

New Opportunities for Boston's Chinatown: Turnpike Air Rights

by

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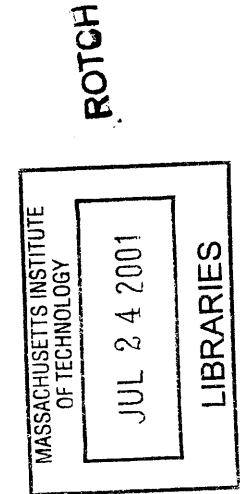
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ABSTRACT

Boston's Chinatown is a regional business, cultural and service center to the Asian community in greater Boston area. However, it is confronting serious problems at this moment. These problems can be classified as three aspects: housing, connection and amenity. The shrinking of the territory and the dramatic increase in population has resulted in a high demand for affordable housing. Highway and urban renewal projects isolate Chinatown from its vicinity. For a long period of time, the Chinatown community and the neighborhoods nearby are lack of green space, service and cultural facilities.

The proposed Turnpike Air Rights new development is a great challenge as well as a good opportunity for Chinatown. In this thesis, the research and design of the gateway site of Turnpike Air Rights (Parcel 20-23) is aimed to explore the solutions to the thress problems. The mixed uses community-oriented planning and urban design shows the new face of the south edge of Chinatown by providing mixed-income housing, green spaces and civic plaza, community service, and good connections with its vicinity.

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“This city of migrants is a city of hope and energy... They expected and desired change.”

Kevin Lynch, describing the city of Geordie Guyana, *What Time is This Place?*



Part One
Problems • Opportunities

**Chapter 1 Boston's Chinatown
and Its Existing Problems**

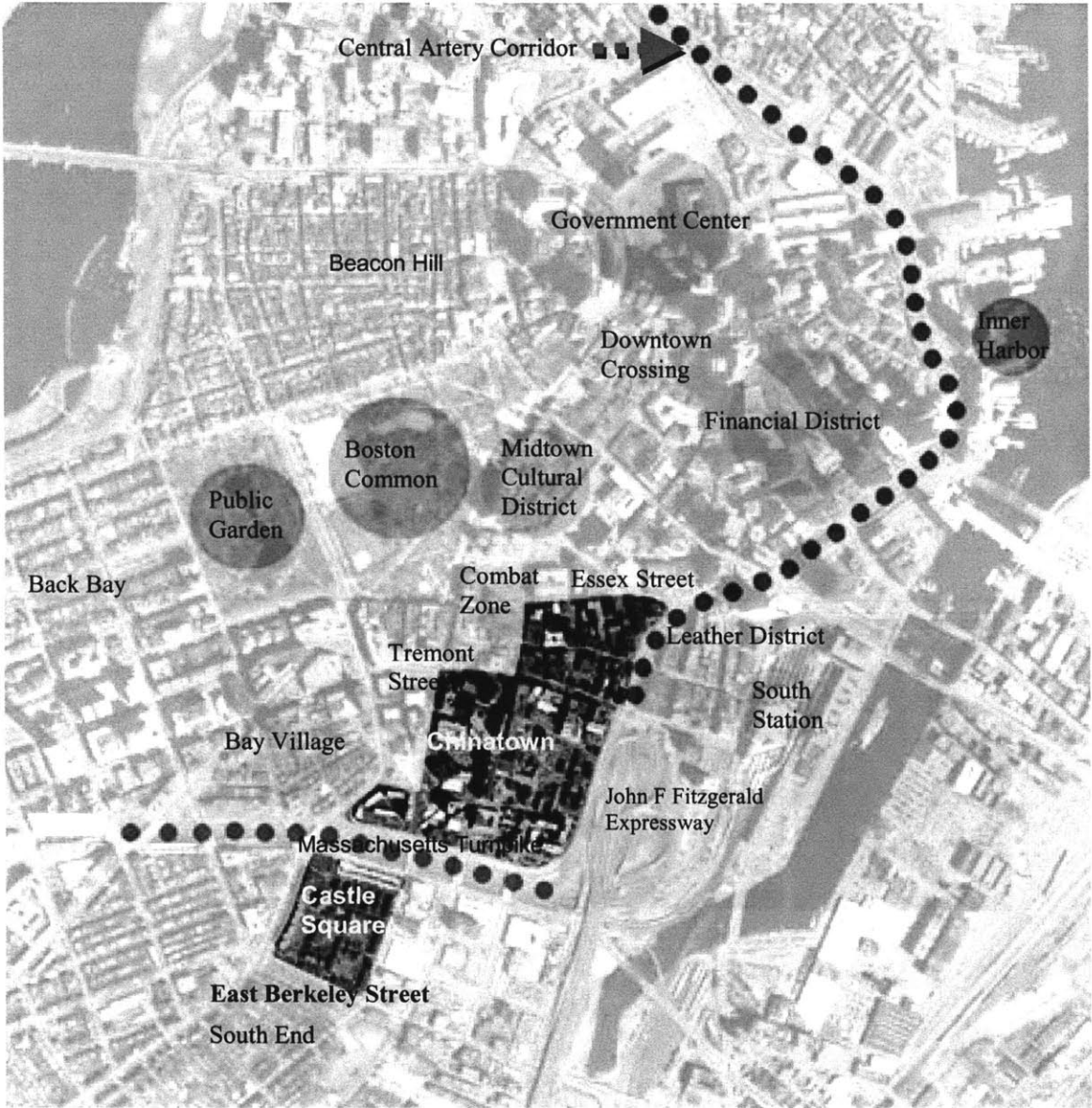


Figure 1-1
Boston's Chinatown and its location

Chapter 1

Boston's Chinatown and

Its Existing Problems

1.1 Background

Though a small (43 acres) inner city and downtown neighborhood, Boston's Chinatown is a regional business, cultural and service center to the Asian community in the greater Boston area.

Boston's Chinatown is bounded by the Surface Artery and John F Fitzgerald Expressway to the east, Massachusetts Turnpike to the South, Tremont Street to the west, and Essex Street to the north. Because of the concentration of Asian residents and businesses on the north side of the South End (Castle Square), the southern boundary of Chinatown is sometimes considered to be East Berkeley Street. (Figure 1-1)

1.2 The Existing Problems

Currently, Boston's Chinatown is confronting serious problems, which can be classified as three aspects – housing, connections and amenity.

1.2.1 Housing: The shrinking of the territory and the dramatic increase in population has resulted in a high demand for affordable housing.

Chinatown ceded more than half of its land to new roads and institutions while its population tripled from 1950-1987¹.

The rapidly rising land value made aggressive developers turn their attention to Chinatown. Many projects have intruded into the territory, which has resulted in the shrinking of the territory. The recent development boom in and around Chinatown, i.e. the institutional expansion in the midst of Chinatown, imposes pressure to the community and leads to a crisis situation. These institutions, primarily New England Medical Center and Tufts University, occupy about one-third of the land area of present day Chinatown.

New Opportunities for Boston's Chinatown: Turnpike Air Rights

Along Chinatown's northern border, there are private developments, including commercial-residential or commercial-hotel projects: the Millennium Place (\$450 M), the Lafayette Corporate Center (\$85 M), One Lincoln Place (\$300 M), and the proposed Tufts University Development Corporation South Station air rights project (\$800 M)². In the middle of the residential district, one large project -- the Tufts Biotechnology Research and Nutrition Center has begun the construction. (Figure 1-2, 1-3, 1-4, 1-5)

The shrinking of land and the increase of population has made Chinatown Boston's most densely populated neighborhood. There is a high demand for housing by the local people and the other Asian communities in Boston area. With the continued growth of the Asian community in New England, this problem will become more and more serious.



Figure 1-2, Fighting to Keep Affordable Housing in Boston Chinatown
In the year of 2000, the tenants in Chinatown's Mason Place, primarily elderly, disabled, or immigrant, face loss of their housing due to drastic rent increase and conversion to market rent units. They formed an organization, the MPTTA, to fight for keeping affordable housing. (<http://aamovement.net/community/tenants.html> 11/02/2000)

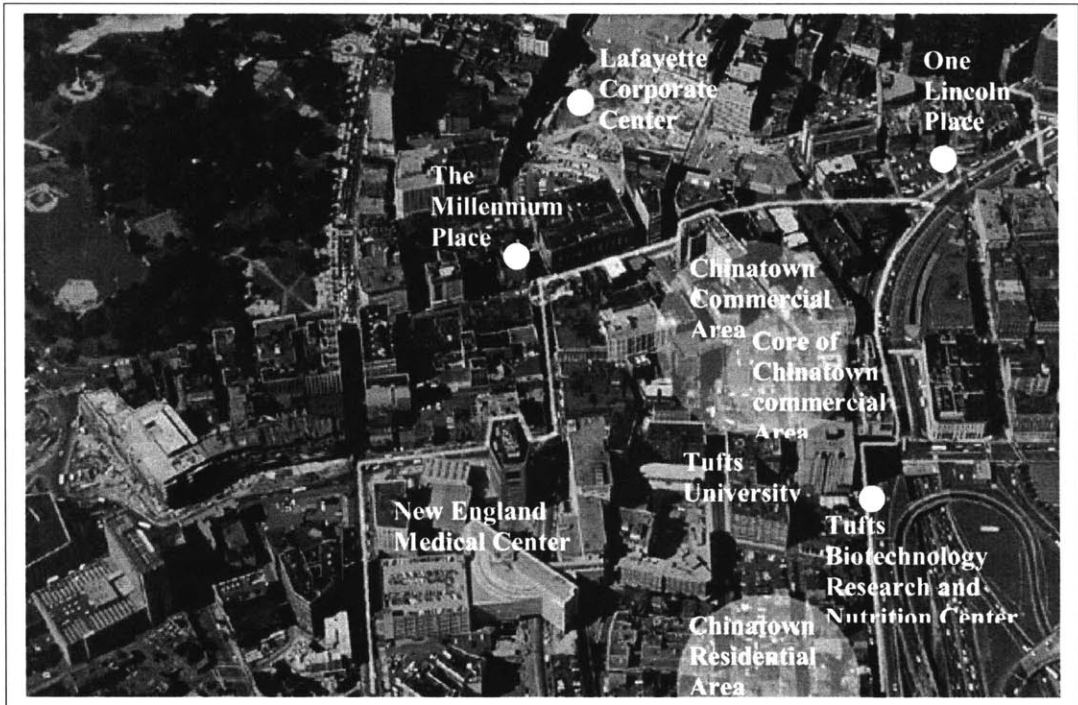


Figure 1-3 The recent developments in and around Chinatown



(Top) Figure 1-4 The Millennium Place

(Bottom) Figure 1-5 The construction site of Tufts Biotechnology Research and Nutrition Center

1.2.2 Connection: The highways and urban renewal projects confine and isolate Chinatown from other areas.

Located on landfill created from tidal flats in the early 1800s, Chinatown remained virtually unchanged until the revocation of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943.

Thereafter, the appearance of Chinatown is kept changing and shaped by restless urban development projects.

On one hand, Chinatown is cut off from other nearby residential neighborhoods by interstate highways on two sides, Massachusetts Turnpike (South) and the Central Artery (East). On the other hand, Chinatown is isolated from the city's central business district, the Boston Common, and the Public Garden by the nearby Combat Zone, which is a partition of the comfortable pedestrian circulation. Moreover, the Financial District and Downtown Crossing

on the north, and the Combat Zone, the Theater District and Bay Village to the west, are distinctly different neighborhoods. Because of these physical barriers and expressways, Chinatown is a "landlocked" inner city. (Figure 1-6)

Because the size of the territory is restricted, the residents have had to expand to the areas nearby. Due to the displacement by urban renewal projects of the late 1950s and 1960s, a large population of Asians has moved to the South End. However, as many Asian residents and community services expand to South End, the existing Turnpike Air Rights become a big gap between the new community and Chinatown. The traffic noise and transiting traffic deteriorate the life quality of Chinatown community. (Figure 1-7)

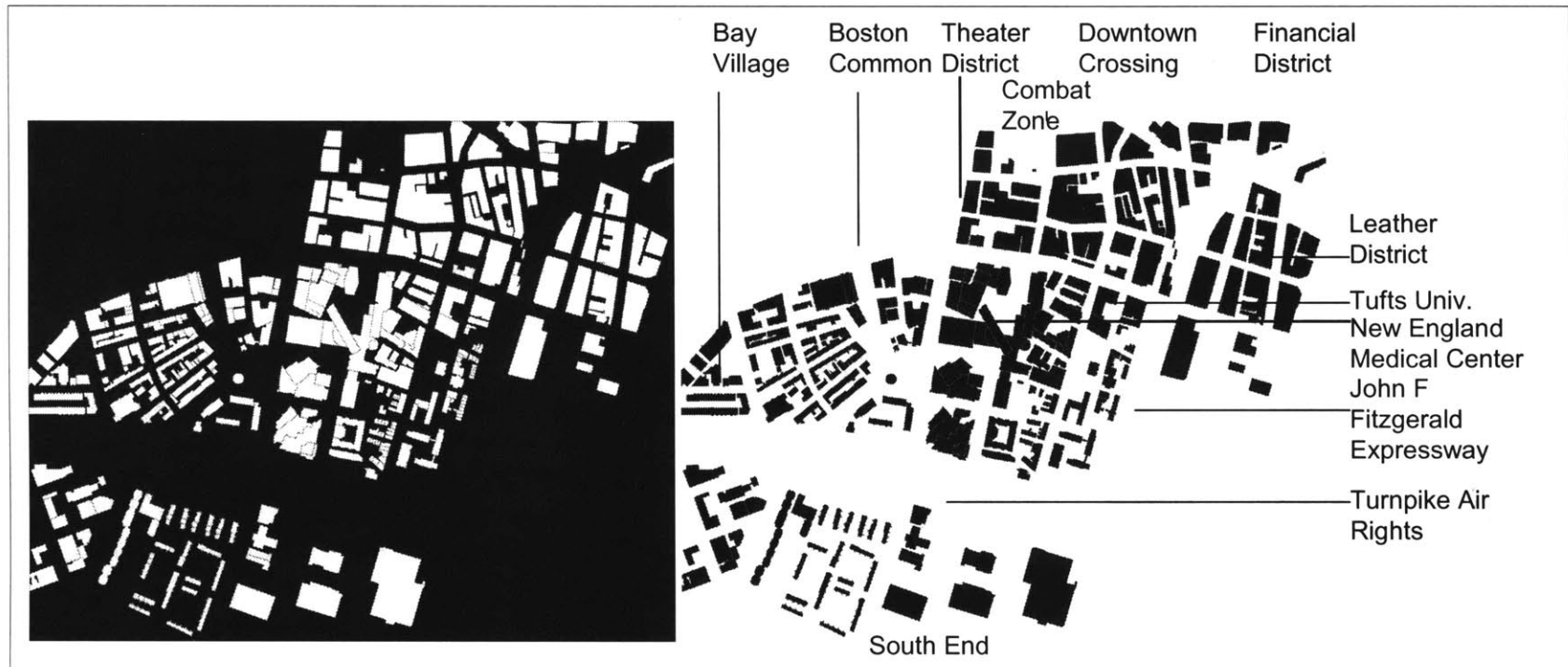


Figure 1-6 The figure-ground images show Chinatown is a “landlocked” inner city:

- Chinatown is cut off from other areas by interstate highways on two sides
- Financial District and Downtown Crossing to the north, Combat Zone, Bay Village and Theater District to the west, are distinctly different neighborhoods.

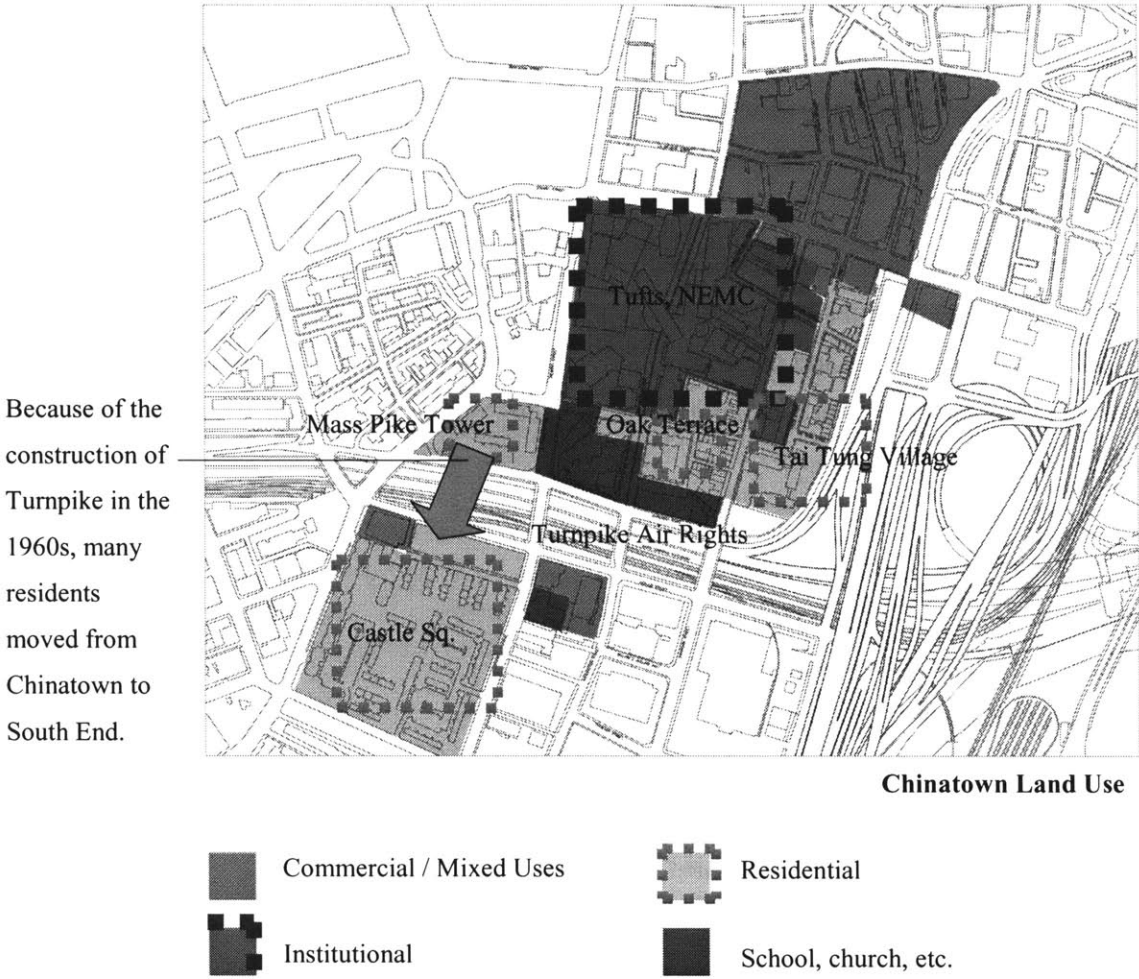


Figure 1-7, Chinatown land use analysis

1.2.3 Amenity: For a long period the Chinatown community and neighborhoods nearby are lack of community service facilities, green spaces and other amenities.

The new developments in Chinatown have ruined the amenity of Chinatown. The face of Chinatown is changing, and many things are being lost from a cultural and ethnic basis.

As the most densely population neighborhood in the City of Boston Chinatown “has the least amount of open space per resident of any other neighborhood.”³ Furthermore, in public discourse and representation, Chinatowns have often been depicted as overcrowded and dilapidated places, beset with social problems such as bad sanitary condition, a growing population of the urban poor, and high rate of crime. All of these have made

Chinatown a symbol of neglect and a nuisance for urban renewal. (Figure 1-8)

Therefore, Chinatown needs redevelopment and concerted efforts by governments in order to create a tidy and residents-friendly environment.

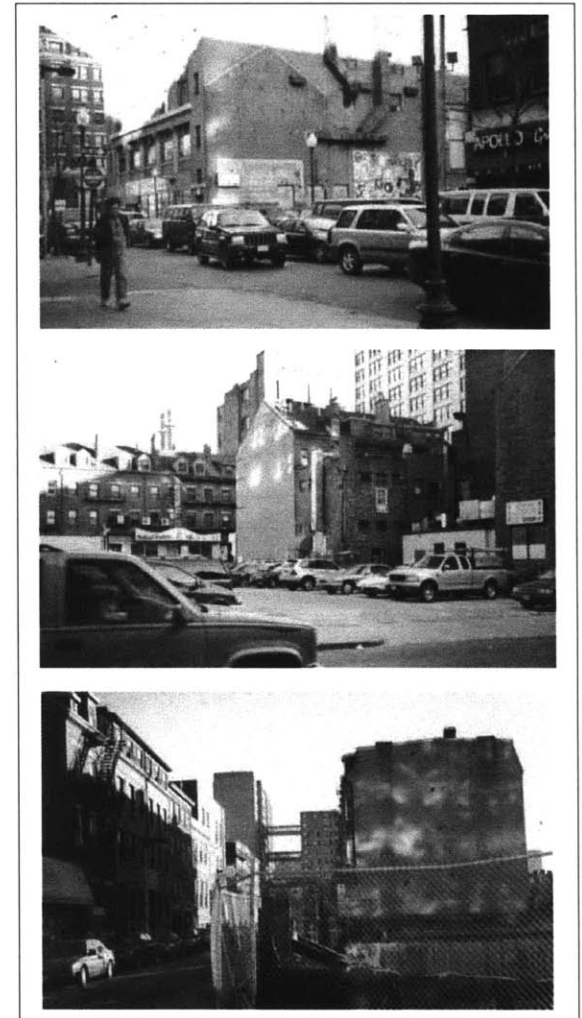


Figure 1-8, Chinatown is a symbol of neglect.



