA, Urban Renewal Administration, Manual of Policies and Requirements for Local Public Agencies, Washington, D.C., 1950-1959. Book I, Part 2, Chapter 4, Section 2, Categories and Criteria of Area Eligibility (pp 3-5).

...some parts of the West End do not need renewal..(and) will remain..
...the most important reason for redevelopment of the West End is to get rid of the existing bad conditions - to improve the living conditions of the people who now live there, and to relieve the City of the tax burden for extra expenses of fire protection and the like...

What will happen to the people? ...the Authority has made plans to rehouse every family that would have to move..first, apartments in public low rent housing projects will be made available..the Authority will find private apartments or houses reasonably located and at rents they can afford to pay for the remaining families..

The Federal law requires that you must be relocated in a decent, safe and sanitary apartment at a price you can afford to pay, or there can be no project..

The Authority will do its best to help storekeepers to find new locations elsewhere in the City where this is possible..." (35)

On the next to last page was a tentative Re-Use Plan. It showed High Rent Housing, Low or Middle Rent Housing, Retained or Rehabilitated Housing, and other land uses.

To qualify the West End, the Local Public Agency applied the federal rule of thumb, selecting various indices of physical decay and other residential inadequacies and some symptoms of blight. For the evaluation, the Authority used the American Public Health Association (A.P.H.A.) Housing Evaluation Technique, which is structured for a comprehensive evaluation of all interior conditions of dwelling units, interior and exterior structural conditions, and environmental deficiencies in housing areas.

(35) Boston Housing Authority, Urban Redevelopment Division, Urban Redevelopment And The West End, Boston, Massachusetts (no date). Quotations were taken from the unnumbered pages throughout the pamphlet.

On the basis of various Authority surveys (including the APHA Survey), analysis of other surveys and studies, including U.S. Census of Population and Housing Reports, and record of various city departments, the findings for the West End included the following, in part:

Characteristics of Residential Inadequacies:

90% building coverage in almost all lots; no building setbacks; 27 licensed rooming houses; 6.2% of the structures owner occupied.

Structural and Dwelling Unit Conditions

Dwelling Unit Conditions:

63.5% (2331) of the dwelling units had 90 penalty points or more, and 2 or more basic deficiencies and are substandard.

15.5% (569) had 89 - 60 points and less than 2 deficiencies and are marginal.

21.0% (771) have 59-0 points and less than 2 deficiencies and are standard.

Structural (and dwelling unit) Conditions:

Included an evaluation, inside and outside the structure, listing minor cracks, holes, damaged surface, larger deficits and extreme deficits. Sanitary conditions around buildings were noted, including percent of buildings with defective trash barrels, accumulations of garbage and trash, rats and other vermin.

Sanitary conditions of dwelling units were noted. For 11% of these units, one or more of 11 deficiencies existed (plumbing, water pressure, damp walls, wiring, cellars, wash basins, laundry tubs, etc.).

Symptoms of residential blight: The Authority cited 23 active tuberculosis cases, and 10 deaths from this disease; also welfare caseloads for Aid to Dependent Children, Direct Aid, General Relief, and Old Age Assistance.

Except for the environmental conditions noted above, the following

sentence summed up this aspect of the evaluation:

"Environmental conditions were not scored as the area was uniformly bad." (36)

The Authority, on the basis of the facts set forth on the preceding page, declared and found:

"1. The Project Area is a 'substandard' and 'decadent' area...in that it is an area where dwellings predominate and which is detrimental to the safety, health, morals and welfare of the inhabitants and users of the area and of the City of Boston at large by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design and the lack of ventilation, light and sanitation facilities of the dwellings therein; the existence of buildings which are out of repair, physically deteriorated, unfit for human habitation...the substantial change in business and economic conditions, and excessive land coverage that exists in parts thereof with resultant inadequate light, air and open space..." (37)

In evaluating the West End for redevelopment, physical conditions and sanitary conditions were substantially evaluated. However, the statement as to environmental conditions does not represent a valid determination of the residential environment of the area.

If "environmental conditions" as stated above relates only to physical conditions, it is an incomplete evaluation because the positive social factors of the West End as a housing area are completely discredited.

If "environmental conditions" is meant to include the physical and social conditions of the area, it is an inadequate evaluation.

Of this high density, row housing residential area, with four or five

(36) Boston Housing Authority, Urban Renewal Division, West End Redevelopment Plan, Declaration of Findings, Op cit (p 14)

(37) Op cit (p 11)

major ethnic groups and several minor groups living in close proximity, the following observation was made in 1958, six years after the West End was selected as a locus for redevelopment operations:

"...some aspects of life in the West End resemble that of the European villages from which (the families) or their parents came. The extended family plays an important role, since relatives often reside in adjacent apartments. People here live within an intricate social network and a multitude of informal groups which are crucial to the functioning of people in a culture in which..individualism..is unknown..Antisocial behaviour among permanent West End residents was low, in part because of strict (though decreasing) parental control over children and of the persuasive sanctions against any kind of nonconformity". (38)

If redevelopment (total clearance) was a proper action in the West End, and if as stated in the pamphlet, Urban Redevelopment And the West End, one of the most important reasons for redevelopment was "to get rid of existing bad conditions- to improve the living conditions of people who now live there..", the evaluation would necessarily include the range of physical, economic and social factors of importance in that housing area.

The West End had negative and positive factors in its housing role. Probably no factor was dominant, but all were of significance. By failing to acknowledge the positive social factors, the evaluation was immediately inadequate. This substantial deficiency might indicate a lack of local concern for the overall needs of all West End families. It might indicate an overemphasis on the clearance aspects of the program, and the reuse aspects, with insufficient consideration of the people in the project area. It could certainly make any relocation or other renewal plans of significantly reduced value and usefulness in implementing the program.

(38) Herbert J. Gans, The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning. Op cit (page 3). Mr. Gans lived in the West End Redevelopment Area for eight months conducting a sociological study.

Two months after the APHA survey of April 1955, the Final Plan for the West End was submitted to the Urban Renewal Administration. A year later, it was resubmitted for approval and a year after that, it was approved by the Boston Planning Board, the City Council, and the Massachusetts State Housing Board.

In March of 1955, the Final Relocation Plan, part of the Application for Loan and Grant, was completed. It included a description of the proposed administrative organization for execution of relocation, available housing accommodations, standards for permanent relocation housing, policies and procedures for locating, inspecting and referring site occupants to permanent relocation accommodations, the Notification to Site Occupants form (including relocation housing standards; see Appendix, page 123), a seven-stage relocation plan covering a period of 4 years and 9 months, some information on West End families as to size, race, income, rent-paying ability, and eligibility for public housing based on a 10% sample, a long list of pertinent local regulations as to housing accommodations, various proposed administrative operations and financial estimates of relocation cost.

In the revision of November 1955, estimates of rehousing resources were again stated with estimates made for public and private rentals and sales housing.

Within this substantial volume of material, there was no indication that the needs and desires of the people for housing had been evaluated, other than for the sample breakdown of income and family composition mentioned above and a reference to the minor non-white population in the West End.

Three factors are of note here.

As to the relocation plan, it was substantially a description of administrative organization and financial aspects of relocation with documentation of forms and standards. As a plan for relocating people, it contained two major elements: the estimate of housing available (to anyone) in the metropolitan area and the City, and the information from the 10% sample survey, giving family size and income, estimating eligibility for public housing and showing a breakdown of 124 upper income families that could afford rentals in new construction.

The Summary of the Relocation Plan for approximately 3075 West End families was as follows:

"It is estimated that there are approximately 2122 families eligible for public housing.

There are 953 families ineligible for public housing. Of these, 434 are one-person families. Hence, there are 519 families of two or more persons to be relocated in private housing. Among the latter group are 124 families that can afford rentals in new construction." (39)

For the Relocation Plan the major source materials were U.S. Census of Housing Reports and reports compiled by other agencies such as the real estate boards. These, at best, gave indications of vacancies in census tracts for varying periods of time which could be correlated with population characteristics in the project and in census tracts in Boston and the metropolitan area.

There were no surveys of housing available which would give a clear indication of dwelling unit size, condition, rental level, turnover rate, and composition of the population at the neighborhood level in the metropolitan area, with the exception of some such information for public housing.

(39) Boston Housing Authority, Urban Renewal Division, Relocation Plan, West End Land Assembly and Redevelopment Project, U.R. Mass. 2-1, Boston, Mass., March 16, 1955, November, 1955 (p 13).

The Relocation Plan for the West End was more nearly a documentation of administrative and financial aspects of relocation than a plan of action. Information sufficient to determine whether or not housing would or would not be available in quantity and quality and at rentals necessary to rehouse the West End population did not exist. As such a documentation, it is of primary value in securing approval of the Loan and Grant contract.

A second deficiency was the paucity of information on the needs and desires of the West End residents for rehousing. Although statistics on family income and composition were a step in the proper direction, the correlation of income with family desires for type of housing (public housing particularly) given the social composition of the West End population and the location of the housing area in comparison with the nearest housing project (the South End) might indicate that an estimate of 65% of families tentatively eligible for public housing (and hence covered in the Plan) would be an over-estimation.

The Information Statement to Site Occupants (See Appendix, page 123) enumerated the standards for relocation housing. Physical and sanitary conditions of structure and dwelling unit (as emphasized in the West End housing evaluation) were similarly noted as important, although there was no mention in the Plan of the type of evaluation system that would be utilized (such as the APHA point system). The more noticeable deficiencies in the standards were in regard to the physical environment in which the dwelling unit would be located, and the social composition of the population, both of which were noted and/or implied as indices of poor environmental conditions in the Declaration of Findings for the West End.

All told, in the Relocation Plan, the standards for rehousing people from the West End Project appeared to be deficient in acknowledging the needs and desires of the people in comparison with the information which

was available on the West End's housing role for substantial nationality groups, the facilities and services in the area, and the accessibility of that housing area to other areas by foot, auto and transit.

The federal standards which served as an outline for the local relocation housing requirements are as follows:

"...that there are or are being provided in the project area or in other areas not generally less desirable as to public utilities and public and commercial facilities and at rents and prices within the financial means of the families displaced from the project area, decent, safe and sanitary dwellings..reasonably accessible to their places of employment." (40)

The Authority interpreted this outline and set up the standards for relocation housing. These were subsequently approved at the regional level as part of the Relocation Plan.

The Plan and the standards for relocation housing represent two of major elements which the local agency has to use in implementing relocation. Against these local standards, focusing on physical conditions of structure and dwelling unit, and the Plan, emphasizing public housing and using generalized information in regard to private housing, a comparison can be made with possible standards of West End families in regard to relocation housing. (41)

(40) HHFA, Urban Renewal Administration, Manual of Policies and Requirements for Local Public Agencies, op cit. Section 1 (p 1)

(41) The possible standards for West End families were based on an analysis of factors emphasized as important to the people in the Project Area, the West End Proper, and the West End Health and Welfare Area. Sources for this tentative categorization included the several readings referenced earlier, interviews with relocation fieldworkers and personal interviews with families in the West End Health and Welfare Area. The levels are not presented as hard and fast categorizations, but as tentative assignments on the basis of the emphasis in the sources noted above.

These standards might be compared as follows:

<u>Federal-Local Agency</u>	<u>West End Families</u>
<u>1st level:</u>	
physical and sanitary condition of structure and dwelling unit	the composition and character of the population in housing areas, and the facilities of such areas (church, store, leisure-time centers)
public housing, a major relocation housing resource	accessibility to employment centers, to downtown, to public transportation facilities, and other activity centers
<u>2nd level:</u>	
reasonable accessibility to employment	rent: a function of financial means and family standards (amount of income to be spent for shelter)
housing areas not generally less desirable as to public utilities, and public and commercial facilities	private housing (influenced by cultural values including opportunities for group associations and social ties; the ability to participate in acceptable and deviant behavioural patterns without serious difficulties or ramifications; and by economic considerations of a West End type housing area, with minor, but strong tenant-landlord ties, rent postponement in case of loss of job, rent reduction and/or employment for janitorial service, and opportunities for sanctioned and unsanctioned entrepreneurial enterprises)
<u>3rd level:</u>	
minor acknowledgements in the Relocation Plan of social and racial composition of the West End population	physical quality of the exterior of the dwelling unit (42)

(42) Relocation fieldworkers were constantly surprised to find that the dwelling units (in approximately 40% of the cases) in the West End were in a substantial state of cleanliness and maintenance.

If this comparison of standards has any validity, it would seem that it might be possible to achieve substantial cooperation of people in the relocation process for the West End if dwelling unit conditions were decent and standard. Basic conflicts might arise, however, in situations where the composition of the community (physically and socially) and the accessibility of the dwelling unit were not within the range of the needs and desires of at least some of the West End families.

The period between Relocation Plan formation in 1955 and approval of the Loan and Grant Contracts, and the mass "taking" of land in the Project Area, was consumed with a very confusing, complex, and emotion-laden series of project "go-aheads", "stumbling blocks", "green lights" and "hurdles to be cleared". These events were substantially covered in the local press.

Other Relocation Planning.

Of the non-governmental agencies in the Project, planning for relocation included the following individual and group actions, including, where relevant, Authority cooperation.

For the West End families, all indications from interviews, articles and newspaper files are that there was no definite consensus that redevelopment would or would not occur. The population, however, slowly left the Project in the eight-year maneuvering period.

Community Organizations and Agencies.

Most social agencies were faced with two problems. One was to continue services in the Project until demolition was complete. The other, for those that were planning in advance, was to attempt to relocate into another area in the city or the metropolis.

The West End House expanded its program to meet the demands during the early project days for more service for the younger children. Elizabeth Peabody Settlement House located in a temporary site in the Project,

as its building was in one of the first areas to be demolished. The House had a consultant's study undertaken in regard to their permanent relocation problem.

One casework agency, the Jewish Family and Children's Service, prepared in advance for relocation from the Project.

There was no indication that any of the Protestant or Jewish Churches made plans for relocation. The Massachusetts Council of Churches had, in 1949, completed a study - Boston's West End - with major emphasis on the continuance of Protestant church functions in the Health and Welfare Area. Both the Polish and Irish-Italian Catholic Churches desired to remain in the Project.

The social agencies and community organizations discussed or tried to discuss the impending relocation in late 1958 and early 1959. In the opinion of Mr. Vincent Ciampa, Director of the Community Organization Service Division of United Community Services, and Mr. Berton Fliegel, a professional social worker on the Relocation Office Staff, little constructive planning and programming had been accomplished in regard to overall group coordination on a comprehensive basis. Much of what was done was in the form of additional duties for social agency personnel with other jobs.

A West End Neighborhood Council was organized at least 6 months prior to the "taking" of land. This was composed of representatives from most of the social agencies in the Area, from Massachusetts General Hospital, the Churches, and the Redevelopment Authority, and United Community Services.

Two subcommittees were set up by the Council. The Interpretation Committee was to meet with redevelopment officials and discuss methods for transmitting accurate information to West End residents and to dispel

rumors. It operated for the first 9 months (until the end of 1958) of relocation and when Mr. Ciampa, the consultant and coordinator to this committee, became involved in other renewal work, it folded. The Interpretation Committee produced a document listing the relocation rights of people in the Project. It was later distributed in the Project to households and at the churches and settlement house.

The Inter-Agency Case Committee was to work closely with relocation officials to determine which social agency could best deal with individual problem families. The Case Committee has continued to operate under the coordination of Mr. Ciampa.

The Council itself, besides sponsoring these committees, met frequently, compared notes, and discussed as an organization various relocation problems. Individual members in their own professional job contributed substantially to the reduction of difficulties in regard to relocation. The Council's main role was to sponsor the committees.

There was no permanent paid backbone to all of these organization and committee functions to work full-time in coordination of the social agency and extra-legal relocation activities in the Project.

The following additional points summarize the actions of the community and the Authority up to the time of land "taking" and shortly thereafter:

1. The aforementioned Urban Redevelopment in the West End received undetermined distribution in the Project. Three additional forms were sent out (See Appendix, pages 126-127) - registered letter with Notification to Site Occupants (after the "taking"), a sheet of Facts and Pertinent Information on the Progress of the West End Redevelopment Project (at approximately the time of the "taking"), and a letter from the Chairman of the Redevelopment Authority to residents and property owners in the area re-

garding relocation payments, and payments to property owners (2 months after the "taking". These forms were intended to familiarize the people with relocation and to dispel rumors.

2. The Press had a role in the redevelopment of the West End with substantial coverage of the whole complex public-private process from 1959 on - with significant periods of calm when the process lagged.

Perhaps an indication of the confusion as to eventual redevelopment are the following lead lines to various releases on the status of the West End Redevelopment Project. (43)

"Slum Clearance. Hub Told Danger of Blight Spread. (12/6/1954); Hub's Urban Renewal Report To Washington. Bid for Millions. (10/20/1955); Debate Mounts in Boston Over Plan To Rebuild West End District (7/9/1956); 1957 Demolition Looms (7/18/1956); West End Folk To Get Housing (12/18/1956); West End Project Gets Federal Nod (4/1/1957); Bill Filed To Halt Clearance (6/7/1957); Council Votes West End Plan (7/23/1957); Hub Housing Project Awaits 'Go' Signal (12/13/1957); L Plans Court Fight on West End Project (1/25/1958)."

Some indication of the local attitude towards public housing, a major relocation resource in the Plan, might be concluded from the following:

"Lone Paid Recreation Aid for 25 Projects (11/21/1955); We're All Taxi Poor (1/22/1955); Public Housing Training Urged (1/24/1955); Rent Hike Looms in Vet's Project (1/1/1955); Workers to Spur Rec. at Project) 6/15/1955); 20 Teen-Agers Beat 2 Youths (Heath St. Project) (8/3/1955); 5 Hospitalized, 12 Arrested in Roxbury Teen-Age Row (Bromley Street Pro-

(43) Taken from the files on the West End Redevelopment Project, with the kind assistance of Mr. Earl Foell of the Christian Science Monitor. Boston, Massachusetts. March 1960.

ject) (9/10/1955); Housing Units to Get Play Areas (6/30/1956)."

3. Recommendations were forthcoming from various social agencies in regard to possible improvements in the relocation process prior to and after official relocation started. An example is the notice of Apartments Wanted sent by the United Community Services to the Jewish Advocate in August of 1958 requesting aid in relocating some 200 Jewish families and individuals.

On April 23, 1958, the Boston Redevelopment Authority had a mass "taking" of all property in the West End Redevelopment Project. This represented a significant change in plans from the seven-stage program noted in the Relocation Plan.

