A PRE-CONFERENCE STUDY

by

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HARVARD URBAN FIELD SERVICE

in collaboration with

• Action for Boston Community Development Inc.
• Various Chinatown Supporters

103,461 Asian emigrants 1971 (and n.y.)
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PREFACE

This report is essentially a record of the Harvard Urban Field Service's involvement with the Boston Chinatown community between May and October, 1971. It is presented in five separate sections, describing the authors' working experience with the Chinese community on the "Chinatown Planning Project," summarizing their planning data collected to-date, and summarizing planning proposals for Chinatown's future and recommendations for community organization for planning which were generated by the study.

Although it might appear to be a rather lengthy document from the outset, its prime objective is three-fold: 1. For those government agencies and academic institutions who are primarily interested in the process of advocacy planning, they might only be interested in reading Section II of this report. 2. For community members and Urban Field Service students who intend to participate in the planning of Chinatown in the future, Section III of this report will help to act as their background information and somewhat indicate the urgent need for more detailed community surveys. 3. For the Chinatown community's interest and for the benefit of their forthcoming Community Conference this year, either parts or the whole of this report would help all participants, or at least community organization leaders, to generate ideas for discussions both during the Conference and the Post-Conference workshops.

For the last six months, the authors have been working closely with Mr. Elliot Friedman, South Cove Project Director of the Boston Redevelopment Authority; Mr. Charles Sullivan, Assistant Director of the Department of Planning and Evaluation, Action for Boston Community Development Inc.; Miss Terry Signiago of the Lynn Economic Opportunity Office; The Cambridge Institute; Mr. John Sloboda, Harvard Graduate School of Design student who has been assisting A.B.C.D. in the planning of the Chinatown Conference; Mr. Wing-Ning Pang and Mr. Frank Wing, both graduates of the Harvard Graduate School of Design; Mrs. Caroline Chang, Director of the Chinatown Little Hall and her colleagues Mr. Peter Chan, John Chan and others; Mr. Edward Goon, President of the Chinese-American Civic Association, its Council members and its Building Committee members; leaders
of most of the Chinatown community organizations and numerous public agencies; Professor Mania Seferi, Director of the Harvard Urban Field Service and its Supervisor, Professor Tunney Lee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Professor Wilhelm von Moltke, Director of the Harvard Urban Design Program and its Supervisor, Professor Theodore Monachelli; and Professor James Brown, Assistant Chairman, Harvard Department of City and Regional Planning.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our heartiest thanks for their supports and co-operations, without which the completion of this report would not have been possible.

Special mention should be made of the contributions of the six Neighborhood Youth Corps student workers associated with the "Chinatown Planning Project": Miss Jean Yee, Miss Carol Yee, Mr. James Lim, Mr. David Wong, Mr. Edward Tow and Mr. Andy Mui.
A. INTRODUCTION

The role of Boston's Chinatown as an important regional node cannot be overemphasized. The general emphasis of this study was that strong ethnic communities are a vital component of the urban fabric of any city and should be bolstered at every opportunity, rather than homogenized into an amorphous urban population. These strong ethnic communities serve very real functions as social welfare institutions by creating a sense of place and social identity, not only for immigrants but for long-term residents within the boundaries of the community and throughout the region. Additionally, these strong ethnic communities provide a touch of essential color to an otherwise non-characteristic urban setting.

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It is apparent that certain forces are at work to weaken the function of Boston's Chinatown as a strong ethnic community and regional node. This report is an attempt to identify those forces, to investigate impacts, to identify efforts presently underway within the community to reinforce its existence, and to suggest potential alternatives in ameliorating the forces of urban change at work in the Chinatown so as to harness them for the benefit of the Chinese community.

This report summarizes a concentrated five month study on the planning of Chinatown. It is intended to establish a background for a community instigated "Conference on the Future of Chinatown." Such "planning" is not conceived as a traditional static, "master plan" for the community, but a dynamic, interpersonal planning-for-planning process of making Chinatown a better, stronger place by mending its present disjointed physical/visual structure.

The results of the first steps in this process are summarized below, and expanded in the body of this report.
The following is a list of possible physical planning proposals for Chinatown culled from detailed interviews with community organizations and users, and designed to meet various community needs, in addition to programs that are already underway. These proposals are classified as either high, medium or low probability fulfillment based on an assessment of the anticipated capability of the Chinese community to plan for and meet its needs.

HIGH PROBABILITY:
1. Low-Moderate Income Rehabilitated Housing.
2. Landscaped Parks/Sitting Areas.
3. Day Care Center.
4. Elderly Drop-in Center.
5. Additional English Teaching Facilities.
6. Infill/Rehabilitated Residential-related Commercial Development.

MEDIUM PROBABILITY:
1. Low-Moderate Income Housing.
2. Small Playgrounds and Tot-lots.
3. Pedestrian Streets.
4. General Landscaping of Chinatown/Landscape Parking Lots/Landscape Screen of Turnpike and Expressway.
5. Small Indoor Recreation Areas.
7. Nursing Home/Community Clinic/Elderly Housing Developed with T-NEMC's Expansion.
8. New Chinese Community Center (C.C.B.A., Little City Hall, Chinese Cultural Center, Premises for Community Organizations).

LOW PROBABILITY:
1. Middle Income Housing (Condominium and Rental).
2. Large Playground.
4. New Multi-Level Commercial Complex with Shopping and Banqueting Facilities.
5. Boarding House for Workers/Stores/Workers and Sailors Social Center/Workers' Union/Job Training Center.
7. Community-related Parking Facility.
8. Possible Chinese Development on BRA Parcel 5 in the Central Business District.

The above physical planning proposals are in fact the "SHELLS" of the social, economic, political and cultural needs of the Chinese community. However, despite their importance, the present organization for planning and implementation may prevent the accomplishment of these needs. Planning for the future of Chinatown is being done on an ad hoc, part-time basis. In order to accomplish even the high probability items shown above, a full-time effort must be initiated by a body that will represent the young and old, conservative and liberal, rich and poor, Chinatown residents and suburbanites, American-born Chinese and Chinese immigrants alike. Without this full-time organization, the needs of the Chinese community will never be met in an efficient manner, the impacts of the surrounding developments will not be alleviated, and Chinatown will continue to become disjointed until it no longer exists as a regional commercial/cultural node.
This section is an historical abstract of the relationship between the Chinese community and the Urban Field Service. It describes the basic philosophy taken by UFS in relation to the request from the Chinese community to develop a "Master Plan" for the future of Chinatown, the original ideas regarding how the project was approached, how these ideas changed over time, and some specific problems of administration of the project, plus some suggested solutions.

We feel that it is critical to use hindsight on an experience such as this, to critically analyze its problems, potentials, and implications for future similar situations. Such information and analysis is of value not only to UFS, but to the Chinese community in their continuing process of planning for the future.
The Chinatown Planning Project (C.P.F.) was established in May 1971 at the request of the Chinese-American Civic Association for assistance by the Urban Field Service in developing a "Master Plan" for Boston's Chinatown. UPS felt, however, that a consultant-developed "Master Plan" would neither meet the community's needs nor achieve the broad-based support essential to community development. The basic philosophy adopted by UPS was to assist the community, through the C.A.C.A. Building Committee, in developing the tools to do its own planning for future development.

In April 1971 a formal "PROPOSAL" was submitted by UPS to C.A.C.A. that outlined the original goals for the Chinatown Planning Project:

"The general role of the Urban Field Service in relation to the Chinatown study is to serve with the Chinese community. Ideally this role is an advisory one, in which the UFS personnel work with the community in establishing a framework for action, while the direct implementation of change is accomplished by the community itself. The purpose of this June-September increment of study, therefore, is to develop tools for use by the Chinese community in their long range development. These tools are envisioned as devices of information and education:

- maps
- written documents
- design proposals
- names
- organizations
- telephone numbers
- establishment of a cohesive Chinese development body of community leaders to insure implementation of development for the betterment of the community over time. It is
anticipated that the best means for accomplishment of these tools is through establishing an Urban Field Service Planning Office in Chinatown from May to September 1971, such that full time effort by Urban Field Service personnel can be closely coordinated with residents and leaders of the Chinese community, and that combined effort concertedly and efficiently applied. In conjunction with the "work space" of the Planning Office, it is proposed that a "display space" be established for education/information through community interaction. It is anticipated that the Chinese community will provide these spaces and certain minor support as a sign of commitment on their part."

Also in April 1971, the C.A.C.A., in conjunction with Action for Boston Community Development (A.B.C.D.), initiated the concept of a "Conference on the Future of Chinatown" as a means of enlisting interest from all members of the Chinese community, city, state, and federal government agencies, and as a means of formal organization for community planning and development. The conference was envisioned as a six-month period, in three phases, culminating in goals and organization for change:

pre-conference phase: survey existing studies and conduct new research on issues concerning Chinatown
conference phase: formal presentations to the community to further inform people of the issues
post-conference phase: various workshops to meet on a regular basis to expand the Conference proceedings and produce recommendations that will be assembled into a community plan to provide a foundation for the continued
development of Chinatown.

The effect of the establishment of the Conference was to clarify and focus UFS involvement on the gathering of basic planning data and to generate information on the problems and potentials of the Chinese community. At this time the original goals of the Chinatown Planning Project were modified as follows:

I  Primary Goal: Instigate community awareness of the importance (why?) and function (how?) of planning

II  Objectives:

A. Problems:
   (1) Chinatown's Existing Physical Conditions
       (1) boundaries (2) Gr. Boston's Chinese residences (3) Chinese related institutions (4) vacant lots and abandoned buildings (5) land disposition (6) Chinese owned land (7) Chinese residences (8) Chinese commercial (9) Chinese related industries (10) recreation (11) existing parking and traffic (12) Chinatown land use vs parking and roads
       (2) Users of Chinatown
           (1) Chinese population trends (1940-1970) (2) Community organizations (3) Users

       (3) Impact Studies of Surrounding Areas

B. Alternative Futures:
   (1) Do Nothing
   (2) Do Something
a. high probability of fulfillment
b. medium probability of fulfillment
c. low probability of fulfillment

C. Devices of Community Organization

(1) Recommended Steps for the Immediate Future

(2) A Chinatown Community Development Corporation

This outline of goals and objectives became the work assignments for the UFS team, and the UFS role was now considered more as a research gathering contribution and concept/issue generating contribution to the community-generated Conference, and less as a total community organization and planning task. With this in mind, the Chinatown Planning Project office was opened in late May 1971 at 18 Oxford Street in Chinatown, with two full-time Urban Field Service personnel and various part time volunteers from within the community and from UFS, plus six paid Neighborhood Youth Corps (N.Y.C.) high school students from the Chinese community.
During the Fall Term of 1970, Harvard University's Urban Field Service (UFS), under the direction of Prof. Mania Seferi, was invited by the Chinese-American Civic Association of Chinatown, Boston, to undertake the following tasks: (1) to look into the possibility of drawing up a Development Plan for Chinatown which would involve not only the physical construction and rehabilitation of buildings and homes, but also the social, cultural, recreational, educational and health aspects of the community; and (2) to study the feasibility of converting Pine Street Inn, currently an Alcoholic Drop-In Center, into a home for the elderly.

The findings of the UFS team, which consisted of three Harvard Graduate School of Design students and one MIT undergraduate student, under the supervision of Prof. Tunney Lee (MIT Planning), were as follows: (1) The task of producing a Development Plan should be a long-range one involving full community participation. This would require the gradual bringing together of all the Chinatown community associations, so that common goals could be formulated and constantly updated. As a prerequisite to this Development Plan, short-range community programs of common interest should be pursued immediately. (2) A survey of the Pine Street Inn by the UFS Team had indicated the unsuitable physical condition of the building for long-term residential use. An extensive renovation, including new plumbing and heating installations on every floor, would involve a substantial budget. This, together with the recently expressed unwillingness of the Alcoholic Drop-in Center to move without a definite commitment by the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) to relocate them, indicated that such a task was physically, economically and politically unfeasible.

In the beginning of the Spring Term of 1971, the UFS met again with CACA. The following facts were realized: (1) In view of the pressing need for more housing for the community's low-income families and elderly, together with related facilities such as Day Care Center and Elderly Drop-in Center, new alternative housing solutions should be explored immediately which should include both new construction and
rehabilitation on one or more of the BRA designated parcels under the South Cove Renewal Plan. These needs are not likely going to be fulfilled by the two recently planned housing projects in the same area (Tai Tung Village and Morgan Memorial) and the proposed New Quincy School in an adequate manner. (2) In spite of the community's understanding with the Mayor's Office regarding the protection of the former from future encroachment, the CACA has been made to believe that the Tufts-New England Medical Center (T-NEMC) are now planning to submit to the BRA in June, 1971, their Development "Feasibility Study," which would include the development of the R3 and R3a sites (parcels designated by the BRA in their South Cove Renewal Plan for "future acquisition"), sandwiched between the Tai Tung Village Housing and the proposed New Quincy School along the southern boundary of Chinatown, for "Sheltered Housing" (for handicaps). The Chinatown community regarded this as a direct threat to their future well-being. (3) The immediate relocation of the Pine Street Inn Alcoholic Drop-in Center is vital to the welfare of the entire residential neighborhood. The safety of the children playing in the adjacent playground and other near-by areas has long been threatened by the presence of the alcoholics and the broken bottles scattered around the building. The Boston Chinese Evangelical Church, who is at present sharing the same building, has no objection in evacuating since the domination of the Inn will be of benefit to the entire community. (4) The CACA has now been requested by the 70-year old Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, an umbrella agency that includes representatives of the twelve Chinatown organizations and family associations in its executive board, to develop a proposed master plan for Chinatown.

UFS efforts in the spring of 1971 were concentrated on items (1), (2), and (3), culminating in a development package for low-moderate income housing and related community facilities located on parcels R-3 and R-3a at the southern edge of Chinatown which could be submitted to BRA for designation of the Chinese community as developer of these sites. * Immediately following this effort, discussions began with CACA on accomplishment of item (4).

The concept of community generated, versus outside-consultant generated planning for future development may be the answer to responsive, responsible community planning, but the day-to-day workings of such planning are infinitely more complex and time-consuming. Following is a summary, for the UFS viewpoint, of the major problems encountered to date in setting up and operating the Chinatown Planning Project.