The gate to Chinatown



Sign of shops



Tyler Street

The home of the Asian Community in the metropolitan Boston area

A tourist attraction

The cultural value to the city

Easy access



Chinatown Mural



Residential area



1.3 The Advantages of Chinatown

Nevertheless, China has its own characteristics and advantages, which make it a special and attractive place to many people. (Figure 1-9)

1.3.1 The home of the Asian Community

With more than 80 years of history as an ethnic enclave, Chinatown has become the residential, cultural, service, and commercial center of the community. It hosts to over five thousand residents, more than forty community organizations and over one hundred and eighty businesses and stores which serve the Asian community in the metropolitan Boston area.

1.3.2 A tourist attraction

Chinatown has a touch of the exotic. With unique cultural heritage and tradition, Chinatown has extraordinary reputations among tourists and citizens for its cuisine

Figure 1-9 The Advantages of Boston's Chinatown

and ethnic specialties. Chinatown offers visitor and resident hundreds of restaurants, vegetable and fish markets and shops of traditional crafts on tortuously winding streets. What identified this area of the city are the truly mixed uses of land. Residential properties co-exist with family owned and operated businesses and some famous Chinese restaurants.

1.3.3 The cultural value to the city

It is a unique ingredient of the city's collection of culturally rich and ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Chinatown has described by Mayor Menino as the last true ethnic neighborhood in Boston. Such enclaves like Chinatown have always been the backbone of urban development. Each of these communities contributes to the lifeblood of the city. If one of them is wiped out, it is an unalterable loss to the city. And if the destruction of neighborhoods and of the close and valuable ties that people had to

churches, markets, schools, and could not have been compensated for, these are perhaps the worst losses of all.

1.3.4 Easy access

Chinatown is also unique in how accessible it is to residents and visitors with several nearby subway stations (Orange Line and Green Line) and major roadways. Located in the heart of Boston, Chinatown is a 5-minute walk from Boston Common, Downtown Crossing, and the Financial District. Easy access by public transportation and the small walkable commercial area make Chinatown attractive to Asian community in the region. A large population of Asian residents, professionals and students, who live far from downtown Boston, come to here for shopping and getting together at restaurants at weekends.

1.4 Some Principles to the Development of Chinatown

1.4.1 A balance of preservation and development

Based on aforementioned problems and advantages, Chinatown is a place that needs preservation and redevelopment.

Preservation and redevelopment seem conflicting but depend on each other. We must respect to its physical, cultural, historical and economic context about the place and about the people. Through a way of balancing preservation and redevelopment, we could achieve the goals of the long-term sustainability and prosperity.

1.4.2 The coordination of the community, the city and the professionals

Faced with these serious problems and complicated contradictions, the community,

the city and the professionals should work together to explore the solution.

Some organizations of the community members come up. Only united they can safeguard the interests of Chinatown community. Community members, with the support of the city, get involved in the planning of Chinatown.

The city is committed to ensuring that Chinatown benefit from the economic growth of its adjacent areas. "I believe Chinatown will always be Chinatown," said Mayor Menino.

Boston Redevelopment Authority believes that the Chinatown community should be the standard of reference of land use decisions and set the course for a community-based development plan. Meanwhile, some research and study are undertaking by colleges and institutes.

A joint effort of the Chinatown community, the City of Boston and professionals have been coordinating to plan Chinatown's future.

1.4.3 The model of Chinatowns all over the country

Boston is not alone. The face of Chinatowns is changing in cities all over the country. In 1992, a national convocation in San Francisco of Chinatown organizations across the country was convened to discuss issues of common concern among Chinatowns in Boston, Chicago, Honolulu, Los Angeles, New York, Oakland, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Seattle. Since the Chinatowns across the country are confronting similar situation and problems, what we could do for Boston's Chinatown can be a good example or model for other Chinatowns. (Figure 1-10)

Boston's Chinatown is a place with contradictions but a place with hope.



Figure 1-10 Philadelphia's Chinatown, the residents organized demonstration to fight Stadium Development.

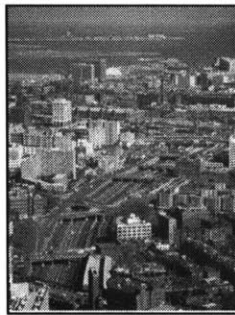
(<http://aamovement.net/community/philct.html>
11/02/2000)

Note:

¹ Chinatown/South Cove Neighborhood Council. City of Boston, Boston Redevelopment Authority, *Chinatown Community Plan: A Plan to Manage Growth*, March 1990

² Asian Community Development Corporation, The State of Housing in Chinatown (A White Paper examining the physical conditions and threats to housing in Boston's Chinatown, June 1999)

³ Asian Community Development Corporation, The State of Housing in Chinatown (A White Paper examining the physical conditions and threats to housing in Boston's Chinatown, June 1999) pp3



Chapter 2
Turnpike Air Rights:
Challenge and Opportunity to
Chinatown

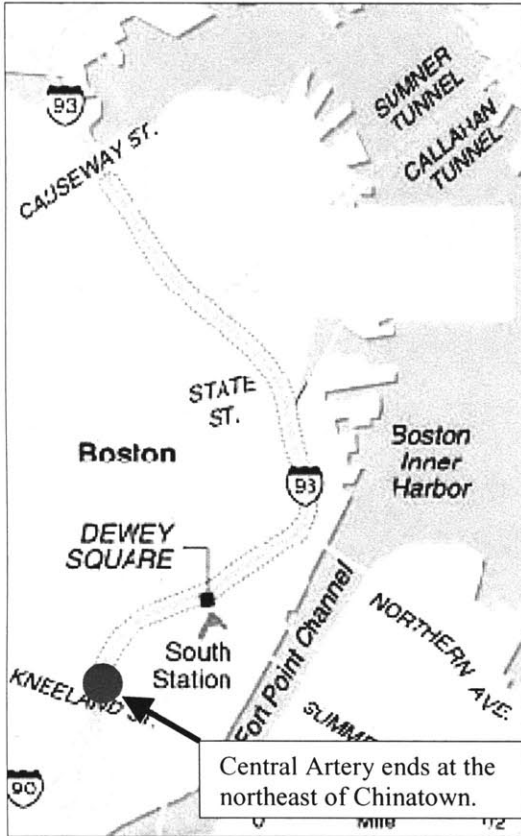


Figure 2-1 Central Artery and Chinatown

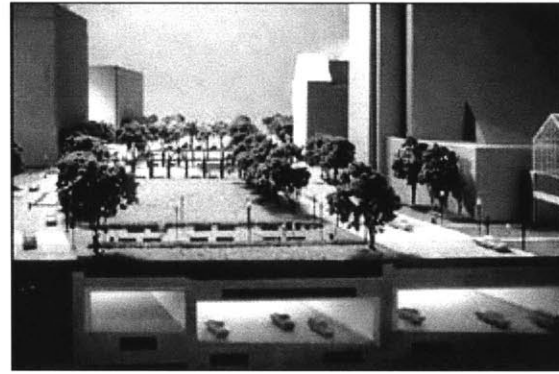


Figure 2-2, 2-3 Central Artery will produce a green belt for the city.

Chapter 2

Turnpike Air Rights:

Challenge and Opportunity to

Chinatown

2.1 The Two-folded Impact of New Developments: Challenges vs. Opportunities

By the turn of new millennium, Chinatown is again faced with great challenges imposed by city revival development. Some proposed and undertaking projects will dramatically change the community on a significant scale.

The effect of these developments in and around Chinatown is two-folded -- they will add pressure to the community, change the face of Chinatown, and make the existing problems more complicated; however, the same challenges could also prompt an opportunity for the community. At this critical turning point, Chinatown should act on these opportunities to solve its existing problems and meet its needs in the future.

2.2 New Civic Developments

Two new developments and proposals have been or will be undertaken immediately adjacent to Chinatown.

2.2.1 The Central Artery Tunnel

Boston's Big Dig (Central Artery Tunnel) will produce a green belt for the city. The linear site ends at the northeast of Chinatown. New developments resulting from the depression of the Central Artery, will be a large impact to Chinatown. However, the green space pedestrian system will make the access from Financial District and inner harbor to Chinatown much more pleasant and convenient. It will strengthen the connection of Chinatown to the heart of downtown Boston. Planning on the conjunction of Central Artery and Chinatown has been proposed to make use of this opportunity. (Figure 2-1, 2-2, 2-3)

2.2.2 The Gateway Site of Massachusetts Turnpike Air Rights (Parcel 20-23)

In 2000, a Civic Vision for the Turnpike Air Rights was proposed by Boston Redevelopment Authority. New development sites resulting from the Gateway Site of Turnpike Air Rights (Parcels 20-23) will be an opportunity to relieve Chinatown's internal pressures for housing and business uses.

- The Gateway site of Turnpike Air Rights project (Parcels 20-23) connects Chinatown with the South End, the Midtown Cultural District, and the South Station Economic Development Area. (Figure 2-4, 2-5)
- It links residential area in Chinatown with Bay Village and South End residential enclaves, links Chinatown businesses and workers with the core of Chinatown, the existing economic opportunities and the resources to be

generated by the development of the South Station area. (Figure 2-6)

- It will provide an opportunity to diversify the economy of Chinatown and to improve Chinatown's living and working situation.

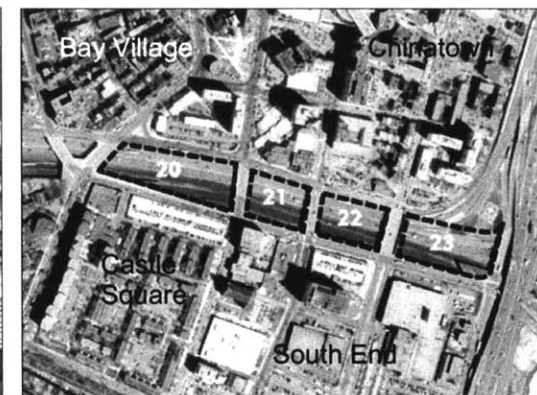
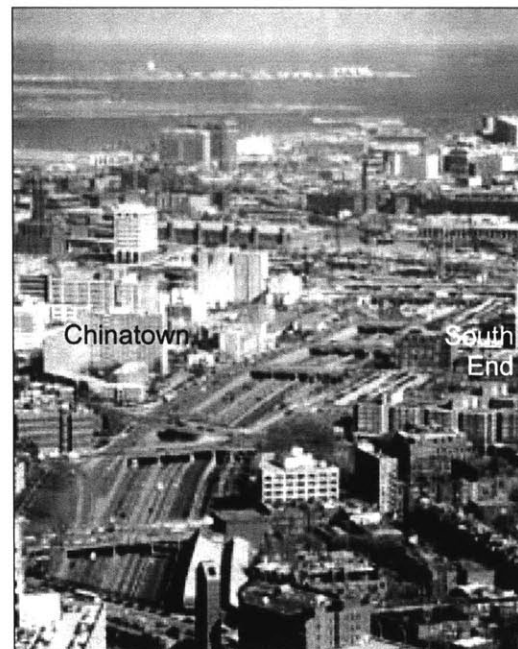


Figure 2-4, 2-5, The Gateway Site of Turnpike Air Rights (Parcel 20-23) (Boston Redevelopment Authority, A Civic Vision for Turnpike Air Rights in Boston.)

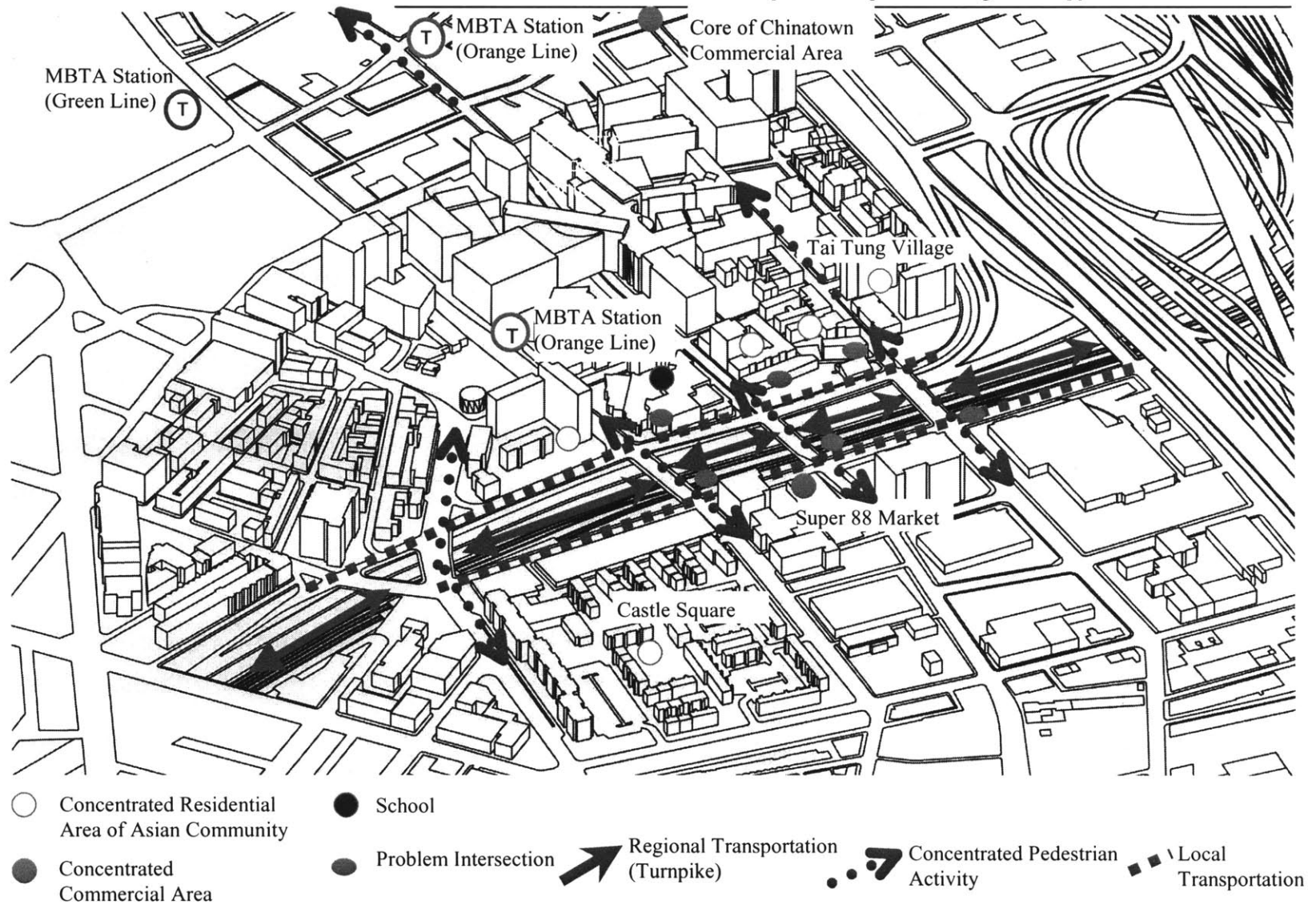


Figure 2-6 Opportunities and problems in Turnpike Air Rights

2.3 The Opportunities of Chinatown

The sustainability of Chinatown depends upon its continuing economic, cultural and physical development as necessary to accommodate community needs. However, Chinatown's opportunity for physical growth is largely precluded by major public and private developments, except on its southern border.

The gateway site of Massachusetts Turnpike Air Rights is a good opportunity to meet the needs to some extent of the community for housing, business stability and growth, open space and social services.

In addition, the Chinatown community should be compensated for the impacts of highway development. Chinatown lost not only population and housing but also retail and commercial space as a result of the construction of the Massachusetts Turnpike

and Central Artery. These developments caused the demolition of additional Chinatown housing and the migration of tenants to the Allston/Brighton. According to estimates by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1,200 people comprising 200 families were displaced in the late 1950s and early 1960s by these developments. Additionally, since the completion of these major roadways, the neighborhood has had to live with air and noise pollution, depressed land values, and other physical and economic consequences. (Figure 2-7)

In order to stabilize its current resources and, the community should make use of these potential opportunities generated by the development parcels over and around the Turnpike Air Rights.

However, this is not easy. In order to take advantage of the potential opportunity these parcels offer, the Chinatown community,

with the support of the city, must get involved as an important role in the initiation and implementation of the project.

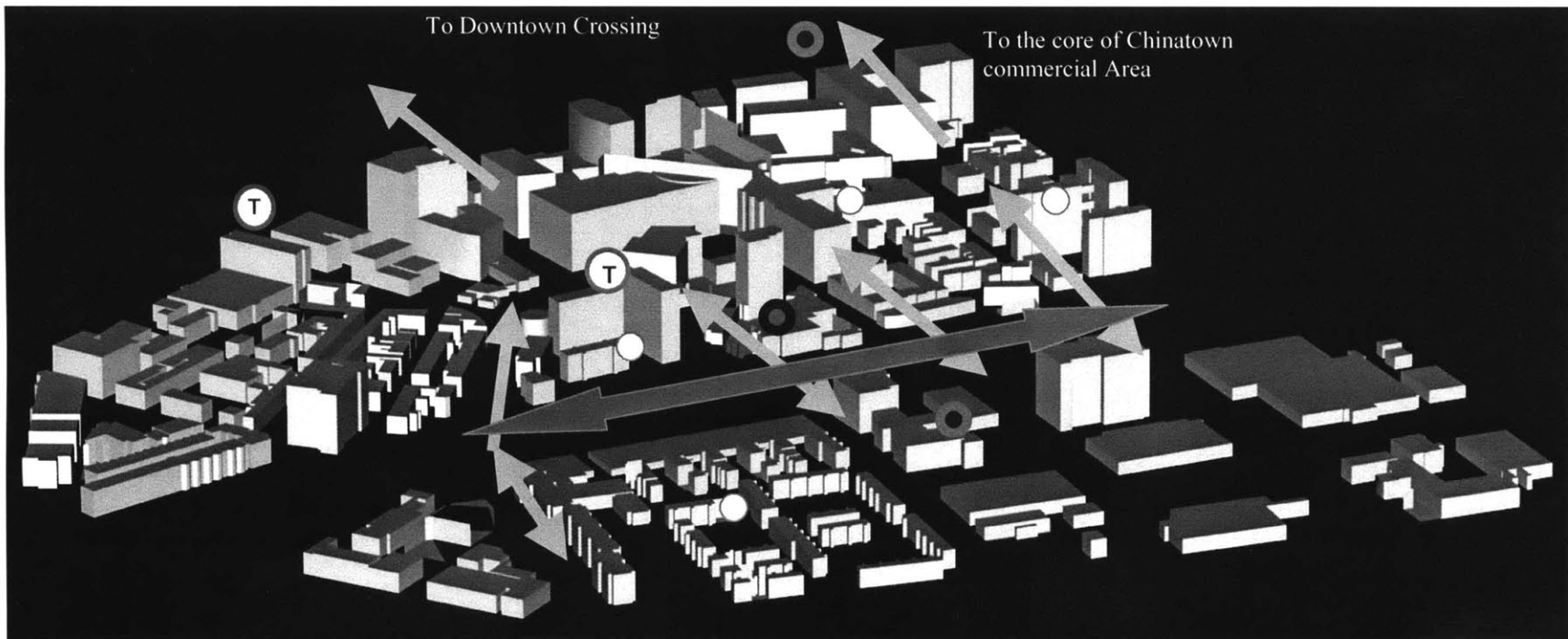


Figure 2-7, The computer model show the Turnpike Air Rights is a big gap between Chinatown and South End.