During the 4 months prior to the "taking" the staff conducted a 100% Site Occupant's Survey of the households in the Project.

Population Changes - Project population changed in somewhat the following manner between 1950 and 1958: (44)

	<u>Families</u>	<u>Population</u>
1950 (prior to significant publicity)	3487	12,204
1955 (period of significant publicity and delays; Relocation Plan developed)	3075	10,762
1958 (January-April - Site Occupant's Survey of remaining households)	2276*	7,966
1958 (April 23: Relocation Office Report of Relocation Workload)	2573	6,983

* The low point of total number of families (households) would not necessarily be at this exact time, but somewhere between 1955 and 1958. It is not reasonable to assume that approximately 300 families moved in during January - April 1958.

The vacancy rate in the Project went from 5% in 1950 to 38% in 1958.

(44) Total dwelling units: 3671. Vacancy rates of 5% and 38% as noted. 3.5 persons per family average. Information supplied by the Boston Redevelopment Authority and from the April 1958 Relocation Workload.

One factor is of note in the 1950-1958 breakdown of population. If the total number of families increased after the low point (2276) in the 1955-1958 period while population declined, it might indicate an outmigration of 2 persons or more families (households) and an influx of single person families. This, in view of the legal responsibilities of relocation, has some significance.

Of the workload remaining at the time of the "taking", some indication of its composition can be gained from the information on 1230 Site Occupants Cards for 2 person or more families. (45)

Income: Low 53% Moderate 19% High 23% Unclassified 5%

Composition: Elderly 14% Broken 1: 7% Broken 2: 14% Normal Composition 65%

Nationality: Italian 41% Other 28% * Jewish 9% Polish 9%
Irish 5% Ukranian 3% Greek 2% French 2%

*Other (predominantly Canadian other than French, and other European)

Relocation Before the "Taking".

Of the businesses in the area, the 1956 and 1957 Declaration of Findings noted approximately 315 nonresidential establishments in the Project. There were approximately 250 Site Occupants Cards in the files for such establishments as of May, 1960.

Of the population remaining (approximately 2/3rds if change in vacancy is used as the indices; the same percentage reduction if total number of families is used, and approximately 45% if total population is used) the above statistics give some indication of composition. In comparison with this are the households that moved prior to official relocation.

When the Relocation Office staff conducted its 100% Site Occupants Survey, it noted or inquired about the families that had moved from the area (in addition to the Cards from the 10% Sample of the mid-1950's).

(45) Information on Household Income and Social Character appears in Appendix, page 130 . Income categorization was based on maximum admission limits to federally-aided low rent public housing.

Of a file of approximately 1210 Cards in the Vacant Dwelling Unit file, information was found on the following 143 Cards (11%).

Single Person Households: 79
Two Person or More Households: 64

Of the second category, composition was as follows:

<u>Income</u>			<u>Family Composition</u>		
Low	24	65%	Elderly	4	6%
Moderate	7	19%	Broken (1)	10	16%
High	6	16%	Broken (2)	9	14%
Unspecified	27	42%	Normal	41	64%
Total:	64			64	

This is not a representative sample. If it were, comparisons with the composition of 2 person or more households in each category (before and after official relocation) might indicate first that some of each income type moved out prior to the "taking". This might tend to counteract the impression commonly held that the high income households disappear first and live in such areas mainly because of judgements in regard to rental for housing.

If it were a representative sample, a comparison with West End families left for the relocation workload might indicate that of the population leaving before, a somewhat higher percent are low income, a significantly larger percent are Broken families (1): (in which the family is male or female base with children 18 or under), and that a higher percent of elderly remain in the Project Area.

As to area of relocation, a series of directory checks was made in an attempt to trace this "non-representative" sample.

<u>Area of Relocation</u>	<u>Total Families</u>
Not Located:	25
West End Health and Welfare Area	6
Dorchester North	5
Brighton-Allston	3
Other (less than 2 per area)	25

If this were a representative sample, the results would not be significantly different from later determinations of relocation area for the 1230 families mentioned on the preceding page.

Of the events up to the time of official relocation action, the most significant would seem to be that approximately 1/3 of the population left the area prior to April 23, 1958. (46) The relocation accommodations of these families is, for all practical intents and purposes, unknown.

Other events of some importance in the eight-year period are that the project boundary was expanded to include the housing up to Cambridge Street, the proposed renewal treatment went from clearance and rehabilitation to total demolition (excepting a church, a library and one other historical building), a period of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years (minimum) had passed between Relocation Plan formation and official relocation action, the "community" took some action to improve relocation, and the "taking" of land and relocation program became a one-phase operation instead of the staged process as planned up to 1957-1958.

Perhaps most significant of all is that proposed reuse, without significant public coverage in the press, went from High Rent Housing, Low or Middle Rent Housing, and Retained or Rehabilitated Housing and nonresidential land uses to its present (May 1960) delineation of High Rental (or Luxury) Housing and nonresidential land uses.

(46) Two factors influencing population remaining would be the out-migration of West End families and a significant decline of families moving into the Project from other areas. Of the out-migration, whether it was "normal" or accelerated because of the impending project was impossible to determine from the material available.

Relocation Implementation

Official relocation began on April 23, 1958.

Relocation Tools - For tools to move West End families from the Project to decent homes in other housing areas, the "community" had at least the following:

1. The Relocation Staff. As part of the complex West End redevelopment process, it would seem essential for the community to assure that the relocation staff be of substantial quality and training to implement this important phase of the program. With regard to relocations caseworkers, it would seem essential that this portion of the staff collectively and individually possess for the most part the following characteristics: prior public relations work, ability to speak a foreign language (Italian, Jewish, Polish, Russian), social work (casework) training, a desire to perform this type of work (encompassing the qualities of perserverance, tact, diplomacy and courage, and the ability to understand people), and housing inspection and evaluation experience (since the West End family caseworker also inspected housing for West End relocatees).

Four of the personnel from the New Yorks Streets Relocation operation formed the base for a larger relocation staff in the West End. Of the four, two had previous housing evaluation experience. These two had prior public relations experience and one of these same two could speak a foreign language. A total of ten fieldworkers were used in the West End with seven now remaining. The procedure has been to establish the maximum staff needed, employ and use such staff until the workload declines; then, as resignations occur, the position is not filled. The redevelopment process (with reference to relocation) being a relatively new process, the tendency to view such a staffing operation as an op-

portunity to provide employment in local government has not been totally ignored.

For the first three months of official relocation, all relocation caseworkers were pulled in from the field to handle the administrative burdens connected with property management, maintenance, and collection of rent and other office administrative processes.

In the fall of 1959, under the initiative of the West End Neighborhood Council and with the full and immediate cooperation of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, Mr. Berton Fliegel, a professionally trained social worker, was placed permanently with the local Relocation staff.

In implementing relocation, the staff, besides meeting the administrative and financial "red tape" requirements, has made commendable efforts in regard to the number of referrals offered each cooperative family, in aiding economically and physically impaired persons, in securing waiver of rents in hardship cases, and in minimizing evictions which have been negligible.

2. The Relocation Plan. The Plan by April 1958 was two and one-half years old, based on housing resources available to anyone and without sufficient information as to location or physical characteristics of such housing. As a plan, it was inadequate. Its chief purpose, and this minor, was to serve as a guide to administrative operations, and financial aspects of office operation.

3. Site Occupants Cards. From the 100% Site Occupants Survey, cards were available on which, for approximately 2/3rds of the households, family name, address, composition, income, tenancy, rental, sometimes relocation requirements (location, rent, bedrooms), relocation preference as

to type of housing and some other information was noted. (47).

4. Housing. A summation of the status of this most important element in the relocation program follows:

Public Housing: an inventory of 13,837 units, with turnover of approximately 13.7% for all projects in Boston. The highest rate of turnover was in Columbia Point Project (18-20%). Among the more relevant locational characteristics and tenancy requirements of local public housing (with reference to West End families potentially eligible for this) are: (48)

Locational characteristics: there is no public housing in the West End or North End Areas. The project closest to downtown is in the South End. Of the fifteen federally-aided projects, six are in Roxbury and one in the South End. Neither area has significant white ethnic group associations. Three (East Boston, Charlestown, Franklin Hill Ave.) are in areas generally associated with specific nationality groups. Of the remaining federally-aided projects, Columbia Point, with the highest turnover, is connoted to be the least accessible and least desirable (socially) of the Boston projects.

Tenancy requirements: (factors which, if present at all, were minor in the West End private housing function): dwelling units are inspected annually; various maintenance and management personnel make

(47) See Appendix, page 128, for example of Site Occupant Relocation Card.

(48) Sources: Boston Housing Authority; Boston Redevelopment Authority and United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

The tenancy requirements are not implied to be necessarily undesirable. However, some would seem to be of significance in Relocation Planning for a West End type of project and population. For example, if ethnic group associations were important to West End families, it would seem that any relocation Plan or operation would have to take this into account (whether desirable or not), particularly if it were relying heavily on public housing for relocation purposes.

periodic visits (requested and otherwise) to the dwelling units.

-income is checked annually; rental increases with rise in income

-a three year residence requirement in Boston (usually waived for West End families)

-a minimum rental of \$35 a month, regardless of income or job status

-a review of court record, in itself a deterrent to admission

For public housing, turnover rates for the entire inventory might indicate that the quantity of this relocation housing was sufficient for those desiring it, at least with a staged relocation plan and with West End families receiving first preference for vacancies. There was however no apparent attempt to correlate turnover and location of project with composition of West End families by nationality.

Sales Housing: indications (Relocation Plan; general availability of sales housing in suburban areas) were that sales housing would be available for those who could afford or desired it, location aside. Information on location was not recorded in the Plan, although a general idea of major areas of construction might have been held locally.

Rental Housing: it was not known if sufficient housing, adequate even by local relocation housing standards, was available in quantity and quality for the relocation of West End families. The deficient Relocation Plan was predicated on insufficient information to conclude that such housing was available, or that therefore, the feasible method for relocation existed. There had been no Section 220 or 221 housing built at the time of relocation (or until May 1960) in metropolitan Boston.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Various reasons for lack of such housing production included (from interviews) lack of community promotion, lack of private money for such investment, and deficiencies in the programs as presently structured.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ There have been no metropolitan Boston projects involving Section 220 housing. There has been (May 1960) one Section 221 housing development in New England, this in Hartford, Connecticut. After the 60 day waiting period, it was used for normal rentals (i.e., not for displaced families from a redevelopment project).

5. Community Cooperation. There was at least substantial committee verbalizing of the relocation problems of the West End and numerous and valuable individual efforts by those social workers in and adjacent to the Project area in the relocation operation. Approximately 18 months after relocation officially started, there was also a professional social worker on the staff. However, there was not a substantial, professional staff of such personnel permanently set up to coordinate the relocation efforts in the Project for social agencies and with the Authority.

With these tools, the Local Authority started to relocate what it listed as a total workload of 2555 households (including single person families, 2 person or more families, and combinations of single and two person families in the same household).

The Actual Relocation Process.

Relocation could be achieved in the following ways: into public housing, into sales housing, by disappearance, or into private rental by self relocation or agency referral.

For public housing, the family was encouraged to fill out a form. This done, the form went through the Housing Authority channels, and if the family was found to be eligible, it received preference for any vacancy which occurred. Although the family might indicate a choice of project, referral would be to that project only when there was a vacancy in that project. Otherwise, the referral would be to other projects anywhere in the city. This process would tend to result in more referrals to the projects with higher turnovers.

If the family refused a reasonable offer for public housing, implementation of the Plan, by law, was considered accomplished. In practice, innumerable referrals generally continued.

For sales housing, lists were made available from which families might select houses for inspection. The families buying a home invariably looked for their own accommodations.

For the majority of two person families, those going into private rental housing, the method of relocation occurred with or without the completion of the process outlined below.

To secure housing accommodations, the staff - from listings in newspapers, from real estate boards, and taken by telephone - filled out Vacancy Survey Cards (See Appendix, page 125). These units were then inspected and if found acceptable, were put on lists which were distributed to West End families. A considerable time lag occurred between receiving information on a unit, having it inspected, and publishing and distributing the list to West End families. The staff members indicated that frequently by the time the inspector got to the apartment, the unit was taken.

On the list, housing was broken down by city and town, and by neighborhood inside Boston. The range of rentals, size and a variance of conditions was represented as the relocation fieldworkers did the housing inspections using the fore-mentioned card.

When and if the family received and used this list, it could inspect on its own initiative (with sometime staff help in regard to transportation) the units listed. If the unit fit the needs, income and other requirements of the family, it would be taken. This was the first type of relocation into private rental housing and is called an LPA (Local Public Agency) referral. For this type of relocatee, a Vacancy Survey Card was made out and kept in the file.

However, according to the local staff, people invariably looked for their own housing accommodations, with or without the list.

If the family looked for and found its own dwelling unit, the agency would be notified by phone occasionally, or would track down the family through the telephone company or the post office and send an inspector out to make a nonrecorded inspection of the unit, using the standards on the form mentioned in those instances for visual evaluation only. If the unit, with the family in it, proved standard by agency definition, this was entered as a self-relocated family in the reports and files. (50)

One additional form of self-relocation could occur - this being in-to agency-defined substandard housing units. The staff, in those instances, attempts to persuade the family to move into standard quarters, and has responsibility for continuing this persuasion for two years.

In this operation of the Boston staff, two critical deficiencies are of note.

First, there was a fairly complete failure to coordinate relocation with other renewal activities, inside or outside the city. (51) For example, listings of available units included the later-approved Castle Square Redevelopment Area, and the more recently approved government center extension. Although referrals perhaps occurred before project approval, a fairly rapid check of Boston Planning Board studies (and those of other communities, where available) would have indicated that many listings were in neighborhoods or in portions of other cities and towns in which one type of renewal action or another was contemplated.

(50) The staff indicated that some LPA referrals might have been placed inadvertently in the self-relocated file in those cases where people did not notify the Authority that it had accepted a dwelling unit from their listing (after self-relocation). Of course, if the dwelling unit were on the listing, it could have been checked by the staff against the relocation address received by phone, from the telephone company, or from the post office to verify this matter.

(51) This is not an attempt to fix blame. Perhaps a public policy statement of the Authority or of community interests as to what constituted acceptable housing as to area would have helped bring this deficit to staff attention. Individual staff members (relocation fieldworkers) were frequently aware of pending renewal activities and acted accordingly with their assigned caseload.

The second major deficit was in regard to standards of relocation housing and the methodology for evaluating such housing.

To qualify the West End for redevelopment, the Authority evaluated physical and sanitary conditions of dwelling unit and structure quite thoroughly. It further took a look at the physical environment around the structure. Certain deficiencies of population (disease rates, welfare caseload) were noted as indicative of "slum" and blighted conditions.

For the environment of the West End (whether physical and/or social) it was not evaluated because the area was "uniformly bad".

In the Informational Statement to Site Occupants, a list of requirements for acceptable housing was published (See Appendix, page 123). On this listing for relocation housing, there was neither an entry regarding physical or social environmental conditions, nor standards for evaluating such environmental conditions such as were implied and stated to be facts for the local "finding" that the West End was a "substandard" and "decadent" area.

In the listing of standards noted above, two other deficiencies are as follows. Item 10, as to square foot of floor space per occupant, is not evaluated in the relocation unit. (52)

Finally, for Item 12, there is no systematic method listed in the Relocation Plan, in the Information Statement or in any other document as to how the determination is made that structure, or dwelling unit, is in good repair and an adequate state of maintenance.

(52) This is not to imply that the standard is inadequate or that it shouldn't be used. There probably should be some minimum floor space per persons requirement, however.

The more important point is that if such standards are not used in evaluating housing, they should not be put in (local and federal) governmentally approved and publicly disseminated documents, including Informational Statements to Site Occupants.

In inspecting relocation housing, the Vacancy Survey Card (See Appendix, page 125) is used as indicated previously.

In this second listing of acceptable relocation housing standards, the floor space requirement is left out as it should have been in the former listing of standards if it was not to be later used.

For evaluating physical condition of dwelling unit and structure, two entries can be noted on the Vacancy Survey Card; one, "Adequate Repair - Yes or No"; the other, "Standard Housing - Yes or No". Again, there is no systematic method for the relocation fieldworker to use in the evaluation process.

For environmental conditions, which could include the physical and social environment, the Inspection Check List notes: "Suitable Environment - Yes or No". In addition to the fact that there is no published standard for making this determination, this item is generally not evaluated by the relocation workers in determining the suitability of relocation accommodations.

The standards for relocation housing were set up by the local Authority and were formally approved by the several governmental units (Council, Planning Board, State Housing Board, Redevelopment Authority) and certainly informally by the greater community in that it could evaluate these in the various public documents in which such standards were listed and could object at public hearings if such standards seemed inadequate. (53)

In the West End, a systematic and comprehensive evaluation of the physical and sanitary conditions of structure and dwelling unit and a more

(53) This is not to imply that the "community" is generally capable of evaluating such standards.* The Relocation Staff, in its operation, and as presently staffed, has to work with the tools that are given to it, including here a set of standards for evaluating housing, so set up and approved by several governmental units and at least theoretically by the larger community.

*It should be concerned about these, however, in regard to relocation housing.

or less blanket community condemnation of the environment was stated in the Findings and alluded to by the press. For relocation housing, the evaluation of sanitary conditions of dwelling unit and perhaps interior of structure are quite well covered. Although there is no methodology outlined for evaluating physical conditions of the dwelling unit, it was stated that the interior of the unit (and the other items marked with an X on the Vacancy Card, page 125 , Appendix) was evaluated, and in case of deficiencies, determined to be substandard. For the structure, the standards for evaluating physical condition are not recorded and, therefore, probably not systematically applied with approximately ten fieldworkers, one with previous housing evaluation experience, inspecting relocation housing.

For the (physical and/or social) environment of relocation housing areas, the standards diminish from the systematic evaluation by the APHA technique for the West End to a simple Yes or No answer as to environment for relocation housing areas.

If nothing else, the system of compromised standards for evaluating relocation housing in Boston precludes an intelligent evaluation by the community of the actual results of relocation in terms of the improvements in the housing for relocatees and of progress in the attempt to eliminate slums and blighted areas and improve living conditions generally.

With this type of housing evaluation, it would indeed be difficult to determine, without field investigation, using a systematic method of evaluation, whether or not West End families realized improvements in housing and in the residential environment.