1. PROBLEMS IN CHINATOWN:

a. Generation of Interest in Community-Based Planning

Because of the recent history of consultant-generated "Master Planning," the Chinese community leaders first conceived of a traditional "Master Plan" as the starting point to resolving the multifarious problems of community generated planning, and unprepared to make the time commitment required in such planning, which often conflicted with other community concerns and personal interests of these leaders for their time commitments.

b. Acceptance of C.A.C.A./U.F.S. By the Community

Though the C.A.C.A. had been designated by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) as the organization to "generate a Master Plan for Chinatown," when work began the more conservative CCBA and more liberal factions in the community were reluctant to accept these community organization efforts, and in certain instances were reluctant to provide essential information. Gradually, confidence in the CACA/UFS efforts were built through numerous personal contacts, between CACA/UFS and the conservative/liberal factions, and through public information programs on local TV, radio, and newspapers. But even today, the spirit of total cooperation is not evident.

c. Difficulty in Obtaining Suitable Work Space

The early concepts of UFS physically working within the community in community-designated work and information spaces was a difficult concept to get across, partly due to items (1) and (2) above, and because of
the general lack of such facilities in the Chinatown area. This difficulty hindered early efforts in planning because it took approximately two months before suitable space, conducive to productive work, and open to community view, could be acquired.

d. Working With Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) Students

Early in the summer, an offer was made from the community to provide "as many Neighborhood Youth Corps students" as UFS could use. (NYC is an O.E.O. sponsored program that pays high school students to work in their communities during summer vacations.) With two full-time UFS members, we felt that approximately six students would be optimal, and were granted the request. The problem here was that the students were conscious of working during their "summer vacation" and therefore less interested in the problems of community planning. Also, in attempting to do such things as basic survey work, mapping and other more convention planning tasks, their lack of previous exposure to such techniques required extensive instruction time on the part of the UFS members. However, their knowledge of the community and the problems of their peers was invaluable in the overall planning efforts.

e. Money Problems

Even in the most modest planning effort, money can become a problem. In the original UFS proposal, a budget of $725.00 was requested from the community to provide an operating fund and to help in establishing personal commitment to the planning effort. The community was unable to provide the requested budget, however, and only through personal contributions by the two UFS members was the project allowed to proceed on any sort to time schedule. Eventually the C.A.C.A. was able to secure a $10,000 grant from the Federal Regional Council to sponsor the Conference on the Future of Chinatown, and the initial expenditure will be drawn from that grant.

Because of the lack of a general operating fund, a great amount of effort was required in "scrounging" basic items, even paper and pencils. Such scrounging of
materials was extremely time consuming and did not begin to meet material requirements, plus the efforts expended here could have been better applied to more essential tasks.

f. Community Attitudes in General

The conservative segment of the Chinese community has generally held the attitude of not complaining about their problems. This attitude of under-reaction made it difficult to ascertain community problems and needs through traditional survey techniques, and difficult to obtain personal commitments to anything that might "rock the boat" or lead to a "face-saving" situation.

PROBLEMS IN HARVARD/UFS ADMINISTRATION

a. UFS as Studio Credit

The basic concepts of UFS as a "real world" alternative to the more academic, esoteric planning/urban design studio, and as an opportunity for education in community involvement of the planner/designer are important. The incentive of providing studio credit for UFS projects is important because of the time commitment required of the UFS volunteer. A one-evening-per-week involvement with a community (as in the concept of UFS as an extracurricular activity) provides neither sufficient commitment nor sufficient time by the UFS volunteer to adequately serve both the academic and community needs. The Chinatown Planning Project required approximately 50 hours per week involvement by the two principal UFS volunteers, including various evening and weekend meetings with community members.

In this particular instance, the Chinatown Planning Project was set up as an "independent study" project responsible to both the department of City Planning at Harvard and the Urban Design Program. Because it was a summer project, and the Graduate School of Design does not offer summer courses of instruction, special arrangements were made with the Harvard Summer School program and with the individual departments to provide studio credit for UFS/Chinatown Planning Project.
b. Money Problems

As mentioned in the previous section, money in such a planning project can become a critical issue. It is felt that UFS funds in the form of "seed" money would have made the project far simpler to initiate and administer, would have precluded the heavy personal commitment of funds by the UFS volunteers (approximately $500), and would have diminished the heavy expenditure of UFS volunteer efforts in "scrounging" essential equipment and materials.

c. The Importance of Continuity in UFS Projects

In community involvement projects such as UFS, the traditional academic semester schedule can be in conflict with the pace if the community. One cannot depend on leaping into a community project at the beginning of the semester. This is compounded by the fact that first-year students in Harvard GSD cannot generally become involved with UFS projects because of heavy required commitments to more academic subjects. This leads to second-year students becoming the primary participants in UFS projects, with a maximum of two semesters available for participation in projects that may well go beyond this time limit. The professional staff of UFS provide a certain amount of continuity, but the opportunity for first-year students to work in UFS projects for academic credit would provide an even greater opportunity for this essential continuity. It is critical to the community or community group that continuity be maintained over the duration of the project. It is therefore essential that, as a minimum, a full time UFS staff be maintained, either through private funding or directly from the Graduate School of Design. Equally important is maintenance of student and staff participation/continuity over the "summer vacation." This should be fostered by (1) a paid staff, (2) academic studio credit for UFS volunteers and/or some form of payment. To do less would jeopardize the value of UFS to a community or group.
The major portion of UFS involvement in the first phase of the Conference on the Future of Chinatown has been completed. Much of the background research on the community and its needs has been summarized, development alternatives have been generated, publicity for the Conference in October is underway, and the Chinatown Planning Information Center is functioning. Future UFS involvement in the Chinese community will include participation in the Conference and post-conference proceedings, and possible involvement in more detailed definition of community needs such as planning/architectural feasibility studies. Future involvement will depend on community desires and the student volunteers in UFS.
INTRODUCTORY NOTE DESCRIBING TYPE OF INFORMATION SOUGHT AND PROBLEMS IN ACHIEVING THIS

In preparation for comprehensive community based planning for the future of Chinatown, it was essential to first understand and summarize the basic facts and trends in the community of Chinese who use Chinatown as a regional center. An attempt was made to gather not only basic demographic and other statistical data, but a survey of community opinion on the future of Chinatown.

The initial efforts concentrated on surveying existing studies of the entire metropolitan community followed by detailed surveys to either update or fill in this existing data base and to critically analyze it. Early efforts attempted to ascertain the physical and psychological boundaries of the Chinese community through analysis of this data, personal interviews, some cognitive mapping by young students, and just working in the Chinatown area. The planning group eventually settled on concentrating on the approximate physical boundaries of the area known as Chinatown, and analyzing this specific area in relation to its use by the Chinese in the Boston metropolitan region.

A block-by-block survey was conducted of Chinatown and its immediate surrounding areas, surveys were conducted of various community organizations and key individuals, and census data was summarized. An attempt was made to conduct a comprehensive survey of a sampling of the Chinese community in the Boston region to ascertain how they used Chinatown and conceived its problems and potentials. This attempt failed, however, because the people sampled refused to return the survey (only 8 out of approximately 200 questionnaires were returned). The intention was to distribute the survey through the N.Y.C. students, but either through mistrust of the intentions of the survey, or general lack of interest, the survey was not completed. This occurred despite a letter of introduction by the president of the C.A.C.A., and detailed explanation of the survey to supervisors of the N.Y.C. students.

This section, then, gives a picture of Chinatown up to 1971, with its problems and inherent potentials.
PRESENTATION OF FACTS
ON EXISTING CHINESE COMMUNITY
AND TRENDS
Boston's Chinese community, the fourth largest in the United States, is concentrated in the City's CHINATOWN, adjacent to the downtown area. Although Chinatown proper contains only one-fourth of the City's Chinese population, its role as a cultural and business center for greater Boston and surrounding cities' 114,000 Chinese and for an additional 5,000 Chinese throughout New England gives it an importance beyond its size. Beyond the 1,250 Chinese in Chinatown itself, there are considered to be an additional 2,900 in adjacent Castle Square and the South End, nearly 1,000 in Allston-Brighton, 500 in Parker Hill-Fenway, and over 1,000 scattered throughout other areas of the City. For all these, Chinatown remains the focal point for shopping, jobs, social life and entertainment.

Until rather recently, the problems caused by immigration and growth in the Chinese community seemed to be manageable in the traditional manner. The first major contact of the community with the outside institutions occurred with the BRA over the South Cove Urban Renewal Project. After a false start in 1956, the BRA determined in 1962 to proceed with the renewal of the South Cove area, largely for the benefit of the Tufts-New England Medical Center, which already had an ambitious expansion plan under consideration. After the BRA's plan became known, a memorandum of agreement between the Chinese community and Mayor Collins was signed in 1963, recognizing the damage done by highway construction and urban renewal and acknowledging the interests of the Chinese community in all property in the Chinatown portion of the South Cove area not already owned by the Medical Center. Despite this agreement, which did not afford full protection to the community, T-NEMC continued to expand and to receive favored treatment from the BRA.

Since the negotiation of the urban renewal agreement by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), the growing population of the area, the constant pressure of the external events, and the dissatisfaction of some segments of the community with the terms of the original memorandum led to the opening of renewed discussions with the City in 1969. A special committee comprised of members of the CCBA as well as from the Chinese-American Civic Association (CACA) and other organizations, negotiated a new agreement with the Mayor's Office early in 1970 which recognized the community's interest
in a larger area than before and affirmed its need to be protected from further encroachment. However, discussion with the community has prevented the ratification of the new agreement, while the legality of this form of contract remains at issue.

Meanwhile, several organizations have begun to take steps to deal with the community's problems. An appropriation from the Mayor's Office has enabled a Little City Hall to be set up, the first agency established to deal with Chinatown's problems directly. Various progressive elements in the community meanwhile have initiated community programs in their own separate ways, without the full support of the entire community.
Our objective for this survey was twofold:

1. To inform the community of what each organization has been doing and what its future plans are.

2. To use this information for an analysis of community organizations' proposed contributions toward community needs in Part IV of this study.

All the interviews were conducted during the entire month of August and the beginning of September this year. Although it was our original intention to canvass all Chinese organizations in the Chinatown area, we have only managed to interview 75% of them at the end since some organizations were suspicious of our intention while some others were not easy to reach due to their inactiveness.

In the survey, both direct and indirect contacts had to be made with representatives of the organizations, some more difficult than others. For those whom we thought might be suspicious of our intention, indirect initial contacts through their trusted friends have proved to be an extremely effective method. About 40% of the interviews were conducted in Cantonese, while the rest were in English.

NOTE:

* Affiliated with the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of New England

** Information not available due to reasons explained above
A. community wide organizations

CHINESE CONSOLIDATED BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

Purpose: To unite the fellowship of the overseas Chinese to develop their enterprises, to settle the conflicts among them, to work toward the welfare of the Chinese people, to promote friendship between Chinese and Americans, and to organize social welfare and charitable projects.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 14 Oxford St., gd. Fl. Boston (542-2574). One big room used for general administration, meetings and receptions. The same space is also being used by the Little City Hall.

Users: The entire membership consists of:


b) All Chinese Family Associations represented by eleven individual or joint representatives.

c) All Chinese individuals over 18 years of age who are residing in New England.

d) Business memberships (approximately 15 stores elected).

Management: The governing body consists of the president and other council members. Full-time employees include two Chinese secretaries, one English secretary, one executive and one superintendent. The Association is financially supported by membership subscriptions, fund-raising functions and contributions by the merchants and other individuals.

Present Activities:

a) Regular general meetings and daily dinner gatherings
by the Council Members

b) Sponsoring "Tai Tung Village," a 214-unit FHA 221
   (d) 3 Lower and Moderate Income Housing Project
   now under construction (between Hudson St., Oak
   St., and Harrison Ave.).

c) Discussing the sponsorship of another Lower and
   Moderate Income and Elderly Housing Project on the
   R3-R3a Site, next to Tai Tung Village.

Future Plans:

a) Community Center Development on the existing Quincy
   School site.

b) A Nursing Home.

Source:

a) Interview with Mr. Arthur Wong, C.C.B.A. council
   member

b) 1970-71 Student and Community Directory produced
   for the "Chinese Community Conference" in 1970

LITTLE CITY HALL

Purpose: To bring the services of the City to the local
neighborhood and to aid the Chinese community at large.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 14 Oxford St., Gd.Fl., Boston
(542-5931). One big room used for general administration,
meetings and receptions. The same space is also being
used by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association
of New England.

Users: All community members.

Management: Sponsored and financed by the City of Bos-
ton's Mayor's Office of Public Service. Its staff in-
clude one full-time Director ("the Mayor"), three summer
part-time assistants and other volunteer workers.
Present Activities:

a) Help community members get birth, marriage and death records.

b) Accept payments (by money order or registered check) for water, sewer and real estate tax bills.

c) Help community members to file applications for common tax abatements (overevaluations, elderly, blind, motor vehicle excise).

d) Help community members to apply for public housing and civil service jobs.

e) Help community members with social security questions.

f) Help community members register to vote.

g) Help community members to contact the Police, Fire, Parks & Recreation, Housing Inspection and Building Departments.

h) Help community members to bring complaints about City service to those who can do something about them.


j) Sponsoring the hot lunch program at the Golden Gate Center.

k) Works in conjunction with the Multi-service Center.

Future Plans: Related to the Mayor's Office of Public Service's future plans.

Source:

a) OPS Mayor's Office of Public Service Pamphlet.

c) Interview with Mrs. Caroline Chang, Director, Little City Hall.

QUONG KOW CHINESE SCHOOL

Purpose: To teach Chinese language and culture to children.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 18 Oxford St., 2nd Fl., Boston (542-6912). Accommodation includes four classrooms, one office, one entrance hall and washrooms in a building owned by the Chinese Merchants Association. While one classroom is being used for recreations, each of the remaining three classrooms is being shared by two classes simultaneously. For special large gatherings, the auditorium of the Chinese Merchants' Association's building is being used.

Users: There were 115 students last year as compared to about 90 the year before. About 50% were girls. Classes are from Grade 1 to Grade 6, being catered for children between the ages of 7 and 14. Nearly all of them come from Chinatown and Castle Square.

Management: The School is sponsored and financed by the Chinese Merchants' Association, and run by a Board of Governors elected for life from members of the Association. All tuitions and school materials are free. The teaching staff includes a principal and three teachers, all working part-time on a modest salary.

Present Activities: Classes are run from 4:30 P.M. to 7:30 P.M. from Monday to Friday and on alternate Saturdays. Homeworks and examinations are given regularly.

Future Plans:

a) An Alumni Association is being formed to maintain contacts and generate continuous interest in the Chinese language amongst the past-students.

b) To relocate all their recreational activities to the ground floor of the same building, so as to make room for an additional classroom up-stairs.
Comments by Person Interviewed:

a) Due to the late school hours, the provision of a school bus service is essential in order to maintain continuous supports by the parents, especially those living outside Chinatown.

b) Most children come only because their parents have "forced" them to. It is therefore important for the parents to be able to work closely with the School to explore ways of maintaining the students' interest, bearing in mind that most of the students have already got very tight regular school schedules of their own.

c) There is a great shortage of both space and staff. The maintenance of the building has not been kept at a satisfactory level by the owners. It is sincerely hoped that the Chinese Merchants' Association will be more sympathetic to the School's problems in the near future.