○ Concentrated Residential Area of Asian Community

● School

● Concentrated Commercial Area

Ⓣ MBTA Station

↔ Turnpike Air Rights

➔ Concentrated Pedestrian Activity

New Opportunities for Boston's Chinatown: Turnpike Air Rights



Part Two: Design • Development

**Chapter 3
Strategies and Approaches to the
Gateway Site of Turnpike Air
Rights**

New Opportunities for Boston's Chinatown: Turnpike Air Rights

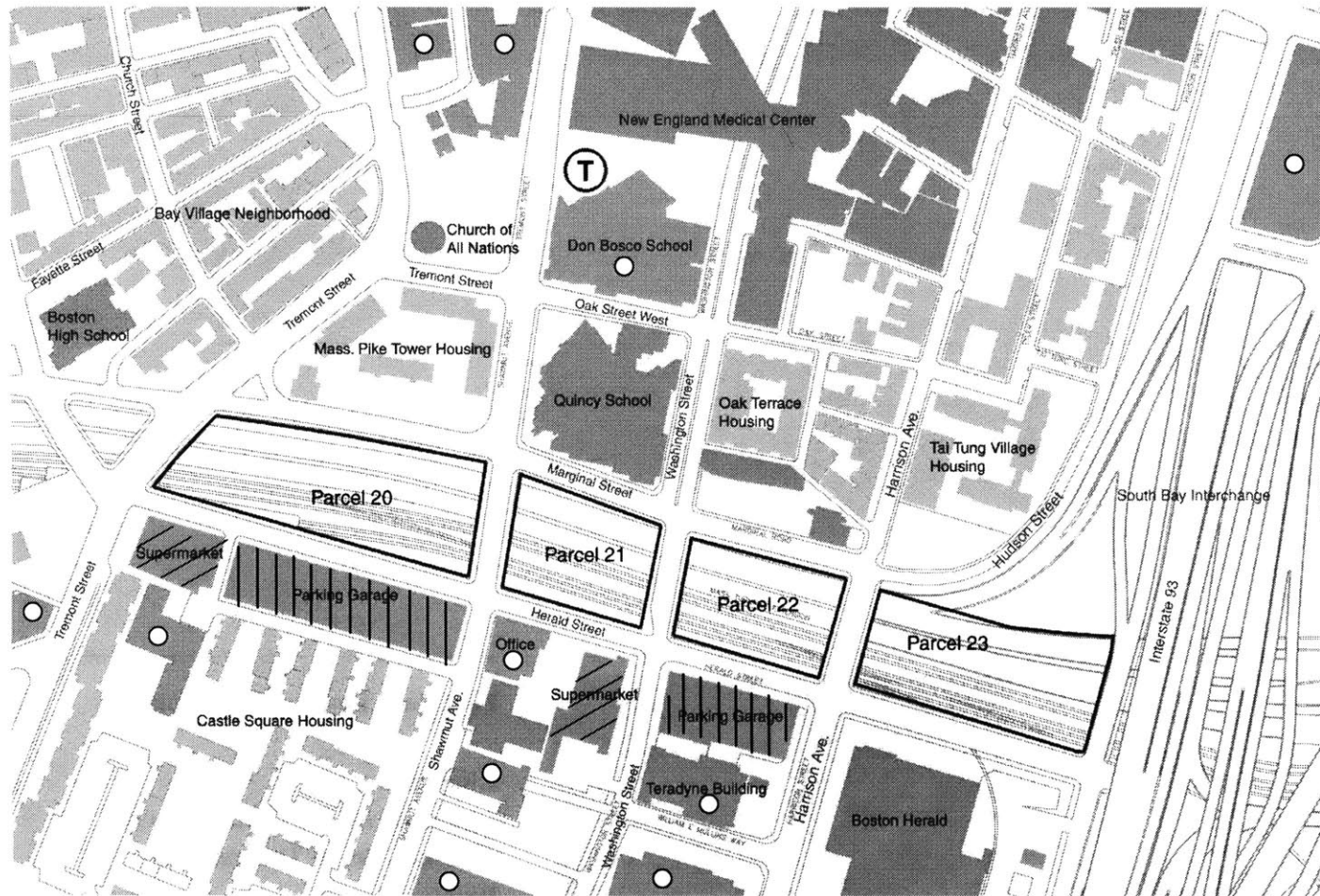


Figure 3-1 Land Use

Chapter 3

Strategies and Approaches

to the Gateway Site of

Turnpike Air Rights

3.1 Goals

In the Turnpike Air Rights new development, the needs of the community should be the focus point. The goals of Turnpike Air Rights new development are basically in accordance with the overall goal set in the Chinatown Community Plan (1990)¹:

- **Support community growth by creating a social, economic and physical environment that meets the needs of the community and the city.**
- **Strengthen Chinatown's long-term viability as an authentic ethnic neighborhood, and sustain Chinatown's role as a regional center of cultural, economic and social activities for Asian community.**

- **Reinforce Chinatown's cultural heritage and mixed-use character.**

- **Improve the environment quality and integrate the area with the urban environment nearby.**

3.2 Strategies: Housing + Connection + Amenity

According to the three major problems identified in Chapter 1, housing, connection and amenity, the strategies for Turnpike Air Rights focus on the solutions to these three issues. (Figure 3-1, 3-2)

Housing

- Introduce mixed-uses with a high ratio for housing
- Provide affordable housing with a high ratio for family and elderly people
- Propose a mixed-income housing approach, including low-, mid-income housing and market rate housing, in order to balance the financial factors
- Utilize Parcel 23 and the parcel south to it to maximize development potential in exchange for affordable housing and provision of public amenities

Connection

- Bridge the gap between Chinatown and South End
- Strengthen the physical, functional and economic connections of this new development with Chinatown and South End
- Connect the neighborhoods on both sides of Turnpike Air Rights with school, green space, play field, and community service facilities
- Integrate Turnpike Air Rights new developments with its environment by enhancing access, streetscape, walkway, and view corridor
- Create a gateway to this area by enhancing access and vistas

Amenity

- Establish a good environment by introducing green space, playground, community service facilities and continuous pedestrian path system
- Maintain a safe, tidy and beautiful environment through strong management and maintenance

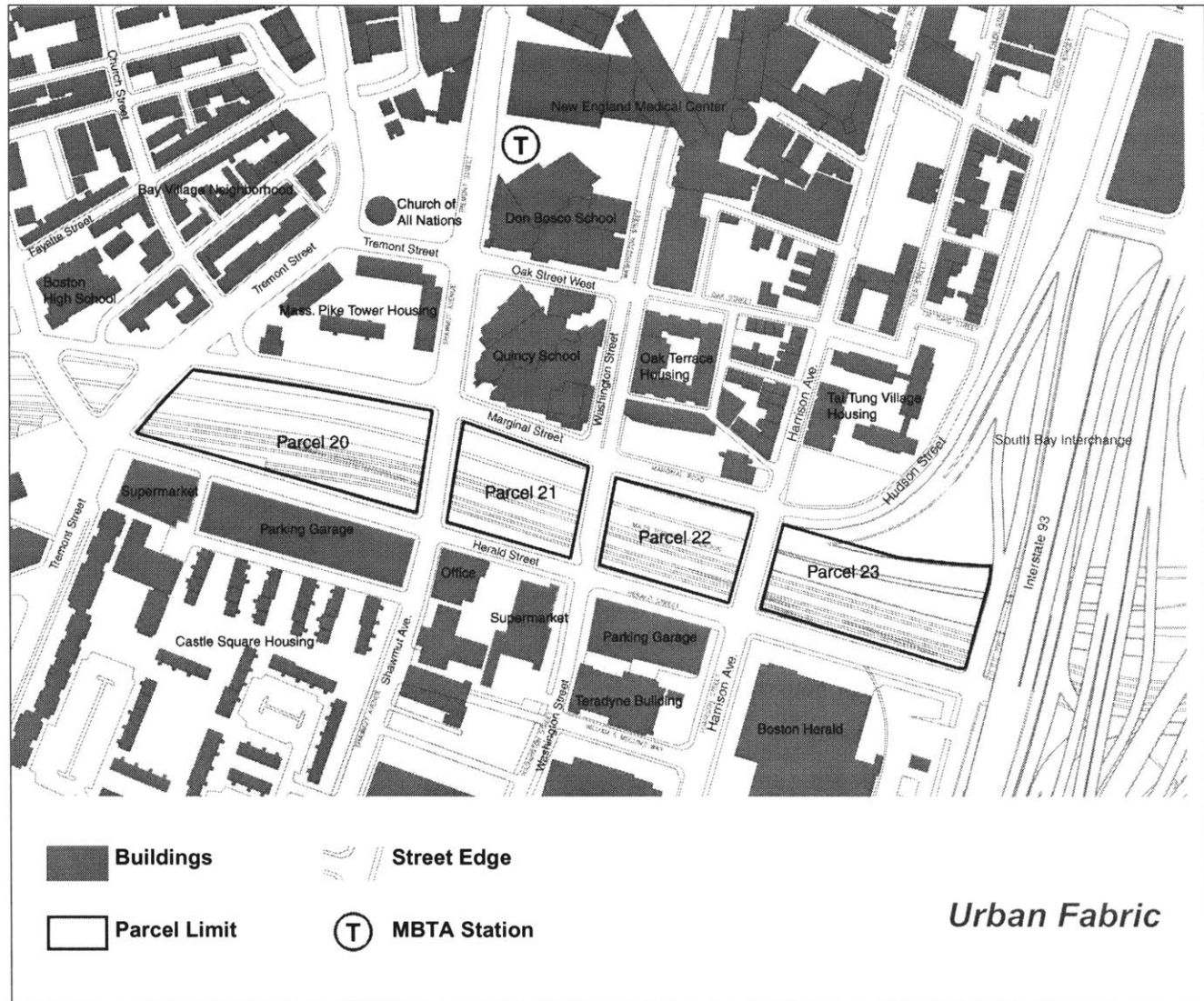


Figure 3-2 Fabric analysis

3.3 Housing in Chinatown

In the design for the gateway site of Turnpike Air Rights, housing is a key issue. It is necessary to look into the housing situation in Chinatown area and the proposed mixed-income housing approach thoroughly.

3.3.1 Chinatown Housing Survey

Based on the housing survey by the Boston Redevelopment Authority in 1987 and *The State of Housing in Chinatown* by Asian Community Development Corporation in 1999², I found the housing in Chinatown has four problems – high density, poor housing condition, low income and increasing housing cost, high demand for housing and low turnover rate.

- **High density**

Chinatown is the most densely population neighborhood in the City of Boston. The

population density of Chinatown proper³ is 67 persons per acre, the highest in the City, exceeding the density of the next densest neighborhood (Fenway/Kenmore) by at least 20 persons per acre.

Gentrification and private owned land make affordable housing development difficult in its nearby neighborhood, South End. As a result, the Chinatown community is trending to overcrowd existing units. (Figure 3-3,3-4)

The “households” in this census data consider one or more persons who live together in the same housing units as one household, regardless of their relationship to each other. Therefore, the data underestimate the number of actual households since there are multiple families living in one housing unit and multi-family households as well.

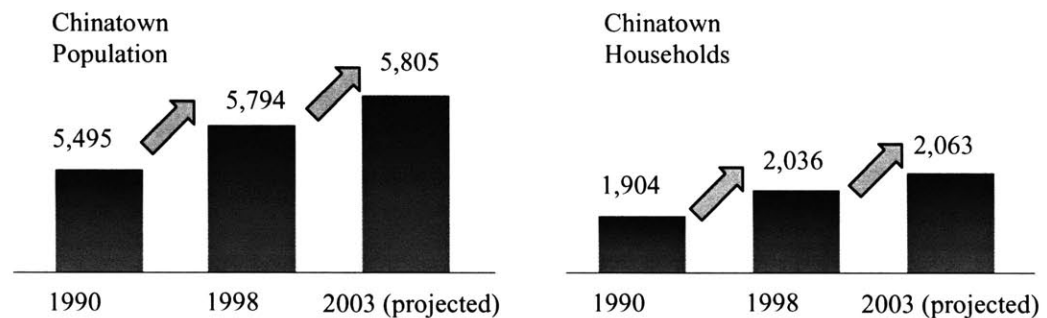


Figure 3-3, 3-4, The charts show the changing of population and households in Chinatown (Include the northern portion of the South End to East Berkeley Street).

The “households” in this census data consider one or more persons who live together in the same housing units as one household, regardless of their relationship to each other. Therefore, the data underestimate the number of actual households since there are multiple families living in one housing unit and multi-family households as well.

To economize on housing costs, unit sharing by families and adults is common. 25% of units contain five or more people. In 1985, the household size was 3.6 persons, compared to 2.5 citywide. Chinatown has a 21% rate of overcrowding, a figure higher than any other Boston neighborhood. Despite poor conditions, 96.8% of the units in Chinatown were occupied, representing the lowest vacancy rate in Boston.

▪ **Poor housing condition**

Chinatown’s residents suffer the poor living condition. There is a higher proportion of the non-standard housing, so-called “Model Slum”, in Chinatown than in most area of Boston. It means this kind of houses or apartments do not have hot and cold water, toilet or bath. About one-third of housing in Chinatown is located in brick and wood frame structures 50 to 100 years old. A large number of these units have some structural defects and require major repairs. It is no doubt that most housing in Chinatown is unsatisfactory (Figure 3-5).



Figure 3-5 , Housing in Chinatown -- The high density and the volume of through-traffic on neighborhood streets resulted in the deteriorating of life quality.

▪ **Low income and increasing housing cost**

In 1990, 32% of Chinatown residents earned less than 125% of the federal poverty income level. The unemployment rate soared to 25% in the late 1980s. Although the overall unemployment rate has decreased, chronic underemployment among older residents remains a problem. Chinatown is still vulnerable to economic fluctuation because its economy is not more diversified.

However, the average assessed value of residential and mixed-uses properties located on major commercial and residential streets increased dramatically. For example, the properties in Beach Street, Tyler Steet, and Harrison Avenue, increased by 158 % from 1983 to 1987. In 1980, the median housing value was 87% higher than the city

medium, thus home ownership is extremely limited. Over 95% of the units in Chinatown are rentals units, compared 90% citywide.

Things become worse because of some new redevelopment projects near to Chinatown. The large projects, such as Millennium Place and the Lafayette Corporate Center in lower Washington Street, with will increase real estate speculation and drive up the property values in Chinatown. The implication of this extremely strong and long-lasting growth in the real estate market will make it difficult to maintain the housing stock in Chinatown.

These statistics suggest that residents of Chinatown housing would be extremely sensitive to the increases in housing cost. Low- and mid-income families are extremely susceptible to being priced out of Chinatown housing opportunities.

▪ **High demand for housing and low turnover rate**

There is a high demand for affordable housing in Chinatown by families and recent immigrant individuals. The Asian population in Boston is increasing at an annual rate exceeding 10%. New immigrants tend to settle in Chinatown because of the linguistic access and cultural appropriateness and familiarity of employment, health services and social services.

With housing supply limited and housing demand high, the turnover rate for affordable units is extremely low. There is an average waiting period of 8 years for popular units in the neighborhood. As regards to three- and four-bedroom family units, turnover in Chinatown seldom occur.

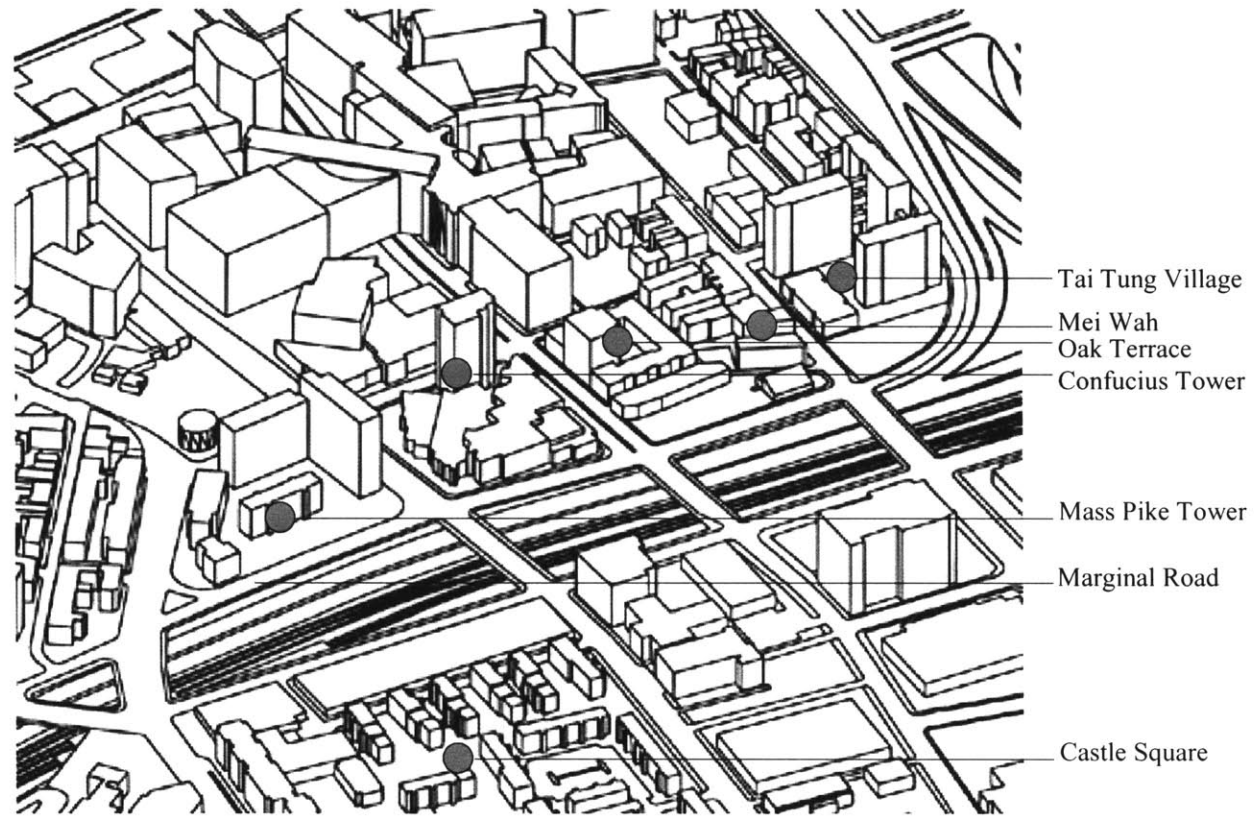
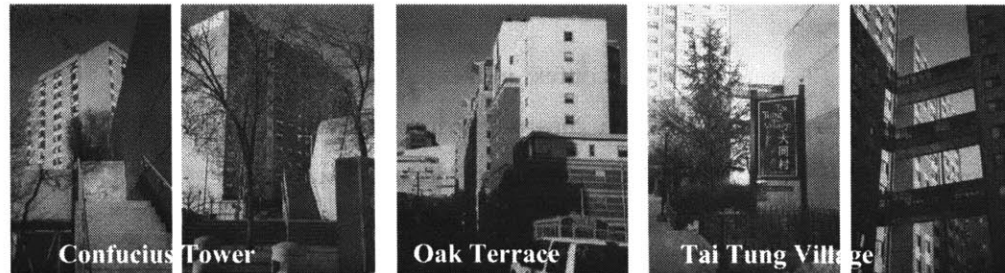


Figure 3- 6, The Housing Developments in Chinatown after 1970s.



3.3.2 The Housing Developments in Chinatown after 1970s

The southern edge of Chinatown, including parts of the northern portion of the South End to East Berkeley Street, is home to a significant portion of Chinatown's residential population. These residents live in relatively modern multifamily developments built between 1970 and 1998.

These new residential buildings are prominent because of their size and concentration. For example, Mass Pike Towers, Quincy Tower, and Tai Tung Village are three relatively tall housing developments concentrated along Marginal Road. These large developments represent over 43% of the housing units in Chinatown. Typically each of these large developments contains some mix of affordable, moderate- and market-rate housing. New construction-type projects –

Oak Terrace with a total of 88 mixed-income rental units and Mei Wah with a total of 35 studios for seniors. Castle Square in South End hosts about 500 households. About 25% of these newer units are three- and four-bedroom units. Most of these new developments contain some ratio of affordable units though “expiring uses” for Mass Pike Towers and Tai Tung remains a problem for long-term affordability. (Figure 3- 6)

However, these figures are still not enough to satisfy the demand when compared to estimated demand.

3.4 A Mixed-income Housing Approach

In the context of this paper, mixed-income housing means “the housing development with the mixing of income groups as a fundamental part of its financial and operating plan”⁴. Mixed-income housing

represents the current direction of the United States' housing policy.

In the new development of Turnpike Air Rights, a mixed-income housing approach is proposed because of the financial feasibility and the high demand for housing by people with various income levels.

3.4.1 High demand for housing by the local community and the market

There is a high demand for low- and mid-income housing and market rate housing as well.

Now Chinatown faces the high pressure resulted from the lack of affordable housing. Because of the persistent overcrowding, low turnover rate, chronic housing shortage and the inflow of Asian immigrants, Asian enclaves in other Boston neighborhoods and suburbs continues to grow. Some Chinatown residents are moving out of old,

congested units in search of more space or better housing opportunities.

Meanwhile, the 1987 BRA survey reported that over one-half of the residents, both Asian and non-Asian, currently residing outside of Chinatown would consider moving to Chinatown if housing comparable in cost to their current housing were available. A majority of the non-residents very likely to move to Chinatown are families with low incomes. Sixty percent of the residents in Chinatown require units with three or more bedrooms, as do 38% of prospective residents. In addition, the prime location between Chinatown and South End, coupled with the planned revitalization of the surrounding areas, could make it increasingly appealing to young, single professionals and middle-class families attracted to city living.

In fact, the extremely strong economy has created huge demands for housing in Boston. As the areas nearby gradually build out to their capacity and as their prices for housing surpass even reasonable market-rate levels, Chinatown's location becomes increasingly attractive to developers. The housing situation in Chinatown is on the brink of wholesale or mass turnover from below market, substandard housing to market-rate housing. The expiring use crisis related to U.S. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) mortgage subsidizes is one example of how this gentrification might happen in Chinatown.

It is mainly the consumer who decides how much and what kind of housing there is to be. However, housing to be built as a result of urban renewal cannot be almost entirely of luxury apartments. Usually, three fifths of the houses built on urban renewal land should be for sale or rent at prices within the

reach of low-income or middle-income families.

In conclusion, according to the high demand for housing by the local community and the market, an approach of mixed-income housing might be suitable to meet the needs for housing by people with various income levels.

3.4.2 A good way to balance the financial factors and improve the feasibility

Two major strategies for housing-oriented strategies conclude housing rehabilitation and new housing construction. As regarding to rehabilitation, the majority of residential land in Chinatown is already occupied or for other uses and the units built before the 1970's are typically in need of major rehabilitation and upgrades. Since it's neither economically nor politically feasible to clear much of this housing and replace it

with wholly new construction, some improvement could be achieved by rehabilitation -- fixing up and repairing existing buildings and neighborhoods. However, this rehabilitation cannot meet the high demand for affordable housing in Chinatown area.

Since the land in and around Chinatown and the north edge of South End is almost full, the proposed new project, Mass Turnpike Air Rights, is a great opportunity for new housing developments, which could solve the housing problem effectively.

Due to the technological difficulties to build above Turnpike Air Rights, the cost of the new development will be very high. Mixed-income housing, with some other strategies, could balance the financial factors and improve the feasibility of the whole project.

3.5 Study on Mixed-income Housing

In regarding to mixed-income housing, here come the questions: how to balance the low- and mid-income housing with market rate housing so as to make the whole project profitable and feasible? Before the design and planning for the new housing development, it is worthwhile to think about the mixed-income housing approach thoroughly.

3.5.1 The expected goals to be achieved by mixed-income housing

The development of a city or a neighborhood is a highly complex process, which involves tradeoffs between diverse and often competing goals and perspectives. In the new development of Turnpike Air Rights, it can be imagined that the developers will pursue short-term economic objectives (to balance the construction cost,

maximize the land value and get high profit); governments promote longer range planning and growth (to ensure the development of Chinatown as an ethnic enclave), and community groups try to preserve or improve aspects of neighborhood life (get affordable housing, good environment and community service facilities).