Section IV. Relocation As An Administrative Process - Results & Conclusions

In the overall process of moving families or of families moving themselves from the West End Project, the Authority Relocation Staff had the tools mentioned previously. It also had the overall federal frame of reference. This was that there be in the project area or elsewhere in areas not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities, public and commercial facilities, and at rents or prices within the financial means of the families displaced, decent, safe and sanitary housing with-in reasonable accessibility of employment.

In implementing this and using the housing evaluation system outlined previously to determine quality of housing, the procedure could be summed up as follows. (54)

As for public utilities, the housing areas in the inner metropolitan area are well serviced by water, sewers, gas and electricity. (These facilities were, from staff indications, available in the units.)

For public and commercial facilities, the determination if these were not generally less desirable was made generally by the family being referred to a specific unit. The fieldworker might be and frequently was aware that, for example, there were Jewish stores in Dorchester and Italian stores in East Boston. As to desirability, this was more a family decision. Some comparisons of this factor are possible in the reception areas.

As for rents within the financial means of the family, the determination was made as follows if the family was low income (approximately 50% of the 2 person or more households studied). Rent within financial means for other than public housing would mean that there would usually evolve

(54) From discussions with Relocation fieldworkers at the Boston Site Relocation Office for a period of 6 months. (November 1959 - April 1960)

the conflict between decent, safe and sanitary housing and rental the family could afford, unless the family was able to afford more for shelter than it thought possible. This was sometimes the case when a field-worker established firm contact with the family and became familiar with their needs and requirements. In the typical case however, rent within financial means was a family decision. In those cases where private housing was secured and was adequately evaluated and found to be of standard, the conflict was somewhat resolved. The closest approach to this was with the LPA referrals (175 households), and some self-relocated in certain areas.

In other cases, the conflict of decent housing at rental within family means was resolved by compromising the standard of housing required. Then, only in those cases (40 out of 920 self relocated) where extreme structural or interior physical and sanitary unit deficiencies existed was the relocated family said to be in a substandard unit, agency-defined.

As rentals for relocation housing units were not recorded, an evaluation of rent as against housing accommodations was virtually impossible.

Decent housing was determined by using the compromised evaluation methodology outlined above and earlier. Some comparisons are possible.

Reasonable access to place of employment was a combination of one or both of the following: a family decision and/or the ability of the field-worker to correlate this family need with specific referrals.

Relocation of families from the West End became then a combination of family decisions as to adequate housing and environment, with numerous (relevant and irrelevant) referrals from the staff. Decisions working in the direction of achieving the overall purposes of the West End redevelopment

program, as far as relocation was concerned, were not substantially influenced by a Plan. In those instances where the fieldworkers and the social worker involved in the operation were able to interpret family needs and correlate these with housing that met most of the requirements noted previously, the relocation could be said to have been successful. This was sometimes the process for LPA referrals.

This process, of course, in and of itself, even where decent housing in a culturally acceptable neighborhood was achieved, would not assure that the family would readjust to the new environment.

With the results, comparisons of administrative relocation accomplishments (public housing, LPA referrals, sales housing, rental housing, standard or substandard) are possible. Referring to governmental standards for housing as against West End family standards at the three levels mentioned earlier, comparisons of value are possible mainly in regard to physical condition of structure, to type of housing (public, private, rental, sales, etc.) and to the composition of the population in reception areas given the determinations of the factors of rent and accessibility and public and commercial facilities mentioned earlier.

The only consistent evaluation for physical conditions would be from field surveys if an indication for all types of referrals were to be gained. (55)

(55) Records were kept for LPA referrals only (175 out of 1095 families in private rental). For these units, using the local standards, interior sanitary facilities, dual egress, and kitchen facilities would be acceptable in all units. However, all physical conditions of dwelling and structure would be noted as Adequate: Yes or No. Since LPA referrals were all supposed to be into agency-defined standard units, all of these would be Yes. For the larger number of self-relocated, not even this assumption is possible as there is no record kept for these units. For public housing, interior condition of dwelling and structural condition would meet the standards consistently. As for adequate residential environment, this would need consistent evaluation. Hence, to evaluate physical conditions with any degree of consistency, a field survey was necessary.

A comparison of the Relocation Plan and the results of implementation gives some indication of the validity of the Plan and of the actual definition of the term "workload".

First, there were 315 nonresidential establishments in the Project. Second, for families, the tabulation of relocation follows:

<u>Relocation Plan - November 1955</u>	<u>Relocation Workload</u>
Total Families: 3075	2555
Single Persons: - 434	- 824
Two Person or More Families: 2641	1731
Legal Workload: 2641	1731
Eligible for Public Housing 2122	1139
Ineligible for Public Housing 519	592
To be relocated into Private rental housing 519	592
<u>Actual Relocation: (56)</u>	
Total Households: 2 Persons or more per Household	1731
Too Far Away to Inspect	-75
Whereabouts Unknown	-66
Whereabouts Unknown, "Tracing"	-60
Remaining to be Relocated	-165
Total Households for which evaluation was possible:	1365
Purchased Housing (57)	-95
Total Households in all Rental Housing:	1270
Eliminated because of erroneous classification	-40 (58)
Total 2 Person or More Households Referred to Previously & Used in the Remaining Evaluation	1230

(56) Figures other than "total" workload figures were compiled from Relocation Office Site Cards over a period of 6 months and, hence, are not comparable with Monthly Progress of Relocation Reports.

(57) Families purchasing sales housing were not included into the evaluation as the distribution was scattered within and outside the inner metropolitan area.

(58) 40 households in the 2 person or more category in Relocation Office Files were eliminated from the evaluation as they were composed of unrelated, single persons living together, and more properly would be a part of the evaluation of relocation of single persons which was beyond the scope of this study.

For the approximately 1230 households studied, the following is the breakdown as to type of relocation housing secured, and method of relocation:

Total Two Person or More Families:	1230
Public housing:	- 135
Private rental:	1095
Self-relocated:	- 920 *
LPA referrals:	175

* including 40 households in agency-defined substandard units

Conclusions: three major points are of note as to Plan and Workload. First, the estimates of housing inventory and amount available for relocation in the Plan are of little value, since the number of families "needing" private rentals was predicated only on those not tentatively eligible for public housing and those families other than single persons. Thus, if a correlation of West End population with available dwelling units had been made (using adequate housing information), it would have been inadequate as formulated, failing the reduction of the number of families going into public housing to a more realistic percentage.

Second, the unknowns in the total workload are significant. The accommodations by local standards of 824 single person families are not known. This precludes their inclusion in figures regarding total workload relocated into agency-defined standard housing.

For approximately 200 additional families (2 person or more), the accommodations as to standardness or type are not known (too far away to inspect, whereabouts unknown). Total workload then can not be claimed to include some 2555 families. Nor can it be said that only 40 of these are in substandard units, even with the compromised definition of such housing. (59)

(59) Quotations in the local papers regarding West End relocation continue to cite Authority-released figures of some 3000 families in the West End workload, these having been relocated with "little difficulty" (i.e., approximately 40 in substandard units).

Third, the approximate 5:1 ratio of self-relocated to LPA referrals is significant in that for the former category, inspection of the dwelling unit occurs without a record of even a Vacancy Survey Card in most instances and after the family has moved into the unit.

Thus, for only approximately 175 units can there be said to have been an evaluation, on record, of the unit to date. Additional cards of units on the listing, but not available to or not taken by West End families might be available. But in terms of evaluating relocation housing for West Enders, this is the level of data recording, and the implementation of the inspection system. (60)

For those outside the law (businesses, rooming houses, and single person households) and for the two person or more families, relocation has resulted in the following.

Nonresidential Establishments - The business and industrial relocation service for the West End consisted primarily of the maintenance of a file of Site Occupant Record Cards, Non-Residential (See Appendix, Page 129) on which, for approximately 250 Cards in the file, the usual notation was the name, address, owner and type of business, and, after the businessman self-relocated or went out of business, the new location address was listed.

Of the total 315 nonresidential establishments in the Project, Cards were available on approximately 250 of these. The difference of 65 could be those who relocated prior to official relocation.

(60) Again, this is not a reflection on the present staff. The system for evaluating dwellings was not developed by the fieldworkers. They used what was given to them to use and the staff cannot build housing in locations where people desire to live.

Further, if the relocation operation were on a continual basis, many of these complex and confusing administrative procedures would be refined and less difficult to describe. The overall level of data recording and record maintenance, if nothing else, could be then significantly improved.

Of the remainder of 250, whereabouts of approximately 50 are unknown. Approximately 50 have gone out of business.

An opportunity to offer substantial relocation service to business establishments in the West End was not utilized. For the most part, businesses relocated without Authority help. Approximately 100 or 40% were "lost". At the same time, there are many vacant stores in Boston, into which, with a high-quality relocation service, some of these might have relocated.

Failure to offer business relocation services to these 315 nonresidential establishments in this respect alone does not make sense. Further, for those who went out of business, there were no plans or actions to aid in re-establishing business or to find other employment.

Included in this category of no relocation service were some 27 licensed rooming houses and an undetermined number of unlicensed rooming houses. Although in evaluating the West End, the Authority indicated that "the presence of these rooming houses (was) both an indication of decadence in the area and also a factor in spreading blight", (61) there was no apparent attempt to offer a high-quality relocation service to these activities in the interests of gaining some element of control over relocation, perhaps reducing the impact of such "blighting" influences on adjacent residential or other areas.

Single Person Families - This type of family constituted approximately 1/3 of the so-called total workload in the Project. The Authority is not legally required to relocate these individuals. Of the 824 such families, 734 had relocated by their own efforts as of January 30, 1960.

In practice, the Authority makes available to these people the listing of vacant units. It was stated that these units are evaluated, in

(61) Boston Housing Authority, Urban Renewal Division, West End Redevelopment Plan, Declaration of Findings, Op cit, (p 13).

case there is ever a need for the information so obtained. (62)

Sales Housing - There were 104 property owners among the 1230 households going into rental accommodations. (See Appendix, page 130) Of the 95 households going into sales accommodations, approximately 30 were former owners. Thus, the source of income from property ownership was eliminated for some 104 of 134 former owners, while 65 new ownerships were achieved. The positive aspects for the latter are countered by the loss in the former. For former owners, there is no plan of action whereby sales housing is made more readily available, or a plan whereby some other source of income would compensate (in the undetermined instances that it occurred) those who could not reasonably afford to lose income-producing property.

Rental Housing; Public, Private Self Relocation and LPA Referrals, Public Housing (See Appendix, page 132-.)

Of the 135 households (11% of all rentals) going into public housing, 31% expressed an initial desire for this type of housing; 19% expressed a desire for private rentals, and 1/2 had no preference indicated.

The percentage desiring public housing was the highest of the three categories (public housing, private self relocations, and LPA private referrals). The percentage desiring private rentals was the lowest.

In regard to economic composition, comparisons with the "normal" range in the 1230 households analyzed follows:

		1230 West End Households						
Income:	Low	53%	Moderate	19%	High	23%	Unspecified	5%
Composition:	Elderly	14%	Broken (1)	7%	Broken (2)	14%	Normal	65%

(62) The Relocation Director stated that "most" of these households go into substandard units as sanitary and cooking facilities are shared. If this be the case, when the Authority releases figures on total workload and families going into standard units of this total, it should include single persons in the total workload only if it is willing to also include the tentative evaluations of their housing accommodations.

In regard to public housing relocatees, all were, of course, low income. In composition, the major differences were that a higher percentage (37%) of Elderly and Broken (1) (14%) tended to go into public housing as against a much lower percentage (39%) of normal composition in comparison with all 2 person households.

As to area of relocation, approximately 1/2 indicated a desire to remain in a Boston Project with Dorchester North and South and Brighton and East Boston being most frequently indicated as the desired area.

The policy whereby referrals to public housing units were offered on the basis of available vacancies, irregardless of area, without waiting until vacancy and choice of area coincided, probably significantly affected the number of families that went into this type of accommodation. Of the referrals to public housing noted on the Site Cards, the most frequent was to Columbia Point which has the highest turnover. The most frequently preferred projects were Franklin Field and Franklin Hill Avenue in Dorchester, which, in the final analysis, took 25 West End families. Columbia Point took 16.

Of the developments, the Charlestown Project took 43 West End Households with Italians (15) the predominant group entering; East Boston (near Maverick Square) took 15 of which Italians (11) were predominant; the Dorchester Projects took 25 with Jewish predominating. Columbia Point had a mixture of at least four ethnic family types from the West End.

It is perhaps significant that the two Brighton Projects took 8 West End households and Old Harbor Village one, these being considered generally desirable. On the other hand, the South End Project took 2 and three Roxbury Projects took a total of 11 families, these being in areas without strong ethnic (Italian, Jewish, Polish) ties.

For relocation into public housing from the West End, it would appear that those Projects located in areas generally conceded to have certain

cultural and ethnic group associations were most frequently utilized by West End families. The Project with the highest turnover did not take the greatest number of families.

Of the 135 families entering public housing, the following information from the Boston Housing Authority is significant. (63)

	<u>West End Families In Project</u>	<u>Moved Out</u>
	<u>Total</u>	
Charlestown	69	3 6%
East Boston	15	1 6%
Dorchester (2 Projects)	25	0
Roxbury	11	4 36%

This would lend support to the apparent tendency for West End families to relocate more satisfactorily in those areas in which ethnic ties are indicated as stronger (Charlestown and East Boston* Italian, Dorchester--Jewish). (64)

Private Rental Housing, Self Relocation (See Appendix, page 133).

Of the 920 households (75%) in this category, 40% expressed an initial desire for this type of accomodation; 10% for public housing; 4% for sales housing, and 40% had no preference.

Percentage desiring private rentals and sales was the highest of the three categories.

In regard to economic composition, the self relocated group tended to have fewer low income (6% less than "normal"). In social composition, only slight differences were noted in Elderly (3%), and in normal composition (4% more).

Of the 55% that indicated a preference of area, 60 % desired to re-

(63) Much of the information on public housing throughout the report, and all of the information on West End Relocates remaining in public housing is credited to the cooperation and substantial efforts of Mr. Cornelius J. Connors, Chief of Research Statistics, Boston Housing Authority, and his staff (See Appendix, page 137).

(64). It has not been meant to imply throughout that individual staff workers failed to take this into account. The planning process for relocation did though.

main in Boston and 1/3 of these did. 20% desired to leave the city and 2/5 of these so relocated. (65)

It is perhaps indicative of the accessibility factor that of 45% expressing no choice, the largest group relocated within the West End Health and Welfare Area, and of those expressing a desire for relocation in a Boston neighborhood, twice as many expressed a desire to remain as close to the Project as possible, as for any other neighborhood in the city.

Of the self-relocated, choice of areas most consistently preferred were the West End, Dorchester (North and South) second, followed by Medford and Somerville. These fairly consistently reflect either the factor of accessibility and/or ethnic group associations - the latter for at least the Jewish and Italian families.

Private Rental Housing, LPA Referrals. (See Appendix, page 134 .)

Of the 175 households (14%) in this category, preference of housing type was practically the same as the Self- Relocated.

In regard to economic composition, the LPA referrals most closely matched the "normal" character of West End families of 2 persons or more. In composition, this group included 6% more Elderly, and 6% fewer normal families.

The only other difference of any importance between self-relocated and the agency referrals in regard to social composition or economic character was that the Agency tended to deal with a greater percentage

(65) In comparing area of choice figures, the results are not necessarily completely indicative of the real situation. Many West End families had no idea of rental levels, housing conditions, accessibility and the like outside the Area (as noted by Mr. Gans and the fieldworkers). Many guessed at an area as one in which they would "like" to live. Some, after checking units in such areas, never returned. Others did not ever go to the area specified. As noted, 45% indicated no preference.

of two person families of low and moderate income than other size or income.

As to area of relocation, 40% desired to remain in Boston, but of the 175 total, 60% did. In comparison with Self-relocated, approximately the same percentage (33%) desired to remain in Boston. For the LPA referrals, a greater percentage remained in the city.

Forty percent had no preference as to relocation, and of these, the West End Area and Dorchester North and South took the largest numbers. For those expressing a desire to remain in Boston, the West End and Dorchester were most frequently expressed as preferred areas for relocation.

As a final comparison of these two categories, the following summarizes some of the more salient points:

1. self-relocation was almost the sole method of relocation into Hyde Park, Roslindale, Brookline, and Back Bay. This is perhaps indicative of the Agency's tendency to deal with more of the low income families.

2. the approximate ratio of LPA referrals to Self-relocated was 1:5. For the North End, West End, Back Bay, Somerville, Medford, Arlington and Everett, LPA referrals were practically nonexistent. At least four of these areas have significant concentrations of Italians which perhaps facilitated the self-relocation process.

Comparing the distribution of 1230 public and private rental households inside and outside of Boston, 40% left the city. For the low income, 5% fewer left the city- the only significant difference.

In regard to family composition, 15% fewer Elderly, 15% fewer Broken(1) and 8% fewer of the Broken(2) types left Boston.

Of the families of normal composition, 4% more than the average left the city.

Probably the most significant factors in the administration of the

relocation from the West End were the decisions of the families as to what constituted adequate and acceptable housing accommodations.

For the Relocation Staff, successful implementation of the process on the basis of the results would appear to hinge on how well the caseworker understood the needs and requirements of the assigned family; these needs including the most positive factor for the dominant ethnic groups, social composition in the reception area.

The value of the Plan, which was given much stress by the "community" as the vehicle that demonstrated that there was a feasible method for relocating people, and that housing of different types was available for relocation purposes, is questionable. For all households in rental housing (public and private), 3% specified a preference for sales housing, 41% had no preference, and 14% expressed a desire for public housing.

Of the relocation workload, (2 persons or more families) approximately 40% were referred to public housing units. 11% went into public housing. It would appear that either the Relocation Planning process was deficient in its determination of the housing needs and requirements of West End people, or it was not intended, as implied in the public communications media, and by various community officials, to be of much use, except as a symbol to hasten project approval.

Significant improvements in the present relocation process could be effected, even within the present framework. To present the recommendations in proper perspective, these will be included at the end of the next section.

Section V. Relocation of West End Households. The Reception Areas.

To evaluate the reception areas, the 1230 families studied were located by census tract and street address for metropolitan Boston. (See Appendix, Page 140.3). The distribution of these families made unneeded any analysis of housing in eight of the fourteen cities and towns in the MTA District. This District covers the inner metropolitan area, or about 1/5 of the cities and towns in the standard metropolitan area.