Source: Interview with Mrs. Emily Eng, Principal.

QUINCY SCHOOL COMMUNITY CENTER

Purpose: To be community representatives for the Quincy School Complex.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 34 Oak St., Boston (482-9165). A building with three floors containing offices, meeting rooms, a photography workshop and a large recreation space.

Users: The Quincy School Community Council is open to all interested members; anyone who works or lives in the South Cove is welcome.

Management: The Center is run by the Quincy School Community Council Board which is composed of representatives from Chinatown, Castle Square, Bay Village and Tufts-New England Medical Center. There are two coordinators. Funding comes from private foundations.

Present Activities:
a) Recreation program for young children.

b) A Day Care Center due to open in January 1972 for 14-3 to 5 year-old children from the South Cove area.

c) Committee on Learning, Health Committee and Architect's Committee.

Future Plans: As the building of the new Quincy School is completed in September, 1973, the Council wishes to develop a joint board, consisting of community, school board and medical voices. This board will be the administrative leader for the Quincy School Complex. They wish to include Social Services, recreational facilities and a health clinic in the Complex. The Council wishes to see more involvement with the community people, and has the desire to clarify exactly whom the Center will serve. It does not wish to overlap existing services.

Source: Information sought from Miss Winnie Lee, Coordinator

CHINESE DROP-IN CENTER (COFFEE HOUSE)

Purpose: A meeting place for any community group.

Address/Facilities: 81 Tyler St., Gd. Fl., Boston (267-4454). Two large rooms used for parties and meetings.

Users: The number varies from 100 to 200 (50% male) high school and college students from Chinatown and vicinity.

Management: The Center is run by the Chinese Community Center Board of Directors composed of college, community, and recreational representatives, with no funding. The staff consists of a number of A.B.C.D. summer workers (year-round not determined).

Present Activities: The Center offers a meeting place for both high school and college students. Drinks and refreshments are served daily, with an excellent atmosphere.
Future Plans: Undetermined at present due to leasing questions. Discussions on the lease are taking place with an attorney.

Comments by Person Interviewed: The future of this small place in the community is unknown at the present time because of leasing problems. Nevertheless programs are continuing to function, and the Center is serving a large number of teenage and college-age people.

Source: Information sought from Miss May Fong, member, Board of Directors.

- GOLDEN AGE CENTER: see Chinese-American Civic Association.
welfare and social services
B. oriented private organizations

**CHINESE-AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION**

**Purpose:** To promote the social betterment of and to engage in fields of endeavor for the Chinese-American community.

**Address/Phone/Facilities:** 18 Oxford St., 3rd Fl., Boston (617-646-5). Premises consist of two large meeting rooms and ancillary facilities subletted from and shared with the American Legion.

**Users:** There are 230 members, 30% of whom live in Chinatown and vicinity while the rest come from the suburbs.

**Present Activities:**

a) **The Building Committee:** 1. To undertake a Lower-Moderate Income and Elderly Housing Development Study on the R3-R3a Site in conjunction with the Harvard Urban Field Service. The proposal has recently been recommended to a newly-formed 9-member R3-R3a Development Committee of the C.C.B.A. for further action. 2. To prepare for a community-wide conference on October 22-24 this year which will provide an opportunity for the 18,000 Chinese in New England to discuss the future of Boston's Chinatown as a cultural, social and economic center for the region. 3. To formulate plans for the building of a permanent premises for the Association.

b) **The Golden Age Center** (239 Harrison Ave., Gd.Fl., Boston): An elderly drop-in center which has a dining room, kitchen and storage area in the basement. The Center provides hot lunch service and recreational space (TV, card-playing and reading) for approximately 25 elderly each day (50% male), nearly all of whom come from Chinatown and its surrounding areas. The hot lunch only costs 50¢ per person, since surplus food and donations both in the forms of food and money have been available. However, in order for the Center to continue to survive, a more permanent form of support is essential. Administration staff includes a director and other volunteered workers. A "Food Surplus Program"
is being planned at present which will enable the elderly to take home some of the available surplus food.

c) Multi-service Center: (237 Harrison Ave., 2nd Fl.,
Boston): The Center is presently acting as an em-
ployment and referral center. In addition, they
wish to include legal services, social services,
imigrant assistance, job training programs and
youth activities. They wish to group agencies to-
gether in the hope of providing a strong base from
which to gather Federal funds. The Center has one
secretary at present, and is seeking a director who
would have several co-ordinators working in the
areas of employment, health, education etc.

d) Adult Education Program: To provide English classes
for male and female adults. There are now 70 regu-
lar students (100 registered). Classes are conducted
at the Quincy School from Monday to Friday from
9:10 A.M. to 10:10 A.M. and from 1:30 P.M. to 2:30
P.M. There are three classes: Beginners', Inter-
mediate/Advanced and Citizenship. The teaching staff
consists of one full-time and three part-time
teachers who work with three volunteers and twelve
school students sponsored by the Action for Boston
Community Development Inc. The latter help to con-
duct private tuitions with audio aids. Students of
the Program are mainly restaurant workers between
the age of 25 and 45. The First Session has just
come to an end and the Second Session will be held
between Sept. 20 and Dec. 16 this year at the Quong
Kow School. The Program is in need of additional
funding in the form of financial supports from the
community and other sources.

e) Chinese Community Health Projects Task Force (205
Harrison Ave., 2nd Fl., Boston): A study group to
determine the community's health needs and ways of
providing health services. A report will be pub-
lished by them in the near future to illustrate
their findings.

f) Quincy School Council Representation: This group
is representing the Chinatown community jointly
with the residents of Bay Village and Castle Square
to provide in-put to the Chinese community needs for the School and the related community space.

g) The C.A.C.A. is also represented in the Community's 7-member Committee which negotiates with T-NEMC on any matters concerning Chinatown, e.g. Quincy School Housing and community space, health services, land acquisitions, employments and education.

h) The C.A.C.A. is the only organization representing Chinatown on the ABCD Board of Directors.

i) The C.A.C.A. is also represented by its three members in the 9-men R3-R3a Development Committee.

**Future Plans:**

a) To help the community to come up with a long-range Development Plan.

b) To promote Chinese cultural needs.

c) To help the community to build its Community Center.

**Source:** Telephone interview with Mr. Ed Goon, President.

**AMERICAN LEGION POST #328**

**Purpose:** To help the veterans of all wars to obtain G.I. benefits and to help the unfortunate ones in the community.

**Address/Phone/Facilities:** 18 Oxford St., 3rd Fl., Boston (L12-6485) Premises consist of two large meeting rooms and ancillary facilities rented from the Chinese Merchants' Association. The facilities are also being shared by the C.A.C.A.

**Users:** There are approximately 100 members, all male between the ages of 30 and 65, 97% of whom are from Boston.
Management: Under the National American Legion Charter and affiliated with the C.C.B.A. Financial supports come from membership dues and incomes from installation. The administrative staff consists of a commander, a vice-commander, an adjutant, a treasurer and 3 to 5 executive committeemen.

Present Activities:

a) Annual Post Installation and State Convention.
b) Monthly County meeting.
c) To motivate local leaders when events occur.

Future Plans:

a) Planning to acquire old age home for the elderly.
b) To rebuild its financial structure.

Source: Written information by Mr. David Ching, member.

CHINESE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION,*

Purpose: To oversee the general welfare of the Chinese Merchants and other Chinese residents of New England.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 20 Hudson Street, Boston (617-3972). Self-built modern building with offices, meeting rooms and an auditorium.

Users: There are 900 members, all male, approximately 30% of whom are from Chinatown, while the rest are from other areas of Greater Boston. The Association's role is also to serve all 18-60 year-old Chinese throughout New England.

Management: Affiliated with the C.C.B.A., the Association is financially supported by membership subscriptions and fund-raising functions. It has about 50 paid and volunteered staff members.

Present Activities: To help the Chinese merchants in their business problems.
Future Plans: To develop new apartments and store on Hudson St.

Source: Interview with Mr. Arthur Wong, member.

SOUTH COVE Y.M.C.A.*

Purpose: To serve South Cove communities (youth in particular) in as many aspects of life as possible.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 56 Tyler St., Boston (426-2237). The premises consist of both an old brick house and a new temporary "balcony" structure situated on a site owned by the B.R.A. The former is now being used as a dormitory while the latter houses a basketball court, an office and other recreational space. The temporary structure is heated in the winter and is expected to last for at least 7 years. Members of the Association are also making use of the swimming facilities at the Allston-Brighton Y.M.C.A.

Users: There are more than 300 members, 60% male, 40% female. Over 85% of them are Chinese (mainly young adults and teenagers), about 30% of whom are from Chinatown and vicinity while the rest come from the Boston suburbs.

Management: The Association is sponsored by the Greater Boston Y.M.C.A. and is affiliated with the C.C.B.A. While part of its financial supports come from the Greater Boston Y.M.C.A. and the United Community Services, the rest are from membership subscriptions, and fund-raising functions. Its staff consists of a Director and an Assistant Director, and about 20 part-time workers during the summer and other times.

Present Activities:

1) Recreational programs.
2) Adult educations.
3) Day camp.
4) Job placement service.
5) Dormitory for 14 Chinese restaurant workers for $1.40 per night.
6) Services for the garment industry workers.
Future Plans: Ideally, the Association would like to have a permanent new building in Chinatown in the near future. Its existing membership is expected to increase to 500 by the end of this fiscal year.

Comments by Person Interviewed: The Y has no intention of joining the New Quincy School Complex, for the general consensus of opinion is that this would tend to take away the "Chinese" quality of the Y which is worth preserving. In the past, there has been a tendency for some of the members to leave the Association and form their own clubs after a while. The Association is accepting this as something natural and would like all the same to keep up its contacts with them.

Source: Interview with Mr. Bill Bray, Director.

CHINESE AMERICANS FOR TOMORROW

Purpose: To devote their time for serving projects for Chinatown.

Address/Phone/Facilities: There is no permanent address (482-1299 c/o Stephanie Wong). The organization conducts a tutoring program at the Quincy School, Tyler Street, Boston.

Users: There are approximately 15 male and 15 female college-age members coming from Boston and vicinity.

Management: Some college students are volunteering as tutors.

Present Activities: The tutoring program is aimed at 6th through 10th graders. There are approximately 30-40 tutees and 20 tutors, the former come mainly from Chinatown and the South End.

Future Plans: CAT plans to continue the tutoring program during the school months, under the supervision of a director.

Source: Information sought from Mr. Jeffrey Wong, member.
BOSTON CHINESE YOUTH ASSOCIATION.

Purpose: To contact the Chinese youth and promote friendship as well as learning with the aim of serving mankind.

Address/Facilities: The Association is temporarily using the Chinese Community Center (Coffee House) at 81 Tyler Street as its base.

Users: Its 25 members (40% male, 60% female) come mainly from Hong Kong. They are all between the ages of 16 and 25, living mainly in the Chinatown and Castle Square areas.

Management: A privately run organization funded by membership subscriptions and fund-raising functions. Its administrative committee consists of a chairman and six other members.

Present Activities: Regularly held sports and social functions.

Future Plans:

a) The publication of an Association Calendar.

b) A Christmas dance.

c) To organize a summer chartered flight back to Hong Kong in 1972.

Source: Interview with Mr. Peter Chan, Chairman.

BOSTON CHINATOWN BOYS CLUB.

Purpose: A social club for the teen-age and below-teen-age groups.

Address/Facilities: 888 Washington St., 1st and 2nd Fl., Boston. Its premises belong to the B.R.A. The place has recently been renovated for indoor recreational use.
Users: There are about 50 boy-members between the ages of 8 and 19, who come mainly from Chinatown and Castle Square.

Management: The Club is funded by donations and other fund-raising functions. A staff of two has been salaried by the Park and Recreation Department.

Present Activities: Boy scouts, a baseball team and a drop-in center.

Future Plans:

a) To expand membership to include some girls.

b) To organize more social and recreational activities and to have a library.

Source: Information sought from Mr. David Wong, NYC Worker.

BOSTON CHINATOWN GIRLS' CLUB.

Purpose: To give girls a base for conducting recreational and social activities and service projects for Chinatown.

Address/Facilities: The Club is presently approaching various groups about a premises, the most likely being the 3rd floor of the Golden Age Center or the Don Bosco High School.

Users: There are about 30 members, aged 12 and up, coming from Chinatown and Boston's vicinity.

Management: The Club is presently sponsored by Miss May Fong and Miss Elaine Shiang. In terms of its financial supports, the Club makes its own money when needed.

Present Activities: Recreations, tutoring services, volunteer programs for the Chinese community, counseling and homemaking. The Club also wants to secure its own premises.

Future Plans: the Girls' Club wishes to develop a
program where girls from many backgrounds may come and share ideas.

Comments by Person Interviewed: The Girls' Club hopes to gather support from many sectors of the Chinese community in Chinatown and other parts of Greater Boston.

Source: Information sought from Miss Elaine Shiang, co-sponsor.

HOY KEW CO.*

Purpose: A sailors' recreation and social club.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 70 Beach St., Boston (338-9138). A rented premises which include room for a ping pong table, a billiard table and a reading room.

Users: Its members include 160 sailors between the ages of 20 and 50.

Management: A private corporation affiliated with the C.C.B.A. Funding sources include membership subscriptions and private donations. Its officers consist of a president, a vice-president, and 24 other committee members.

Present Activities: Daily free food service for its members.

Future Plans: The organization is planning to start a Federal Credit Union for its members.

Comments by Person Interviewed: The organization wishes to gain continuous moral and financial supports from the community.

Source: Interview with Mr. Yee Tse Ngong, Chairman.

KOU MIN TANG OF BOSTON (CHINESE NATIONALIST PARTY).*

Purpose: A political organization.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 17 Hudson St., 1st Fl., Boston (338-5427). Its rented premises include meeting
rooms and other recreational spaces.

Users: Its membership of approximately 100 include mainly elderly people plus 10-20 young men, most of whom come from the Boston suburbs.

Management: An independent political body affiliated with the C.C.B.A. and funded by membership subscriptions and fund-raising functions. All of its officers are volunteers.

Present Activities: To organize the October 10 Celebration (Nationalist China's national celebration).

Future Plans: None

Source: Telephone interview with Mr. Gerry Chu, member.

CHINESE FREE MASONs (6 Tyler St., Boston, 542-1387),***

HIP SING ASSOCIATION (251 Shawmut Ave., Boston, 426-0664).***

NI LUN ASSOCIATION (22 Tyler St., Boston, 338-9526).***

FREE CHINATOWN COMMITTEE,**

HOY TIN ASSOCIATION (50 Beach St., Boston),**
sports and recreation

C. oriented private organizations

KEW SING MUSIC CLUB*

Purpose: A social and recreation club for the promotion of both classical and modern Chinese music (playing and learning).