However, not one of these perspectives by itself is sufficient to create an excellent urban place. Rather, it is often the reconciliation of competing objectives that result in excellent urban design and development projects. If the economic, visual, and social perspectives enhance and complement one another, the good design is the creative synthesis of these factors. Planners, architects and urban designers are responsible for supporting these needs in an esthetically pleasing and affordable box. (Figure 3-7)

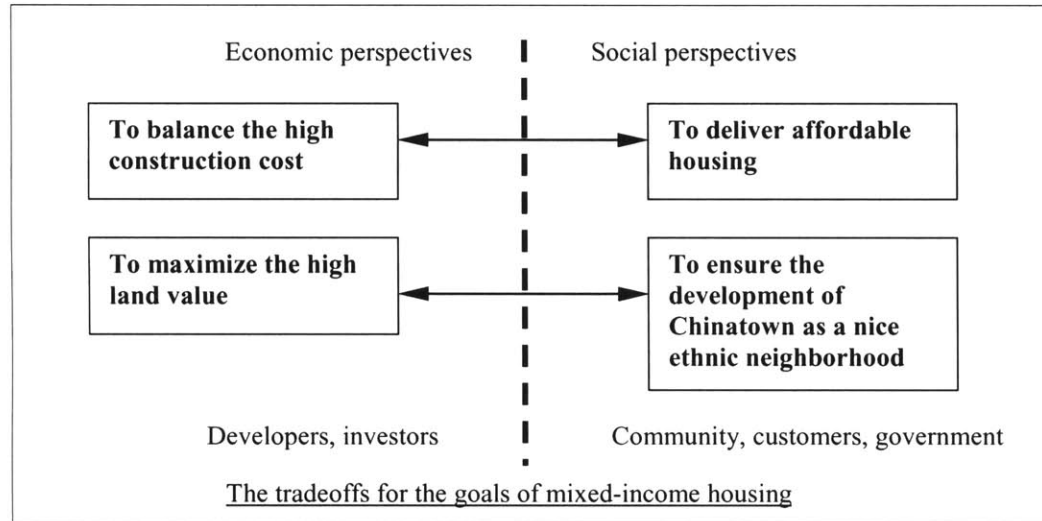


Figure 3-7



Figure 3- 8, Case Study: Harbor Point, Boston

3.5.2 Case study: Harbor Point ⁵

Beginning in the late 1960s, Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency (MHFA) conducted some mixed-income housing projects.

Harbor Point is a mixed-income development located on a dramatic waterfront site adjacent to the John F. Kennedy Library and the University of Massachusetts at Boston (Figure 3-8).

History: This 1,283-unit rental development on the site of a public housing project, Columbia Point, formerly owned by the Boston Housing Authority. Columbia Point had become a classic troubled, family high-rise public housing project, inundated with crime and drugs. By 1979, only 350 units of the original 1,500 units remained occupied. However, after its successful transformation into mixed-income housing, the development has achieved a reputation

as a prototype for mixing market-rate units with public housing.

Mixed-income tenants: The median income for subsidized housing is \$10,000 a year, and the annual turnover rate of 5-7 percent is far lower than in the market-rate units. The median household income for the market-rate units is \$41,000 a year, and the turnover rate is about 50 percent. (Figure 3-9)

Diverse rents: Rents for the project's 883 market-rate units range from \$795 for a one-bedroom unit to \$1,395 for three bedrooms – a bargain in the Boston area, especially for apartments with modern amenities. Rents for the 400 subsidized units range from \$863 for a one-bedroom unit to \$1,139 for four bedrooms.

Mixed-income housing project -- Harbor Point				
Income Mix	<50% AMI *	50-79% AMI	80-99% AMI	>100% AMI
Percent	59%	14%	8%	18%
Number of Units: 1,283, with modest commercial space				
Place in Service: 1988				
Ownership: Private, for-profit company with former public housing residents as partners				
Rent Range: \$795 - \$1,395 per month				
* AMI: Area Median Income				
Source: Schubert and Thresher, 1996				

Figure 3-9 (Brophy, Smith, Cityscape, 1997)

Ethnically and racially diverse tenants: The market-rate units are ethnically and racially diverse, with only 43 percent occupied by white households. At times, residents have represented as many as 40 nations. Many of the subsidized units are occupied by minority families with children. A total of 285 families, about 70 percent of which are minority headed, were residents

of the former public housing project. On average, 2.3 children live in each unit.

Amenity: With a swimming pool, tennis courts, fitness center, and free parking, Harbor Point offers a package of amenities unavailable at similar rents in downtown Boston.

Management: Management office sets and enforces clear rules so that the project functions well for everyone. All new tenants are given a thorough orientation to the rules.

Various fund and investment: Many of mixed-income housing projects conducted by MHFA used HUD subsidy program as well as MHFA financing. In Harbor Point, "Complex financing was required in order to assemble the \$250 million needed for the new development. The State provided \$154 million in a combination of loans and grants. From HUD came an Urban

Development Action Grant (UDAG) of \$12 million and an Urban Initiatives loan of \$9 million. The remaining \$75 million came from equity. Ongoing operating subsidies are provided by a combination of Federal and State programs. “⁶

Relationship of the residents: The two groups of market-rate and subsidized tenants “coexist.” Management and residents regularly sponsor a “Munch and Mingle” event for new residents to help them meet their neighbors. Attendance, however, is modest and composed largely of subsidized residents. The mobile and upwardly mobile market-rate residents generally have little time for, or interest in, significant neighboring activities. But it is noted that some market rate units are occupied by graduate students living together, and few market rate households have children, and those few have only one preschool child. For them, the project’s

attractions are its location, design quality, and price.

Summary: As a complex development, Harbor Point is a remarkable accomplishment. This large urban project has clearly improved the physical and community conditions for a group of low-income tenants. Through hard work and strong marketing, Columbia Point has become a financially viable, desirable mixed-income development, attractive to a mobile population seeking housing of an urban nature in Boston.

Harbor Point suggested that income mixing could be a useful element to improve public housing, especially in turning around a bad situation or in a high-profile first effort where success is essential to further efforts. “Income mixing in public housing may improve the chances for success.”⁷

3.5.3 Positive Social Effects of Mixed-income Housing

Besides the financial feasibility, another benefit coming from mixed-income housing development is the positive social effect.

Safety and low crime rate: The presence of high- and middle-income tenants introduces different values and behavior that may have a positive impact on crime and safety. The crime rate will fall because the higher income households will demand a stricter and better enforced set of ground rules for the community. “The research suggests that middle-income tenants improve safety in public housing by insisting that all rules and regulations be strictly enforced... also sees mixed-income public housing as a means for providing subsidies to the working poor and creating a supportive social environment.”⁸

Upward mobility and amenity for the low-income: There is an idea of socioeconomic integration's "uplifting the poor". The behavior patterns of some lower income residents will be altered by emulating those of their higher income neighbors. The quality of the living environment, not housing quality alone, leads to upward mobility. Nonworking low-income tenants will find their way into the workplace in greater numbers because of the social norms of their new environment (for example, going to work/school every day) and the informal networking with employed neighbors.

In addition, low-income households will have the benefit of better schools, access to jobs, and enhanced safety, enabling them to move themselves and their children beyond their current economic condition. Mixed-income housing gives poor children an

opportunity to live close to working families with incomes above the poverty level.

Decentralize poverty: Creating an income mix in public housing is also one suggested remedy for the social ills that result from concentrated poverty. In fact, mixed-income housing projects are now mandated by law under the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998. The new law requires that every public housing project have an income mix – 40 percent of the units reserved for the poorest of the poor and 60 percent for those earning more, ranging from the working poor to middle-income families.⁹

3.5.4 The Characteristics of Successful Mixed-income Housing

However, mixed-income projects are not without their problems. Many of developers view mixed-income housing as a higher risk than either fully conventional market-rate

housing or totally subsidized developments. There is also a sense that mixed-income housing is too complicated to manage, given the various income communities, their needs, and the potential conflicts.

Based on the case study and research, mixed-income housing could be adopted and even be very successful if the projects pay attention to or could achieve the following characteristics:

- **Location Benefit:** Analysis indicates that successful mixed-income developments should be well located if they are to attract renters who have location choices. Near to job centers or commercial area, good schools, easy access by public transportation, good views, and so on, could make the developments more attractive.

- **Good design:** In the case of housing in blighted inner-city areas, a good interior and exterior environment created can compensate for the shortcomings of the surrounding community.
- **Amenities:** Good amenities, such as landscaped open space, swing pool, community services and cultural facilities, are important for attract and maintain tenants.
- **Mixture of tenants:** “Mixed-income housing works best where there are sufficient units aimed at the higher income renters to create a critical mass of market units and where there are no differences in the nature and quality of the units being offered that are due to the income of the rents.”¹⁰ It needs to determine how many middle-class residents are necessary to produce a positive neighborhood effect while displacing the smallest number of low-income households. We can make

mixed-income housing feasible without sacrificing a commitment to serve the least advantaged.

- **Good management:** It’s necessary to place high priority on strong building management and security, i.e., 24-hour security guards.

Based on the case study of Harbor Point, these characteristics of successful mixed-income housing could be applied in the new developments of Turnpike Air Rights.

Based on the good location, it is hopefully that this project will be successful if it can gain good design, amenities, mixture of tenants and good management.

This mixed-income strategy will retain some households who would otherwise have moved out of Chinatown and attract some others who would otherwise have decided to live elsewhere. If more households live in Chinatown area, because of this approach,

more jobs will be generated there among activities that serve households, such as retailing and provision of other services.

This is an effective way to maintain the long-term viability and prosperity of Chinatown.

New Opportunities for Boston's Chinatown: Turnpike Air Rights

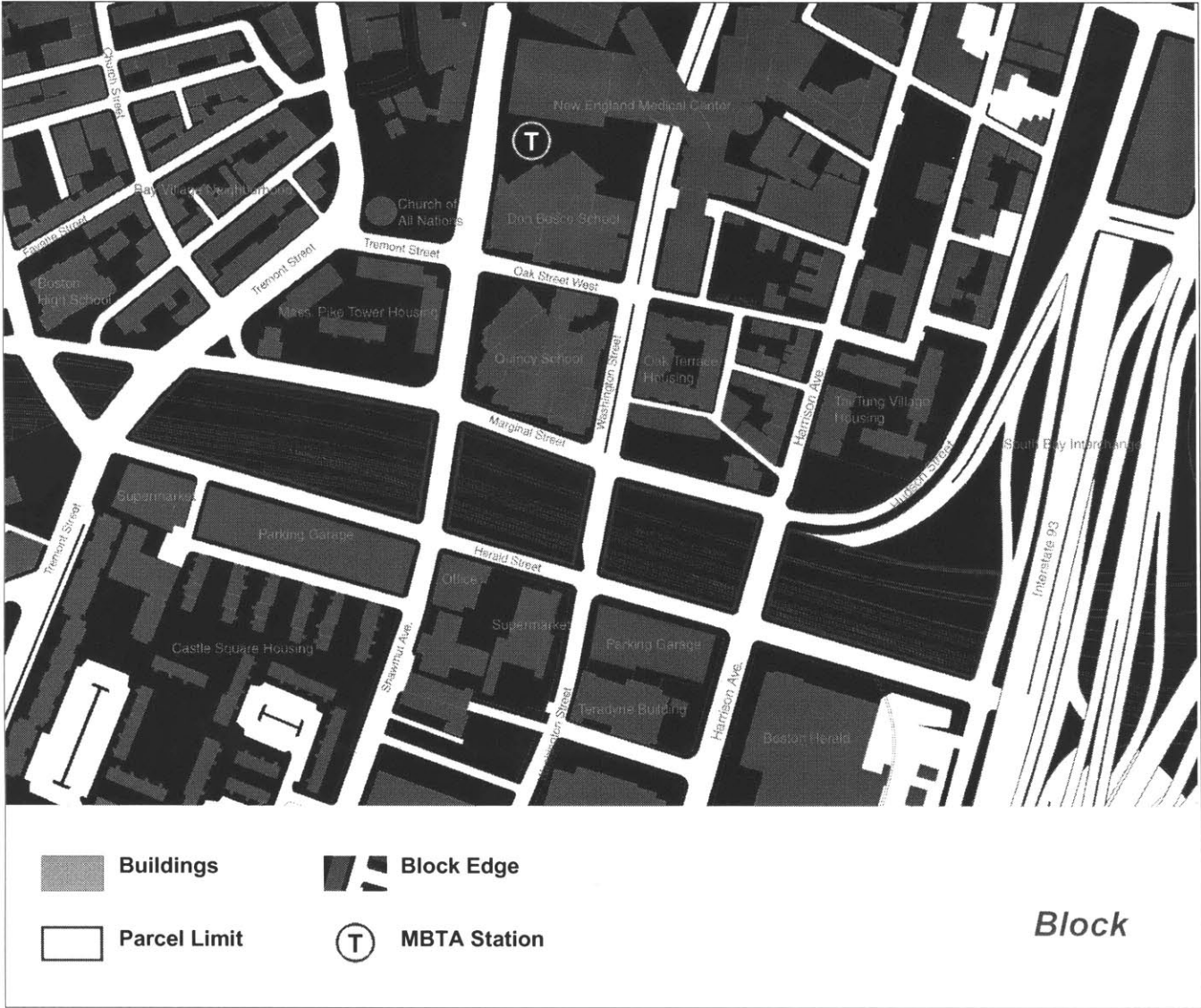


Figure 3-10

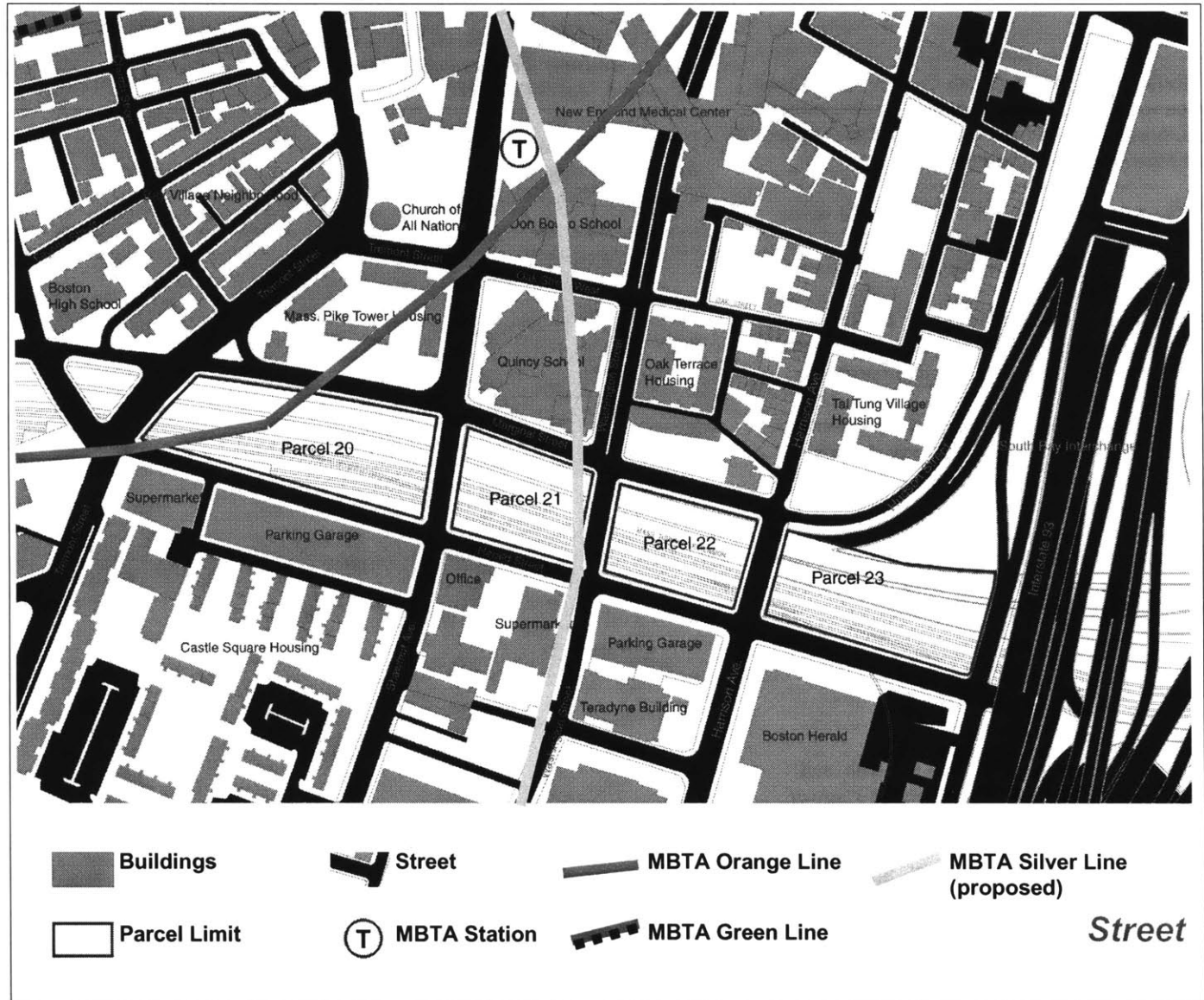


Figure 3-11

Note:

¹ Refer to Chinatown/South Cove Neighborhood Council. City of Boston, Boston Redevelopment Authority, *Chinatown Community Plan: A Plan to Manage Growth*, March 1990

² *The State of Housing in Chinatown, A White Paper examining the physical conditions and threats to businesses in Boston's Chinatown.*

³ The inaccessible land occupied by New England Medical Center and Tufts University is subtracted from the total neighborhood area.

⁴ James E. Rosenbaum, Linda K. Stroh, and Cathy A. Flynn, *Lake Parc Place: A study of Mixed-income Housing*, Housing Policy Debate, Vol. 9, Issue 4: pp703-37

⁵ Data from Paul C. Brophy, Rhonda N. Smith, *Mixed-income Housing: Factors for Success*, Cityscape, Vol. 3 (2), 1997, pp3-31

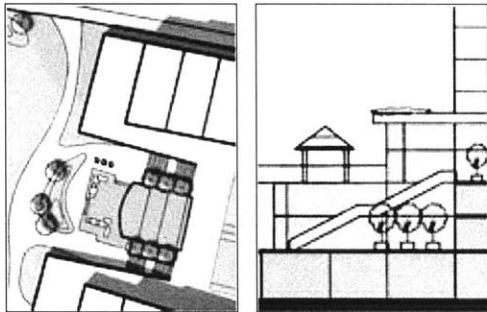
⁶ Paul C. Brophy, Rhonda N. Smith, *Mixed-income Housing: Factors for Success*, Cityscape, Vol. 3 (2), 1997, pp 7

⁷ James E. Rosenbaum, Linda K. Stroh, and Cathy A. Flynn, *Lake Parc Place: A study of Mixed-income*, pp736

⁸ James E. Rosenbaum, Linda K. Stroh, and Cathy A. Flynn, *Lake Parc Place: A study of Mixed-income Housing*, Housing Policy Debate, Vol. 9, Issue 4: pp703-37

⁹ Paul C. Brophy, Rhonda N. Smith, *Mixed-income Housing: Factors for Success*, Cityscape, Vol. 3 (2), 1997

¹⁰ Paul C. Brophy, Rhonda N. Smith, *Mixed-income Housing: Factors for Success*, Cityscape, Vol. 3 (2), 1997



Chapter 4
Design and Development

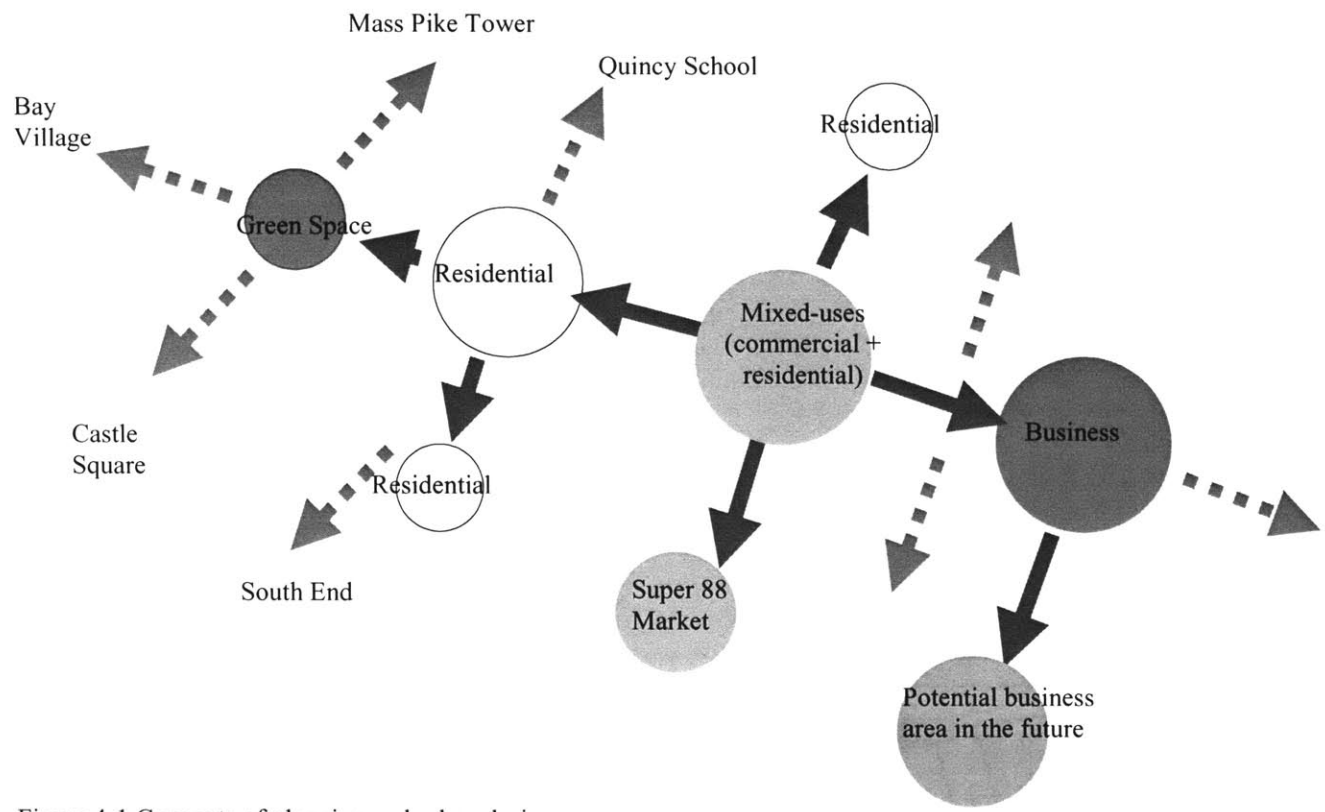


Figure 4-1 Concepts of planning and urban design

Chapter 4

Design and Development

4.1 Planning and Design of the Turnpike Air Rights New Development

4.1.1 Concepts of Planning and Urban Design

Based on the basic idea of “Housing + Connection + Amenity”, the concepts of the planning and urban design come into being step by step. This is a dynamic process growing from a simple idea to a complicated structure. (Figure 4-1, 4-2)

Step One:

- Establish three major function areas: mixed-use area (commercial and residential, Parcel 21 and 22), residential area (Parcel 20), and business area (Parcel 23).
- Connect the three function areas by bridges and walkways.