Reception areas were evaluated at three levels: some concentrations of low income families; the seven tracts which took twenty or more households, and finally the inner metropolitan area.

There were 33 tracts with 7 or more families (50% or more low income), including 4 of the 7 major tracts. These were distributed in 6 of the 14 MTA District cities and towns (Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, Medford, Chelsea, Revere). To reduce the scope of evaluation and pinpoint housing accommodations for low income families, those tracts with 60% or more low income families (17 in all) were located. Of these, 13 were in Boston, 9 being predominantly public housing. The 4 with predominantly private rental housing, plus the 2 in Medford, 1 in Chelsea and 1 in Revere were evaluated (See Appendix, page 138, Eight Secondary Tracts). Evaluation of the population composition- resident and incoming from the West End, the accessibility, and the physical quality of housing was carried out by the author. These three standards, in descending importance, were earlier noted as being significant in the West End low rental housing function. Comparison with the reverse order of governmental standards- physical conditions, accessibility, and the social composition of project population followed.

<u>Tract</u>	<u>Resident Population</u> Two Dominant Groups	<u>Incoming West End Families</u> Two Dominant Groups
X5A Dorch. South	USSR, Polish*	6 Jewish, 2 Irish
T7B Dorch. North	USSR, Polish	5 Jewish, 3 Italians
H1 West End Area	Italian, USSR	5 Italians, 4 Other
F1 North End	Italian	6 Italians
SC13Revere	Italian, Canadian(o/t)	5 Italians, 2 Jewish
SC4 Chelsea	USSR, Polish	4 Jewish, 2 Italian
MC58Medford	Italian	9 Italians
MC53Medford	Canadian (o/t), Italian	12 Italians

*USSR and Polish groups, particularly the former, would include Jewish people

For accessibility, two have access equal to that of the West End (pedestrian, all transit, and auto); 2 additional have all except the pedestrian access of the West End to downtown Boston, and the remaining four no longer have pedestrian or rail rapid transit access as in the West End.

Against this is posed the present emphasis in evaluating housing areas, as far as the people living in them are concerned, on physical conditions.

The field evaluation of 100% of the private rental structures in these 3 Tracts indicated the following conditions: (66)

<u>Structural Treatment</u>	<u>Area Treatment*</u>		
	<u>Conservation</u>	<u>Rehabilitation</u>	<u>Redevelopment</u>
Conservation(or minor rehab.)	20**	14	4
Major rehabilitation	2	10	4
Demolition	-	12	15

* "Area" is equivalent to a census tract
** does not include 6 public housing dwelling units

In regard to access to employment, the general standard of the Authority is realized, as all tracts are within the MTA District, reasonably accessible

(66) An Exterior of Housing and Environmental Deficiency Survey (See Appendix, Page 139) of structures and housing area was carried out by the author. The form was used for similar work in Brookline, Massachusetts in 1959 and substantially met the federal requirements for determining structural and environmental "slum" or blighted conditions. Some level of consistency was thus obtained for structural and environmental conditions, these being two important factors in qualifying the West End for clearance.

at least by auto and bus to the inner metropolitan area. As this standard is not spelled out in any greater detail, it may be considered substantially met.

For governmental evaluation of health and economic deficiencies in reception areas, there was none in any tract.

Three points are of note from this. First, the tentative standards as outlined in Section III appear pertinent in relocation, particularly the primary one. In 7 of the 8 tracts, the dominant ethnic group in the tract correlated with the dominant West End family groups entering the area.

For accessibility, both sets of standards were substantially realized.

Without being able to evaluate dwelling unit conditions, it cannot be determined (generally) in regard to the actual unit for a West End family whether or not it was decent, safe and sanitary.

The burden of evaluation then falls on the physical condition of structure, and on the environment of the housing area, two strong points in determining "slum" conditions in the West End.

It would appear that the governmental standard was compromised in about 1/2 of the cases (43 out of 81), with the structure requiring either demolition or major rehabilitation. In some instances, this compromised standard has no ill effect whatsoever. In the two Medford tracts, with 60% in low income, the relocatees appear to have an opportunity to re-adjust to the community there. At the same time, substantial improvements were realized in housing, as to structural condition (predominantly single family, and some 2 family types) and to the residential environment, in light and air, open space, landscaping, and general municipal housekeeping.

Unfortunately, the evaluation of housing falls apart in areas such as the Chelsea Tract (SC-4). Housing there is located in an area contiguous to the Mystic River Bridge approaches. The physical environment is one of blighted and dilapidated structures, spot demolitions, and piles of rubble and trash.

For the North End Tract, perhaps the social environment is more positive for Italian families than even the West End. But the housing and physical environment in this instance perhaps represents the near bottom-of-the-scale conditions of the housing that was evaluated in Chelsea.

Of these 8 tracts, 2 are in housing improvement areas (Dorchester); 1 is in a private demolition area (H-1, locus of Mass. General Hospital demolitions for surface parking); and one (SC-13) is generalized as an economically deficit area in a city-wide analysis of surplus-deficit areas for renewal in Revere. It, however, is not involved presently in any planned renewal action of any type.

Because of the inadequacies of the evaluation system and the failure to fully take into account factors in relocation besides the physical movement of families from one area to another, in two tracts at present, some West End families have been or are about to be disturbed once again.

1. In Tract H-1, (Cambridge-Blossom, North Grove Streets) demolitions for Mass. General Hospital parking expansion have already removed 3 or 4 West End families relocated there from the Project. For the remaining 10 or 11 families, tenure must indeed be insecure.

2. In Tract T7B, Dorchester North, the 12 families are in an active City Housing Improvement Area. Of these, 3 are in structures that would appear to require demolition, and 3 more in major rehabilitation structures.

The Seven Major Reception Areas.

Concentrations of Twenty or more West End Families.

Seven Tracts in the inner metropolitan area took twenty or more families. These are the two adjacent to the Project (K-1, H-4), one in East Boston (B-3), one in Revere (SC-12), and three in East Somerville (MC40, MC41, MC42). In all, the seven took 21% of West End relocatees in rental housing (two person or more families).

The following descriptions of the overall physical environment of these areas give some indication of the character of at least some of the reception areas. (67)

North Side of Beacon Hill (K-1): A historical rooming house area in Boston into which 63 West End families relocated (2nd highest tract total), 12 being LPA referrals. Of the 50% sample, 16 were children under 18 years of age. The area is similar physically to the West End Project (3 story walkups, high density, no building setbacks, some indices of deterioration, lack of open space). It contains 2 synagogues, several Protestant churches, one nursery and a religious facility with a small gymnasium.

There are no present renewal plans for the area.

East of the Project (H-4): This tract runs from the North Side of the Hill to North Station. It is the residue for the most part of the West End Proper. Housing is 3 story row walkups, structures separated by spot demolitions and some apartment buildings. Land use is highly mixed residential, industrial, commercial and skid-row activities. There

(67) From landuse maps of the Boston Planning Board, City of Somerville, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1950, Boston, Massachusetts (p 1-end), from evaluation of the physical environment and residential structures in the field, and interviews and discussions with families (West End relocatees and otherwise) residing in the areas (particularly K-1 and H-4).

are significant indices of structural and environmental decay in the area. Much of the skid row and rooming house function from the adjacent Project ran over into this area, in addition to that substantial amount already there and in adjacent Scollay Square. Additional deficiencies for its residential role include noise, fumes, general confusion created by the aforementioned activities, the heavy vehicular traffic, the MTA overhead, and the Central Artery as well as poor municipal housekeeping.

Sixty-seven West End families went into this tract, including four LPA referrals. Children under 18 in the sample (50% of dwellings) totalled 16. This tract took the largest number of West End relocatees and also had the greatest number of agency-defined substandard units.

The area is generally considered to be an Italian-oriented housing area. Of the 50% sample, (33 structures) 14 are in the Government Center Extension. An additional 11 of the total of 67 families are in Agency-defined substandard units. In addition, if the "non-representative" sample earlier mentioned is at all indicative of pre-project relocation, there is an undetermined number of such families in the general area. (68)

Under any valid system of evaluating housing, this area, irregardless of the condition of structures and dwelling units per se, could not

(68) It is conceivable that the "community" could have coordinated its renewal programming with long-range renewal studies of the Boston Planning Board. Quite possibly, the extension of the Government Center could have been foreseen much sooner. Renewal Project boundaries (as in the West End Project) are frequently changed. Despite the impending government center extension, no special efforts are being made to help the West End families so affected. A 10% sample survey is presently being conducted (April-May 1960) to secure information for the relocation of all families from the area, generally by the same process outlined in this study.

conceivably be classified as a housing area suitable for relocation of displaced families, whether by self relocation, by agency referral, or by self relocation into substandard units.

East Boston (B-3): An area which in the 1950 Boston Planning Board Preliminary Report on the Master Plan was designated as most in need of redevelopment (excluding the public housing project into which 15 of the households relocated). In private housing, there were 2 LPA referrals. The Housing Project is bordered on two sides by the East Boston docks, wharves, and industrial development, and on the other two sides by physically blighted residential structures of wood frame and brick face, two and three story construction.

There are no active renewal plans at present for the area. If there were, of the five families in private housing, two families are in major rehabilitation type structures, and one in demolition type structure.

The area of the Project is generally considered to be an Italian neighborhood. There are throughout many Italian stores, a national church, some clubs, and other such facilities.

Revere (SC-12): Approximately 1/2 of the sample was in three decker structures in a lowland area and the remainder scattered throughout housing of substantially sound condition in the surrounding higher slopes.

The lowland area has characteristics similar to the Chelsea and North End areas referred to previously, and not unlike the area East of the Project. Dilapidated structures are generally distributed through the lowland; spot demolitions are frequent, as are the rubble from these, general debris and trash on vacant lots and in the streets.

The remainder of the sample was in two and three story structures and apartments of sound construction in areas which would, in all probability, be conservation areas in the event of any renewal action.

Twenty two West End families relocated into this tract with three LPA referrals. The entire tract is an economically deficient (City defined) area below the revenue level of tract (SC-12) mentioned earlier. However, the lowland housing conditions probably contribute heavily to this classification.

There are no present renewal plans for the area.

Somerville (MCL0): A triangular tract west of McGrath Highway and south of Broadway. Structures are a mixture of one and two family housing, three deckers and apartment housing and overall are standard. The area would be a conservation area. A very few minor and major rehabilitation buildings exist.

The physical environment in this tract is substantially improved over much of the West End. There is generally much open space around buildings with coverage ranging from 30 - 75%; substantial improvements in light and air to dwellings, and in public landscaping and municipal housekeeping were noted.

Twenty five West End families relocated into the area, of which four were LPA referrals.

There are no present renewal plans for the tract.

Somerville (MCL1): A large tract, on both sides of McGrath Highway and north of Broadway, it has three more or less definable neighborhoods. The one east of McGrath is predominantly two and three family (three deckers) structures with building coverage ranging from 65 - 85%. There are minor indices of deterioration in structures throughout the area, and indications of deficient municipal housekeeping in streets and walks, and in public landscaping. However, the physical environment represents substantial structural, open space and light and air improvements over much of the former housing area. There are no stores or churches within the neighborhood, all commercial for this and most for the other two

neighborhoods being in the ribbon development along Broadway.

West of McGrath are the other two neighborhoods. The first is the larger, with a few Italian stores and clubs, and various community facilities (church, parochial school, public school, Foss Park) in and convenient to both of these neighborhoods. Housing usually is of conservation type with occasional rehabilitation structures. Building coverage is lower than for the first area with generally adequate municipal house-keeping, landscaping and substantial improvements in light, air and open space, and structural conditions. (Two and three family structures are predominate).

The third neighborhood took approximately 10% of the relocatees into the tract. It is a smaller, single family residential area on high ground overlooking the Mystic River. All housing is in excellent physical condition.

The second and third neighborhoods are accessible by foot to Foss Park, a large and well-maintained public park and playground near McGrath Highway.

There are no present municipal renewal plans for this tract.

Somerville (MCH2): East of McGrath and south of Broadway, this area is bordered in its entirety by ribbon commercial and industrial uses. On the fringes, the housing mixed in with the nonresidential uses is in generally poor condition physically with demolition and major rehabilitation type structures throughout. Some penetrations of similarly poor housing into the center of the tract occur. The central portion is of two and three family and row housing in a generally sound state of repair. Some community facilities are located in the area (churches, school).

Twenty seven West End families relocated into the area with four LPA referrals. Had housing been evaluated consistently, the relocation

results for Somerville would have been in total quite acceptable and impressive.

There are no present renewal plans for this area.

For the three reception areas in Somerville, the general consensus of opinion of those connected with relocation was that East Somerville was usually considered to be an Italian housing area.

<u>TRACT AND NUMBER OF RELOCATEES</u>	<u>RESIDENT POPULATION: DOMINANT ETHNIC GROUPS</u>	<u>INCOMING WEST END FAMILIES</u>
North Side of Beacon Hill (K-1) Total: 63	USSR, Canadian (o/t), Irish and Italian	Italian (14), Jewish (5), Irish (4), Other (34)*
East of Project (H-4) Total: 67	Italian, Canadian (o/t), Polish	Italian (35), Other (12), Polish (8), Jewish (6)
East Boston (B-3) Total: 20	Italian	Italian (16) public and private housing
Revere (SC-12) Total: 21	USSR, Polish, Italian	Jewish (7), Italian (7)
Somerville (MChO) Total: 25	Italian, Irish, Canadian (o/t)	Italian (14), Po- lish (3), Ukranian (3)
Somerville (MCh1) Total: 34	Italian, Canadian (o/t), Irish	Italian (24), Irish (2)
Somerville (MCh2) Total: 27	Canadian (o/t), Italian, Irish	Italian (14), Polish (4), Other (6)

*Other: predominantly Canadian (other than French) and Other European groups.

The correlations here are not quite as strong for the North Side of the Hill (which is a rooming house area), and for one of the Somerville Tracts in which three or four groups are mixed together. However, for the area east of the Project, for East Boston, Revere and two Somerville Tracts, the correlation factor in relocation appears quite positive. With the exception of the Revere Area which was not evaluated, in each of these latter three areas (and for the North Side of the Hill), cultural-ethnic group facilities of several kinds (synagogues, churches, stores, clubs, open public sitting spaces) were noted, particularly in East Boston and

the two Somerville Tracts.

In regard to the accessibility factor, it is substantially met in regard to the general governmental standard. In comparison to the level of accessibility of the West End, residents in K-1 and H-4 have comparable access. For the East Boston and Revere areas, only pedestrian accessibility to downtown is eliminated. For Somerville, auto and bus access are available in comparison.

A 50% evaluation of structural conditions in each of the seven major reception areas revealed the following conditions:

<u>STRUCTURAL TREATMENT</u>	<u>AREAL TREATMENT</u>		
	<u>Conservation</u>	<u>Rehabilitation (1)</u>	<u>Redevelopment (2)</u>
<u>Conservation</u> (and minor code enforcement)	25	19	15
<u>Major Rehabilitation</u>	5	21	14
<u>Demolition</u>	-	12	18

(1) Tract K-1 (North Side of Beacon Hill) was classified as a rehabilitation area for this evaluation. Tract H-4 (South of Cambridge Street) was also. Tract H-4 (North of Cambridge Street) was classified as a redevelopment area. Structural conditions were evaluated as is.

(2) Does not include 15 public housing units.

The most consistent factor in the present method of evaluating relocation housing for West End families appears to have been the consistency of extreme degrees in results, both as to quality of structure, and of the physical environment.

For these seven areas, the standards for evaluating relocation housing included no consideration of social factors (other than those known to the individual fieldworkers). The range in degrees of social environmental conditions is extreme and at one end, quite unacceptable as decent housing in an adequate environment for any family life. There should have been no referrals into Tract H-4, and, depending on the needs of the family (particularly those with children), into K-1. It appears

that unless the dwelling units in reception areas failed to pass the minimal sanitary and interior physical condition requirements, it was classified as standard housing. Failing to adequately assess the unit and failing to consistently evaluate the physical and social environment, the relocation, with respect to these seven tracts, ranged from the highly acceptable to the totally deplorable.

It seems fairly certain that in relocation housing evaluation for West End families, almost any dwelling unit qualified as relocation housing, unless the unit by itself was totally inadequate. Thus, rehousing might either be in seriously deficient housing areas (physical development, the physical environment, and the social environment) or in areas of adequate residential environment. Any such method of housing evaluation may thus make the results appear acceptable on paper.

Any relocation by this method of evaluation is bound to result in at least two occurrences in the final community analysis of the operation (if this occurs):

1. Significant misunderstanding of the actual results or misrepresentation of these in public reports.
2. A general (and partly justifiable) failure of the "community" that supports renewal to be aware of the many basic problems, and the need for attempting a solution of these.

Yet, despite this level of relocation implementation, and excepting the North Side of the Hill, the Area East of the Project, the East Boston private housing, and part of the Revere Tract, a significant number of West End families in Revere and particularly in Somerville representing a range of income levels, significantly improved both housing structure and environment. ^{For} readjustment in these instances, and where the ethnic-cultural base provided an opportunity to re-establish broken social ties

and patterns, a positive side to relocation was presented, even under its present implementation. Indications are that, even without community support and understanding, some improvements can and do take place.

For the seven reception areas, a brief evaluation of community facilities and services at the four levels present in the West End was carried out (service to individuals, service to groups, religious organizations, and other community facilities and leisure-time centers). For 4 of the 6 areas evaluated, (Revere was not evaluated) facilities and services in these four levels were generally comparable in regard to potential for service with the former housing area.

Of note in this regard, (for the three tracts in Somerville, particularly) the following general observations are offered:

1. The facilities, with reference to pedestrian access are in location more widely scattered, as would be expected in lower density areas. This neither impairs level or scope of service and would be of significance only in instances where elderly people might find the added distance an inconvenience. (69)

2. The rather complete range of all four levels in the West End would be rather difficult to realize in relocation and not necessarily imperative to success of the program. In Somerville, for example, the excellent municipal recreation program compensates greatly for the reduced and re-oriented level of services of the relocated Elizabeth Peabody Settlement House for families (particularly children) in the three reception areas in that city.

(69) Some of the indications were borne out to a degree in interviews with families on the North Side of the Hill and in the area East of the Project. With reference to the Elderly above, the few contacts in Somerville indicated that for elderly people, the excessive walking distance to church and to other facilities in those areas reduced this activity.