Address/Phone/Facilities: 2 Tyler St., Boston (542-7732). Premises rented from the Chinese Merchants' Association, consisting of music rooms and space for meeting and reading.

Users: There are 150-160 members, between the ages of 30 and 40 (80% male, 20% female). About 60% live in Chinatown and vicinity while the rest come from other parts of Greater Boston.

Management: Affiliated with the C.C.B.A. and funded by membership subscriptions and other contributions. There are 20 volunteered staff members.

Present Activities: The Club has about 4 general meetings per year. Group music practices are held nightly. Beginners and non-players are also welcome.

Future Plans: None.

Source: Interview with Mr. Arthur Wong, member.

GUNG HO CLUB

Purpose: An athletic club.

Address/Facilities: 6 Tyler St., 1st Fl., Boston. One room.

Users: There are about 30 members between the ages of 15 and 21, half of whom are foreign-born. They come mainly from the South End.

Management: Affiliated with the Free Masons, and funded by membership subscriptions and fund-raising functions.

Present Activities: Chinese boxing and informal meetings.

Future Plans: None.
Source: Information sought from Mr. Jim Fong and Mr. David Wong, community workers.

**BAMBOO HUT CLUB**

**Purpose:** An athletic club.

**Address/Facilities:** 70 Beach St., 5th Fl., Boston. Its rented premises include a hall and a small room, with inadequate heating during the winter.

**Users:** It has about 30 members (4 non-Chinese, 1 female) who are mostly foreign-born. Nearly all of them live in Chinatown and Castle Square.

**Management:** The Club is sponsored by Mr. Winchell Woo, proprietor of the Bamboo Hut chain of restaurants. Its funding comes from Mr. Woo's personal and membership subscriptions. There are 5 staff members.

**Present Activities:** Chinese boxing, lion dance and social gatherings.

**Future Plans:** The Club welcomes more Chinese and Non-Chinese members in order to improve its financial situation.

**Source:** Interview with Mr. Chan Man-Ho, President.

**KNIGHTS CHINESE ATHLETIC CLUB**

**Purpose:** To provide a means for inner-city sports and social gathering for U.S.-born members.

**Address/Facilities:** 18 Oxford St., 5th Fl., Boston. It occupies one entire floor of the building owned by the Merchants. The space includes one large room, two small rooms and one entrance hall.

**Users:** There are approximately 50 members, mainly American-born. About 60% of them are between the ages of 22 and 24, 20% 25-30 and the rest 16-21. Approximately 70% of the members live outside Chinatown.

**Management:** The Club is self-supporting through membership subscriptions, Chinese New Year "red packets"
handed out by the stores in Chinatown and other fund-raising functions.

Present Activities: Annual volley-ball and basket-ball tournaments (inter-Chinatown).

Future Plans: None.

Comments by Person Interviewed: Although originally started off as an athletic club, it has now become more social-oriented.

Source: Interview with Mr. Jim Fong, member.

**KIU TING ATHLETIC CLUB**

Purpose: To promote athletic activities.

Address/Facilities: 219 Harrison Ave., Boston (postal address). The Club borrows its premises from the Kew Sing Music Club. Its members sometimes play volley-ball in the parking lot behind the Golden Gate Restaurant.

Users: There are about 25 male members between the ages of 17 and 25, who came mainly from Hong Kong. All of them are dwellers of Chinatown and its surrounding areas.

Management: Funded by membership subscriptions and fund-raising functions.

Present Activities: Volley-ball, basket-ball, ping pong, soccer and bowling. The Club also organizes Inter-Chinatown tournaments.

Future Plans: The Club hopes to be able to send a team to the Chinatown Annual Sports Tournament in New York next year. They also hope to organize a Boston Chinese bowling tournament.

Source: Interview with Mr. Jim Fong, community worker.

**CHINESE WOMEN'S CLUB OF NEW ENGLAND (2 Tyler St., Boston, 426-1983)**
D. religious organizations

BO§TON CHINESE EVANGELICAL CHURCH*

Purpose: To spread Christian fellowship and participate in community projects.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 8-10 Pine St., Boston (734-0329; c/o Rev. James Tam). Its premises are rented from the BRA. It has one large room which is used as a chapel and three smaller rooms used for Sunday school. The Pine Street and Alcoholic Drop-in Center are also being housed in the same building.

Users: The size of the congregation is approximately 1,400, of which 40% are male. Most of them are middle-aged professionals and college students. The majority come from Chinatown and Castle Square, while others come from places as far as Framingham.

Management: An independent church body affiliated with the C.C.B.A. and financially supported by Sunday offerings and contributions by individuals. The administrative staff consists of Rev. Tam and one social worker. There are also eleven volunteered Sunday school teachers and a fair number of youth group advisors.

Present Activities:

a) Cantonese/English service on Sunday.
b) English classes on Sunday.
c) Eleven Sunday School classes (80 children). The Church provides school pick-up service.
d) Sunday afternoon College Students fellowship.
e) Women Fellowships at members' homes.
f) Family meetings, prayer meetings and Bible classes.
g) Religious classes every Wednesday.
h) Social welfare service to the community.
i) Help some community members to solve their immigration problems.
j) Provide services for the elderly.
k) Visiting families, prisons and hospitals.
l) Church choir.

Future Plans:

a) Would like to start Saturday English classes.
b) Would like to start a day care center.
c) Would like to participate more on community elderly welfare programs in general.
d) Would like to start a Sailors' Welfare center.

Comments by Person Interviewed: With the R3-R3a Development Proposal now underway, it is essential that the Development Committee should allow for the Church's relocation on the same parcel before the demolition of the existing Pine Street Inn.

Source: Interview with Rev. James Tam, Pastor.

CHINESE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF NEW ENGLAND.

Purpose: An interdenominational and interracial church.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 60 Harvard St., Boston (338-8789 or 428-4710). Part of its own two-storey building is used temporarily as a church premises, while the rest of it now houses Rev. Peter Shih and his family.

Users: Before the burning down of their chapel three years ago, the size of the congregation was approximately 150. Now the number has reduced to approximately 75, 80% of whom are from the suburbs.

Management: Affiliated with the Methodist, Baptist, Episcopel, Congregational and Presbyterian church bodies. One-fourth of the Church's annual budget is covered by church offerings, while the rest come from pledges by the above mentioned churches and others. The Church is governed by a Board of Trustees (15 Chinese, 15 non-Chinese), who work closely with Rev. Peter Shih, his son Rev. David Shih, a superintendent and other volunteered parish workers.

Present Activities:

a) Volunteered teachers conduct private English classes at homes of students.
b) Help community and Chinese refugees to solve their immigration problems.
c) Sunday school.
d) A program has been set up to enable newly immigrated children to stay with U.S. families for the summer to learn English.
e) A day care center serving 17 children of Chinatown.
f) Morning and evening worships on Sundays.

Future Plans:

a) To re-develop their own site for 115 units of Elderly Housing which will incorporate a 2000 sq.ft. common room to be used for Sunday workshops, a new day care center and/or other social and recreational functions. Construction of the building is expected to begin in September 1972.

b) The Church is also planning another day care center in Castle Square to serve 18 children in the area, scheduled to be opened in September 1971. This space is also intended to be used as a temporary church premises during the construction of the new Elderly Housing.

Comments by Person Interviewed:

a) The Church is looking forward to better understandings with the Chinese Merchants and the other churches in the area.

b) Due to the irregular restaurant working hours, the Church has had much difficulty in attracting new attendents from this area of work.

Source: Interview with Rev. Peter Shih, Pastor.

ST. JAMES CHURCH

Purpose: A Catholic church which services the Chinese community and other surrounding areas.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 9 Whitmore St., Boston (542-8498). The Church owns the entire complex which consists of the church building and a rectory. The former contains a large hall in the basement which is used for week-day masses, confessions and social functions, and a 2000-seat chapel on the main floor, which is used for Sunday masses.

Users: The Church has a congregation of approximately 4000, about 10% of whom are Chinese, mostly from the
suburbs.

Management: The Church is run by the Secular Priests with the Boston Downtown Parish, overseen by the Archdioces of Boston. Financial supports come from Church offerings and funding from the Archdioces. It has four priests, who work closely with the Maryknoll Sisters.

Present Activities: Masses are celebrated three times while Confessions are held twice each day. There are 13 masses held on Sundays, with the 10 A.M. one celebrated in Chinese. Other Chinese-related activities include Chinese summer school, a Chinese Center which is primarily a youth center for 150 Chinese children. Other activities include the girl scouts, boyscouts, religions, social and cultural functions.

Future Plans: To try to adapt to what will be happening to urban renewal in the surrounding areas.

Comments by Person Interviewed:

a) Construction works in the surrounding areas at present have been causing some hardship on the Church's parking.

b) The present trend of "urban sprawl" has resulted in an unstable nucleus of the congregation. As a result, the Church seems to be playing a greater and greater role in serving the suburbanites rather than the downtown (or Chinatown) dwellers.

Source: Interview with Rev. Fr. Alan Roche of the Church.

MARYKNOLL SISTERS' CENTER

Purpose: To serve the Chinese people.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 78 Tyler St., Boston (482-2949). A small brick building, owned by the Boston Archdioces, consists of a chapel, a craft room, a sitting room and living quarters for the Sisters. For large gatherings, sometimes the Quincy School Hall or the St. James Church Hall is used.
Users: The Center serves mainly Chinatown, South End and Castle Square residents, between the ages of 17 and 30.

Management: The Center is affiliated with St. James Church and sponsored by the Boston's Archdioces. Financial supports come from the Maryknoll League members through fund-raising dinners and fashion shows etc. There are three Sisters, one to be replaced in the near future.

Present Activities: Adult education, Catholic religious instructions, Girls Club, Brownies, girls scouts, family and hospital visits, sewing classes, driving lessons, and citizenship classes. The Center has also helped community members to get jobs and to solve their immigration problems.

Future Plans: None. By "services at limited geared to meet the resident workers."

Comments by Person Interviewed: Future expansion of the Center is necessary but this might create a financial problem. Volunteered teachers for tutorial classes are needed.

Source: Interview with Sister Monica Marie of the Center.
E. family associations

- **WONG FAMILY ASSOCIATION**

  **Purpose:** A family association.

  **Address/Phone/Facilities:** 10 Hudson St., Boston (426-2382). The Association owns a series of adjoining buildings which consist of apartments, offices, meeting and recreational spaces.

  **Users:** There are over 600 adult members in New England (approximately 400 in Boston, large number of whom live in Chinatown and vicinity). Total membership is 1000.

  **Management:** Affiliated with the C.C.B.A. and funded by membership subscriptions and donations.

  **Present Activities:** Information unobtainable.

  **Future Plans:** A complete renovation and extension of its existing premises in the near future.

  **Source:** Casual conversation with Mr. Arthur Wong, member, and information sought from Mr. Paul Chan, Conference Co-ordinator.

- **LEE SHEE ASSOCIATION**

  **Purpose:** A family association.

  **Address/Phone/Facilities:** 10 Tyler St., Boston (338-8988). The Association owns its own building.

  **Users:** There are more than 1000 members, approximately 150 of whom reside in Chinatown while the rest are from the Boston suburbs and other parts of New England.

  **Management:** Affiliated with the C.C.B.A. Its governing body consists of a president, a vice-president and other committee members. Funding comes from members' donations the beginning of each year.

  **Present Activities:** There are 5 or 6 Annual Tea Parties. The Association runs a Federal Credit Union, a small saving bank for the benefit of its members. It also conducts Chinese language classes.
Future Plans: When the Credit Union has enough money, the Association is hoping to buy some more properties.

Source: Interview with Mr. Lee Hok Yoke, President.

GEE HOW TIN (CHIN) ASSOCIATION*

Purpose: A family association.

Address/Phone/Facilities: 77 Harrison Ave., Boston (542-1585). The Association owns a couple of buildings.

Users: While total membership is about 1600, there are only 370 paying-members. Only a small percentage of the total membership is from Chinatown.

Management: Affiliated with the C.C.B.A. and funded by membership subscriptions and donations. Its staff consists of a president, a vice-president, 2 English secretaries, one Chinese secretary, an executive, a treasurer and an auditor.

Present Activities: There are more than eight meetings per year of a general nature.

Future Plans:

a) To start a Federal Credit Union.

b) To organize Association outings.

c) To provide scholarships for high school students.

d) Would like to organize more activities for young members.

Comments by Person Interviewed: The Association welcomes more young members and volunteered workers.

Source: Telephphone interview with Mr. Bill Chin, member.

GEE FAMILY ASSOCIATION (joint C.C.B.A. representation with the Eng Family Association)*

Purpose: To maintain family contacts and promote welfare.
Address/Facilities: 17 Hudson St., Boston. A rented premises consisting of a reading room, a meeting room and a dining area.

Users: There are approximately 200 members (52 families and individuals), 70% of whom live within the Greater Boston area.

Management: Affiliated with the C.C.B.A., and funded by membership subscriptions ($12 per year) and contributions. Staff members include a chairman, a vice-chairman, 2 Chinese secretaries, 2 English secretaries, a treasurer, a public relations officer, an auditor and a maintenance personnel.

Present Activities: Chinese New Year Eve Party, Spring Dinner, Annual Children Party, Women's Club (a discussion group) which meets once a month.

Future Plans: To expand activities for children of members.

Source: Interview with Mr. Gee of the C.C.B.A.

- LEONG/LUI/FONG/KWONG FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS (14 Oxford St., Boston) ***
- LEW FAMILY ASSOCIATION (32 Oxford St., Boston) ***
- MOY SHEE ASSOCIATION (Beach St., Boston) ***
- SGO-HOO/LIM/TANG/TSE/AU/TSANG/HEW/SEID FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS (36 Harrison Ave., Boston) ***
- YEE FAMILY ASSOCIATION (32 Harrison Ave., Boston) ***
- GOON FAMILY ASSOCIATION (28 Oxford St., Boston) ***
- TOY/NG/CHEW/YOUNG FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS ***
3. SURVEY OF CHINATOWN'S EXISTING PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

1. BOUNDARIES:
The so-called "Chinatown boundary" (1970 Draft Memo) falls within three separate urban renewal areas: South End, South Cove and the Central Business District. This has resulted in uncoordinated planning for the future of Chinatown. (Source: BRA and ABCD Report, 1970).
(Illustration 1.)

2. CHINESE RESIDENCES: (Greater Boston.)
The majority of Chinese residences in Greater Boston are located outside the Chinatown area. (Source: Voters Listing 1970)
(Illustration 2.)