Step Two:

- Consider the potential sites on both sides of Turnpike Air Rights for housing, and link them with the residential area and mixed-use area.

- Link the Super 88 Market with the mixed-use area (commercial and residential).

Step Three:

- Create a green space on the tip of Parcel 20 (the major residential area).
- Improve the access to the green space from the neighborhoods nearby: Mass Pike Tower, Bay Village, Castle Square, and Quincy School.
- Link Quincy School and South End to make the walkway between them safe, easy, and pleasant.

Step Four:

- Allow for high density in the business area (Parcel 23) and consider the parcel south to it (now occupied by the Boston Herald) for potential business area in the future.
- Improve the visual corridors to the core of Chinatown, South End, and the waterfront.

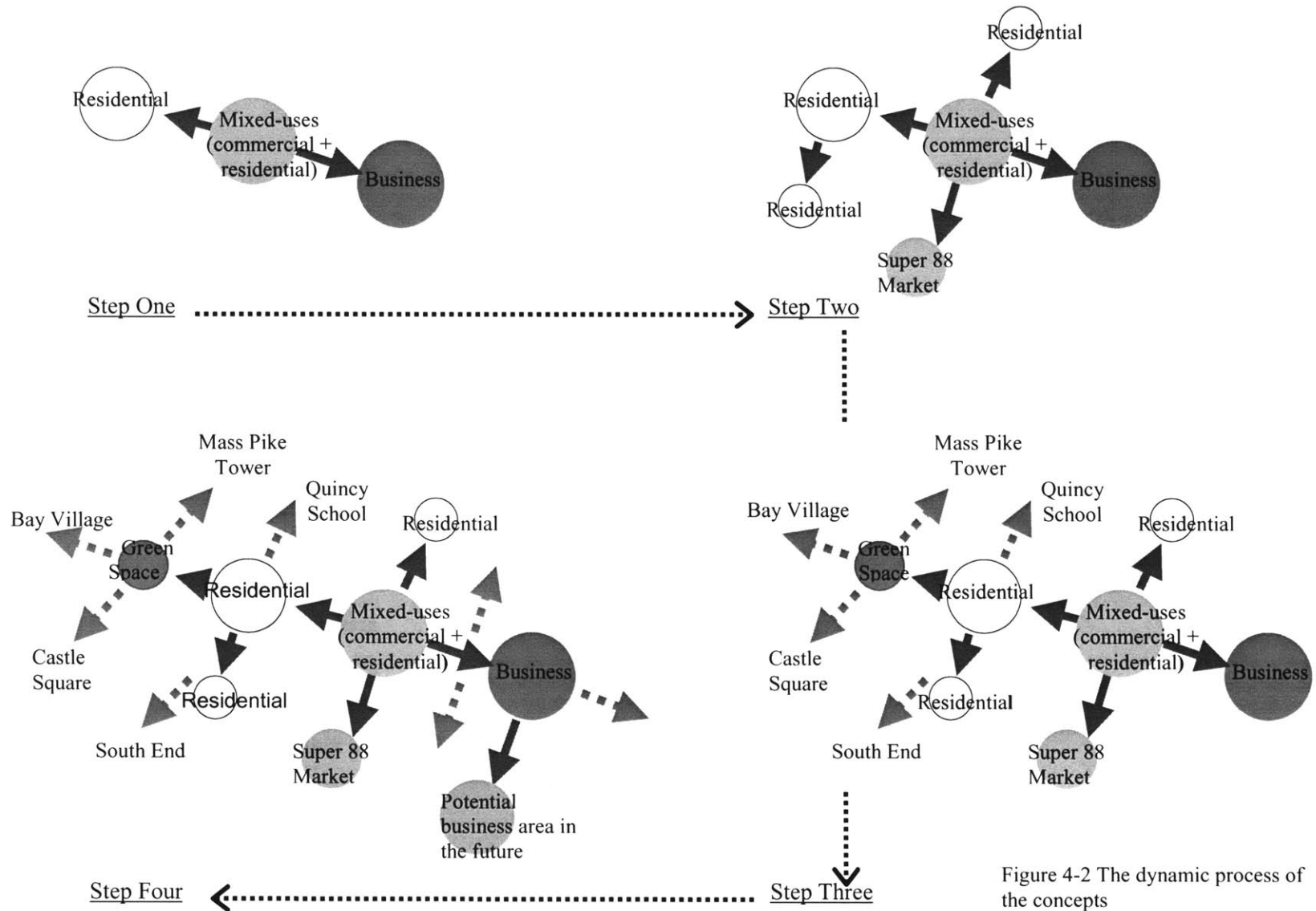


Figure 4-2 The dynamic process of the concepts

4.1.2 Planning and urban design

Based on the concept, the planning and urban design for Turnpike Air Rights create a mixed-use new development and provide mixed-income housing, good connection, and amenity. (Figure 4-3, 4-4)

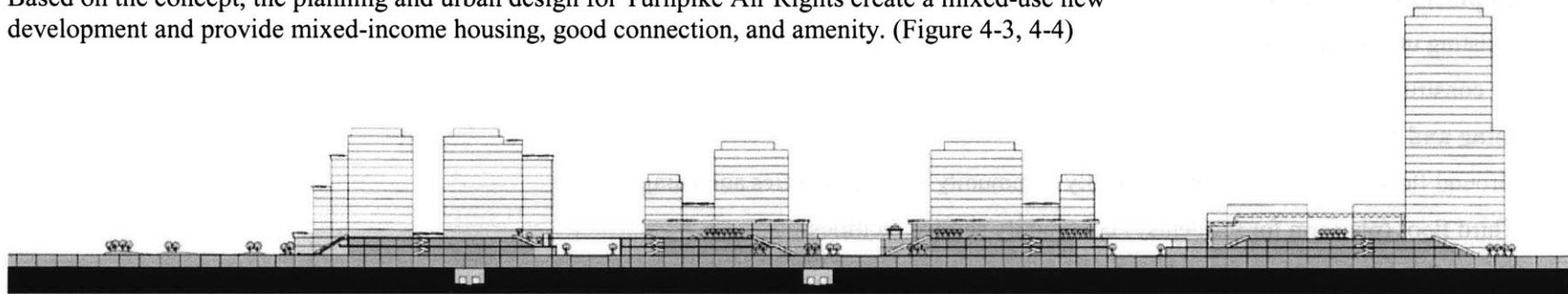


Figure 4-3 Section A-A

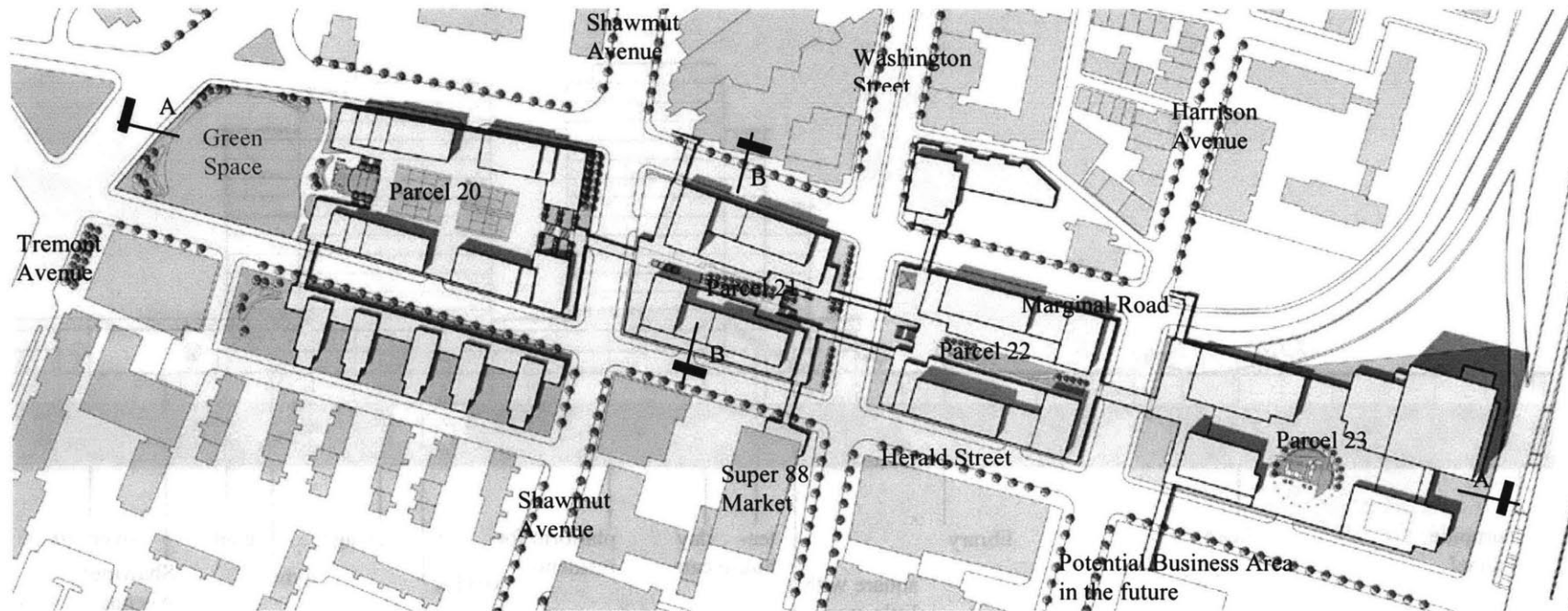


Figure 4-4, Site Plan of Turnpike Air Rights (Parcel 20-23)

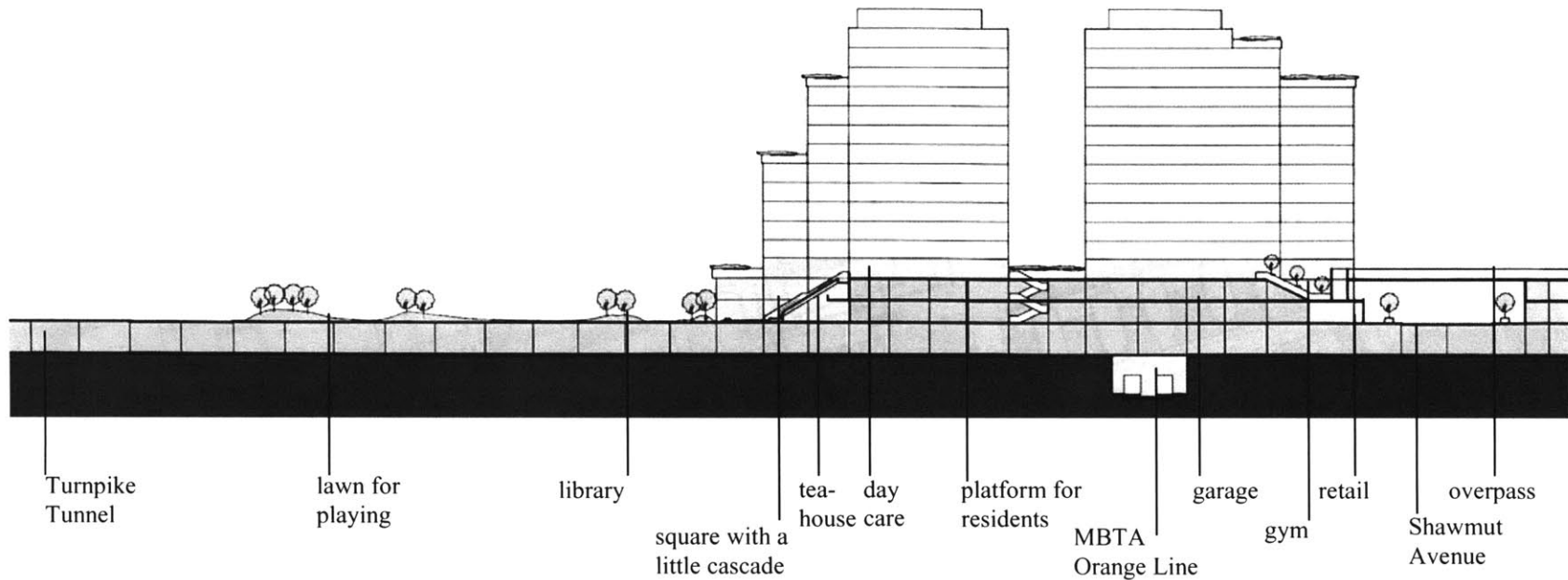
1. Parcel 20

Development Constraints

- Existing utility lines, rail equipment, and MBTA Orange Line portal all must be accommodated by construction at Parcel 20.

Planning and urban design (Figure 4-5)

- Ground floor and second floor – basically community service facilities and garage.
- Third floor (platform for residents) - community service facilities.
- Upper floors – housing and roof garden.
- A green open space in Parcel 20 tip creates a unique opportunity to serve the surrounding neighborhoods.



2. Parcel 21 and 22

Development Constraints

- The proposed MBTA Silver Line must be accommodated by construction at Parcel 21.

Planning and Urban Design (Figure 4-6)

- Unify the commercial area through a pedestrian-oriented street between Parcel 21 and 22.
- Respect the heights of surrounding residential buildings. Building heights vary from 2-14 floors.
- Development on both parcels offers the potential to create continuous street frontage along major north-south corridors, as well as a bridge linking the Chinatown neighborhood and South End.

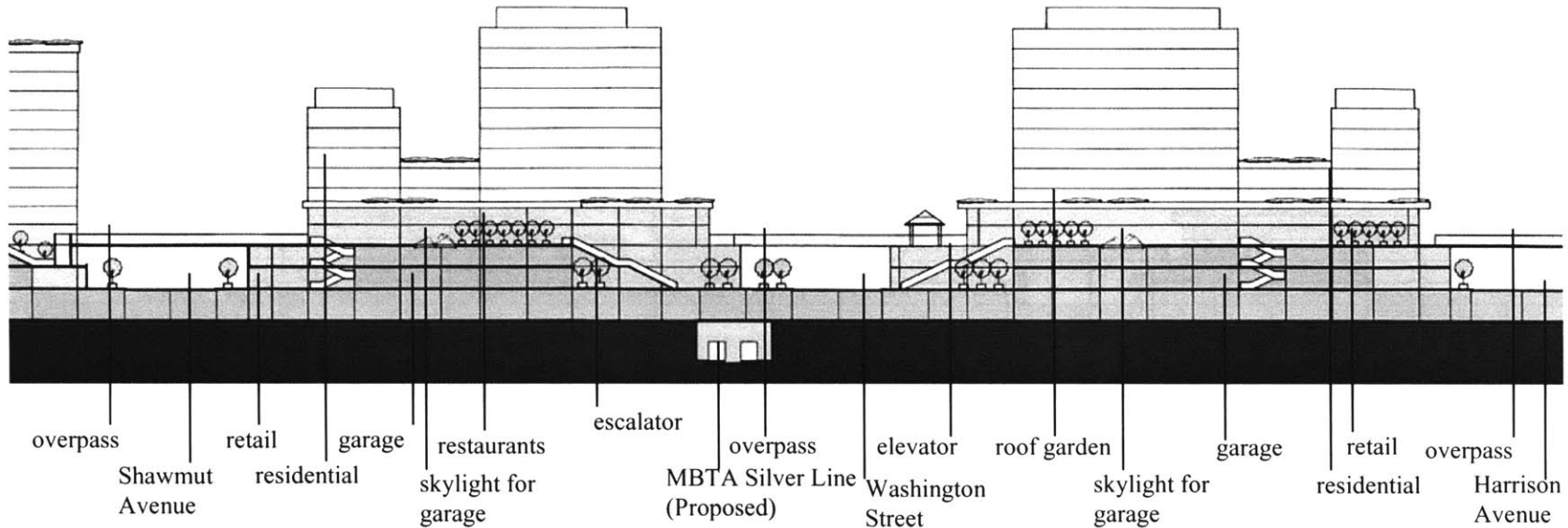


Figure 4-6 Section A-A (Parcel 21,22)

3. Parcel 23

Development Constraints

- Multiple and complex technical requirements make the design and construction difficult.

Planning and Design (Figure 4-7)

- Create a business area in Parcel 23 and allow for high density.
- Consider the parcel south to it (now occupied by Boston Herald) as potential business area in the future. On one hand, this business area will capitalize on the development cost, which is a balance to the provision of affordable housing. On the other hand, the new business is helpful to support and diversify the economy of Chinatown area.
- Located at the eastern end of the Massachusetts Turnpike, this site offers potential for a “gateway” development as approached from the east.

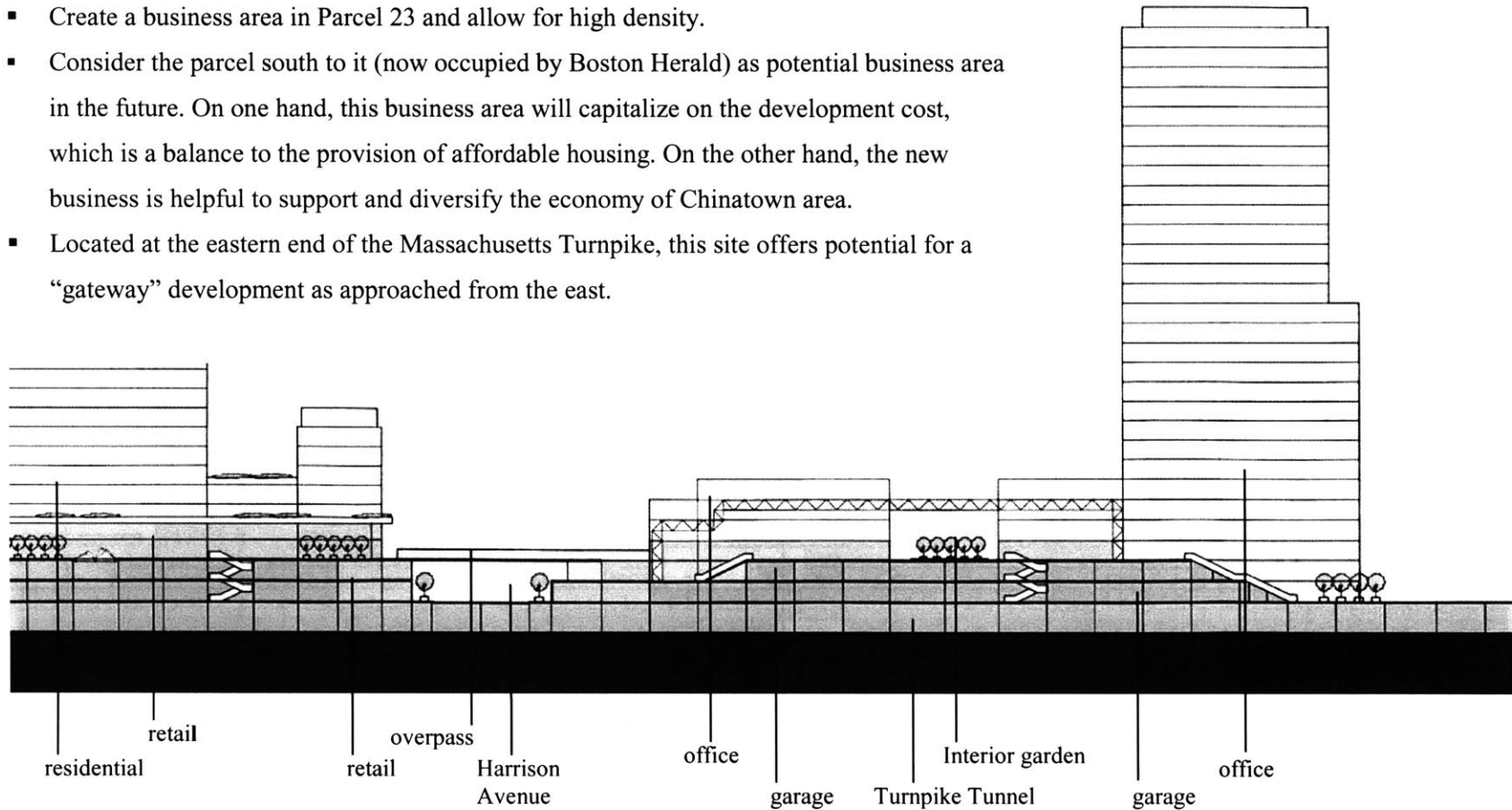


Figure 4-7 Section A-A (Parcel 23)