3. The apparent strength of the social-ethnic ties appeared of greater importance than the levels of such services that were or were not available. For example, with reference to Somerville, there is apparently no home visitation program for medical patients such as in the West End. This was, for the former housing area, a useful service for at least a minor segment of the population.

With the two tracts adjacent to the Project, the levels of service available have been subject to the greatest modifications of all the tracts. Assuming that the Polish families can readjust to the basement facilities of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church (out of which they had moved a few years previously to establish a separate and larger facility), and that for the Jewish and Protestants, the facilities on the North Side of the Hill can meet the needs there, the following deficiencies occur. First, the public library in the Area has been closed. There is further no settlement house (in the proper sense of the word) and direct services to individuals (Jewish Family and Children's Services and other public and private case work agencies giving direct services to individuals) were indicated as having been substantially reduced, excepting those available at Mass. General Hospital.

For the approximately 120 known West End families in these two tracts, (and at least 20 known to be in Tract H-1) the only settlement facility is a Protestant ~~denomination~~ chapel with gymnasium with limited facilities and rather outmoded program. (70) Such Elizabeth Peabody House programs as the ones for problem children, the theatre, the facilities for club

(70) There is a social worker from Elizabeth Peabody House currently attempting to **effect** a change in the program of this facility for which only limited potential at best exists.

meetings, all of which tended to bring varying ethnic and income and age groups together, are thus greatly reduced.

In considering the physical and social environment for the area East of the Project and parts of the North Side of the Hill, with particular reference to relocated and resident children in these areas, it would seem reasonable that, in the relocation process, such possible occurrences, as well as the known-to-be existing deficiencies, would be taken into account. Further, and more disturbing, is that fact that with the exception of various social agencies remaining in the area, there is little "community" concern, and certainly no plan of action to rectify these deficiencies. Possible solution of these problems for residents of the North Side of the Hill, and for the area East of the Project are even now being slowly set aside as the social agencies begin discussion with respect to another problem area, the Castle Square Redevelopment Area.

There is little apparent "community" support by those interests that substantially back the urban renewal program in Boston to implement additional social programs for each project coordinating these with long-range renewal programs of the city and working in the direction of foreseeing and attempting to solve such happenings.

This problem existed for at least some of the reception areas. The degree to which it has been prevalent in other inner metropolitan areas not here evaluated is not presently or specifically known.

Patterns of Distribution in the Inner Metropolitan Area. (See Maps , pages 140.1- , Appendix)

For the typical West End family (two persons or more) the most significant factor in determining area of relocation appeared to have been the ethnic composition of the community, and the related cultural facilities and services in potential housing areas. In areas generally considered to be ethnic communities, the correlation was strong. For example, of 160 relocatees in Somerville, 90 were Italian. For Medford, of 53 relocatees, 47 were Italian. For Chelsea, approximately 40% were Jewish.

Within Boston, 60 of 83 families relocating into East Boston were Italian. For the same group, 42 of 57 going into the North End were also.

In Dorchester North, not indicated as being so positively oriented to one ethnic group, 25 of 108 families were Jewish, 23 were Italian and 15 were Polish. These tended to concentrate somewhat by tracts, but less so than with Somerville, Medford, East Boston, and the North End. Within this area, smaller numbers of Greek, French, Irish and Negro also located.

In those areas, again with emphasis on Boston, where there was no indication of a strong ethnic-cultural base in relation to West End groups, the greatest mixture occurred. For example, in the South End there were 8 different groups, and a similar number in Roxbury.

For relocation purposes, it would appear then that for projects in which there are population groups with fairly strong ethnic group associations and neighborhood ties, this desire of people to live near or readily accessible to people with similar national backgrounds and cultural values must be taken into account in the planning and implementing processes.

This desire expressed in the relocation of West End families resulted in rehousing in areas which represented the extremes in structural and physical environmental qualities, including East Boston, the North End and Chelsea on the significantly deteriorated side of the sliding scale,

and Medford and Somerville on the positive side.

In area, those which had the least correlation with a particular ethnic group or groups usually had poor overall environmental conditions, such including the South End, Roxbury, South Boston and East Cambridge.

Another pattern of distribution related to the primary value is the distribution of the range of income types (See Map, Appendix, page 140). Of the 1230 households, 54% were low income. There was no significant tendency for high income families to distribute on a pattern different from the low. There were three exceptions however: The South End, with 70% low income, South Boston with 66% and Charlestown (primarily public housing) with 81%.

In this same sense, physical deterioration, which might be expected to correlate with low income, was insignificant in the North End correlation, where only the normal percentage was of low income. There, social base for readjustment is strong. Only in the South End, and to a lesser extent in Roxbury were there tendencies for concentration of low income, without the apparent opportunity for readjustment, and at the same time, with overall residential environmental and structural deficiencies.

Other than for the differences noted above, the distribution of households by income did not vary significantly, either for Health and Welfare Area or city and town, or for the 7 major reception areas, excepting East Boston, where three-fourths of the families went into the housing project there.

It would appear then that at least for the West End population, there was a tendency for a range of incomes to relocate into the same housing areas, this occurring despite the extremes in physical condition. This in retrospect was not unlike the original housing area.

The accessibility standard at the metropolitan level has some significance. 97% of the families in rental housing relocated within the Metropolitan Transit Authority District. Of these, 55% relocated within walking distance ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile) of a rail rapid transit, or rail street car line. Of the 14 cities

and towns in the District, one-half had as many as twenty relocatees. Only Medford, Cambridge, Somerville and Boston had as many as fifty families, as did East Boston, Charlestown, the North End, the West End and Dorchester North and South. Within Boston, West Roxbury, Hyde Park and Roslindale had less than twenty. Of fourteen MTA District cities and towns then, sixty five percent (65%) of the West End families went into four cities, including within Boston six of fifteen Health and Welfare Areas.

The distribution was not metropolitan-wide, or even throughout the inner metropolis. Eliminating Brookline, Newton, Watertown, Belmont, Arlington, Malden, Everett and towns outside of those, and West Roxbury, Hyde Park, Roslindale, and Back Bay, all with minor roles, the distribution has a positive correlation with the major transit lines from Cambridge to Dorchester, Jamaica Plain through Charlestown to Everett, and through East Boston to Revere. The only significant deviation is for Somerville and Medford. There public transportation does not include rail transit. However, overall rail transit accessibility would still appear to be at least a secondary factor in East Boston, Revere, Charlestown, Dorchester and the North End, as well as in Somerville and Medford, to the desire for housing in an area culturally similar.

The final correlation is two-fold. First, the overall distribution- with emphasis on primary reception areas in Somerville, East Cambridge, the West End, North End, East Boston, Charlestown and Dorchester North and South- has a positive correlation with the concentrations of social work agencies for individual and group services in the inner metropolitan area.

The pattern of distribution of these services correlates with the patterns of relocation for nationality groups, for low income groups, and with the accessibility to rail transit lines (excluding Somerville and Medford).

In relation somewhat to this, concentrations of West End families tended to occur in those areas potentially or presently under renewal study or in various stages of implementation.

For the Revere and Chelsea Tracts discussed earlier, there were in each area portions of the city into which West End families had relocated and which appeared to have little alternative but for total clearance treatment. With the Revere Tracts, the City's economic benefit-cost survey placed both areas well below the break-even line. However renewal is not presently planned. In the Chelsea tract, the families are immediate to an approved redevelopment project.

Other potential renewal areas into which West End families have gone, none with specific plans for redevelopment in the foreseeable future, include the East Boston Tract B-3, mentioned in the 1950 Boston Planning Board Report; the residue of Tract H-4 after the Government Center Project, and large areas of the South End and Roxbury as affected by present successful or future Inner Belt-oriented projects. The scatter of families in these latter two areas precludes however significant disruption.

Major areas of renewal activity into which West End families have relocated are at two levels:

1. Renewal Planning Study Areas in Dorchester North and South, South Boston, the South End and Roxbury, and Cambridge. Of these, the Cambridge area (a locally financed rehabilitation project) is dormant. Of the Boston areas, various renewal programs are staged for the future. For most of these areas, clearance is not anticipated. 72 West End families are in such areas.

2. The second level includes those project areas designated for major rehabilitation or redevelopment, with total clearance. These are presently in various stages of application and approval, or action.

Major rehabilitation projects include the Washington Park Project, and in Cambridge the Cambridgeport, Donnelly and Houghton Rehabilitation Projects. Of these a total of 16 West End families are so located. Without evaluating the structures there, it cannot be said that such relocatees are in structures which will be spot demolitions or major rehabilitation treatment types. However, given the level of relocation housing inspection, as evaluated for other areas, it must be said that the possibility exists that families in these areas will be disrupted in one way or another in the future.

Of the redevelopment projects, these include the Government Center and Extension, and Castle Square and Whitney Street. West End families totaling 65 are in the former area and 4 are in the latter. Two projects are presently in execution. These are housing improvement areas in Dorchester. West End relocatees into these two areas total 28. A field evaluation of a total of 19 private rental structures in these two areas (T7B, X5A) revealed that 7 would require major rehabilitation and two would probably require demolition.

There are a total of 72 families from the West End relocated in study areas.

A total of 114 families are in projects in various stages of approval, with total clearance treatment affecting 69 of these families.

Metropolitan Implications. The metropolitan distribution of West End families has significance on the following points:

1. even with large scale relocation, the area of distribution of relocatees is relatively defined, regardless of income of households.
2. for the West End families, the factors of population composition and ethnic-cultural facilities in reception areas appeared to be the dominant standard in their conception of adequate relocation housing.

3. physical condition of structure and the character of the environment were emphasized as major deficiencies in the West End. In the reception areas, aided by the compromised standard of evaluation used by the Authority, 3/5's of the approximately 200 structures evaluated (See Appendix, Page 138) would require major rehabilitation or demolition treatment.

4. excepting Medford and Somerville, the pattern of relocation has been such as to place the families in areas with potential for or presently planned and programmed for renewal activity.

5. given the inconsistencies of rehousing evaluation, the determination as to overall improvement for West End households is virtually impossible, with reference to total workload. Referring to the field evaluation of some 200 structures, 1 out of 4 are in conservation areas. At least these could be considered as decent, safe and sanitary housing in an adequate residential environment, meeting essentially the spirit and the letter of the local housing standards.

6. The consistency of results of the field evaluation would indicate that there was not sufficient housing available to relocate West End families in accordance with the stated objectives of the program, and the standards setup for rehousing accommodations. It appears certain that if such housing were available, it was not in areas which met the needs and requirements of the West End families for the typical relocation move. In those instances where it was adequate to the needs of the family, and not in line with the Authority's standards, the latter was usually compromised.

Perhaps there is no effective way at present to guide or control the tendency for people to relocate into other blighted areas which have potential for reestablishment of disrupted social patterns and ties, with or without optimization of other standards. Until there is such a controlling

method, there would appear to be three major choices possible, when the potential reception area- as in Chelsea, East Boston, Tract H-4, the North End, the North side of Beacon Hill, and areas of Dorchester- is in "slum" or blighted condition:

1. in implementing the relocation program, major emphasis could be placed on avoiding referrals to or listings of dwellings in "slum" and other early rehabilitation areas; emphasis also on dwelling unit improvements as important in relocation operations; and finally a continuing responsibility for all families referred or self-relocated into such areas.

2. the communities carrying out redevelopment programs can build or otherwise provide decent, safe and sanitary housing in such areas, in accordance with acceptable rehousing standards.

3. in some way, and perhaps completely, standards for relocation housing can be compromised or ignored.

The first two actions would of course slow down relocation operations.

If the latter course is chosen, the results on paper may appear to be acceptable. Such actions will however tend to postpone intelligent consideration of the basic problems of the program. Nor will evaluation of the results indicate clearly the need for remedial action.

Further with implementation of relocation failing to emphasize the unacceptability of relocation into other potential or active renewal areas, disruptions of future programs may occur. The process of moving a person from one place to another, if done crudely and without consistency, does not change basic attitudes concerning use of housing, or the desirability of housing improvement programs.

Of the three choices, the third course is a substantial breach of accepted community objectives in pursuing urban renewal under Title One of the National Housing Acts.

This approach was most consistently pursued in the implementation of relocation from the West End Redevelopment Project in Boston.

Section VI - Major Recommendations and Redirections

With relocation as it presently operates in Boston, the primary responsibility for successful displacement of a family from one area to another rests with the fieldworker. This places too much responsibility at the improper level.

By the time the Relocation staff begins its operation, 1/3 of the workload has left. Of those remaining, the opportunity for fieldworker and tenant to establish sound rapport is substantially reduced as a result of the long and confusing series of events prior to project approval, by the generally erroneous impressions conveyed to project families by the "community" regarding reuse of project land, the quality and availability of relocation housing, and the Plan by which the people will be relocated.

Relocation is too important a process to be administered as it now is in Boston. However, if no other alternative existed, the only recourse would be to work with the existing system.

The following are offered as minimal recommendations for improving the relocation as it is presently put into effect. These involve no change in governmental organization.

1. General

A. The "community" that is interested in continuing urban renewal should, through a Citizen's Action Committee or similar public body, adopt a relocation objective, which will be frequently published in the newspapers and distributed in any potential renewal project area. If the "community" really believes in the objectives of the program, and really desires to rehouse persons in decent housing in adequate housing areas, it should be willing to publicly state this objective.

B. Information released to the press and other communications media should be factual with respect to actual workload, legal responsibilities of local relocation and the results of relocation as nearly as can be determined.

2. Administrative

A. Relocation housing standards - Although the existing housing evaluation technique is not as comprehensive as the system used to qualify areas for clearance, some improvement in the results of relocation would be achieved if:

a. Fieldworkers were given training in the evaluation process, so as to minimize personal interpretations.

b. Some systematic method (besides sink, toilet, bath and dual egress) is used to evaluate dwelling unit and structure.

c. The existing evaluation is carried out by a minimum number of relocation personnel.

d. Housing that does not qualify under this improved technique is so determined and kept off the vacancy list.

B. Referrals -

a. A fieldworker should be assigned a permanent job (if necessary) of checking with the Boston Planning Board and all other governmental agencies in and outside the city in regard to study areas, planning areas, and approved areas of renewal activity (public and private). This information should be posted publicly in the relocation office. The same worker should be responsible for assuring that units on the vacancy list are not in redevelopment or major rehabilitation project areas. Units in code enforcement and study areas should be intensely evaluated.

b. Vacant dwelling unit information should be compiled by the same personnel. Units should be immediately inspected, and without waiting for the publishing of a list, the worker should be able to take a family to the vacant unit (involves transportation expenditures).

c. The following (at the minimum) additional information should be put on the Site Occupants Cards: national background of the family; place of employment, type of work, predominant means of transportation, major

leisure-time activities, and length of tenure in present housing, and in the housing area.

d. The needs and requirements of families should be taken into account at least to the extent of encouraging relocation, through selective referrals, into housing areas suitable to some of the basic family needs. For example, families with children should be encouraged to relocate near schools, and in housing areas containing or near public parks and playgrounds.

e. Referrals to public housing should be held up until a vacancy in the unit preferred by the family becomes available.

C. Records.

a. Records should be maintained on all relocation housing, and referenced to the appropriate Site Occupants Card.

b. A much higher level of information should be entered on business site cards, indicating at least some attempt to provide a business relocation service.

By instituting action along these several lines, some improvement in relocation service could be realized. However, the present policy of employing a staff for specific projects and subsequently starting a new one with the next project is not an acceptable procedure.

Further, the relocation operation is of too great importance to serve as an employment center for untrained and inexperienced personnel in need of jobs.

In Boston, there appears to be insufficient standard housing available to relocate people properly. It would seem important then, to achieve any degree of success in relocation, that the staff be highly trained for the relocation work.

A relocation staff, to function most effectively, should be able to experiment with different procedures, to receive and use applicable recommendations advanced by other agencies, and to do this without impedimentary administrative regulations.

It would be desirable to separate the relocation function in Boston from the Redevelopment Authority. The authority itself is a part-time body concerned with project implementation. Its staff is likewise oriented towards reuse plan considerations and project implementation.

A relocation staff is concerned with people.

D. Centralized Relocation Agency - A centralized relocation agency would be most desirable set up under the Office of the Mayor or of Development. It would be directly staffed by relocation personnel with training experience as outlined previously and with professionally trained social workers. Its major functions would include the following:

a. Housing Evaluation:

1. Develop methods for evaluating relocation housing and environment on a basis comparable to that used to qualify areas for clearance.

2. Set up a unit for a continual inventory of housing, as to quantity, quality, location, size, rental levels, and turnover. Such information would be of substantial use in determining if housing to meet needs is available for relocation purposes.

b. Relocation Services:

1. Establish a relocation service for single person families, using the same housing evaluation techniques developed for other relocation purposes.

2. Establish a business-industrial relocation service with professionally trained staff to operate a continual service of this type.

3. Further refine the process of referrals by coordinating relocation with all public and private clearance and other renewal actions,

and by involving the social agencies in the reception areas in the relocation process. Coordinate the relocation program with those of other cities and towns in the metropolitan area.

4. Establish a relocation service for overincome families evicted from public housing projects.

5. Establish within the Relocation Office, or in conjunction with a private agency, an employment service for displaced persons and businessmen in those cases where relocation will result in job loss.

6. By this more comprehensive relocation service, and with the aid of trained social workers on the permanent staff, coordination of efforts to aid special problem families (handicapped, medical and other problems) can be realized, so that relocation will be carried out into housing areas equipped with special facilities for such families.

c. Coordinated Physical and Social Service Planning.

Through regular contacts of members of the permanent staff of the relocation office with urban renewal planning staffs (part of regular planning departments) progress could be made in two directions. First, to structure renewal programs on a comprehensive basis, taking into account besides the emphasized economic and reuse factors as of the present, factors relating to degrees of physical deterioration and the human element involved in renewal planning and programming. Second, considerable progress could be made in the direction of coordinating renewal activities with programs to improve and/or relocate community and social services in accordance with proposed shifts in population. Little is presently being accomplished in this respect.

With a highly trained professional relocation service, substantial improvements could be realized, given the other tools as presently existing. However, without adequate housing, the service, no matter how refined, would experience basic difficulties. As to additional mechanisms to secure housing when it is available, the following are proposed:

1. An option mechanism whereby vacant apartments can be signed for relocation use immediately upon inspection, and if standard. In this way, the staff could have at least a small reservoir of accommodations for referral to a range of tenants. With the signing, a month's rental would be paid to the owner by the Authority.
2. Permission to the staff to carry out minor rehabilitation (painting, cleaning, etc) where this will result in successful referrals
3. An optional lease arrangement of some sort to secure rental units for relocatees with reasonable assurance that rental increases will not occur for at least a year after relocation into the unit.