3. CHINESE RELATED INSTITUTIONS:
Twelve community organizations and eleven family-association represented bodies are affiliated with the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of New England. (Source: CCBA).
(Illustration 3.)
4. **VACANT LOTS AND ABANDONED BUILDINGS:**
All the vacant lots and abandoned buildings in Chinatown can be better utilized.
(Source: Urban Field Service observations) 
(Illustration 4.)

5. **LAND DISPOSITION:**
Land is being acquired by the BRA for urban renewal. Land within the Chinatown area is being sought for purchases by the BRA below the market price.
(Source: BRA).
(Illustration 5.)

6. **CHINESE OWNED LAND:**
Only a small amount of land in Chinatown is actually owned by the Chinese. The majority of property is owned by Tufts-New England Medical Center, the BRA and others. (Source: 1970 Assessments) 
(Illustration 6.)
7. CHINESE RESIDENCES:
Due to highway construction, urban renewal, and business and institutional expansion, a large number of Chinese residences have been moved beyond the original Chinatown area to Castle Square and other areas in the South End. (Source: UFS door-to-door survey and Voters Listing 1970).
(Illustration 7.)

8. CHINESE COMMERCIAL:
The Chinese commercial district is confined to the northern part of the so-called "Chinatown Area," a fair distance away from the majority of Chinatown residences which are in the southern part. (Illustration 8.)

9. CHINESE RELATED INDUSTRIES:
Chinese related industries (garment manufacturers, food producers) are few and diminishing. Their future is endangered by development pressures in the Central Business District. (Source: UFS observations) (Illustration 9.)
10. RECREATION:
Recreation areas in Chinatown are extremely inadequate in terms of their size, number and facilities. (Source: Mr. Jim Fong and UFS observations.)
(Illustration 10.)

11. EXISTING PARKING AND TRAFFIC:
The present Chinatown traffic problems include an excessive amount of through traffic, inadequate parking space, and the lack of loading and unloading zones for the restaurants, retail stores and industrial buildings. (Source: UFS observations.)
(Illustration 11.)

12. CHINATOWN LAND USE vs PARKING AND ROADS:
Approximately 40% of the land area in Chinatown is devoted to roads and parking. If the expressway and turnpike were included, the percentage would be even higher. (The ideal percentage should be 20-25% for roads and parking.) (Source: UFS observations.)
(Illustration 12.)
13. EXISTING CHINATOWN LAND USE:
A multi-level Land Use Map of Chinatown has now been completed for use by the community. It includes residential, commercial, institutional, industrial and parking land-uses. (Source: UFS.)
(Illustration 13.)
The Chinese population in Boston has experienced a tremendous increase in the last decade. Between 1960 and 1970, the estimate population grew from 5,200 to 6,750. This increase is mainly the result of the enactment of more lenient immigration legislation in 1965. During the peak year, 355 Chinese immigrants settled in Boston, out of a total of 697 who entered Massachusetts. In 1968 and 1969 the number of immigrants who came to Boston remained between 200 and 250 per year. Unless there are other major changes in immigration policies, Boston will continue to receive 200 to 250 Chinese immigrants per year. Allowing for natural increase, Boston's Chinese population is expected to grow at the rate of about 300 persons per year.

Even though the Chinese population of greater Boston and its surrounding cities has nearly doubled within the last decade, the Chinese population in Boston Chinatown has actually decreased by 25%. Statistics indicate that population growth occurs in other areas in Boston - mainly the South End, Allston-Brighton, Back Bay-Beacon Hill, and Mattapan. Chinatown's reduction of population is due mainly to the reduction of original housing units by redevelopment and highway construction and the low level of new housing supply. It can be surmised that established Chinese communities in other areas will continue to attract immigrants to a greater extent than Chinatown.

Similar to trends in other U.S. metropolitan areas, there are indications that in the last decade, well to do Chinese families have been moving out of Boston to reside in suburbs and neighboring cities. The rate is much less than the metropolitan area as a whole. However, this is expected to increase as the Chinese population becomes more economically and socially mobile. (Table A and Illustration 14.)
Table A: Chinese Population in Chinatown, Other Parts of Boston and Surrounding Cities Approximately Within Route 195 (1940-1970)*

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* For a more detailed analysis on Chinese population change, see ABCD Report-1970.
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<td>2086</td>
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(Source: 1. 1940, 1950 & 1960 Census Reports: General Characteristics of the Population for Urban Places of 10,000 or More.)
For 1950, Chinese Population = 80% of Population of Other Races. For 1940 & 1960, Chinese Population Figures are specified.


It would be interesting for us to compare the Chinese population trend with that of expansion of Chinese restaurants in Boston and surrounding areas. While the total number of Chinese restaurants have increased by nearly 25% within the last decade, their number in Chinatown has actually decreased by 45%. This is largely the result of shortage of suitable new commercial space, due to urban renewal and highway construction, high rent, shortage of parking space for customers, and high competition between restaurants in the already saturated market within the Chinatown area, as against a more attractive market and lower development costs in the suburban areas. (Table B and Illustration 15.)

Table B: Chinese Restaurants in Chinatown and Other Parts of Greater Boston (1940-1970).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Other Parts of Greater Boston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>84</td>
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</table>

(Source: Boston Area Yellow Pages Directories, 1940-1970)
Population changes in Chinatown in the future will depend mainly on the availability of adequate housing for new immigrants, locations of future employment (restaurants, laundries etc.), and families wishing to return to Chinatown. These groups will probably be in the low and moderate income category with language and employment problems. The number of middle and upper income families returning will be minimal because Chinatown is less competitive than suburban developments. Potential urban dwellers, young professionals without a family and older families whose children have left, will find Chinatown less favorable than other developments in Boston and Cambridge. However, the elderly will find it more convenient to stay in Chinatown.

According to BRA's development plan there will be at least 750 units of new low and moderate income housing in Chinatown in the next decade. If 75% (or 560 units) are to be occupied by Chinese, the population will be increased by about 2000 persons. Additional housing units can be constructed by renovating abandoned dwelling units and remodelling vacant loft buildings. However, the increase will be limited by the small size of Chinatown. It can be concluded that if the present population trends persist in the next two decades, Chinatown will become less important as a residential area. However, it will still be attractive to the elderly, new immigrants and low-income families with language and employment problems. These groups will require adequate housing at low cost and increased training and services.

The main function of Chinatown will gradually change to that of a regional cultural and economic center of Chinese living in New England. Unity and identity of ethnic groups are now a national trend moving toward a pluralistic society. Because of the continuous population
growth, Chinatown will have to serve an increasing number of users from an expanding region.
As part of the Analysis of the Community, bi-lingual (English and Cantonese) video-taped interviews were conducted with various users of Chinatown and with various key agencies that affect the community. Due to time and monetary constraints, only about 20% of our original list of people were finally interviewed. Although we are reluctant to draw conclusions from these interviews as to what all Chinatown users and the various agencies in general would like to see happen to Chinatown in the future, the following is a summary of our impressions of their comments which might be of interest to the readers:

1. The City of Boston: Mayor Kevin White - The Chinatown community should be treated like any other ethnic community in Boston. In order for them to get what they want, they must let their voice be heard.

2. BRA: Mr. Robert Kenny, Director - It is important for the BRA to try to preserve the integrity of the community and help expand it into something that is much more viable at the same time. But in order for the community to get what they want from the BRA, they must actively and patiently participate in community development and discussions with the Authority.

3. International Ladies Garment Union: Mr. Phillip Kramer, Chairman - In order for the Chinese workers to obtain a fair share of the U.S. government's health and welfare benefits, they must first solve their language and citizenship problems.

4. Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of New England: President Lee Shih-Hing - The C.C.B.A. has been sponsoring a lot of community social activities and initiating some building projects. If members of the community are interested in the future development of Chinatown, they should always work under this umbrella organization.

5. Native-born High School Girl: Carol Yee/Foreign-born High School Boy: David Wong - While Chinatown will remain as a social and recreation center for

N.B. These tapes will be made available to the "Conference on the Future of Chinatown" as a means of cross-fertilizing opinions and plans for Chinatown.
the youth, the suburb is still a better place to live. Not all kids can mix because of their different backgrounds.

6. **Native-born University Student: James Fong** - Some "middle body" has to come between the traditional born Chinese sector and the American-born sector, whose views are miles apart. Right now, there is no such "compromise."

7. **A Young Chinese Couple Living in Arlington: Mr. & Mrs. Tse-to Sheung-Wing** - For the average Chinese suburbanite, Chinatown is more of a place to fulfill his emotional needs rather than material needs.
1. **THE CITY OF BOSTON:** Mayor Kevin H. White

**QUESTION:** What programs does the city of Boston presently have underway that may affect Chinatown in the short range and long range future?

1. Chinatown is a cohesive community in an urban environment. The city provides basic services, but cannot ever provide enough because of the general lack of funding.

2. Psychological, social programs to encourage cultural development (i.e. Summenthing, August Moon Festival, Little City Halls (though this is more administrative))

3. Treat the Chinese community as any other community in providing basic needs, but try to do special things that relate to the special problems of the community.

**QUESTION:** What specific programs are you contemplating for the future that may affect Chinatown, and what are your plans for involvement of the community in these plans?

1. Inward Response; finding out from the community what it would like to do (i.e., where to locate recreation, addition of Chinese streets signs, responses to the needs of the merchants)

2. Outward Response; assistance in working with pressures from outside the community which they can do nothing about (i.e. Tufts N.E.M.O.)

**GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE FUTURE OF CHINATOWN**

1. "The need of the community for some kind of evaluation through a Conference on long range planning is very much needed."

2. "One of the greatest strengths of the Chinese community and one of its greatest weaknesses—is that it is probably one of the most tranquil, cohesive, disciplined communities in the city..."

"That's the old classic problem in a time of upheaval
in an urban society, that...those that are trying to provide vitality without disruption are not heard, it's the squeaky wheel that gets the grease... It has been the Chinese community's greatest contribution, and, in a way, its greatest liability..."

2. BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY: Mr. Robert Kenny, Director

QUESTION: What functions does your agency perform in relation to Chinatown?

1. "Often a redevelopment agency is looked upon as coming into a community and tearing down the buildings... I look upon the BRA as a preservation agency to preserve the integrity of the community...I think that we ought to preserve the existing community and expand it into something that is much more viable..."

QUESTION: What programs do you presently have underway that will affect Chinatown in the short range and long range future, and how do you communicate these programs to the Chinese community?

1. "Most important...Tai Tung...completion within a year or so..."

2. "...hopeful we can develop some additional housing on R-3, R-3a, we hope the community can provide a viable proposal which we can work on..."

3. "The thrust of our efforts has been to provide additional and sorely needed housing for the Chinese community..."

4. "You can't just communicate with just a bunch of fancy press releases, it's a lot of meetings, a lot of fact-to-face discussions...& clear give-and-take on problems and trying to resolve them..."
you contemplating that will have an effect on the Chinese people?

1. "The most significant plans...a program on the question of citizenship...to acquaint the Chinese of their rights and privileges which they may not enjoy now if they are not citizens, but which they would enjoy should they become citizens... ...This comes under our broad scale educational plan which we have been working on for a number of years...we have a membership of approximately 1000."

2. "...English teaching classes...we hope it will grow...about 30 people attending..."

3. "...acquainting membership of benefits under Blue Cross-Blue Shield..."

4. "We hope to establish a...bilingual bulletin on benefits in the union...an interpreter in the office..."

5. "We had a picket line when Governor Herter wanted to tear down the Chinese Merchants' Building..."

4. CHINESE CONSOLIDATED BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND: President Lee Shih-Hing

QUESTION: Can President Lee describe for us briefly what the C.C.B.A. has done for the Chinese community in the past?

While the major roles of the C.C.B.A. have been that to unite the fellowship of the overseas Chinese to development of their enterprises, to settle the conflicts among them and to work toward the welfare of the Chinese people, here are some of the Association's recent community programs:

a) To solve some of the housing problems of the overseas Chinese, the C.C.B.A.-sponsored Tai Tung Village Housing Project, located in the Southern part of Chinatown, is now under construction. Its completion has been set for next year.

b) For the promotion of Chinese welfare and culture, development of the proposed Chinese Community Center is
now being studied by the Association. At this very preliminary stage, both moral and financial supports are urgently needed from all segments of the Chinese community.

c) The C.C.B.A. has also sponsored Chinese cultural and recreational activities such as the Chinese New Year Celebration, the August Moon Festival and the October 10 Chinese National Day (Formosan Government) Celebration.

QUESTION: What are C.C.B.A.'s future plans for the development of Chinatown?

There are many. For instance, there is the R3-R3a Development across the road from the Tai Tung Village site. Recently, a 9-men Development Committee has been formed by the C.C.B.A. to execute the detailed study of this Development for submission to the BRA for tentative site designation in the near future. At this stage, the general consensus of the Committee is that apart from housing and related community space, some related health facility, possibly in the form of a convalescent home, should be provided for the community's elderly.

QUESTION: In what way is the C.C.B.A. going to initiate and organize community participation in the future?

I have been working with the C.C.B.A. for at least 4½ years. Our major goal is to unite the Chinese community as a whole, i.e. So let's all come and do our things! This goal we intend to continue. As a community leader, I have this to say to everybody: "To go forward, one must be moderate; to improve, one must be steady." I sincerely wish that the entire Chinese community, whether men or women, adults or children, will all be working together, stay firm with their principles, and give their whole-hearted support to the C.C.B.A. Let's do it.

5. NATIVE BORN HIGH SCHOOL GIRL: Carol Yee
FOREIGN BORN HIGH SCHOOL BOY: David Wong

QUESTION: What kinds of things do you do in Chinatown?

1. Carol: "...work there during the summer, parties, dances, to meet friends..."
   David: "...work, play ball, meet friends..."
QUESTION: What school do you attend?

1. Carol: "...First went to Quincy School, but now to Boston Latin..."
   David: "...Boston Technical High in Roxbury, studying 'college prep'..."

QUESTION: What are some of the problems that you see with the way you use the facilities in Chinatown?

1. Carol: "...facilities and everything are better in Allston...down in Chinatown it's too much noise and cars and everything, the houses are old and some of them are really dirty..." "Where we live now it's much cleaner...I like the kids out here better than where we live...I like to associate with kids in my own race..." "Where we live there are four families and a lot of kids...they all come into Chinatown too."
   David: "I think most of the problem is about the recreation areas." "Near Chinatown there is no place that young people can go...Y.M.C.A. is the only place..." "The old people and young people can't get along...the local born kids and the immigrants can't get along...like me, I'm a J.K. (people born in China that don't speak English) and the J.S. (people born in the U.S.) can't get along..."

QUESTION: What kind of things would you like to see in the future of Chinatown?

1. Carol: "I think there is some hope in Chinatown, the kids today are more active, like in our school, every year we try to promote things in Chinatown..."