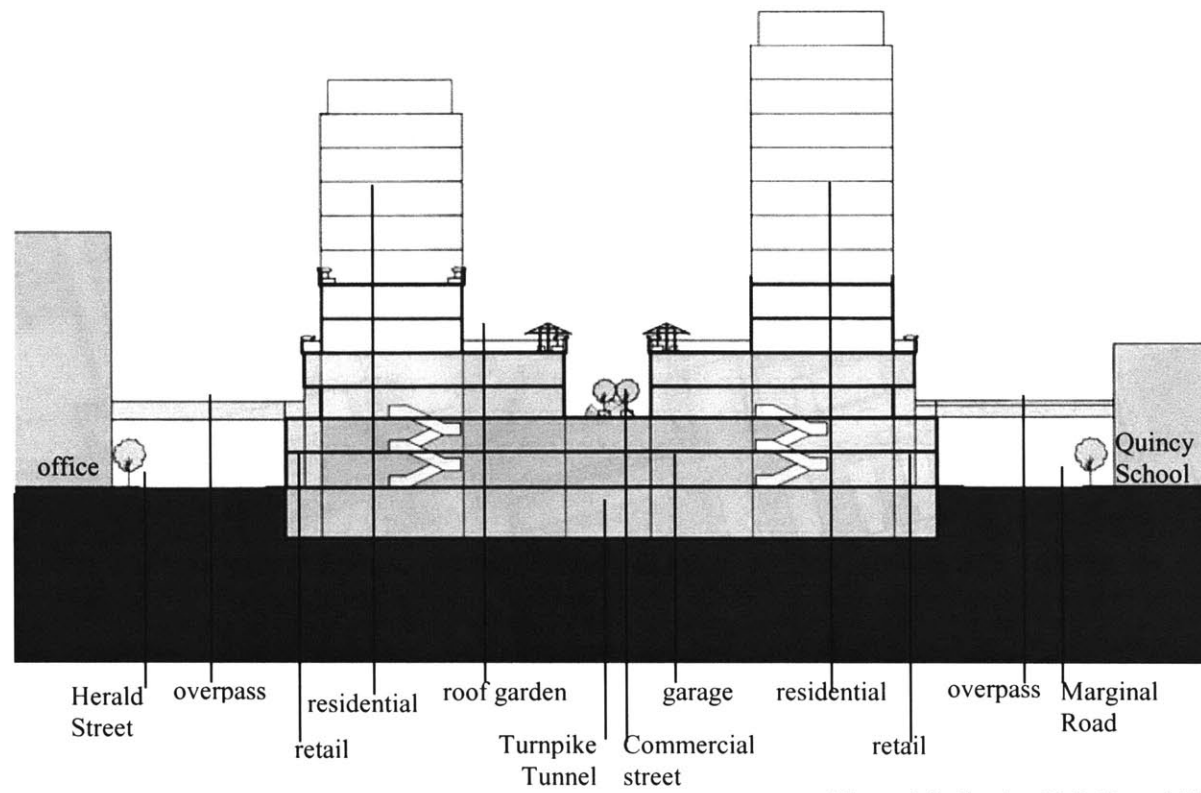


Figure 4-8, Section B-B (Parcel 21)

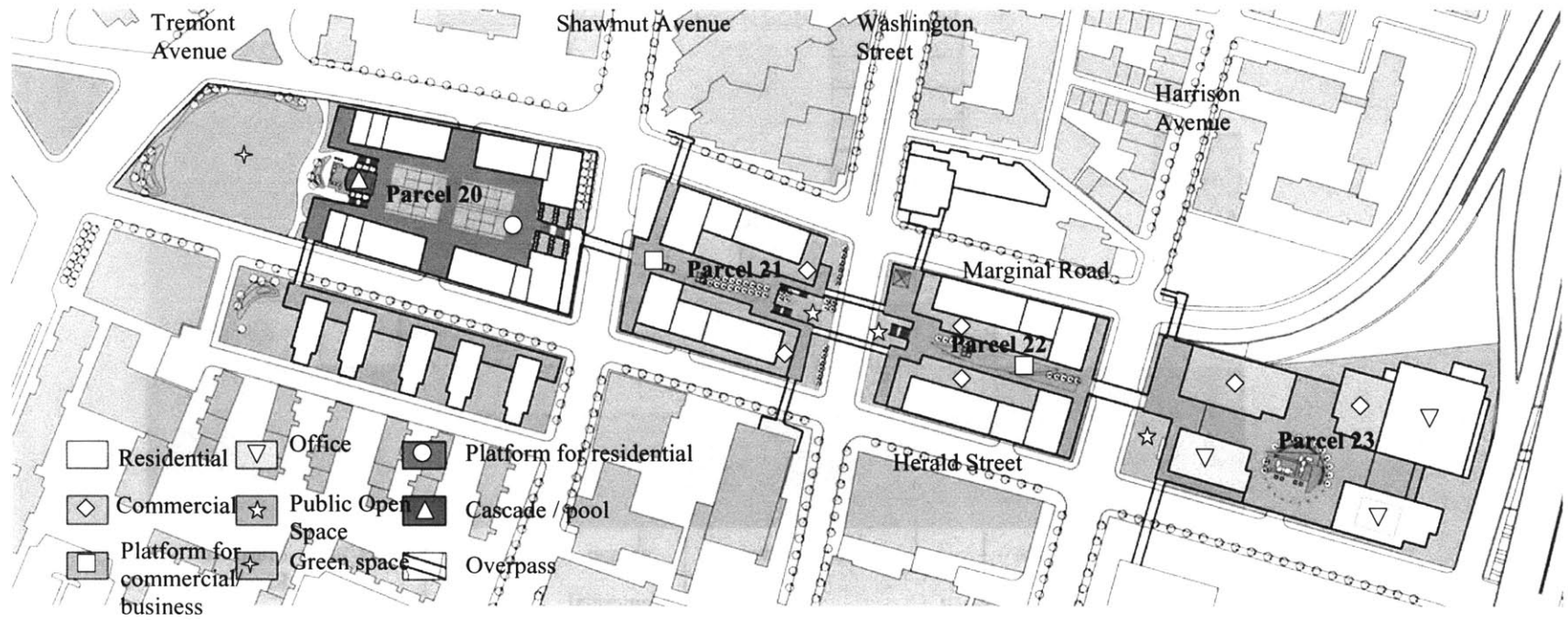


Figure 4-9, Land use of the Turnpike Air Rights new developments

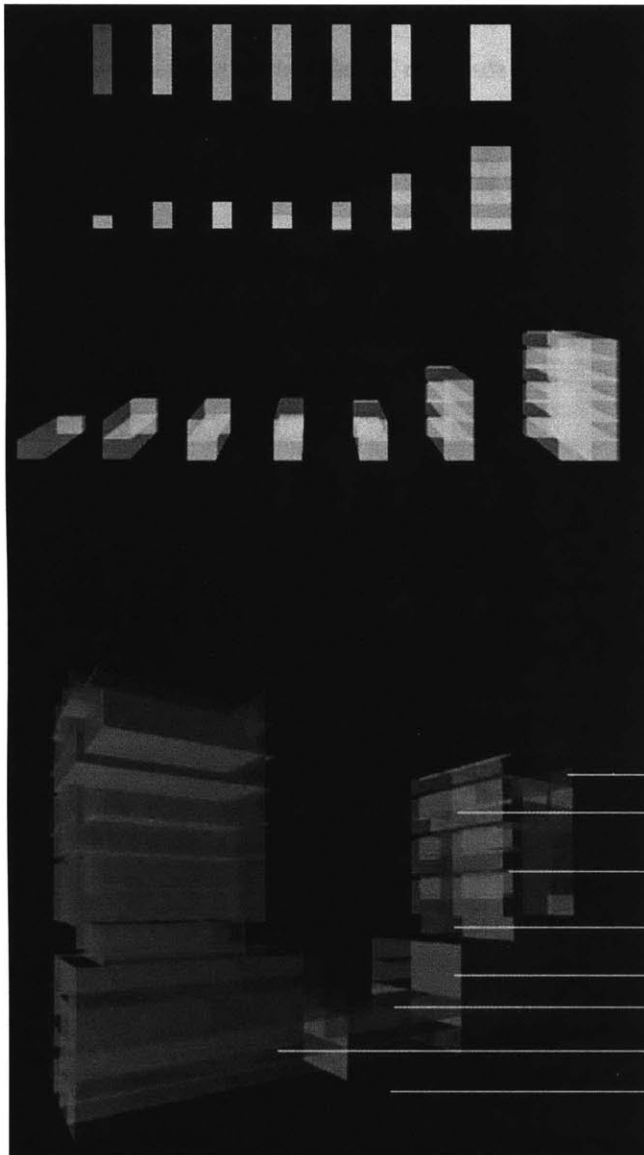


Figure 4- 10, Evolution of housing units:

- Single story + corridor
- 2 stories + 2 corridors
- duplex + 1 corridor
- multiply vertically
- multiply horizontally

- corridor
- balcony
- residential
- roof garden
- commercial street
- garage
- Turnpike tunnel

Figure 4-11, Typical building type for the mixed-use area

4.2 Housing Planning and Design

4.2.1 Housing planning

- Enhance the community feel and integrate Chinatown neighborhood and South End neighborhood as a whole.
- Prevent traffic noise and air pollution by introducing platform level with community service and garage in the first and second floor. (Figure 4-10, 4-11)
- Create new housing in the site south to Parcel 20 and integrate buildings into the South End community (Castle Square).
- Create continuous green walkways between residential units that extend W-E or N-S towards Chinatown and South End.
- Provide a mix of low-income housing, mid-income housing and market-rate housing with the ratio of about one-third, respectively.
- Provide housing for family and elderly people units, which are in short supply and high demand in the downtown housing market.

4.2.2 Units design (Figure 4-12)

- Provide a wide range of choices with various unit types, including duplex and single-story, from studio to 3-bedroom family-sized units.
- Create good ventilation and orientation for most of the units. Each unit has one south-facing living room or master bedroom, or both.
- Maximize usable floor area by introducing some duplex unit types – one corridor in every two stories.
- The single-story units are designed for elderly people or handicapped people.

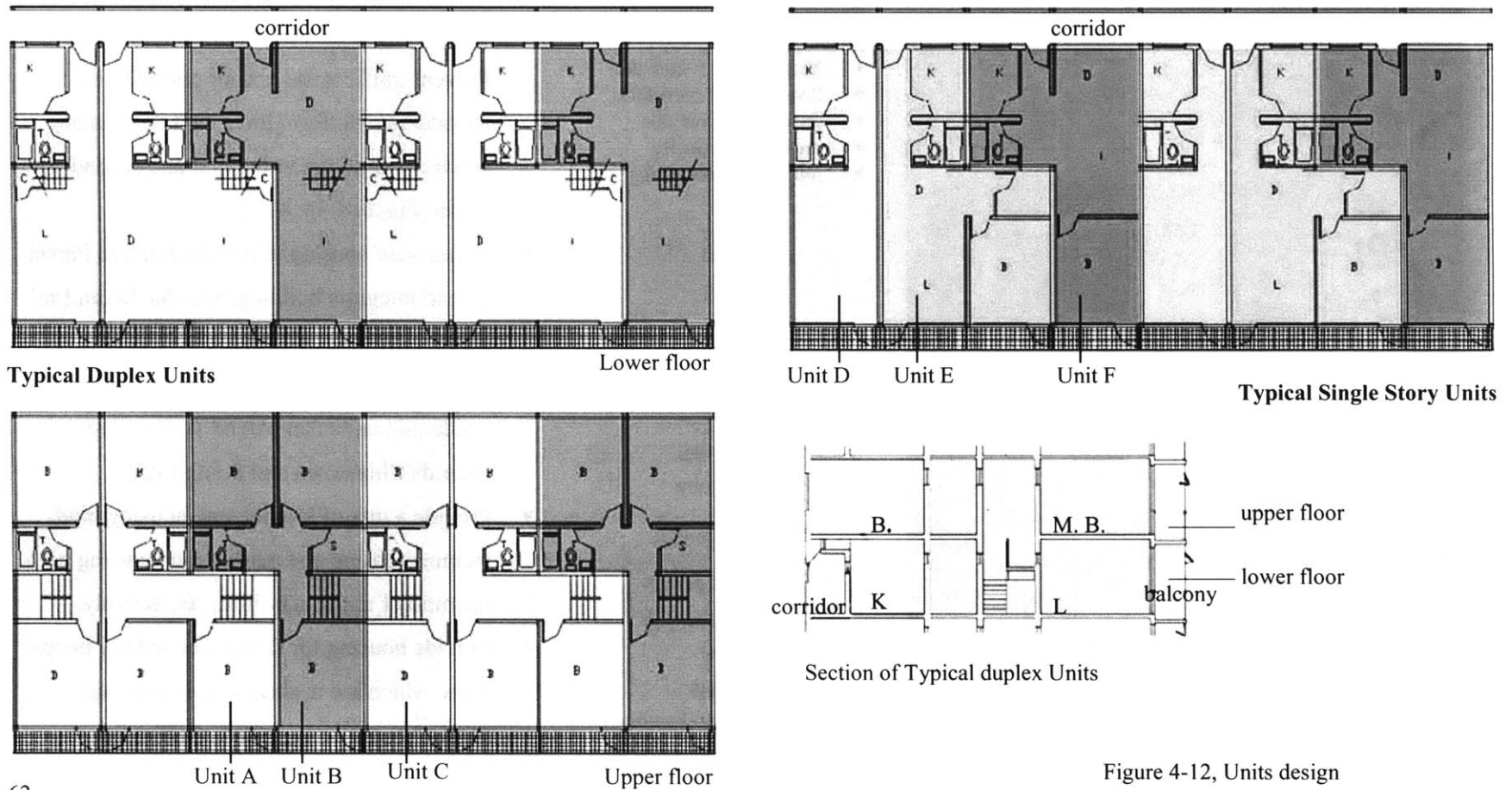


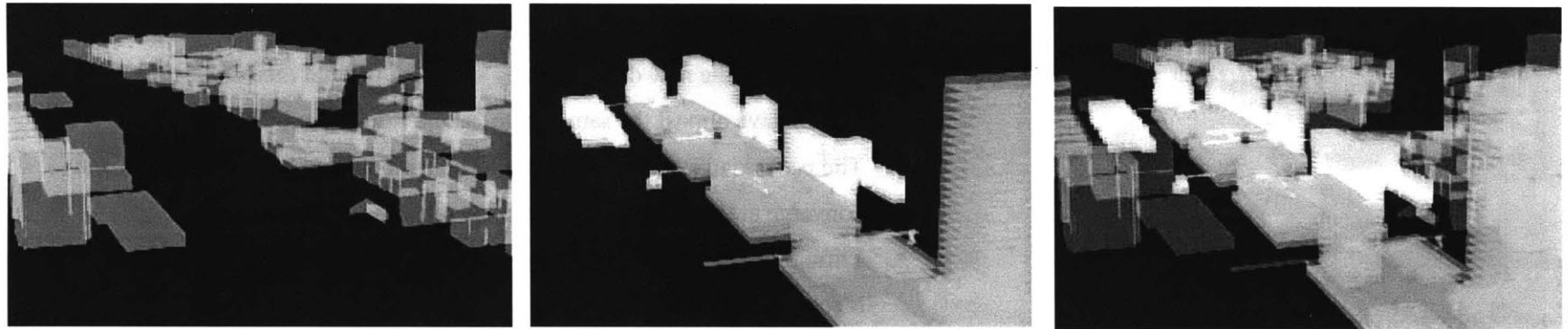
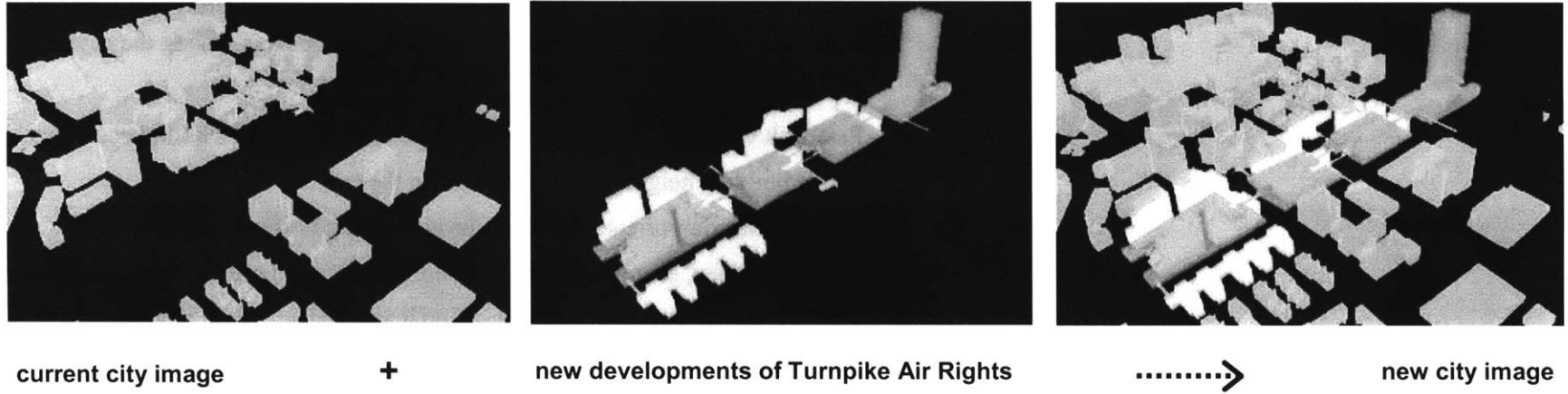
Figure 4-12, Units design

4.3 Connection

- Strengthen the physical, functional, social and economical connections to Chinatown and South End, and strengthen the relationship among the new buildings.
- Establish view corridors by an axial link among the four blocks and encourage varied building heights and setbacks along the axial.
- Create pedestrian-oriented platform level by using bridges and stairways; along the valley, encourage varied building heights and setbacks, and establish a pedestrian system between the residential area (parcel 20) and business area (parcel 23).
- Configure buildings and street edge so as to promote vistas and allow remarkable access to open space. Improve streetscape that promotes visual connections and pedestrian-oriented environment.
- Introduce step pattern with building heights lower in the interior block and higher at the end of Turnpike Air Rights (Parcel 23). Except the business area (Parcel 23), the new developments in residential and mixed-use areas (Parcel 20-22) have almost the same height as the existing buildings nearby.
- The pedestrian systems in ground level and platform level interweave and converge at the civic plaza in the new mixed-use development.
- Limit the project's impact on the environment by reducing building scale and block size.

4.3.1 Connection: concept of urban design (Figure 4-13)

- Merge the new developments to the environment
- Bridge the gap between Chinatown and South End



64 Figure 4-13

4.3.2 Three levels of connection (Figure 4-14)



- Bridge the gap between Chinatown and the South End
- Strengthen the linkage among the blocks by introducing a mixed-use valley
- Promote the access and vistas to Copley Square, waterfront, Chinatown, and South End.
Create a gateway to these areas.