With development of the centralized staff, implementing plans of action of the several types mentioned, a substantial difference in relocation results might well be anticipated.

However, four additional major actions are necessary locally to achieve realization of all the major objectives of the renewal operation, or at least to optimize the chance of so doing. These three place emphasis on the human element in redevelopment and relocation, which at present in Boston receives the minimum of consideration by the greater "community" of renewal advocates and the elements of passive interest in the general public.

The operations in the West End were deficient in regard to the families living there because:

1. The analysis of the West End Proper as a low rental housing area was inadequate, failing completely to recognize many of the roles of that housing area
2. The failure to provide housing related to the needs and requirements of the range of population groups there substantially negated the positive aspects of relocation (Somerville and Medford).

3. The major deficiency, a plan of action to encourage readjustment of families in the reception areas, has received only limited attention at best in Boston, and this by a few social agencies who assume the burden in addition to their regular programs. There is no direct support from the redevelopment process or the relocation program, as presently structured, for a program of this type.

Major Redirections

Failure to comprehend the total role of the West End as a housing area for different ethnic, income and social groups in the city's population has not eliminated the need for such downtown housing areas to meet these several needs. There were justifiable reasons for low income, moderate income and high income people living in the West End. Of all the reuse proposals official and otherwise for the area, that one of the early 1950's that specified in part low rental or public housing was wholly justified. It would have come closest to meeting the desired range of rental needs in reuse.

Besides the failure to take into account the roles of the West End as a housing area, a wealth of material on the living habits, the social patterns, and values of West End families in choosing housing accommodations was practically left unrecorded in the renewal planning process. Such basic information is essential for a thorough evaluation of the results of relocation. That the legal requirements of redevelopment do not require such information is not a valid reason for failure to collect it.

1. It is recommended that in the study of future renewal areas, full survey and analysis of the many roles of such areas be carried out. Demonstration grants provide a possible starting point for such studies. Needed as well are major studies of skid row problems in Boston.

With administrative procedures standardized in the relocation process, and a centralized relocation staff in permanent operation, substantial improvements in relocation might be realized. With a much more intensive and sincere analysis of blighted housing areas prior to renewal action, a more enlightened renewal program could be set up.

However, it is not enough that one city set up such administrative and analytical machinery. Relocation from urban renewal projects will probably continue to disperse families throughout the inner metropolitan area. Active renewal programs are being conducted in Boston, Cambridge, Medford, Chelsea, Malden and Revere. Future relocation problems will become more difficult of solution as other low rental blighted private housing areas are cleared or subject to major renewal treatment.

There is a need for a comprehensive and coordinated approach to relocation problems in the inner metropolis. There is also a need for a similar approach and analysis of the housing inventory in all types of housing for this area.

The delineation of project areas in the inner metropolis and even sincere attempts to keep displaced families out of such areas is only a first step in a much more highly coordinated metropolitan relocation program.

2. It is recommended that some public or semi-public agency be authorized and given financial backing to conduct continuous housing surveys in the inner metropolitan area. Such information would then be made available to the several relocation agencies. Further, this agency should have strong advisory powers in regard to relocation policies and procedures for this area, so as to coordinate local relocation operations.

Redevelopment is a community-supported program, based primarily on local determinations and actions. At present, the community that supports redevelopment and sets the subsequent relocation operation into motion does not assume a comparable responsibility for the consequences of its actions. Community emphasis in program implementation is presently focused on the project selection, approval, execution and reuse phases. Relocation should also be considered a primary operation in redevelopment. It is the major process for moving people from locally-defined "slum" or blighted areas into locally-defined adequate residential areas with decent housing for the displaced person.

Relocation presently is a minor responsibility of the city agencies and an assumed major task of social agencies and organizations. At the same time, there is no assurance and indeed no like community support to assure that the process is in total acceptable, that the results meet the needs of the people, or that the health, education and welfare agencies are able to adequately meet the new demands for service in relocations areas.

3. It is recommended that the community of interests that support redevelopment accept a like responsibility for comparable efforts and financial aid to put into operation a continual program which will assure adequate social agency facilities and levels of service and public facilities and services in rehousing areas. A major purpose of this program will be to aid the readjustment of the relocated family into the new housing area.

Failing this community support, it is recommended that financial aid for this program be made a permanent part of the federal-local urban renewal program cost, at a flexible rate for each project, depending on the size of project, the number of families to be displaced, and the low income and problem families among these.

These three major redirections - comprehensive analysis of the "slum"

as a housing area; comprehensive housing inventories and coordinated relocation for the inner metropolitan area, and a substantial increase in the social agency service in relocation housing areas and in the relocation program- are all essential to a successful redevelopment program.

However, the success of these will be determined to a great extent by the final process which entails two coordinated actions. The first is comprehensive and coordinated renewal programming- encompassing comprehensive analysis, determination of project areas and levels of treatment, and coordination of these functions with the provision of community facilities and services. This programming must of course be strongly linked with the inner metropolitan relocation program.

These several broad inter-community actions are necessary to bring the redevelopment and relocation process up to a certain level of acceptability. However, the major action which must be taken is production of housing- both low rental and moderate rental housing in the inner metropolitan cities and towns.

From the evaluation of results of West End relocation, it would appear that there was not sufficient low rental and moderate rental housing in the inner metropolitan area, including at least Boston, Cambridge, Chelsea, and Revere, to assure satisfactory relocation of people from that project, within the accepted goals and objectives and standards of the program.

As it does not appear likely at present that the private housing industry will provide quantities of such housing, it seems necessary to construct subsidized low rental housing and controlled moderate rental housing in various inner metropolitan locations by public action, in whole or part.

4. It is recommended that consideration be given to alternative

methods for the provision of low and moderate controlled rental housing by the several communities now pursuing urban renewal programs.

It is necessary that such inter-community housing production be put into operation before further clearance of blighted housing areas. Such a program will need to produce low rental housing in downtown locations, and low and moderate rental housing in small developments in many inner metropolitan locations. Such housing construction would seem of necessity to be implemented under a public agency.

Conclusion.

In pursuing redevelopment programs, improvements in housing for people in project areas are as important or more important than overall improvements for the general public good. Therefore, relocation from renewal projects assumes great importance as the process by which such housing improvements are assured.

In relocating people from projects, it is equally important that the relocation housing be decent and sanitary accommodations and in an environment conducive to sound family growth and development.

These objectives and goals of relocation can not be taken as statements of intent only, which at the city's prerogative and in due time will be realized. In undertaking renewal actions, the city accepts these goals, which are both mandatory and desirable. Whether this acceptance is participated in wholeheartedly or not, it is an obligation which must be taken seriously. Improvements in living conditions for people living in "slum" or blighted areas is an important part of any renewal project and any comprehensive renewal program.

Action in the directions indicated must be taken immediately and pursued continuously if relocation from metropolitan Boston redevelopment projects is to attain the expected results. Until such action is forthcoming, clearance of such declining residential areas should be stopped.

If such action is not taken, in the several directions and on an inner-metropolitan scale, the results of relocation can not be greatly different from those of the West End relocation operation. Until the communities in metropolitan Boston that presently support urban redevelopment are willing to come to grips with the several basic problems of relocation, particularly the provision of suitable low and moderate rental housing for certain groups within the population, the results of relocation will more nearly be an outward move to another blighted or "slum" area, instead of a move upward into decent housing in amenable residential areas.

The latter is a major purpose of urban renewal in American cities.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Local Public Agency - The local redevelopment authority or housing authority that administers the redevelopment program. In Boston, the Relocation Office is under the Redevelopment Authority or local public agency.

"Community" - as used in the writing - Community refers to the various interest groups that support urban redevelopment in Boston.

Type of Relocation:

Self Relocation - That in which the family seeks and finds housing on its own initiative, and after which the inspection of housing occurs.

LPA Referral - That in which the agency evaluates vacant housing, refers specific families to such housing, and the family accepts such accommodations.

Family Composition:

Elderly - Head of household 65 and over; spouse 62 and over.

Broken (1) - Male and female base families with children under 18.

Broken (2) - The same with children over 18; also related, unmarried individuals living as one family.

Normal - Married couple with or without children, including extended families.

Income Classification:

Income was based on maximum admission limits to federally-aided low rental public housing. On this basis, and using average income for type of job where income was not specified, 53% of the 2 person West End households studied were low income.

For two-person families, low income was from 0 - \$3600 per year; moderate from \$3601 - \$4800 per year; and high income \$4801 and over per year. Classification for larger families was based on increase of income allowance as family size increased, according to housing authority standards.

"Taking": the legal action whereby the City assumes title to all property in a project area; negotiations with former property owners follow; tenants as of that date pay rent to the city.

APPENDIX

INFORMATIONAL STATEMENT TO SITE OCCUPANTS

AND

VACANCY SURVEY CARD

Showing Standards For Rēlocation Housing

At two different periods of time in the implementation
of the Project

INFORMATIONAL STATEMENT TO SITE OCCUPANTS

(Residential)

Date _____

RE:

Dear Sir (or Madam):

The building in which you now live is in an area taken by the Boston Housing Authority - according to law - for a slum clearance and urban redevelopment project.

After the land has been cleared it will be developed by private enterprise into a new, modern residential area in accordance with the Redevelopment Plan approved by the City.

Both State and Federal Laws provide that every family shall be helped to find a dwelling unit which is decent, safe and sanitary.

If you are eligible you shall be offered an apartment in a public housing project with priority for admission.

If you wish to seek housing on your own initiative you are encouraged to do so. However, it is to your interest, as a safeguard against accepting sub-standard housing, to make sure that the dwelling unit meets the following requirements.

1. It must have a kitchen sink in good working condition.
2. It must have safe and adequate cooking facilities.
3. It must have safe and adequate heating facilities.
4. It must have a room - partitioned off for privacy - containing a flush water closet and a lavatory basin in good working condition.

5. It must have a room - partitioned off for privacy - containing a bathtub or shower in good working condition.
6. Every kitchen sink, lavatory basin, and bathtub or shower required as equipment for a standard dwelling unit shall be properly connected with both hot and cold water lines.
7. It shall have adequate rubbish storage facilities and garbage disposal facilities.
8. It shall have adequate and properly connected water heating facilities.
9. It shall be adequately lighted and ventilated.
10. There shall be 150 sq. ft. of floor space for the first occupant of a standard dwelling unit and at least 100 sq. ft. of floor space for each additional occupant; floor space to be computed shall be the total habitable room area. Floor space shall be subdivided into sufficient rooms to be adequate for the family.
11. There shall be two safe, unobstructed means of egress leading to safe and open space at ground level.
12. It shall be structurally sound, in good repair, and shall be in an adequate state of maintenance.

When you find a dwelling unit which you consider to be suitable notify the Project Manager at the Field Office immediately, giving the address so that his staff may inspect the dwelling and advise you whether it meets the standards of decent, safe and sanitary housing.

A Field Office in the project area has been established at _____ Street to serve you and to answer any questions you may have. This office will be open from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., Monday through Friday. The Project Manager will be Mr. _____.

Until you are relocated you will be permitted to remain in your present place at the sufferance of this Authority. You shall not be evicted unless you fail to pay rent, use the premises for illegal purposes, or refuse to cooperate with the Authority.

Your cooperation is requested in making this slum clearance and redevelopment program a successful one.

Vacancy Survey Card - These cards are made out for all dwellings that qualify for relocation purposes and that are subsequently put on the vacancy listings for relocation referrals. For families that self-relocate, no card is made out. For LPA referrals, a card is made out and kept in the files. Of particular note is the inspection check list as is the APHA evaluation technique and the standards in the Notification to Site Occupants. These cards are filled out by the several relocation fieldworkers who do casework and inspect housing.

UR-5 (Front)

BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

VACANCY SURVEY CARD

Listed By:

X

RENTAL

Address..... X
 No. of Rooms..... X No. of Bedrooms..... X Floor..... X Rent..... X
 Other Facilities..... X
 Furnished X Yes..... No..... If partially, what?..... X
 Landlord or Agent..... X Phone..... X
 Restrictions and other requirements..... X

FOR SALE

Sale Price \$..... X Down Payment \$..... X Monthly Payment \$.....
 Income..... Assessment..... Land Area.....
 Conveniences or Improvements..... X

UR-5 (Back)

Record of Referrals

Date..... Family Name.....
 Address.....
 Action taken.....
 Date..... Family Name.....
 Address.....
 Action taken.....
 Date..... Family Name.....
 Address.....
 Action taken.....
 Date..... Family Name.....
 Address.....
 Action taken.....

Inspection Check List

	Yes	No
Adequate private bath.....	X	
Adequate private toilet.....	X	
Inside piped water		
cold.....	X	
hot.....	X	
Adequate kitchen.....		
Adequate repair.....	personal eval.	
Adequate heating.....	X	
Adequate lighting.....	X	
Suitable environment.....	not eval.	
Standard housing.....	personal interp	
Temporary housing.....		
Unfit housing.....	personal eval.	
Structurally sound.....	"	"
Two means of egress.....	X	

Signed..... X (I

Field Worker

Filled by BRA..... X (Family Name)

(Family Name)

Comments: * (except as x's note consistency of eval.)

Fact Sheet on the Project

Informational Bulletin to Property Owners

which together with the

Informational Statement to Site Occupants

And the pamphlet Urban Redevelopment And The West End

comprise the information to West End Residents

in regard to urban redevelopment, excepting

the newspapers' coverage for eight years

FACTS AND PERTINENT INFORMATION ON THE PROGRESS OF
THE WEST END REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

1. Site Office opened at 25 Blossom Street (The Health Unit Building) with Mr. John Hallisey as Site Manager.
2. Twelve field representatives are presently conducting a Site Occupancy Survey to determine how many families and businesses are still occupying existing dwellings to be taken by Eminent Domain. The family composition, income and other pertinent facts are gathered for the purpose of helping in the relocation program.
3. Tentative plans call for a taking of the entire area within three months.
4. All occupant families, businesses and owners will have to pay for the use and occupancy (rent) to the Authority after the taking, at the same rate they now pay to the present landlord. The owners' occupancy rate will be established by the Authority.
5. Every family is urged to avail themselves of the referral program in Private Housing and Public Housing. No one will be forced to accept any offers. Tenants are free to relocate on their own.
6. Up to \$100 will be paid for family moving expenses. This, of course, goes into effect only after the taking.
7. All business or commercial firms may be compensated for moving expenses up to \$2,500. All expenses must be substantiated.
8. The Authority has, is, and will continue to work with all public and private agencies, in all hardship cases.
9. No one will be evicted except for failure to pay rent or use of the premises for an illegal purpose or failing to cooperate with the Authority.
10. We would like to repeat that all responsibility to tenants, owners, business establishment, etc. as to relocation, payments and services, do not take effect until the property they occupy is acquired by the Authority.
11. At the time the Boston Redevelopment Authority acquires the property, all residents, business and commercial concerns, as well as owners, will be so notified by registered mail, and information statement will also be enclosed.

BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

73 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS

INFORMATIONAL BULLETIN TO PROPERTY OWNERS AND RESIDENTS OF THE WEST END

Subject: Payments to Property Owners - Relocation Payments to Tenants

At the present time the final acquisition appraisals are being completed. After review of these appraisals by the Land Acquisition Consultant of the Authority and by the Land Division of the New York Regional Urban Renewal Administration Office, option prices will be established for each parcel. However, this information is confidential between the Authority and the individual owner and under Federal procedures could not be made public.

Option negotiators on a contract basis will be engaged by the Authority for the purpose of contacting the property owners in order to make the official offers for each parcel. If the former owner of the property wishes to accept the amount offered, he will so indicate by signing the option form. The option negotiator will submit the signed option form to the Authority. An attorney for the Authority will process the case for closing.

Owners of property should not have to wait more than a week to ten days after signing the option form before receiving payment for their property, providing the necessary signatures of all the owners, heirs, spouses, etc., as required, are obtainable without delay, as well as any certificates which are necessary to a valid closing. If there is more than one owner, probate matters, a missing heir or other problems involved, of course it will take longer to close the case and make payment.

A tenant who wishes to be reimbursed for the cost of moving from the project area must file a written claim for relocation payment on forms furnished by the Authority at the Site Office, located at 25 Blossom Street, Boston, Massachusetts. All families or individuals who are displaced by the project and who move on or after April 23, 1958 are eligible for the relocation payment. Residential tenants will be given the option of receiving a fixed payment per room or actual moving expenses, not to exceed \$100, for the eligible costs of moving and/or direct loss of property suffered.

For non-residential tenants, relocation payments will be made for the actual moving expenses and direct losses of property up to \$2500.

Complete information and details of eligible costs for relocation payments are posted at the Site Office of the Authority.

Residential tenants who accept the fixed-payment-per-room relocation payment will receive their money within one week after signing the written claim. The residential tenants who elect to take the actual moving expenses up to \$100 will be reimbursed after the claim has been verified, or approximately within two weeks. Payment to non-residential site tenants will take longer, depending on the amount of the moving expenses, special problems or direct loss incurred, which will have to be appraised and verified. Payment should not take longer than three weeks.

JOSEPH W. LUND
Chairman

June 16, 1958

INFORMATION ON WEST END HOUSEHOLDS

2 person or more families

Site Occupants Cards

Site Occupants Cards- Non-Residential

Income Classification for 1176 Families

Job Types in the Project

Households in Rental Housing

Households Self Relocated- Composition

Households LPA Referrals- Composition

Households Public Housing- Composition

Preference of Area and Area of Relocation- Public Housing

Status of Families entering public housing

Site Occupants Cards - Cards made out on all households left as of April 23, 1958. Approximately 2/3rds had information as noted below (fractions refer to relative consistency of data recording).

Eligible for Public Housing: Yes No White Non-White Family No.....

SITE OCCUPANT RELOCATION RECORD

1. FAMILY NAME: **X** VETERAN STATUS— **X**

ADDRESS:

	Sex	Age	Occupation	Income	Other	Total
(1.)	X	X	1/5 X	X		X
(2.)	X	X		X		X
(3.)	X	X				
(4.)	X	X				
(5.)						
(6.)						
(7.)						

2. Housing Information:
 Status: Owner Tenant Sub-Tenant
 Rent: **X**
 Contract \$.....Sub-rent
 Utilities \$.....received \$.....
 Gross \$.....