6. NATIVE BORN UNIVERSITY STUDENT: James Fong (born and raised in Chinatown, then moved to Back Bay)

QUESTION: How do you relate to Chinatown and its facilities?

1. "...use Chinatown primarily as a recreational area..."

QUESTION: What do you consider to be Chinatown's problems and potentials?
1. "The biggest problem...is the two subdivisions...the traditional born Chinese sector and the American born sector...they are not acting together at all... (for example, on the concept of master planning, the American born group wants to move much faster and the traditional group wants to move much slower...)."

QUESTION: How do you see the future of Chinatown?

1. "I'm not too optimistic." "Some middle body has to come between these two groups...someone has to come up to make the compromise...right now I don't see where that...will be."

7. **YOUNG CHINESE COUPLE LIVING IN ARLINGTON: Mr. & Mrs. Tse-to Sheung-Wing**

QUESTION: Mr. Tse-to, how long have you and Mrs. Tse-to been here and what do you do?

I have been here about 1½ years. My wife has been here 1½ years. I am doing Computer Programming at the MIT. My wife is not working.

QUESTION: How frequent do you go to Chinatown, and what for?

Once a week, on Sunday. I would first go to church, then have lunch, and then do a bit of grocery shopping. Same for my wife.

QUESTION: Do you two participate in any of the Chinatown community activities?

No.

QUESTION: Why have you preferred to live in Arlington instead of Chinatown?

There are many reasons. For instance, we don't want to live in downtown Boston. It is expensive, it has parking problems, and security in the Chinatown area is no good. I guess I am just like all the other Americans in the country.
QUESTION: You would rather live in a house with a
back yard than, say, Chinatown, where you
can conveniently do your Chinese grocery
shopping?

It is very convenient to get to Chinatown from here.
I used to live in Hong Kong which is a densely populated
place. I prefer a change.

QUESTION: What do you think will happen to Chinatown
in the future?

This, I think, will depend entirely on what the Chinese
would like to do. If they are determined, I am sure
they can turn Chinatown into a better place than it is
now. But according to past experience, one should also
consider outside influences such as developments in
Chinatown's surrounding areas.

QUESTION: Mrs. Tse-to, will Chinatown be a more im-
portant place to you in the future?

Personally, no. I am quite satisfied with the way it
is right now.

QUESTION: In this case, if there was no Chinatown, do
you think you would be missing anything?

No. At least not any great loss.

QUESTION: But how about your friends in Chinatown?

They don't live in Chinatown.

QUESTION: How about you, Mr. Tse-to?

If there was no Chinatown, I think I would probably
feel missing something. When I lived in the South for
a year, there was no Chinatown. I really felt I had
lost something. I don't know what. Apart from grocery
shopping, I think Chinatown has served as a meeting
place for Chinese people.

QUESTION: How about your boy? Is he going to go to the
Chinese School in Chinatown for his Chinese
lessons in the future?

No. I think we will probably teach him ourselves. It is important for him to be able to speak Chinese at least.
Early in the study it was determined that various forces were at work in the vicinity of Chinatown that would have major impacts on its future, yet forces over which the Chinese community has little control. It was felt that some sort of description of these forces and assessment of their impacts would be critical to planning for the future of Chinatown. The major forces determined are:

- Tufts New England Medical Center
- Park Plaza Renewal Project
- South Station Trade and Transportation Center Renewal Project
- The leather and garment districts
- Major Highways
- New Housing Construction

The primary reason that the impacts of these forces are critical to Chinatown is that they are in competition for scarce real estate either inside or adjacent to Chinatown. Secondary impacts include such things as major influxes of new residents and workers and automobiles to the Chinatown area, competition and potentials for new employment, increase in the scale of structures in and adjacent to Chinatown from the present low-rise to high-rise regional form, and increased demand for Chinatown to change.
The major impact of T-NEMC on the Chinese community is its physical extension into the land scarce area, replacing potential residential, recreational, and institutional facilities with one regional-scaled institution. Concomitant with this is increased vehicular traffic and parking requirements which have completely overshadowed the urban residential nature of this area.

The impact of T-NEMC on real estate values in Chinatown has been relatively minor. However, the increased demand for residences by students and employees at the medical center has created, and will continue to create greater competition for the few residences in the area, thus pushing rental rates upward. There has been modest competition for commercial space in the vicinity of the complex which has had some impact on space available to community related commercial enterprises, replacing community related enterprises and residences with drugstores, and hospital equipment enterprises related to the Medical Center.

A third impact of T-NEMC is psychological. The nature of the institution is such that it relates only minimally to the residential neighborhood of Chinatown through the provision of health services. It constitutes an essentially impenetrable wall with private penetrations on the western edge of the community, with personnel and services that add little to Chinese community life. Being a large institution, it seemingly has more economic and political power than the residents in the area, and thus represents a constant threat in the minds of the residents to their future existence. (It was T-NEMC, for instance, that instigated the designation of the South Cove as an Urban Renewal Area, with all the impact that such a program has on change within a community such as Chinatown. (reference: Architectural
Forum, Sept. 1968, p. 44)). This is, of course, complicated by the language barrier, but could be alleviated by a better information program within the community.

The impact of T-NEMC on Chinatown is not yet completed. The boundaries of its anticipated 15 acre (ref: World Hospitals, vol. VI, No. 2, Apr. 1970, article by Herman Field) site are relatively set. But attention is being directed by certain groups within the Chinese community to push those boundaries that abut Chinatown back in order to develop residential, commercial and institutional facilities more in keeping with the needs and scale of the Chinese community. In particular, the community is concerned about the large parking lot bounded by Harrison, Harvard and Tyler Streets, and the housing bounded by Oak and Harrison Streets. These two sites are not included in any immediate expansion plans for T-NEMC, but are being held as a "land bank: for future expansion needs of the Hospital and the Medical School."
The Park Plaza Renewal Project, a 35-acre at the heart of downtown Boston, will form the central link in a chain of commercial development reaching from the Prudential Center, the new John Hancock headquarters in Back Bay, to the downtown retail and financial districts and Government Center. It contemplates:

- Residential: 2000 dwelling units (5000 residents)
- Office: 1,000,000 s.f.
- Retail: 500,000 s.f.
- Hotel: 1000 to 1500 rooms
- Parking: 2500 to 3500 cars

The first stage of the project is moving toward execution, while the later stages are less certain. The first stage is bounded by Boylston, Tremont, Stuart, and Arlington Streets.

The project is seen by the City of Boston as "reinforcing the present downtown neighborhoods such as Bay Village, Chinatown, Back Bay, and Beacon Hill."

Impacts of the project on the Chinese community are:

1. In the process of land assembly, present residents (282 persons, primarily single individuals, median age 27) in the area may be relocated "to Mass Pike Towers and Tai Tung" thus creating some competition for this housing with potential Chinese residents.

2. Approximately 5000 employees will be required to man the retail and office facilities of Park Plaza (assumed 300 s.f. retail/office space per employee), primarily in white collar jobs. This creates a potential job market for Chinese workers that are qualified.
3. There may be increased demand for noon-hour restaurants due to the new Park Plaza office and retail employees (assume 5000 employees) and shoppers. There may also be an increased demand for restaurants and commercial facilities in Chinatown due to the new residents (estimated at 5000). The new first class hotel will create greater interest for tourist activities which could be provided in part by Chinatown, particularly since Chinatown would be the nearest unique ethnic neighborhood to the new development.

4. The design scheme for Park Plaza calls for an interior pedestrian arcade that would be aligned in the future with Beach Street, thereby creating a potential direct tie between the heart of Park Plaza development and the heart of Chinatown. The commercial impact of such a connection on the existing Chinese commercial area would be significant in terms of potential customers for Chinese commercial enterprises.

5. In terms of the impact on real estate values in Chinatown, Park Plaza will probably have a short range impact on real estate speculation in Chinatown such that a strategy should be developed by the community to maintain its 'chinese' character, and preclude reduction in Chinese real estate ownership. However, the long range impact will probably be no more significant than the general trend for real estate values in the Central Business District to increase. (Source: BRA research report, The Prudential Center, Part Two: Its Effect on the Surrounding Area, December 1969)

(general source: Park Plaza Urban Renewal Project, Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1971)
south station trade and transportation center renewal project

This area, directly adjacent to Chinatown, is conceived as the major transportation center for the Boston central business district. It will include rail, bus, parking, shuttle bus, subway, MBTA, helicopter service, and taxi terminals in a coordinated series of structures permitting air rights for commercial uses, including hotels, a convention center, offices (80,000 s.f.) and retail facilities (500,000 s.f.). The impacts on Chinatown will be significant:

A. Even at this date, real estate speculation on the Leather District is occurring, with minor rehabilitation of many of the existing structures. This speculation may extend across the highway to Chinatown, but would be critical primarily over the short range, with the long range effects following the general trend of increased real estate values in the CBD.*

B. A minimum of 1600 new employees will be required to man the commercial space alone, not counting the employees from the Transportation Center.** The demand for both lunch time meals and "an interesting thing to do during lunch hour" will be felt in the commercial district of Chinatown. This, of course, also represents a new potential job market for the Chinese, but may have a reverse effect in pushing out the existing garment industry for "higher and better use" of the real estate.

C. Being the major transportation node for the core city, and with the construction of the Park Plaza Renewal Project, it is anticipated that there will be a significant increase in the flow of pedestrian traffic along Beach and Essex Streets. This impact may be looked upon as a positive one to the merchants along these streets, but it is questionable whether existing sidewalk configurations are capable of handling such an increased flow. It is even questionable

* ref: BRA, research report on the Prudential Center, Part Two: Its effect on the surrounding area, December 1969.

** based on 300 s.f. of commercial space/employee.
whether the existing commercial enterprises, such as restaurants and gift shops, are sufficient to handle this increased flow of customers and browsers.

D. The effect of the CBD expansion in general, and the South Station Trade and Transportation Center in particular, will be to surround a rather low density, older development with shiny new, high density, high rent facilities. The impact of such a contrast will force the Chinatown commercial district to two basic alternatives, (1) tight ownership and cohesive control of the real estate to prevent major redevelopment (possibly through establishment of a "special district" zoning area), or (2) enthusiastic redevelopment of the Chinatown commercial district by Chinese interests in order to keep up with the present redevelopment trends in the area. A third alternative is also possible, (3) gradual overtaking of the Chinatown commercial district by development interests other than Chinese, who would take advantage of the prime location for its development potential and effectively obliterate the heart of Chinatown while "renewing" the area.
The leather district is a transitional area in the central business district of Boston. The tanning and leather industry has operated in this sector since the early 1900's. Prior to the 1940's it comprised a much larger area, extending where South Station and the Fitzgerald Expressway are presently located, but during the period 1950-58, employment within the leather industry in Boston declined by nearly one-half. The gradual decline of this industry from the CBD sector, coupled with the new Transportation Center development have provided a climate of mild speculation in the area. The future of the leather districts will have a direct impact on the future of Chinatown:

1. A general resurgence of interest in the area may represent new employment potential for Chinese, or may be of an office-commercial type that would not employ Chinese.

2. The area represents potential expansion space in relatively inexpensive facilities for Chinatown.

The garment industry is centrally located along Kneeland-Stuart Street and dispersed on Essex, Washington Streets and Harrison Avenue. Like the leather industry, it has been in the area since the early 1900's. The garment industry is composed primarily of a series of small businesses owned by small business owners that worked their way up through the industry. The industry is a primary source of employment for Chinese women, employing some 1000 Chinese. From 1950 to 1968, overall employment for the garment industry in the City declined by one-half, though today the trend seems to have dampened somewhat because (1) the firms that relocated have experienced a decline in business, (2) the industry is dependent upon the fashion houses which are located in the CBD
area of Boston, (3) the industry depends on the relatively inexpensive labor and building space rentals which are available in its present location.

The future of the garment district, tenuous as it may be, will have a direct impact on the future of Chinatown because the northern end of Chinatown (the business/commercial center) is surrounded by, and intermingled with the garment industry. This symbiosis is essential to the garment industry for manpower, and to the Chinese community for employment opportunities. In addition, the structures now being utilized for the garment industry represent an expansion potential either for Chinatown, or for real estate developer/speculators.

The most important aspect about both the garment and the leather districts is that their unique location in relation to new development and Chinatown, coupled with their present age and consequent low rents creates a situation that is ripe for change. This change may be to the benefit of the Chinese community, or it may be to its detriment. It is therefore essential that the Chinese community be prepared with its own concepts of the direction of that change, and possibly instigate the change to nudge its direction toward the benefit of the Chinese community.
The major impacts of highway construction on the Chinese community have occurred, but the scars have not yet healed. The major impact of the Central Artery through Chinatown and the Garment District has been:

- removal of 10% of the leather and garment industry (and resultant jobs for the Chinese people which are dependent on these industries)
- removal/relocation of 13% of the Chinese restaurants
- removal/relocation of 58 Chinese residences
- demolition of half of the $750,000 Chinese Merchant's building


A secondary impact of highway construction was to create hard boundaries on the South and East edges of Chinatown that are a visual and acoustic blight on the community. No effort has been made to date to alleviate these effects through landscaping or other means, though some discussion is being generated in the community toward this. Given the recent trend of a flow of Chinese residences in to the South End and Castle Square, Mass Turnpike has become a line of definition between those who live in "Chinatown" and those who live outside "Chinatown" in the South End. This particular boundary, however, is crossed on a daily basis by South End residents walking to the commercial/cultural center of Chinatown.

(source: Urban Field Service observation)

A third impact of the new highway construction is the generation of an overburdening amount of through traffic in Chinatown, particularly
on Kneeland, Essex, and Beach Streets. The Mass Turnpike terminates/begins at Chinatown, and thus becomes something of a gateway for automobile and truck traffic into and out of the CBD.

(source: Transportation Facts for the Boston Region, Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1968/69 edition)
new housing construction

At this time there are four new housing projects in the South Cove Urban Renewal Area that are either under construction, or in the concept stages, and that will have a direct impact on Chinatown:

- Tai Tung Village (214 units, low-mod. income)
- Parcel R-3, R-3a (178 units, low-mod. income)
- Quincy School/T-NEMC Married Student Housing
- Mass Pike Towers (200 units, low-mod. income)

In addition there are projects underway in Bay Village that may have an indirect impact:

- Parcel R-7 (concept stages only, elderly 70-110 units)
- Parcel C-1 (concept stages only, possibly 100 units, for middle income, condominium)

All except the Quincy School-T-NEMC Married Student Housing will be available to present and potential residents of Chinatown.

The major impact that this housing will have on the Chinese community will be to reinforce the present trend for the southern end of Chinatown to become the primary residential area, tying into the existing developments in Castle Square and the South End. This will also effectively remove this area of Chinatown from the pressures of physical change.