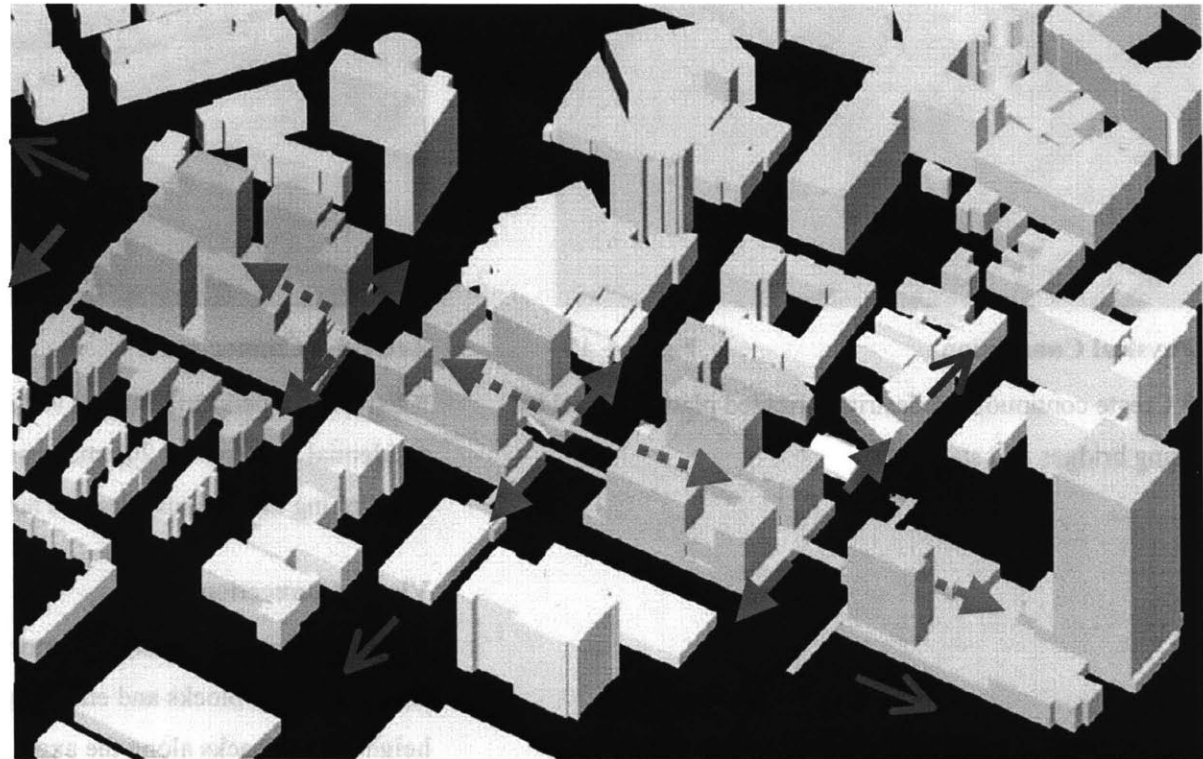
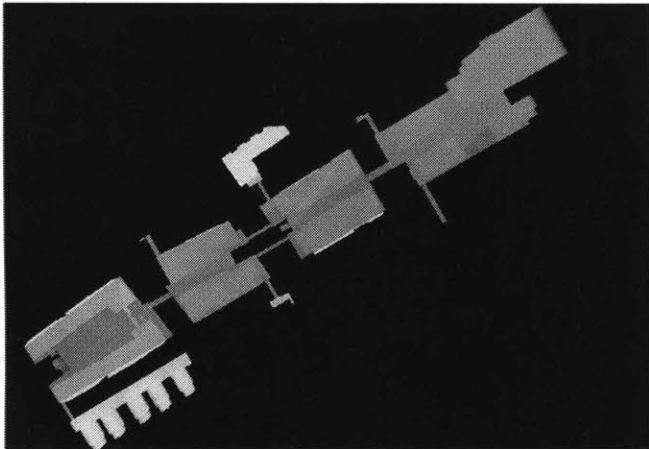


Figure 4-14

4.3.3 Three types of connection (Figure 4-15, 4-16)

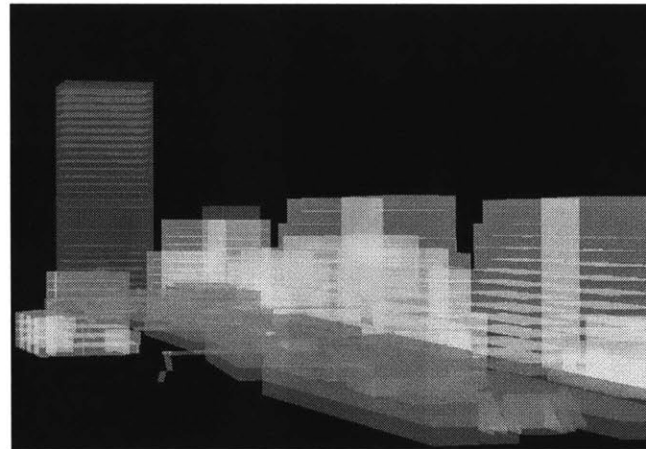
- Physical Connection
- Activities Connection
- Visual Connection



Physical Connection

Figure 4- 15

- Create continuous pedestrian-oriented platform level by using bridges and stairways



Activities Connection

Figure 4- 16

- Establish a pedestrian-based valley between the residential area (parcel 20) and business area (parcel 23), linking the various uses and activities

Visual Connection

- Establish view corridors by virtue of an axial link among the four blocks and encourage varied building height and setbacks along the axes.

Physical Connections:

Integrate the new developments above or around Turnpike Air Rights with its vicinity by buildings, platforms, and bridges. (Figure 4-17)

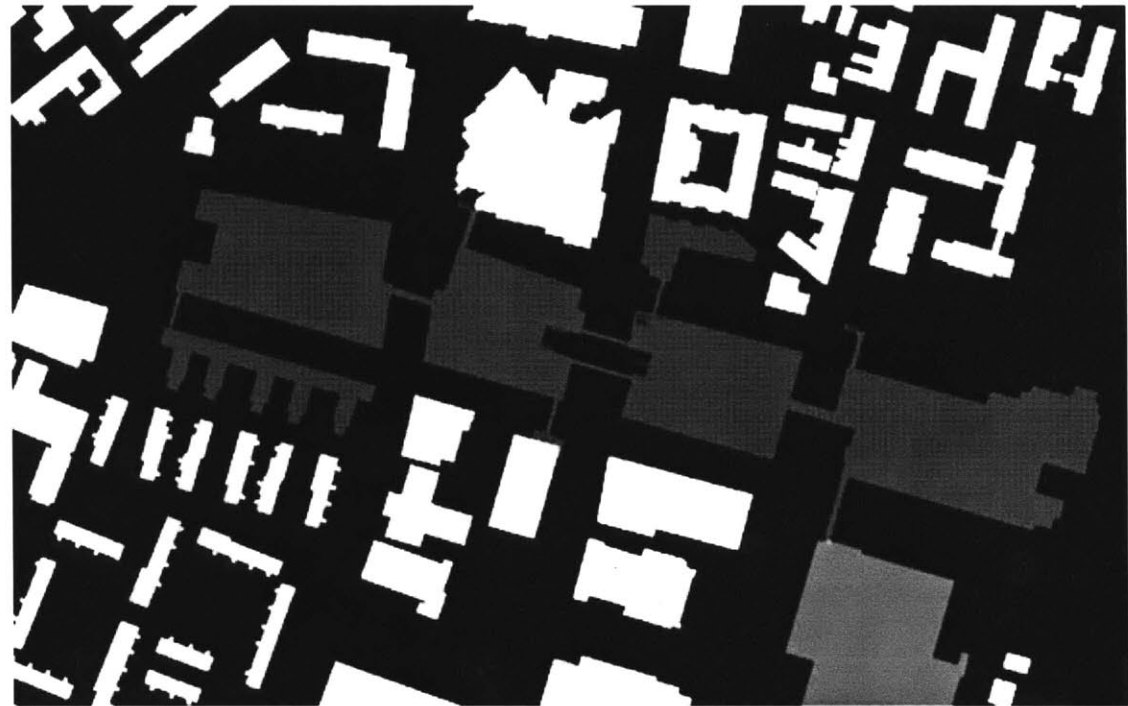


Figure 4-17, figure-ground study

Skyline Analysis (Figure 4-18)

A: View from South End
- (south)

B: View from Chinatown
- (north)

C: View from Bay Village
- (west)

D: Current view from Bay Village
- (west)

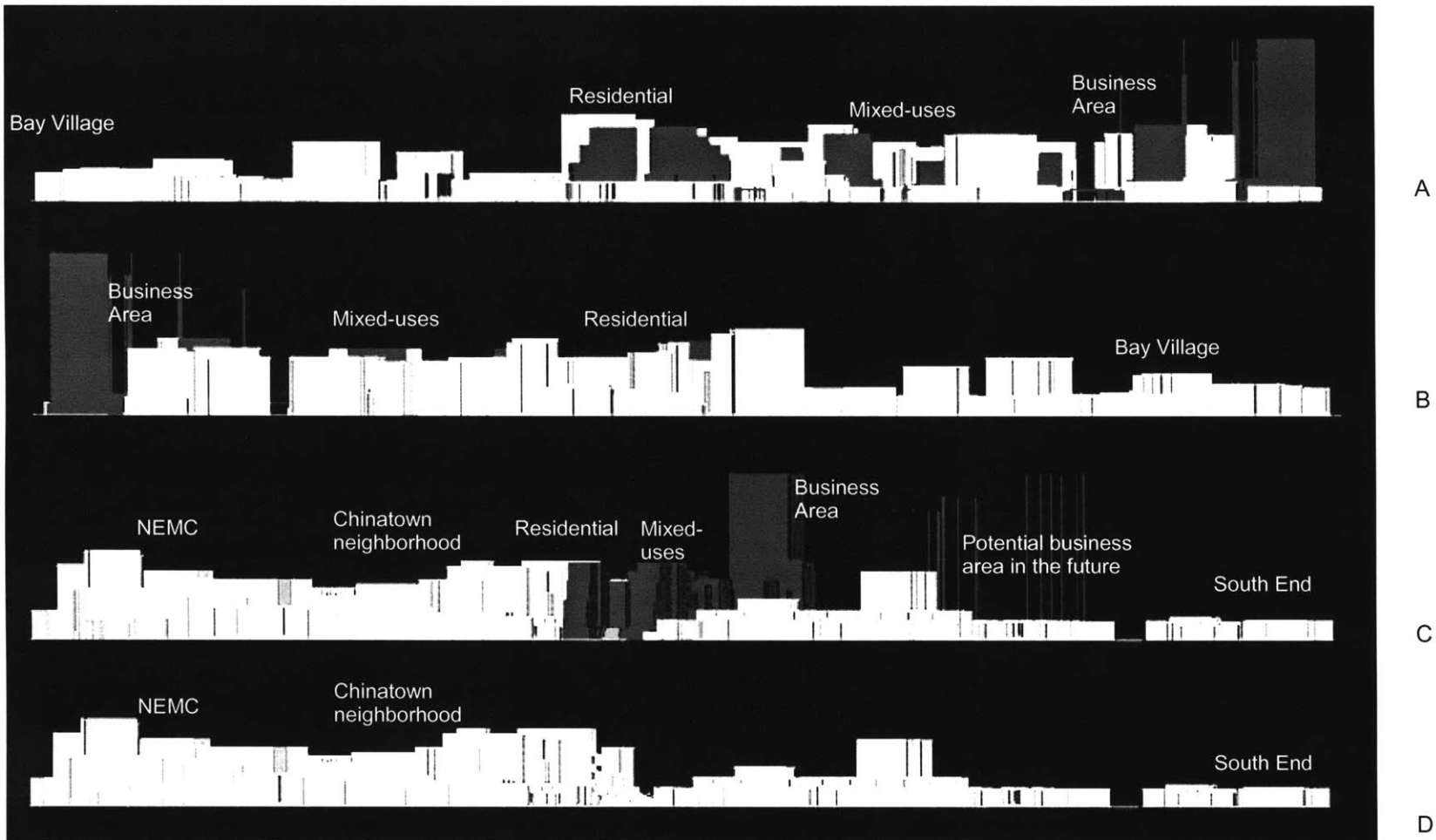


Figure 4-18, Skyline Analysis

4.4 Amenity

- Create a green space in the tip of Parcel 20, which is visible and accessible by the surrounding communities: the residents in Parcel 20, Chinatown residents, Quincy School, Castle Square neighborhood, and Bay Village neighborhood. (Figure 4-19)
- The green space is landscaped with grass and trees, and the small park next to the green space has a cascade with a small wading pool. (Figure 4-20)
- Establish neighborhood service facilities, including day care, library, gym, teahouse, retail, etc.
- Promote movement and access by creating a continuous and humanized pedestrian system in ground floor level and make the walkway between Chinatown and South End friendly and easily accessible.
- Establish easy public access to this area, including subway and buses. The proposed MBTA Silver Line has a stop at Herald Street. This will contribute to better access to this Turnpike Air Rights new development. (Figure 4-21, 4-22, 4-23)
- Create civic plaza at the intersection of Washington Street and Marginal Road to identify the character of and establish gateway to this new Chinatown area. (Figure 4-24)

4.4.1 Green Space (Figure 4-19)

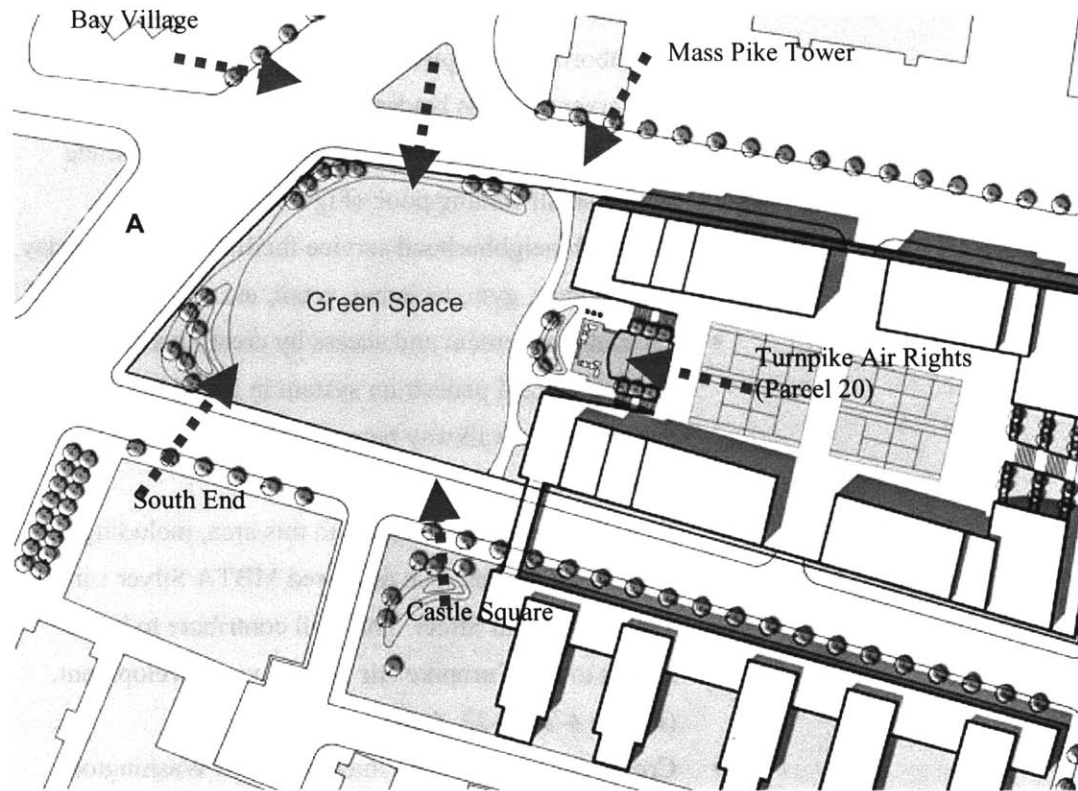


Figure 4-19, The green space in Parcel 20 tip is visible and accessible by the surrounding communities: the residents in Parcel 20, Chinatown residents, Quincy School, Castle Square neighborhood, and Bay Village neighborhood.

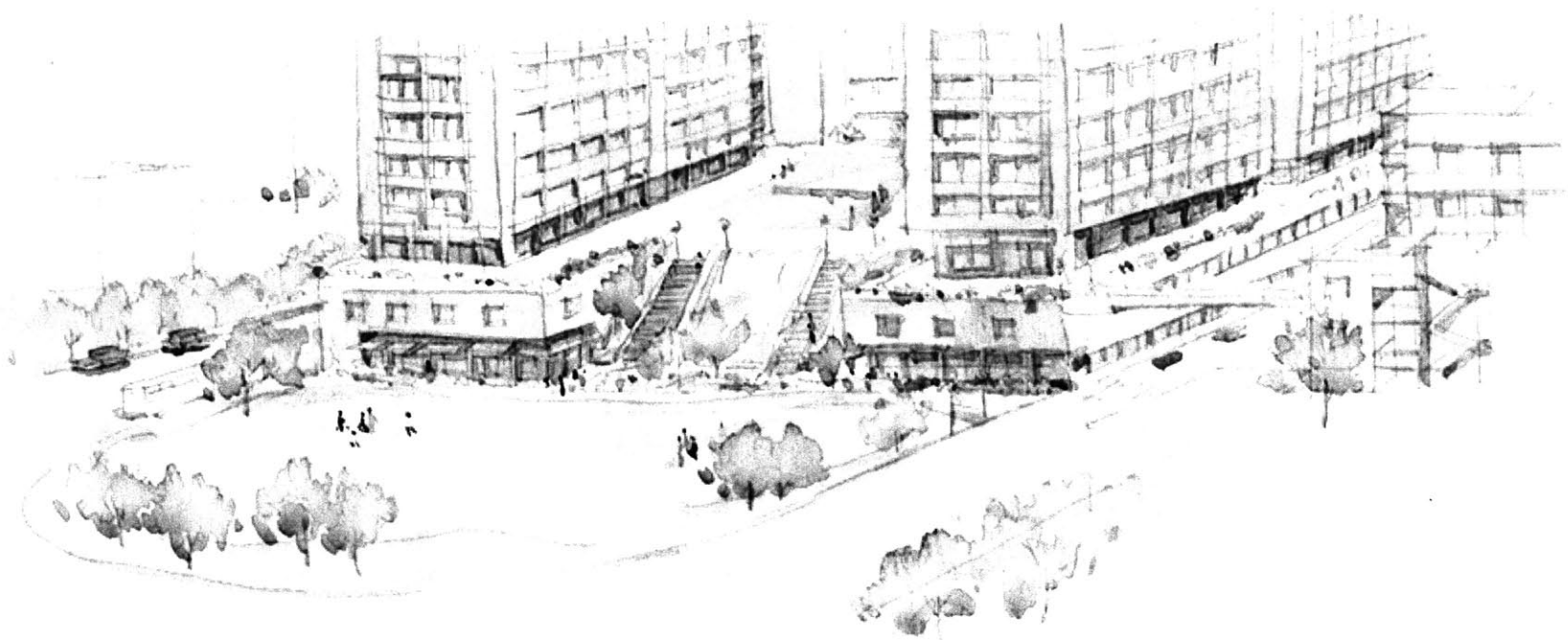
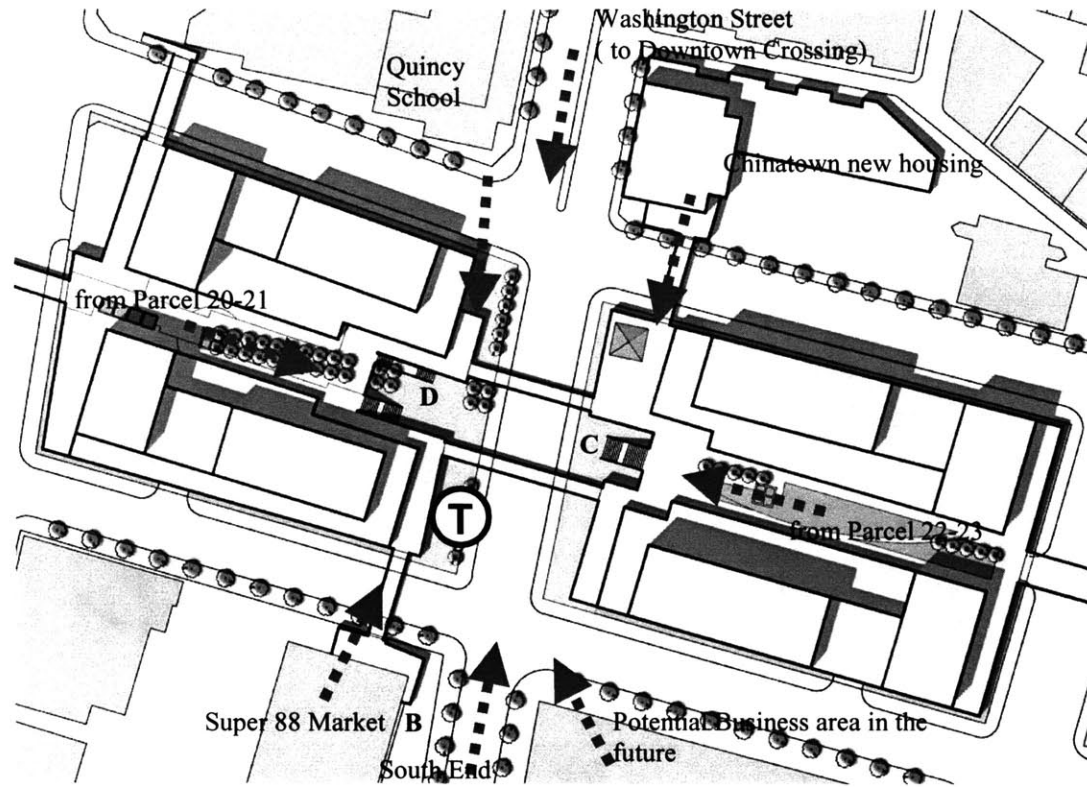


Figure 4-20, The green space is landscaped with grass and trees. A small park next to the green space has a cascade with a small wading pool. This space can serve people of various ages at different times.



4.4.2 Civic Plaza (Figure 4-21)

(Figure 4-21)

- Promote access to the civic plaza by creating a continuous and humanized pedestrian system in street level and platform level.
- Establish easy public access to the civic plaza in the commercial center, including buses and the proposed MBTA station (Silver Line).