3. Relocation Requirements:
 Location **2/3 X**
 Maximum monthly rent \$ **2/3**
 Maximum amount for purchase payment \$ **2/3**
 Number of bedrooms needed

4. Relocation Preferences:
 Purchase Private Rental Public Housing Undecided

Special Relocation Problems:

Interviewed By	Date	Comments
X		X

5. NOTICES TO FAMILY:

	Date Given	Effective Date	Extended To	Remarks
a. Informational statement	X	X	X	
b. Notice to terminate tenancy				

6. RELOCATION REFERRALS:

Address	Acct. No.	Date	Remarks
Unlimited referrals for cooperative families			

7. PERMANENT RELOCATION:

a. Accomplished by: Family's Initiative LPA Referral Eviction
 Other (Specify)

b. Address: **X** Date moved

c. Type of housing: Federal Low-Rent Public Other Public
 Standard Private Rental Purchased Other (Specify)

Unknown

8. TEMPORARY RELOCATION:

a. Address: **1/5 X** Date moved **X**

b. Site Transfer Sub-Standard Quarters Off-Site Other (Specify)

9. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE GRANTED TO FAMILY:

Moving expense \$.....
 First Month's Rent \$.....
 Other (Specify)

TOTAL \$.....

10. RELOCATION PAYMENT:

Amount \$ **X**
 Date Paid **X**

Site Occupant Record Card - Non-Residential - Of the 315 nonresidential establishments in the West End as of 1955, 250 such cards were in the files. In all fairness, information on these cards was consistently as shown below.

UR-4

SITE OCCUPANT RECORD CARD
NON-RESIDENTIAL

Parcel No. X

Reg. No. _____

Date _____

Field Worker _____

Name of Business X _____ Address _____ XOwner X _____Type of Business X _____ Regional _____ Local _____Sq. Ft. Occupied _____ No. of Stories _____ Parking or Service 1/3 X

Lease Space _____ Monthly Rental \$ _____ Own Space _____

Fixtures Leased _____

Fixtures Owned _____

Remarks:

Relocation Requirements:

Location Preferred _____

Sq. Ft. _____ No. Stories _____ Parking or Service _____

Storage Buildings _____ Sq. Ft. _____ Rail Sidings _____

Suitable for Relocation in Area: Yes _____ No _____

Lease _____ Sale _____

Vacant Land _____ To build own premises _____

Remarks:

Lease signed _____ Date _____ Notice to Vacate X _____ Date _____ Effective _____ Date _____

Extended _____ Date _____ Relocated _____ Date _____ Eviction Started _____ Date _____

Evicted _____ Date _____

New Location X _____

INCOME CLASSIFICATION - 1176 HOUSEHOLDS
(excluding those in substandard units)

<u>INCOME AND SIZE</u>			<u>PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD</u>				
2	3	4	5	6	7 & over	Income	
267	151	91	66	31	19	622 LOW	
(with 27 property owners, 95 C's, and 23 W's)							
72	62	58	25	7	4	228 MOD	
(with 25 property owners)							
85	66	50	37	15	13	266 HIGH	
(with 21 property owners)							
REFUSED INCOME OR NO INCOME:							
20	17	13	7	1	3	70	
(with 11 owners)							
<u>T O T A L S:</u>							
384	370	199	128	41	33	1176	
36%	36%	19%	12%	4%	3%		

T O T A L S: 104 owners; 95 C's; 23 W's

INCOME: Low: 53%; Moderate: 19%; High: 23%; Unclassified: 5%

<u>ELDERLY</u>	<u>BROKEN (1)</u>	<u>BROKEN (2)</u>	<u>NORMAL COMPOSITION</u>
178 (14%)	82 (7%)	171 (14%)	794 (65%)

* Symbols: Owners - residential income producing property; C - on permanent compensation, refers to elderly, retired persons on OAA or SS and also disability; W - welfare recipient Definition of Income Classification and family composition can be found in the Glossary. Income is based on maximum Admission limits to low rent public housing. Figures in table are for allhouseholds in public and private rental housing, excluding where noted 39 households in authority-designated substandard housing.

EMPLOYMENT OF WEST END FAMILIES
JOB TYPES FOR 300 HOUSEHOLDS

Bookkeeper	Lab Asst.	Tailor
Bootblack	Laundry	Trucker
Barber	Laborer	Telephone
Bowlmaker	Lawyer	
Bar	Laborer	Unemployment Comp.
Baker		Upholsterer
Bricklayer	Market	
Boilermaker	Meat & meat cutter	Waiter
	Mail Messenger	Waitress
Candy	Machine Operator	Welder
Cleaner	Mechanic	Welfare
Clerk	Merchant Marine	ADC
City	MTA	General Relief
Cook		Window
Canner	Navy	
Construction	Navy Yard	
Cutter	Nurse (male)	
Carpenter	Nurse (female)	
Cab		
Cooper	Office	
	Oil Burner	
Dressmaker		
Dishwasher	Post Office	
Draftsman	Photography	
	Porter	
Elevator	Packer	
Engineer	Printing	
Electrician	Presser	
	Plasterer	
Factory	Painter	
Fisherman		
Fruit	Reporter	
Floorman	Retired	
Foreman	RR Express	
	RR	
Guard	Rabbi	
Gas Station	Restaurant	
General work	Rubber (Hood)	
Globe		
GI Bill	Shipper	
Glazier	Shoemaker	
	Self-employed	
Herald	SS	
Hotel	Stitcher	
Horsetrainer	Storekeeper	
Hospital	Sale sman	
	Sausage	
Iceman	Sheet Metal	
Importer	Secretary	
Insurance	Sugar	
Iron	Stevedore	

WEST END HOUSEHOLDS IN RENTAL HOUSING (1225 of 1230)

	<u>TOTAL ALL RENTALS</u>				<u>LPA, SELF, PH</u>				<u>BOSTON & ADJACENT CITIES & TOWNS</u>						<u>TOTALS</u>		
	<u>INCOME</u>				<u>COMPOSITION</u>												
	<u>LOW</u>		<u>MOD</u>		<u>HIGH</u>		<u>UNSPEC.</u>		<u>OLD</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>B2</u>	<u>NORMAL</u>					
PUBLIC HOUSING	131	100%	-		-		-		42	37%	18	14%	13	10%	58	39%	131
LPA'S	91	52%	30	19%	41	24%	11	5%	34	20%	10	5%	28	16%	101	59%	173
In	59	50%	19	16%	29	24%	9	10%	23	20%	6	5%	22	19%	65	56%	116
Out	32	59%	11	19%	12	21%	2	1%	11	19%	4	8%	6	10%	36	63%	57
SELFS	431	47%	210	23%	230	25%	50	5%	102	11%	54	6%	130	14%	635	69%	921
In	212	45%	107	23%	119	25%	34	7%	61	13%	29	6%	77	16%	301	64%	472
Out	195	48%	94	23%	105	25%	16	4%	35	9%	17	4%	49	12%	309	75%	410
SS	24	61%	9	23%	6	16%	-		6	15%	8	21%	3	8%	22	56%	39
TOTALS	653		240		271		61		178	14%	82	7%	171	14%	794		1225
		53%		20%		22%		5%							65%		
IN (PH,SS,LPA)	426		135		154		43		132		61		116		448		758
OUT(LPA,Self)	227		105		117		18		46		21		55		346		467
NORMAL (out) % is 40%	35%		43%		43%		30%		25%		25%		32%		44%		40%

HOUSEHOLD INCOME & COMPOSITION - SELF RELOCATED WITHIN BOSTON

AREA	RELOCATEES		LOW		MOD		HIGH		UNSPEC		ELDERLY		B1		B2		NORMAL	
	TOTAL	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
WEST END	112	24%	50	45%	22	19%	30	27%	10	9%	16	14%	8	7%	21	19%	67	60%
NORTH END	40	9%	17	42%	8	20%	10	25%	5	13%	5	13%	3	7%	8	20%	24	60%
SOUTH END	12	3%	6	50%	2	17%	3	25%	1	8%	3	25%	-	-	2	17%	7	58%
BACK BAY	24	5%	12	50%	4	17%	6	25%	2	8%	-	-	1	4%	9	38%	14	58%
CHARLESTOWN	18	4%	9	50%	6	33%	2	11%	1	6%	1	6%	2	11%	3	16%	12	67%
EAST BOSTON	47	10%	22	47%	9	19%	14	30%	2	4%	3	6%	6	12%	6	12%	32	70%
SOUTH BOSTON	20	4%	10	50%	5	25%	4	20%	1	5%	2	10%	-	-	4	20%	14	70%
BRIGHTON-ALLSTON	37	8%	17	46%	7	19%	9	24%	4	11%	5	13%	-	-	5	13%	27	74%
JAMAICA PLAIN	21	4%	6	28%	5	25%	7	33%	3	14%	2	9%	-	-	2	9%	17	82%
ROXBURY	31	7%	13	42%	8	26%	8	26%	2	6%	4	13%	1	3%	8	26%	18	58%
DORCHESTER (NORTH)	63	13%	29	46%	17	27%	16	25%	1	2%	10	16%	4	6%	5	8%	44	70%
DORCHESTER (SOUTH)	32	7%	15	47%	8	22%	7	22%	2	9%	9	28%	3	9%	3	9%	17	53%
ROSLINDALE	6	1%	4	67%	2	33%	-	-	-	-	1	17%	-	-	-	-	5	83%
WEST ROXBURY	2	5%	-	-	-	-	2	100%	-	-	-	-	1	50%	1	50%	-	-
HYDE PARK	3	5%	-	-	3	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	100%
	468	100%	210	45%	106	23%	118	25%	34	7%	61	13%	29	6%	77	16%	301	64%

(53% of total self relocated into rental standard housing.)

HOUSEHOLD INCOME & COMPOSITION - LPA REFERRALS WITHIN BOSTON

AREA	RELOCATEES		I N C O M E						C O M P O S I T I O N									
	TOTAL	%	#	LOW %	#	MOD. %	#	HIGH %	#	UNSPEC %	#	ELDERLY %	#	B1 %	#	B2 %	#	NORMAL %
WEST END	21	18%	14	67%	4	19%	2	9%	1	5%	3	14%	-	-	8	38%	10	47%
SOUTH END	6	5%	6	100%	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	50%	-	-	1	16%	2	33%
EAST BOSTON	15	13%	4	26%	3	20%	8	53%	-	-	3	20%	1	6%	1	6%	10	67%
SOUTH BOSTON	13	11%	7	53%	-	-	6	46%	-	-	3	23%	2	15%	1	7%	7	50%
DORCH. NORTH	21	18%	8	38%	5	24%	5	24%	3	14%	3	14%	1	5%	5	24%	12	57%
DORCH. SOUTH	11	9%	4	36%	3	27%	3	27%	1	10%	2	18%	1	10%	2	18%	6	54%
JAMAICA PLAIN	11	9%	5	45%	2	18%	2	18%	2	19%	2	18%	-	-	1	9%	8	72%
ROXBURY	8	7%	7	87%	-	-	-	-	1	13%	3	38%	-	-	1	12%	4	5%
OTHER (3 or less/area)	11	9%	4	36%	2	18%	4	36%	1	10%	1	9%	2	19%	2	18%	6	55%
	116*	100%	59	50%	19	16%	29	24%	9	10%	23	20%	6	5%	22	19%	65	56%

* 67% of all households LPA referred into rental standard housing.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND COMPOSITION. Relocates into Public Housing. 134
Households (100%) minus 3 (untraceables)

AREA	TOTALS		INCOME	ELDERLY		COMPOSITION					
	#	%		#	%	B1		B2		NORMAL	
						#	%	#	%	#	%
EAST BOSTON	22	16%	22	3	14%	7	31%	3	14%	9	40%
SO. BOSTON	11	8%	11	2	18%	X	X	1	10%	8	72%
CHARLESTOWN	43	33%	43	14	32%	5	12%	4	9%	20	47%
ROXBURY	10	8%	10	4	40%	1	10%	1	10%	4	40%
DORCH. NO.	23	17%	23	7	30%	4	17%	4	17%	8	35%
DORCH. SO.	9	7%	9	5	55%	-	-	-	-	4	45%
BRI.-ALLS.	8	6%	8	5	62%	-	-	-	-	3	38%
CAMBRIDGE	3	3%	3	1	33%	1	33%	-	-	1	33%
OTHER	2	2%	2	1	50%	-	-	-	-	1	50%
TOTALS	131	100%	131	42	37%	18	14%	13	10%	58	39%

Elderly, etc: see other charts (Self, LPA breakdowns)

PUBLIC HOUSING - West End Relocates into PHA-aided and State-Aided Low Income Housing Projects. 134 households (3 untraceable due to erroneous street listing) as of 2/21/60.

RELOCATION PREFERENCE	#Hslds	CHOICE REALIZED	AREA OTHER THAN CHOICE							
			CHS TWN	E BOS	S BOS	ROX	DOR NO	DOR SO	BRI ALL	OTH ER
1. No preference	47(7P)	-	18(P)	5(P)	2	4(PP)	9	4	3	2
2. Area specified	84	38 (45%)					3(P)			
A. Boston										
No neighborhds*	11	11*	7	2	1		1			
West End	4	-	1	1		2				
South End	2(P)	1(P)(50%)				1				
E. Boston	9(4P)	6(3P)(67%)	2(P)		1					
Charlestown	7(4P)	4(2P)(57%)	1	(P)	(P)					
So. Boston	5(5P)	1(P) (20%)	3(P)						P	
Roxbury	6(4P)	2(2P)(33%)			(P)		2	P		
Jam/Pln	2(P)	-		1		P				
Dorch. No. :	13(6P)	6(3P):70%		2	1					1
Dorch. So. :		3(2P)								
Bri-Alls.	12(7P)	4(3P)(33%)	1		2(P)		3(2P)	1		P
Other	2(2P)	-			P		P			
TOTALS (excl.#1)	62	27 (43%)	8	5	7	4	6	2	1	2
(incl.#1)	73	38 (52%)	26	10	9	8	15	6	4	2
B. Outside Boston										
No preference	2		1	1						
Cambridge	2(P)	1(P) (50%)	1							
Somerville	3	-	2	1						
Medford	3(P)		P	2						
Revere	1		1							
TOTALS	11	1 (9%)	6	4						
TOTALS: Relocation Areas										
No Preference			18	5	2	4	9	4	3	2
Unsuccessful			14	9	7	4	6	2	1	-
Successful			4	6	1	2	6	3	4	1
"Boston" only			7	2	1	X	2	-	-	-
			43	22	11	10	23	9	8	2
PREFERENCE OF HOUSING TYPE			Total	%	Specifying Location		%			
Sales			-	-						
Public housing			43	31%	36		83%			
Private rental			25	19%	20		80%			
No preference			66	50%	32		48%			
			134							

CHOICE OF AREAS REALIZED:

- 84 (66%) specified an area. 38 (45%)* realized choice of area.
 62 (74%) specified a particular neighborhood within Boston.
 27 (43%) were successful in relocating.
 *73 (87%) specified Boston (district, proper, intown, city, area) and/or a specific neighborhood. 38 (52%) were successful in relocating.
 11 (13%) specified "Outside Boston". 1 (9%) was successful in relocating.

STATUS OF WEST END FAMILIES ENTERING PUBLIC HOUSING, BOSTON, MASS. *

*does not include three families in Cambridge Public Housing.

PROJECT	Moved in By	(1)	Didn't Move In	Total In	Evicted	Moved Out	Remain- ing
	BHA Count	Site Cards					
Charlestown	46	37		37	1	2	34
Mission Hill							
Roxbury		5	1	4		2	2
Orchard Park							
Roxbury		3		3			3
South End		2		2			2
Heath St.							
Jam. Plain		3	1	2			2
East Boston		15	1	14			14
Franklin Hill							
Dorch. No.	16	10		10			10
Bromley Park							
Jam. Plain		3		3			3
Columbia Pt.	17	12	1	11			11
Dorch. North							
Old Harbor Village		1		1			1
Old Colony							
South Boston		7	1	6			6
Broadway							
South Boston		3		3			3
Commonwealth							
Brighton		6		6			6
Faneul							
Brighton		1		1			1
Orient Heights							
East Boston		6		6			6
Gallivan Blvd.							
Dorch. South		3	1	2			2
Franklin Field							
Dorch. South	10	6		6			6
	147	123	6	117	1	4	112

(1) Differences between Boston Housing Authority Counts of West End Families in Public Housing and the figures from the Site Cards in the files could be due to: 1) shifts from one project to another 2) families moving in without the knowledge of the Authority (before relocation officially started) or 3) a second relocation, after first going into private rental. These are not the responsibility of the Authority, by law.