A secondary impact from the new housing developments will be the creation of an increased demand for active recreation space for children's play in an area that is already critically lacking in such as essential resource. Proposals have been informally discussed (by T-NEMC, UFS, BRA) for bridging the Mass Turnpike with a major recreation field, but according to estimates worked out by T-NEMC, the costs may be prohibitive. It is essential, however, that
such recreation space be provided in reasonable proximity to this major residential input which will predominantly be housing families with children.
The following list of community program needs is the result of interviews with the various Chinese community organizations and individuals within the community, coupled with projections by UFS of the general direction in which Chinatown is moving, toward a regional cultural/commercial center for the Chinese. These are necessarily general in description, the intention of the list being, first, to instigate discussion by the Chinese community on the general range of needs to be included in the future of Chinatown (as compared to elsewhere in the Boston metropolitan area), and once this range has been established, to determine specific requirements for facilities and/or programs to meet these needs.

It is important to point out that this list is based only on a partial survey of the Chinese community, necessitated by previously mentioned difficulties in gathering the full range of data necessary to make a more desireable, accurate projection of community needs. This list is therefore subject to change based on future discussion by the Chinese community (perhaps through the Conference on the Future of Chinatown) and based on more complete surveys of the Chinese that use Chinatown as a regional node.

For ease of comprehension the information is categorized into standard land use categories:

- Housing
- Recreation
- Commercial
- Industrial
- Social Welfare
- Health
- Employment
- Educational
- Traffic & Parking
- General
housing

a. more low-moderate income housing (new const.)

b. more elderly housing (new const.)

Despite the construction of Tai Tung and Mass Pike Housing for low-moderate income (414 units), these will not really benefit the low income population. Other forms of government subsidy housing (such as leased housing) should be considered.

b. more elderly housing (new const.)

Tai Tung, Mass Pike, and Chinese Christian Church Housing Projects will not meet the requirement for very low income elderly housing (less than $60/month rental). Other forms of government housing (such as leased housing) should be considered.

c. middle-income housing (new const.)

It is essential to the economic, political, and social viability of Chinatown that middle-income professional families be attracted to the community. New housing in the form of rental or condominium would meet their needs. This trend is already in evidence in adjacent Bay Village.

d. low-moderate income housing (rehab.)

Given the existence of a large number of deteriorated and abandoned structures in Chinatown, it may be economical to rehabilitate these for low-moderate income residences.

e. more middle-income housing (rehab.)

Small scale rehabilitation of certain existing structures may be a testing ground for privately financed middle-income housing of a larger scale in Chinatown.
recreation

a. large outdoor playgrounds

Despite the large increase of residences in Chinatown, and despite the existence of a large number of recreation clubs, no provision is being made for large outdoor playgrounds for sports such as football and baseball and other such active recreation.

b. more small outdoor playgrounds

Despite the provision of additional small outdoor playgrounds in Tai Tung and Mass Pike Housing, these will not meet the demand of either existing or anticipated dwelling units.

c. permanent indoor gymnasium

The extensive use of the new YMCA "bubble" clearly indicates the importance of such a facility. Discussion with various youth and organizations indicate that the proposed Quincy School Complex will not totally satisfy this need.

d. indoor or outdoor swimming pool

Despite the provision for this facility in the New Quincy School Complex, discussion within the community indicates that a "Chinese" facility would be desirable.

e. more tot-lots

Despite the provision of tot-lots in Tai Tung and Mass Pike Housing, these will not meet the demand of either existing or anticipated dwelling units.

f. small landscaped parks/sitting areas

Despite the provision of such facilities in the New Housing Complexes, these will not meet the total demand in other areas of the community.
g. general project for landscaping of Chinatown using Chinese Plant materials

h. small indoor recreational areas: clubs

**commercial**

a. more retail shops of a wider variety (gift, appliance, clothing, books, etc.)

b. more restaurants with banqueting facilities

The importance of this is to soften the predominant asphalt and concrete of urbs, and to give the Chinese community a unique "image." Preliminary contacts indicate that assistance may be available for this from Harvard's Arnold Arboretum, and BRA.

Chinatown serves as the recreation/cultural center for the Chinese youth in the Boston metropolitan area. These functions, most of which are presently functioning in low-rent, underutilized premises in Chinatown, must be provided for in the anticipated replacements of these temporary facilities.

With the addition of residences to Chinatown, the growing attitude of Chinatown as a regional center for the Chinese in the New England area, and the growing tourist attraction of Chinatown, the present relatively small number of small gift shops, and book shops do not meet the anticipated need. There is a strong need here for a detailed market study of the potential for Chinese oriented retail shops in the Boston metropolitan area and specifically their location in Chinatown.

The present trend for Chinese restaurants to expand in the suburbs, while diminishing in Chinatown seems incongruous considering the concept of Chinatown as a regional center. There is a strong need here for a detailed market study of the requirements in this regional center for another large restaurant including banquet facilities.
c. more service stores
   (drugs, food, etc.)

By far, the greatest number of service stores are located north of Kneeland Street. With the construction of Tai Tung, Mass Pike and other housing south of Kneeland, there will be a need for service stores to follow.

d. small hotel (boarding house)

There is a need in Chinatown for a facility for short-term dwellers that will incorporate room-and-board for single immigrant workers, hotel facilities for visitors, offices, and meeting rooms for other members of the community. (Similar facilities are commonly available in Hong Kong and Taiwan today.)

e. infill/rehabilitated residential-related commercial development

With the deteriorating conditions of some of the existing retail stores and restaurants, and the expected increase of Chinatown users, there is a need for increasing the existing commercial facilities through infill and/or rehabilitated construction.

industrial

a. more small Chinese food and household goods manufacturing industries

Chinatown is the regional center for Chinese restaurant supplies, and Chinese household goods. With the growth of Chinese restaurants and Chinese households in the Boston metropolitan region, there will be an increased demand for Chinese food and household goods, and a concomitant growth of these industries centered in Chinatown.

b. Chinese owned garment industries

The garment industry surrounding the northern edges of Chinatown is predominantly composed of small business concerns (former workers-become-owners) and employ some 1000 Chinese workers. It seems reasonable that one means of increasing jobs for Chinese would be for
c. small scale high technology industries


d. small scale chinese craft industries

social welfare

a. more day-care centers

b. more elderly drop-in centers

c. more workers and sailors social centers

Chinese workers presently within the industry to initiate additional garment manufactories.

Chinese workers have long restricted themselves to the restaurant, laundry, and garment industries. Evidence of Asian countries indicates that introduction of high technology industries might enhance job security in the chinese community by broadening the job market for chinese workers.

This is another potential way of broadening the job market for chinese workers.

With the employment of more than 1000 chinese (predominantly women) in the garment industry, plus other work, the existing and even the proposed day-care centers are not sufficient to meet the chinese community need.

The "golden-age" center presently serves only 25 elderly. More elderly drop-in centers at various locations in the community will be required to serve recently proposed elderly housing (R-3, R-3a; Chinese Christian Church; Tai Tung) and the remainder of the elderly community.

At present there are virtually no appropriate recreation facilities for the large numbers of 'bachelor' men in the community, such as the restaurant workers and merchant marine.
health

a. nursing home

b. up-grade community clinic
   (chinese and western treatments)

c. determine community health needs

employment

a. job reorientation and training center

b. chinese workers union

There is a language problem among the elderly. Also, a large number of the elderly require a residence with constant nursing care upon becoming outpatients.

There is presently a small clinic being run by chinese volunteer doctors on a part-time basis in Chinatown, providing only western treatments. There is a need to upgrade this facility, and to incorporate traditional chinese treatments in order to reach a wider segment of the community.

This program is underway by the Chinese Community Health Projects Task Force of the Chinese-American Civic Association.

Present job training programs within the community are minimal and uncoordinated. Job reorientation and job training would enhance job security in the chinese community by broadening the job market for chinese workers.

There is presently no one organization representing the unique voice of the chinese workers, who should be playing a more effective role in determining the future of the Chinese community.
educational
a. new Chinese language and culture school

b. more English language teaching facilities

c. new/upgrade Chinese language and culture (promotion of Chinese culture, generally)

The facilities at the existing Quong Kow Chinese School are inadequate in quality and space. In order to allow the school to function better, and in order to encourage the greatest number of students (attendance voluntary and no-fee) it is essential that existing facilities be upgraded, and bus service provided.

At present English classes are provided in an uncoordinated manner by volunteer organizations. The school hours are time schedules of the predominant work forces.

Despite the setting up of an alumni association by the Quong Kow Chinese School, sports and music organizations, the promotion of traditional Chinese culture is considered less than adequate.

traffic and parking
a. community related parking structure

b. pedestrian streets

Every single person and establishment within Chinatown is affected by the present lack of parking facilities. Surface parking facilities cannot meet the increasing demand for parking. Also, surface parking is not considered the highest, and best land use in such a land-scarce area as Chinatown.

In order to intensify the uses of certain areas within Chinatown it is essential to separate the pedestrian and the automobile, yet, without interrupting the overall traffic pattern and vehicular service. One commonly accepted means of accomplishing this is by
c. restrictions on loading and unloading hours

The present conflict in Chinatown between service vehicles, through traffic, on-street parking, and pedestrians could be reduced by the restriction of loading and unloading hours for service vehicles to non-peak hours in the early mornings.

d. landscaped parking lots

The present destruction of the imageability of Chinatown at street level could be alleviated by judicious landscaping of the edges of these lots. (Montreal Chinatown, and the YMCA bubble are examples of comparatively inexpensive, but effective treatment).

e. landscape screen of turnpike and expressway

The Southeast Expressway and Massachusetts Turnpike are a visual and acoustic blight on the Chinese community. These nuisances could be alleviated through judicious landscaping.

f. restaurant-taxi-service-pick-up-area

This essential function presently constitutes a conflict with service vehicles, on-street parking, through traffic, and pedestrian traffic. This conflict could be alleviated either through relocation, or special allocation of parking spaces by the city.

general

a. more and better equipped premises for community organizations

Chinatown serves as a socio-economic center for Chinese organizations in the Boston metropolitan area. These functions, most of which are presently functioning in low-rent, underutilized premises in Chinatown, must be provided for in the anticipated replacements of these temporary facilities.
b. upgrade multi-service center

c. new Chinese community center to house CCBA functions
   Little City Hall, etc.

  The center is presently acting as an employment and referral center for the community. Their services should be increased to include short-range and long-range planning for the community, legal services, social services, immigrant assistance, job-training programs, youth activities, and information and coordination of the various organizations within the community. Community-wide support would be essential to such an expanded center.

  The old Quincy School Site had been designated for such a center, but no definite plans have been made for this. This center should logically include:

  CCBA offices
  Little City Hall
  offices and meeting rooms for various community organizations
  Multi-service Center
  new Quong Kow School (possibly)
  large assembly hall
  Chinese cultural center

  The promotion of traditional Chinese culture is considered less than adequate. A Chinese cultural center would help to generate interest in the promotion of Chinese culture to the community and to outsiders.

  Awareness of the importance of Chinatown to the Chinese community is critical to its future. Communication of this importance is critical to community participation.

  The various youth clubs in Chinatown have been playing an important role in maintaining contacts between Chinese youth within Chinatown and the surrounding metropolitan area.

d. new Chinese cultural center

e. instigate community participation

f. maintain contacts with community youth
g. maintain contacts with middle-aged &/or elderly

h. street furniture and graphics for Chinese community imageability

It would be to the benefit of the community as a whole if these contacts were fostered at every opportunity.

The family associations and Chinatown social clubs have played an important role in maintaining these contacts within Chinatown and the surrounding metropolitan area. It would be to the benefit of the community as a whole if these contacts were fostered at every opportunity.

Upgrading of street furniture and graphics within Chinatown would create a greater sense of place for the Chinese community and a focus for that community in the Boston metropolitan area.
INTRODUCTION AND CLARIFICATION OF PLANNING APPROACH

The basic approach to the Chinatown Planning Project was to instigate community-based planning and implementation of its future by first informing as many of the approximately 14,500 Chinese people in the Boston metropolitan area as possible of the problems and potentials of Chinatown. It was intended that through this dialogue, we could instigate a desire on the part of the community to undertake coordinated, positive, rational changes to the future of Chinatown that would reinforce its existence as the important regional node of the metropolitan Chinese community.

It was the intention of the Chinatown Planning Project to accomplish this through presentation to the entire Chinese community a concise summary of basic data and issues concerning Chinatown, plus a summary of community needs and their resolution in terms of high, medium or low probability of accomplishment. The presentation would occur through a variety of devices:

A. Establishment of a Chinatown Planning Information Center

B. Through various news media releases

C. Through personal contacts with residents and agencies

D. Through presentation to the "Conference on the Future of Chinatown."

Following this information presentation and instigation of interest in the future of Chinatown, it was anticipated that the Chinese community would organize itself for planning and create its own "Master Plan" and implementation organization. We were thus assisting the community in developing the tools for master planning rather than presenting them with a "Master Plan" for approval or disapproval.
In the interest of generating a wide range of community discussion on the future of Chinatown, a series of alternative proposals were developed. These proposals are based on:

1) An Analysis of Community Organizations' Proposed Contributions Toward Community Needs. (APPENDIX A.)
2) An Analysis of Community Needs to be Fulfilled, The Major Constraints to Fulfillment, and the Probability of Fulfillment. (APPENDIX B.)

These analyses were modified by the data presented on Section III of this report. The proposals illustrated below do not necessarily represent the final outcome for the future of Chinatown. Because of the constraints previously mentioned in Section II of this report, the proposals, data and analyses can only represent a rationally developed planning model, which could be utilized in developing a more thorough implementation of the entire community's needs and goals after the Conference on the Future of Chinatown. (Illustration 16)

The alternative proposals are shown in the following sequence:

I. PROJECTS UNDERWAY: These will occur with no further community planning required. (Illustration 17)

II. PROJECTS OF HIGH PROBABILITY: With a minimum of community organization for planning, these projects could be accomplished in addition to those projects listed as "UNDERWAY." (Illustration 18)

III. PROJECTS OF MEDIUM PROBABILITY: With more than a "minimum" of community organization for planning, these projects could be accomplished in addition to those projects listed as "UNDERWAY" and "HIGH PROBABILITY." (Illustration 19)

IV. PROJECTS OF LOW PROBABILITY: With an optimally efficient and effective community organization for planning, these projects could be accomplished in addition to those projects listed as "UNDERWAY" and "HIGH PROBABILITY" and "MEDIUM PROBABILITY." (Illustration 20)
ILLUSTRATION 20

PROJECTS OF LOW PROBABILITY
PLUS I, II, III
I. PROJECTS UNDERWAY

1. Tai Tung Village Housing (under construction): 211 units of Low-Moderate Income housing including some Elderly Housing

2. Mass Pike Housing (under construction): 200 units of Lower and Moderate Income Housing a portion of which might be Chinese.