Figure 4-22, View C - The access from civic plaza to commercial street

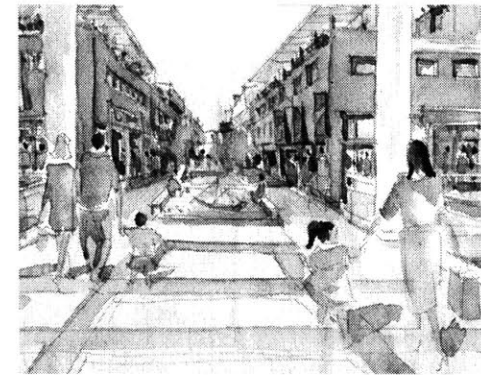


Figure 4-23, View D - Commercial street in Parcel 21

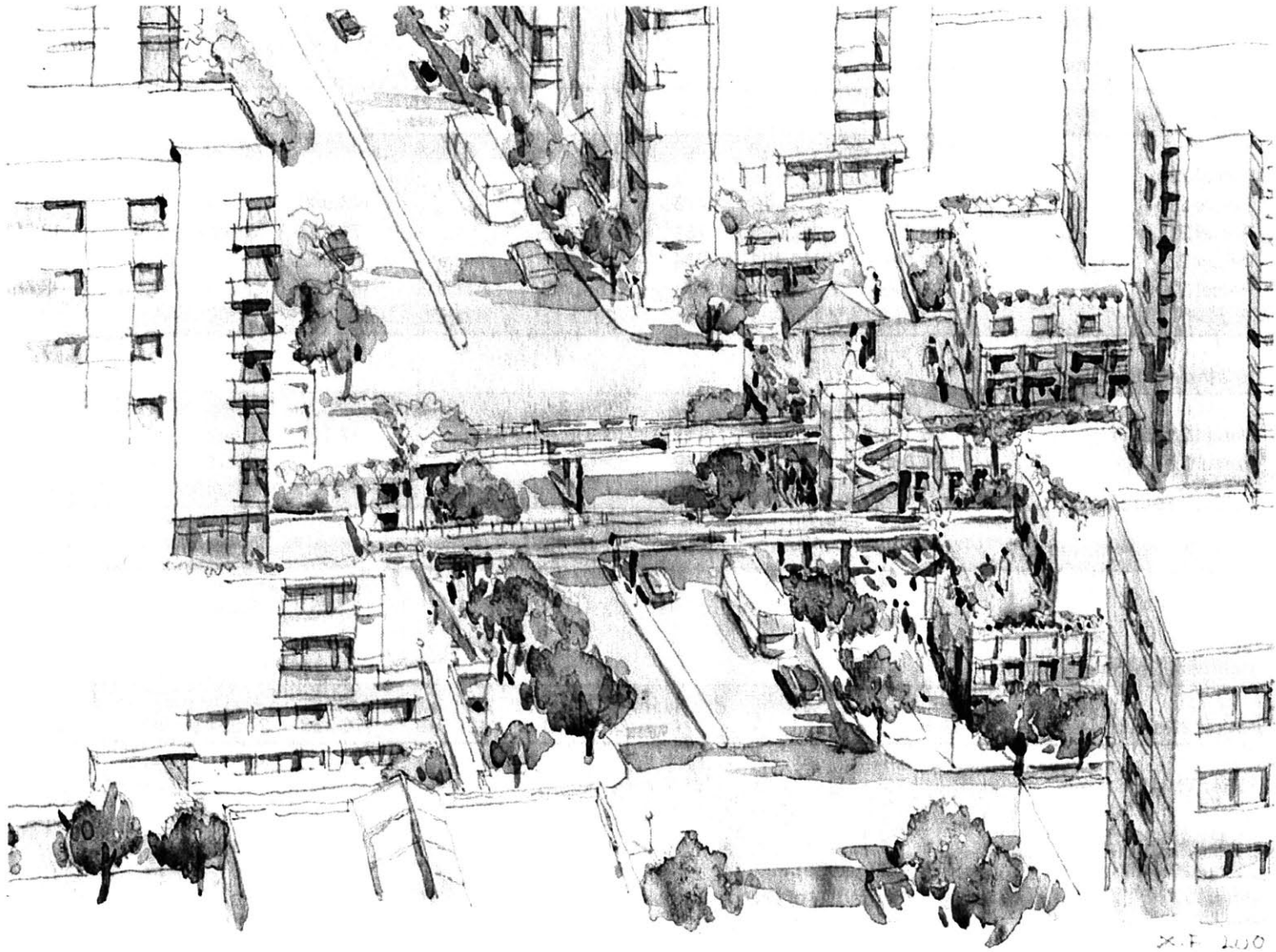


Figure 4-24, Civic plaza in commercial area

4.5 Development and Phasing

4.5.1 Data of the new developments

Turnpike area											
	Site area	Residential	(Units)	Commercial	Office	Garage / Parking	(Car)	Green Space	TFA*	FAR	
Parcel 20a	41,199	-	-	-	-	-	-	41,199	-	-	
Parcel 20b	90,341	520,416	473	-	-	143,980	480	15,807	664,396	7.35	
Parcel 21	69,237	162,618	181	59,472	-	71,212	3,100	18,096	293,302	4.24	
Parcel 22	68,694	210,494	234	86,872	-	83,642	279	12,643	381,008	5.55	
Parcel 23	107,255	-	-	54,268	931,972	167,758	559	8,682	1,153,998	10.76	
Total	376,726	893,528	888	200,612	931,972	466,592	3,100	1,566	96,427	2,492,704	6.62
Nearby Area											
	Site area	Residential	(Units)	Commercial	Office	Garage / Parking	(Car)	Green Space	TFA*	FAR	
Parcel 20 south	55,103	110,910	111	-	-	39,118	19,820	196	8,182	150,028	2.72
Parcel 22 north	26,050	79,184	79	-	-	-	10,214	34	1,100	79,184	3.04
Total	81,153	190,094	190	-	-	39,118	30,034	231	9,282	229,212	2.82
Total (Turnpike&nearby)	457,879	1,083,622	1,078	200,612	931,972	505,710	33,134	1,796	105,709	2,721,916	5.94
Potential Business Area											
	Site area	Residential	(Units)	Commercial	Office	Garage / Parking	(Car)	Green Space	TFA*	FAR	
Parcel 23 south	305,471	-	-	56,478	2,427,840	176,468	27,934	681	26,146	2,660,786	8.71
*TFA: Total Floor Area											
Demolished											
Parcel 20 south	110,206 (garage)										
Parcel 22 north	16,788 (facility of Quincy School)										
Parcel 23 south	123,871 (Boston Herald)										
Total	250,865										

Figure 4-25

4.5.2 Phasing of Turnpike Air Rights New Development

The purpose of phasing is to set out an implementation schedule so as to enhance the feasibility of the new developments. (Figure 4-26, 4-27)

Phasing I

- Designate Parcel 21, 22 and the small site north of Parcel 22 a mix of commercial, residential, and garage as priority areas for development. Emphasize mixed-use development.
- Designate Turnpike Air Rights new development as economic target area for development of mixed-income housing and other uses. Emphasize retail and commercial developments that link residents to new job opportunities.
- Connect South End and Chinatown area, create a new commercial area for the residents nearby, and make the

access to Super 88 Market easily accessible.

- Locate new subway stop of Silver Line at the intersection Washington Street and Herald Street.
- Use creation of public spaces to define character and amenities of area as a means to attracting developers.
- Locate major civic/commercial use in Parcel 21 and 22.

Phase II

- Complete the major mixed-income residential area in Parcel 20 (high, middle, and low income) to meet the high demand for housing. For developers, it will be a great opportunity. Given the good location, the units with better view and amenities, this market-rate housing will achieve top rental rates and push the market upward.

- Promote public green space development at the tip of Parcel 20, which could have various activities at different time; for example, kids could play soccer, baseball, basketball.
- Complete the new residential development south of Parcel 20.
- Add some community service facilities, benefiting not only this parcel, but also the residents nearby.

Phase III

- The business area and potential business development south of Parcel 23 (right now occupied by Boston Herald).
- Provide more economical stimulus to the Turnpike Air Rights new developments.

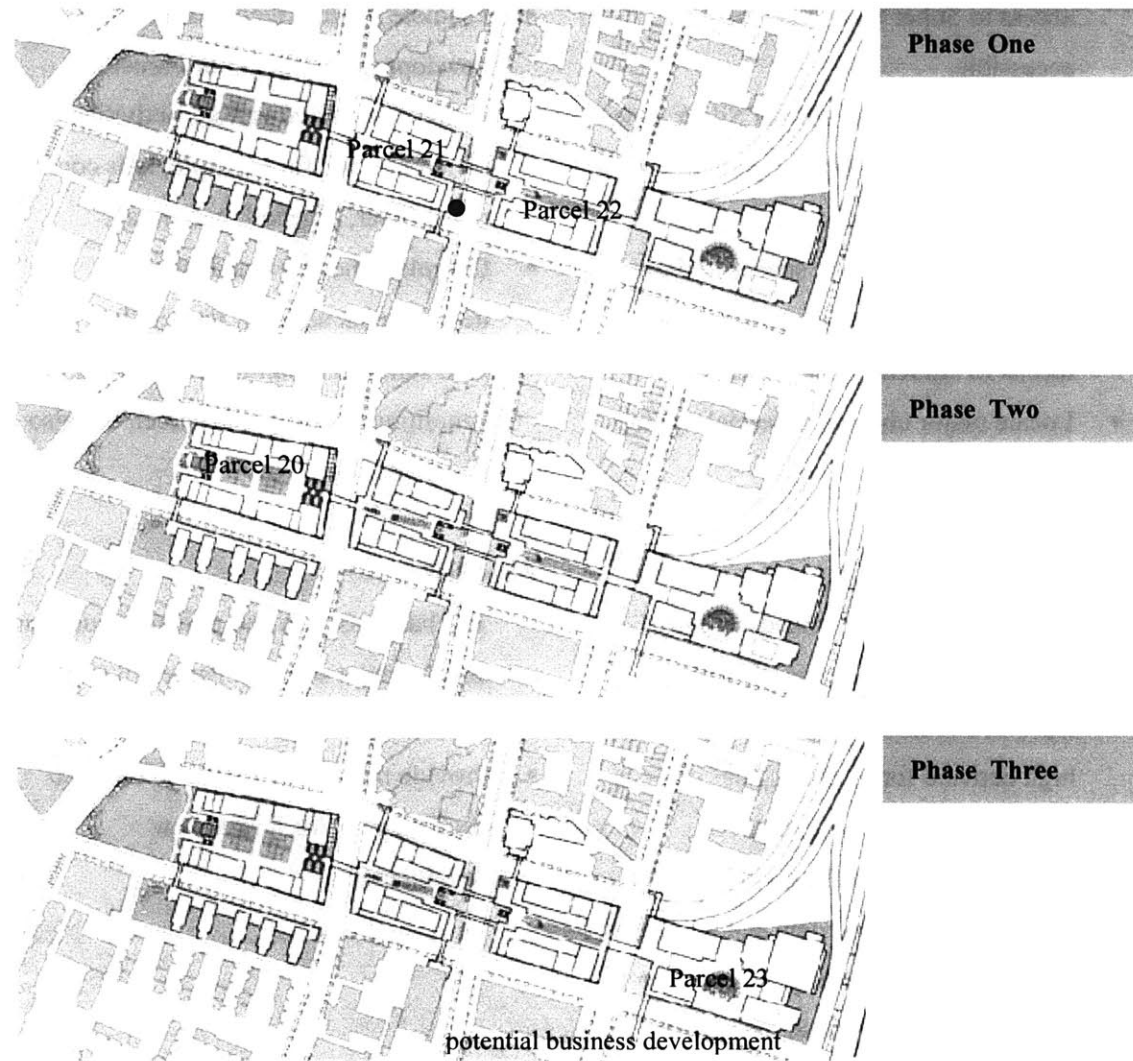


Figure 4-26, Phasing of the Turnpike Air Rights new development

Phasing											
Phase 1	Site area	Residential (Units)	Commercial	Office	Garage / Parking (Car)	Green Space	TFA*	FAR			
Parcel 21	69,237	162,618	181	59,472	-	71,212	3,100	248	18,096	293,302	4.24
Parcel 22	68,694	210,494	234	86,872	-	83,642	-	279	12,643	381,008	5.55
Parcel 22 north	26,050	79,184	79	-	-	-	10,214	34	1,100	79,184	3.04
Total	163,981	452,296	494	146,344	-	154,854	13,314	530	31,839	753,494	4.60
Phase 2	Site area	Residential (Units)	Commercial	Office	Garage / Parking (Car)	Green Space	TFA*	FAR			
Parcel 20a	41,199	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41,199	-	-
Parcel 20b	90,341	520,416	473	-	-	143,980	-	480	15,807	664,396	7.35
Parcel 20 south	55,103	110,910	111	-	-	39,118	19,820	196	8,182	150,028	2.72
Total	186,643	631,326	584	-	-	183,098	19,820	676	65,188	814,424	4.36
Phase 3	Site area	Residential (Units)	Commercial	Office	Garage / Parking (Car)	Green Space	TFA*	FAR			
Parcel 23	107,255	-	-	54,268	931,972	167,758	-	559	8,682	1,153,998	10.76

* TFA: Total Floor Area

Figure 4-27, Data in three phases

4.6 Supplementary Strategies and Policies

Based on the mixed-income housing on the gateway site of Massachusetts Turnpike Air Rights, some supplementary strategies should be implemented. To address a wide range of complex issues and the dual challenges of development and preservation, additional actions should occur within the policy framework and guidelines established by the plan.

The possible tactics that might be adopted in Chinatown can be classified as the following:

- Job stimulus -- to provide opportunities for the growth and diversification of business and employment; to produce new job opportunities in Chinatown; to foster neighborhood business and economic development, and to generate economic opportunities. "If upward mobility of the low-income residents is

a goal, it is necessary to have activities that are specifically aimed at creating opportunities for them; income mixing alone is not sufficient."¹

- To provide community service and other forms of assistance so as to improve the neighborhood, such as job training and child care. Although the development is situated near large job centers in and around Boston, active job-training and placement programs are needed to supplement the advantages.
- To urge the city for a better management in traffic, land use and environmental protection.
- Increased availability of mortgage funds within the area.

¹ Paul C. Brophy, Rhonda N. Smith, *Mixed-income Housing: Factors for Success*, Cityscape, Vol. 3 (2), 1997, pp3

4.7 Summary

Change over time is always an important measure of success in the environment.

Looking through the telescope of time often helps us focus on the critical issues and separate them from those that only seemed important initially. It will take a period of time to evaluate the project.

Although the perspective is always changing to meet new and evolving circumstances, this proposal can be accepted as a catalyst for the future development of Chinatown and its south area.

In fact, there is a great and lasting challenge for Chinatown: the irresistible trend of merging into the city while keeping its own territory and integrating into American society while preserving its identity.

Ultimately, the future of Chinatown will be determined not only by public actions or

outside private initiatives, but also by the self-improvement of the community.

We need to advocate the participation of community residents and organizations.

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Unless otherwise noted, all illustrations are by the author.

Appendix Timeline: The History of Boston's Chinatown 1800-2000

- 1806-1840 The South Cove tidal flats are filled and the South Cove area is ready for residential development in 1840.
- 1830-1840 A handful of Chinese enter the US through trans-pacific trade
- 1847 The Quincy School, one of the oldest schools in the nation, is founded in Tyler Street.
- 1850s The presence of the railway, along with low land values, attracts the leather industry to an area that runs into the present Chinatown.
- 1852-1860 The number of Chinese immigrating to California exceeds 30,000 per year.
- 1860 The garment industry is displaced from Washington Street due to rising land values, and encroaches on the Chinatown area from the north and west
- 1868 The Burlingame Treaty grants Chinese the right to immigrate to the US freely.
- 1869-1870 Chinese reside in Boston for the first time.
- 1871 Anti-Chinese race riots occur in Los Angeles resulting in the death of 19 Chinese, which prompts an eastward of migration.
- 1872 The first group of thirty Chinese students are sent by the Chinese Educational Mission to New England to be trained in modern science and technology.
- 1880 Central European Jews and Italians succeed the Irish as residents of what is now the Chinatown neighborhood.
- 1882 The Act of 1882, the first of four "Chinese Exclusion Laws", suspends for 10 years the immigration of Chinese laborers to America and requires all Chinese in the US to carry certificate of identity.
- 1890 The Chinese community is established on the block of Oxford Street and Harrison Avenue.
- 1892 The Geary Act extends, for 10 years, the exclusion of new Chinese immigrants and renews the requirement that those already in the US carry proof of residency.

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- 1899 An elevated railway is constructed along Beach Street in the northern section of Chinatown.
- 1900 Syrians, Jews, and Italians reside
- 1903 A raid on Boston's Chinatown by US immigration agents and Boston police is conducted on September 11, resulting in the arrest of 258 people unable to produce immediate documentation of American citizenship.
- 1905-1925 Chinese settle by the elevated tracks and spread to the traffic artery of Kneeland Street.
- 1911 The Republic of China is founded, replacing the imperial Ching government.
- 1914 A YMCA is established in Chinatown to serve the predominantly male population in the neighborhood.
- 1917 The immigration Act of 1917 prohibits the immigration of laborers from almost all Asian countries, termed "barred zones" under the legislation.
- 1920 The Quong Kao Chinese School is founded in Chinatown by the Chinese Merchants Association.
- 1924 The Immigration Act of 1924 denies citizenship to all "alien orientals". Also called the National Origins Law, it prohibits immigration except from countries in the Western Hemisphere.
- 1928 Tenement owners demolish property they own in Chinatown, to avoid paying taxes following a decline in land values and assessments. Over one-third of Chinatown housing is destroyed during the Depression.
- 1930 Legal restrictions limiting immigration by foreign-born wives of citizens are repealed, allowing greater numbers of Chinese women to enter the country.
- 1941 The elevated railway, which had caused a depression in rents and an expansion in the garment industry north of Beach Street and on Kneeland street, is demolished.
- 1942-1952 Nearly a dozen restaurants are built and remodeled with modern architecture and neon signs.
- 1943 The Chinese Exclusion Act is revoked.
- 1945 Tufts University purchases the M&V Building on Harrison Avenue.
- 1949 The People's Republic of China is founded.

- 1950s Chinese-Americans suspected of having ties to mainland China are rounded up by the FBI as part of anti-communist activities during the McCarthy Era.
- 1951 The Onleong Chinese Merchants Association building is constructed on Hudson Street in Chinatown.
- 1953 Despite community protests, one-half of the Onleong building is demolished to make way for the construction of the Central Artery.
- 1954-1959 The Central Artery is constructed.
- 1960-1975 The land area of Chinatown is reduced by 50 percent, while the population increases by more than 25 percent. The "Combat Zone" is relocated from Scollay Square to lower Washington Street, next to Chinatown.
- 1963 Construction of the Massachusetts Turnpike extension is begun, causing the demolition of additional Chinatown housing and the migration of tenants to the Allston/Brighton area. The city and CCBA reach an Memorandum of Understanding regarding planning for the South Cove Urban Renewal area and the inclusion of the Chinese community in the process.
- 1965 The South Cove Urban Renewal Plan is enacted. The Turnpike extension from Beacon Park in Allston to South Station opens. Medical institutions are consolidated under the New England Medical Hospital, later named the New England Medical Center (NEMC). The Immigration and Nationality Act passed. The legislation based admission to the United States on two principles" first kinship with American citizens; and second, professional skills needed to ensure the growth of the US economy.
- 1966 The City, the BRA, and the New England Medical Center enter into a Cooperation Agreement to further pursue the South Cove Urban Renewal Plan. The Quincy School Community Council (QSCC) is incorporated to address community needs through direct services and advocacy in the area of childcare, language instruction, employment training, tutoring, and recreation activities.
- 1968 Castle Square housing development is completed, providing 500 units of housing in the South End, a majority of which are occupied by Asian residents.
- 1969 The Mayor's Office of Human Rights forms a task force to study Chinatown's problems and needs, and to attempt to find solutions.
- 1970 Chinatown Little City Hall is established as a liaison between Chinatown and City government.
- 1971 A six-month master plan project is organized by the CACA with a grant from the Federal Regional Council of New England. Workshops are formed to discuss adult

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- 1972 education, economic development, education and daycare, health, physical development, and the role of churches and social service agencies. A report of the master plan, called "The Future of Chinatown", is published.
- 1973 Title VII of the Civil Rights Act bans discrimination against employees on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
- 1974 Tai Tung Village is opened with 214 units of housing in Chinatown.
- 1975 The Boston Zoning Commission officially zones lower Washington Street as an "Adult Entertainment District". The Mass Pike Tower is complete with 200 units of housing.
- 1976 Chauncy House opens with 87 units of elderly housing. With the fall of South Vietnam in April and the withdrawal of American forces, Congress authorizes the resettlement in the US of 130,000 Southeast Asians.
- 1977 The Quincy School Complex opens to house the Josiah Quincy School, the South Cove Community Health Center and the Quincy School Community Council.
- 1978 The United States establishes diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Quincy Towers opens with 161 units of elderly housing.
- 1979 The Chinatown Housing and Land Development Task Force is grounded to advocate and promote tenants' rights and affordable housing.
- 1980 Workshop is established as an advocacy agency to promote Asian American Issues, Chinese arts and culture. Mason Place opens with 129 units of housing.
- 1981 The Chinese Culture Institute (CCI) is founded to improve East West understanding, to stimulate interest in and understanding of Chinese history, Philosophy, and Literature, and to promote cultural exchange among ethnic groups.
- 1981 One Luck House opens with 28 units of elderly housing.
- 1983 The medical institutions and the 7-person committee convened by the CCBA reach a Memorandum of Understanding regarding community benefits and institutional development projects.
- 1984 Oxford Place opens with 39 units of housing. Chinagate Apartments open with 15 units of housing.

- 1865-1984 419,373 Chinese have entered the country (almost as many as the 426,000 that came between 1849-1930). The Chinese-American population has quadrupled from 237,000 to 812,000 to become the fastest growing immigrant group in the United States.
- 1985 The South Cove Manor Nursing Home opens with 100 units of housing. The Chinatown-South Cove Neighborhood Council (CNC) is established by Mayor Flynn as a representative body for the residents, businesses, and community services of the area.
- 1986 A 850-car garage is proposed by NEMC and Tufts University for a site abutting the residential area of Chinatown.
- 1987 The medical institutions' garage proposal is rejected by the community and the City. A community-based master plan effort is jointly launched by the CNC and the BRA. The Downtown Interim Planning Overlay District is established by the City for a comprehensive rezoning study.
- 1988 The Chinatown Housing Improvement Program is implemented by the City. The Mayor's Office of Neighborhood Services, CNC, CCBA, CEDC, and the Chinatown Beautification Committee enter into the Chinatown Beautification Agreement to ensure a coordinated effort to improve sanitation and the street environment in Chinatown.
- 1989 The City initiates the development process for the South Station Technopolis Center, to be built on air rights above the tracks of Boston's primary intermodal transportation facility. The project will result in community benefits to be shared by Chinatown and South Boston neighborhoods.
- 1998-2000 Strategic Development Study Committee (SDSC), granted by Mayor Menino, workout a Civic Vision for the Turnpike Air Rights in Boston.

Source: *Chinatown Community Plan: A Plan to Manage Growth*, by Chinatown/South Cove Neighborhood Council, City of Boston and BRA, March 1990
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