Diagram Showing Location
of

Seven Primary Reception Areas

Eight of 17 Tracts With 60% or More Low Income

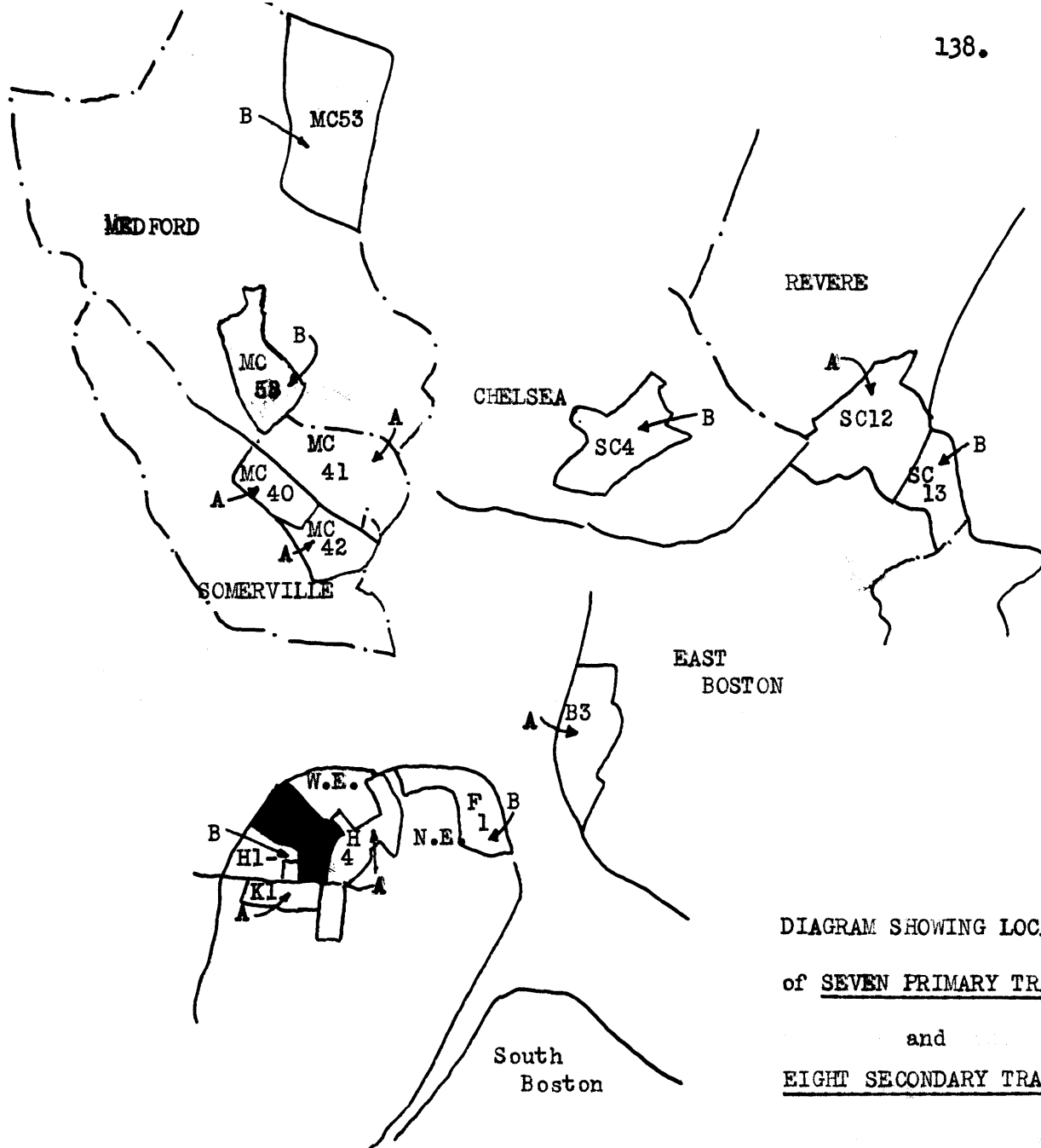
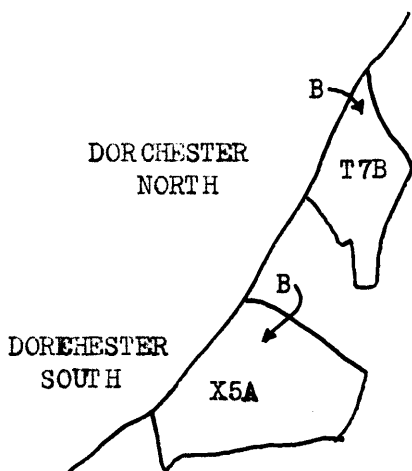


DIAGRAM SHOWING LOCATION
of SEVEN PRIMARY TRACTS (A)
and
EIGHT SECONDARY TRACTS (B)

EXTERIOR STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS AND AREAL TREATMENT



<u>Structural Treatment</u> *	<u>Area Treatment (census tract)</u>			<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>Conserv.</u>	<u>Rehab.</u>	<u>Redevel.</u>	
Conservation	35	35	12	82
Rehabilitation	16	32	12	60
Demolition	-	31	25	56
	51	98	49	198

* Does not include public housing structures in these 15 tracts.

Summary from field survey of 198 structures:

Approximately 3 out of 4 structures are in Planned or Potential Renewal Areas

Approximately 3 out of 5 structures will require either major rehabilitation or demolition

Structure and Environmental Deficiency
Evaluation Form

EXTERIOR SURVEY OF HOUSINGFROM THE MANUAL OF POLICIES AND REQUIREMENTS FOR LOCAL PUBLIC AGENCIESBasic Data

Address (Street and Number)

Orig. Design Type

SUBSTANDARD BUILDING CRITERIA

1. Major Repairs
 - a. Roof (not a factor)
 - b. Wall X
 - c. Foundation X

2. Extensive Minor Repairs
 - a. Chimneys X
 - b. Roofing
 - c. Flashing
 - d. Gutters (& Eaves) X
 - e. Downspouts
 - f. Siding X
 - g. Porches X
 - h. Steps X
 - i. Trim
 - j. Doors, Windows, Sills X

3. Inadequate Original Construction (not evaluated)

4. Inadequate Alterations (not evaluated)

5. Obsolete Building Layout (not evaluated)

6. Major Inadequacies in Building Utilities (not evaluated)

7. Major Inadequacies in Building Facilities
 - a. Parking under 1 space per DU X
 - b. Other X

Any combination of 1 major factor plus 4 of the 6 extensive minor repairs determined demolition condition. 4 of 6 extensive minor repairs determined major rehabilitation. Where a reasonable doubt existed, the structure was assigned to the less serious category.

ENVIRONMENTAL DEFICIENCY CRITERIA

1. Presence of Detrimental Land Uses (incompatible or mixed)
 - a. Bus. & Res. X
 - b. Bus., Ind., & Res. X
 - c. Ind. & Res. X
 - d. MTA - rail or bus
 - e. Truck Terminal
 - f. Storage
 - Commercial
 - Residential
 - Other

2. Presence of Detrimental Conditions
 - a. Noise X
 - b. Smoke X
 - c. Fumes, odors X
 - d. Litter, debris X
 - e. Natural causes

3. Narrow, Inconvenient, Congested, Unsafe or Otherwise Deficient Streets - (not evaluated)

4. Inadequate Public Utilities
 - a. Sewer
 - b. Water
 - c. Lighting
 - d. Surface Drainage
 - e. Streets, walks (pub) X
 - f. Walks, Drives (priv)

5. Other Evidences of Environmental Deficiencies or Nuisances
 - a. Lack of adequate public landscaping X

6. Overcrowding of Structures & Dwelling Units on the Land
 - a. 30% building coverage or more X

7. Improper Location of Structures on the Land - (not evaluated)

8. Inadequate Community Facilities
 - a. Schools
 - b. Playgrounds X
 - c. Playfields
 - d. Parks (neighborhood) X
 - e. Public Transportation

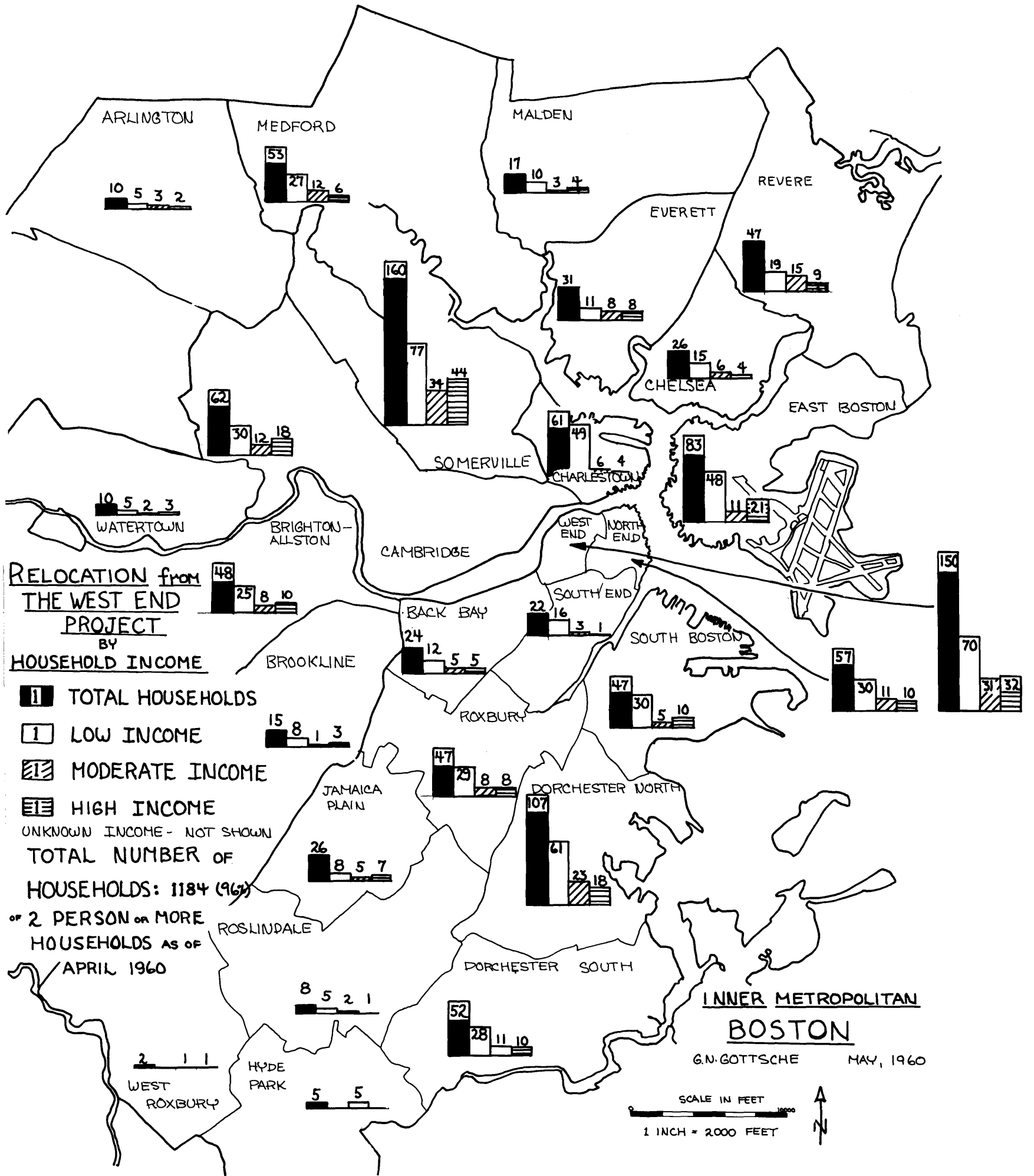
If the area was already classified for active renewal operations, the existing classification was used. Of items in 6 categories evaluated, if deficiencies were noted in 5 or 6, and depending on area distribution dilapidated structures, area was noted as redevelopment or major rehabilitation area. With 4 or less deficiencies, area was usually conservation (with occasional structural treatment needed).

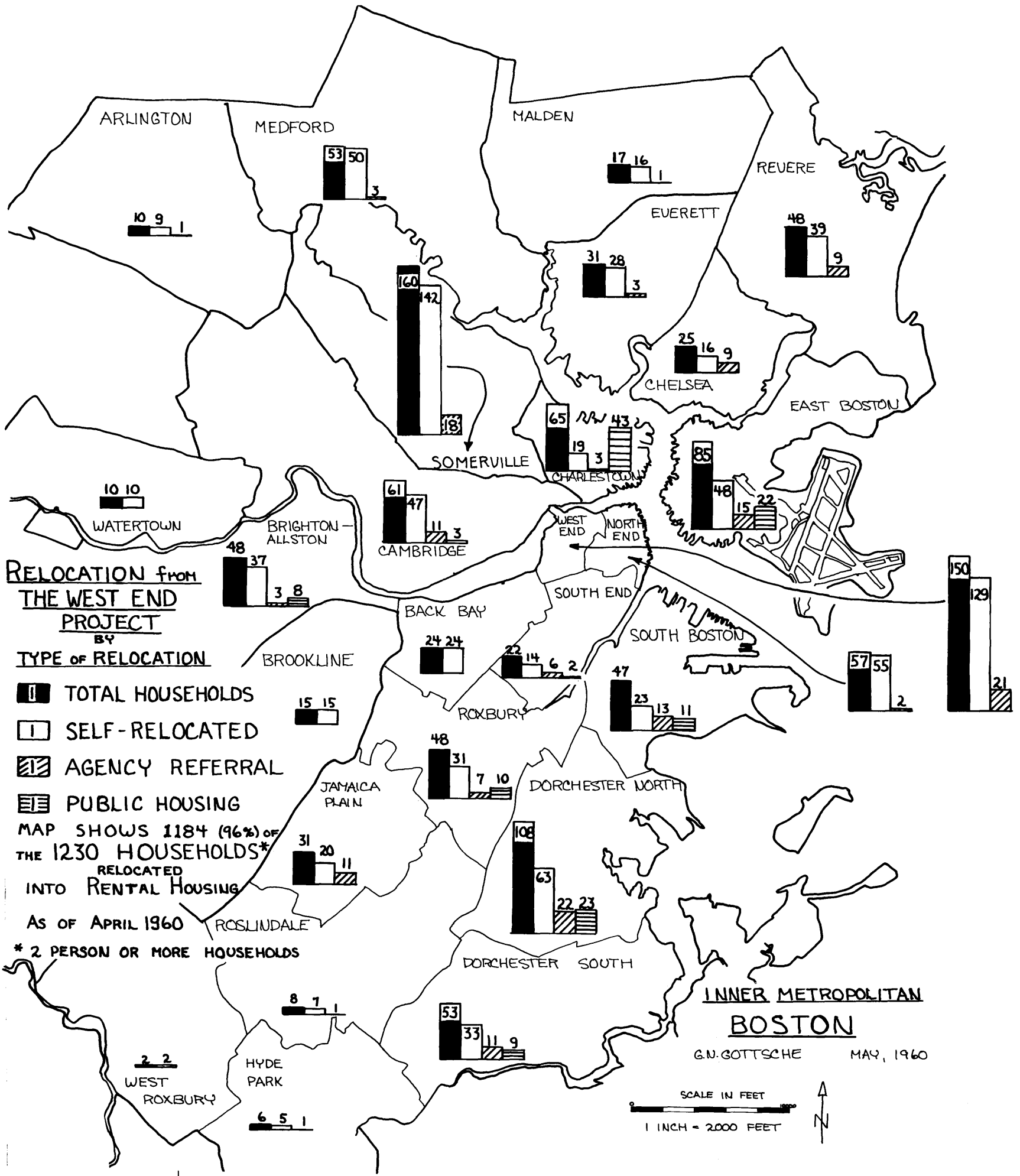
MAPS SHOWING:

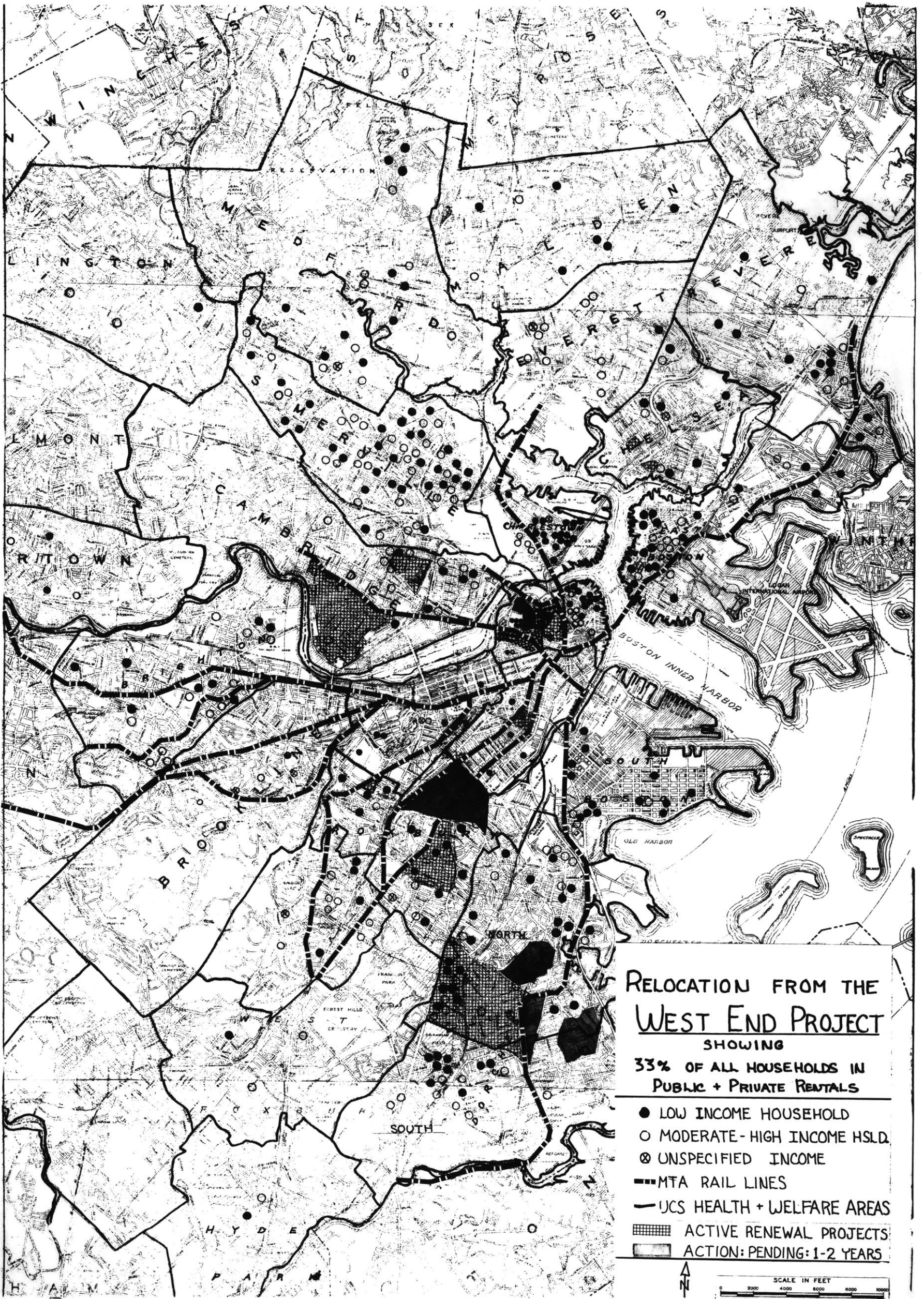
Distribution by Income for Inner Boston S.M.A.

Distribution by Type of Referral for Inner Boston S.M.A.

Distribution of 33% Sample of Population by Income



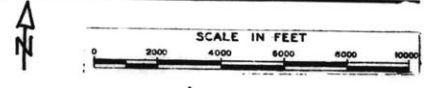




RELOCATION FROM THE WEST END PROJECT
 SHOWING

33% OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS IN PUBLIC + PRIVATE RENTALS

- LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLD
- MODERATE-HIGH INCOME HSLD.
- ⊗ UNSPECIFIED INCOME
- MTA RAIL LINES
- UCS HEALTH + WELFARE AREAS
- ▣ ACTIVE RENEWAL PROJECTS
- ACTION: PENDING: 1-2 YEARS



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