3. New Quincy School Complex (scheduled for 1973 completion): public school serving the South Cove, Bay Village and Chinatown areas, including outdoor and indoor recreation areas and possibly some community space.

4. Proposed R3-R3a Housing (close to submission to the BRA for tentative designation or site): Possibly 180 units of Lower and Moderate Housing and Elderly Housing, with related community and health facilities and playgrounds.

5. Chinese Christian Church of New England Elderly Housing (scheduled for 1972 completion although project still before final closing): 115 units of Elderly Housing with related community space.

II. PROJECTS OF HIGH PROBABILITY

1. Low-Moderate Income Rehabilitated Housing: Existing urban scale of the Johnny Court, Oak St., and Tyler St. areas could be maintained by rehabilitating some of the deteriorating 2 to 3-story brick houses through FHA financing.

2. Landscaped Parks/Sitting Areas: These would include the landscaping of some of the existing playgrounds, vacant lots or open spaces of building projects that are underway, with either FHA financing and/or community's own funds.

3. Day Care Centers: Decentralized services could be incorporated with new housing projects and other appropriate existing buildings through State financing.
4. **Elderly Drop-in Centers:**
Decentralized services could be incorporated with new housing projects and other appropriate existing buildings through municipal and/or private financing.

5. **Additional English Teaching Facilities:**
Existing English classes run separately by different community organizations should be coordinated and up-graded if possible. Workers-and-merchants-oriented organizations such as the Chinese Merchants' Association should be involved, while more volunteered teachers should be drawn from the Chinese university-student community.

6. **Infill/Rehabilitated, Residential-related Commercial Development:**
Small-scale commercial developments of a large variety could take place by either infilling vacant lots, rehabilitating vacant buildings or up-grading existing under-utilized commercial facilities through private investments.

### III. PROJECTS OF MEDIUM PROBABILITY

1. **Low-Moderate Income Housing:**
If the market is not saturated, a good potential site could be BRA's parcel now rented to the South Cove YMCA for its "balloon" structure, on Tyler St.

2. **Small Playgrounds & Tot-lots:**
These could be incorporated with either new housing projects or the landscaping of vacant lots, through municipal or private financing.

3. **Pedestrian Streets:**
With the redesigning of some of the downtown arteries in the future as proposed by the BRA, the closing of certain secondary streets from automobile traffic would not only help to create a more "human" street environment, but might help to increase contacts between the
commercial and institutional facilities, and their users. Tyler Street, both north and south of Kneeland Street, is an ideal choice for an experiment to strengthen the north-south pedestrian flow of Chinatown and to connect it with the future pedestrian (activity) spine of the Central Business District.

4. General Landscaping of Chinatown/Landscape Parking Lots/Landscape Screen of Turnpike and Expressway:
During this summer, the Harvard Urban Field Service assisted the CACA in establishing some basic suggestions for landscaping and potential sites for recreation as a means of improving the community imageability and generally softening the present concrete and asphalt environment of Chinatown and adjacent Expressway area. Further assistance is required in detail planning and implementation, and in working with community volunteers (organization to be formed), in collaboration with the BRA, City, MBTA, PDW and the Harvard Arnold Arboretum.

5. Small Indoor Recreation Areas:
Nearly all the Chinatown organizations are short of indoor recreation space of various kinds which could be provided within the residential-related areas of either rehabilitated or newly constructed housing.

6. Small Chinese Food and Household Goods Manufacturing Industries:
With the availability of Small Business Loans from the Government, the large number of abandoned premises in the area, the urgent need to increase the community's areas of employment and the possible increase of market potentials, a large number of existing buildings within the commercial district of Chinatown could be utilized for various new types of small Chinese manufacturing industries.
7. Nursing Home/Community Clinic/Elderly Housing Developed with T-NEMC's Expansions: Although at present the parcel of land bounded by Harrison Ave. and Tyler St., Oak St. and Harvard St. have been assigned by T-NEMC for their Teaching Hospital's future expansion, the Chinatown community sees this future development as a direct threat to its present neighborhood character as well as the elimination of an ideal site for its health and welfare facilities. Within T-NEMC's interest in the badly needed Chinese community's well-being, their assistance would seem logical in the future development of a Nursing Home/Community Clinic/Elderly Housing Complex.

8. New Chinese Community Center: With the future relocation of Quincy School and the fact that some preliminary study has already been taken on a Community Center Proposal, the Tyler Street site is ideal for the development of a Complex including the C.C.B.A. Headquarters, the Little City Hall, a Chinese Cultural Center and some community space for regular use by various organizations. FHA-City funding might be possible in addition to community-wide donations and private loans.

IV. PROJECTS OF LOW PROBABILITY

1. Middle Income Housing: Although there have been some talks by various community organizations on the potentials for some condominium and rental units as a means of attracting some middle-income/professional-type dwellers to the neighborhood, the market is extremely uncertain, for Chinatown lacks the attractive amenities such as a park, waterfront, convenient shopping, high standard schooling and municipal services which are available to nearly all downtown residential developments of this type. With the future completion of the Park Plaza and Hinge Block Projects in the Central Business District
which will include high quality shopping and high-middle income housing, their adjacent parcel No. 5 has been indicated by the BRA as being suitable for high-middle income housing as well as commercial developments by the Chinese community.

2. Large Playground:
With the present shortage of outdoor recreational facilities and possible increase of Chinatown residents in the near future, at least one large playground will be required which will provide a space for football, baseball, soccer, ice-hockey etc. No space of an adequate size is available in Chinatown. The construction of a "play-deck" over the Turnpike will not only meet this need, but will also act as a "link" between the Chinese residents in Castle Square and other parts of South End, and Chinatown Proper.

3. New Y.M.C.A./ Kwong Kow School:
Future housing and institutional developments in Chinatown would involve the relocation of both the Y.M.C.A. and Kwong Kow School. It does not look as if the new Quincy School Complex would be able to help solve this problem. Although a financial burden to the community, their being incorporated within the new Chinese Community Center on Tyler St. would seem probable at this stage. Of course both an indoor gymnasium and indoor swimming pool would only help to inflate the Center's development cost.

4. New Multi-level Commercial Complex with Shopping & Banqueting Facilities:
With the possible expansion of Chinatown's commercial activities, part of the block bounded by Harrison Ave. and Tyler St., Beach St. and Kneelain St. could be conceived as a multi-shop development containing various small shops at multi-levels, serving as a new focus for the Chinatown Commercial District and a "bridge" across Kneeland St.
5. **Boarding House for Workers/Stores/Workers & Sailors Social Center/Workers' Union/Job Training Center:**

Nearly all the Chinatown workers' activities, whether social or recreational, have been centered around the Beach St./Tyler St./Oxford St. junction. Should any privately-financed redevelopment be considered for the existing 14-16 Oxford St. Site, the provision of worker-oriented facilities would seem logical.

Financially, there might be a market for some Hong-Kong-type of "Chinese Apartments" in which apart from the bathroom and kitchen facilities, there are no internal partitions. This would enable the highest flexibility in their fixed use, and also the possibility of lowering the rental expense of an individual by the increase of density of occupancy, in spite of restrictions governed by local building codes.

6. **Chinese-owned Garment, High Technology & Craft Industries:**

With the need of broadening the job market for Chinese workers, and with the availability of highly-skilled workers among the immigrants, the large number of abandoned buildings in the Edinboro St./Essex St./Beach St./Harrison Ave. area would serve as potential rehabilitated premises for Chinese-owned light industries.

7. **Community-related Parking Structure:**

With the present shortage of parking space and future real estate developments on existing parking lots in Chinatown, the parking structures in the vicinity would either be inadequate to meet the parking demand or inconveniently located in terms of use by the community. A municipal parking structure built over the S.E. Expressway at the Beach Street Entrance would be extremely convenient as a "loading-unloading" point for Chinatown users from outside, although there is no financial justification of its feasibility at this stage.
8. **Possible Chinese Development on BRA's Parcel 5:**

In relation to the presently approved Park Plaza Development and the future possible Hinge Block Development, the BRA has expressed the idea that their adjacent Parcel No. 5, bounded by Boylston St. and Beach St., Harrison Ave. and Washington St., could well be the designated for Chinatown use, which might include high-density offices, retail, entertainment and housing. This would link up with the designed multi-level pedestrian flow of the new developments, and act as the 'gateway' to Chinatown. Although the development of this Parcel by the Chinatown community seems over-ambitious at this point, it could be one effective way of attracting non-U.S. Chinese investments if desired by the local community. This is possibly the only way in which Chinatown can expand horizontally, as against the other possibility of Chinatown being threatened by the possible relocation of the "Combat Zone."
In conclusion we end with a question: What is the future of Chinatown? As indicated in Section IV of this report, a number of community needs have been identified and their probabilities of accomplishment speculated. Yet, the Analysis of Community Needs to be Fulfilled, The Major Constraints To Fulfillment, And The Probability of Fulfillment (Appendix B) points out a series of major constraints in accomplishing these or any other proposals for the future of Chinatown:

1) lack of long-range plans by the community
2) lack of comprehensive planning by the community
3) lack of coordination between community organizations
4) lack of comprehensive community representation and initiative
5) lack of both private and government financial supports

All these constraints indicate an urgent need for a long-range comprehensive planning and coordination agency. An agency that is capable of generating not only comprehensive community representation and initiative, but capable of securing private and governmental support for implementation of the Chinese community's goals for the future of Chinatown.

A major step is being taken in this direction with the Conference on the Future of Chinatown. But there is a potential danger that nothing will happen after this Conference: nothing to answer the suggestion of community needs delineated in this report, and nothing to answer the Chinese community needs which are yet to be determined. The major goal of the Conference on the Future of Chinatown, therefore, should be the establishment of a framework for community organization for planning and implementation (see appendix C for one such suggestion). The Conference should also clarify the various roles that existing community organizations (such as C.C.E.A., Little City Hall, Multi-Service Center, C.A.C.A.) may play in relation to each other and to a potential new form of community organization for planning.
Simultaneously with efforts to investigate community organization alternatives for implementation of planning, consideration should be given to working with the City of Boston to have Chinatown declared a "protected area" in order to give this new organization a chance to do something within Chinatown, and to protect the integrity of the area as it stands today. The intent here would be to prevent incursions of interests other than 'Chinese interests' into Chinatown.

In a situation of limited resources, it will be important to determine priorities of community program needs, how these needs will change over time, and to determine how these priorities will affect Chinatown. The role of Boston's Chinatown as an important regional cultural/commercial node cannot be overemphasized. It is important to the approximately 18,000 Chinese people that use Chinatown as a center of Chinese culture and to the "lo fan" that see Chinatown as an important ethnic community. But the future of Chinatown, whether it thrives or ceases to exist, is the responsibility of the Chinese community of metropolitan Boston.

As Mayor Kevin H. White has stated, "It is the squeaky wheel that gets the grease!"
APPENDIX A

An Analysis of Community Organizations' Proposed Contributions Toward Community Needs

Within the Chinatown area there is a plethora of community-centered organizations, all striving in some way to meet various ascertained needs of the Chinese community. On the following page is Table C, which attempts to put these organizations and their programs (current and proposed) into some sort of comprehensive, comprehensible, comparative framework. The following notations are used:

1 = program proposed by an organization without any definite plan for execution

2 = program proposed by an organization for execution in the immediate future which will not completely fulfill the community's program needs to date.

3 = program proposed by an organization for execution in the immediate future which will completely fulfill the community's program needs to date.

The major concern of organizations interviewed seems to be the result of today's "generation gap": a need to maintain contact with the youth of the community. The second major concern seems to be maintaining contact with the middle-aged and elderly. New or better equipped premises follows as a close third in major concerns. This chart, then, indicates the importance of Chinatown as the home for these organizations. Every organization listed addresses itself to the Boston metropolitan region for its membership, rather than limiting itself to the residents in the immediate area of Chinatown. It also indicates the potential for the Chinese community to organize itself for the future, yet, the frustrations in attempting to do this.

The chart indicates that the organization most active in meeting a wide range of expressed community needs is the C.A.C.A. The C.C.B.A., the Boston Chinese Evangelical Church, and the Chinese Christian Church also are active in meeting a wide range of community needs. The remaining organizations are more specialized in the needs that they address.
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APPENDIX B

An Analysis of Community Needs to be Fulfilled, the Major Constraints to Fulfillment, and the Probability of Fulfillment

The Community's Needs to be Fulfilled will include the following:

1. Programs proposed by community organizations for execution in the immediate future which will not completely fulfill the community's program needs to-date.

2. Programs proposed by community organizations without any definite plan for execution.

3. Additional proposals* by the Harvard Urban Field Service for future discussions by the community. These proposals are based on all planning data and survey information collected to-date.

* Program officially proposed by a community organization.
residential

* a. more low-moderate income housing (new const.)

* b. more elderly housing (new const.)

* c. middle-income housing (new const.)

d. low-moderate income housing (rehab.)
e. more middle-income housing (rehab.)

present Federal programs are not really 'low-income' use of BHA leased and turnkey-housing not welcomed by community because of desire for sole Chinese ownership

present Federal program rents are not low enough, unless leased and turnkey housing programs are considered

1. uncertainty of market
2. private development, high rents required
3. inadequate facilities (shools, police, etc.)

lack of community initiative

1. uncertainty of market
2. lack of community initiative
recreation

* a. large out-door playgrounds

1. site constraints
2. funding
3. community initiative

b. more small out-door playgrounds

1. site constraints
2. funding
3. community initiative

* c. permanent indoor gymnasium

1. lack of funding
2. community initiative
3. competition with new Quincy Sch., Fac.

d. indoor or outdoor swimming pool

1. lack of funding
2. community initiative
3. competition with new Quincy Sch., Fac.

e. more tot-lots

1. competition with parking for sites
2. funding

f. small landscaped parks/sitting areas

1. competition with parking for sites
2. competition with other recreation needs
3. funding
4. community initiative

g. general project for landscaping of Chinatown using Chinese plant materials

1. community initiative
2. funding
3. government approval
4. maintenance

* h. small indoor recreational areas: clubs

1. funding
2. lack of space
commercial

a. more retail shops of a wider variety (gift, appliance, clothing, books, etc.)

b. more restaurants with banqueting facilities

c. more service stores (stores other than gift shops and restaurants): drugs, food, etc.

d. small hotel (boarding house)

* e. infill/rehabilitated residential-related commercial development

1. uncertainty of market
2. Chinese community conservatism toward outside/new investors

1. lack of parking
2. uncertainty of market

1. uncertainty of market (competition with other shops in CBD.)
2. not enough residential/potential customers

1. sponsorship
2. priv. dev/high rents req'd
3. site/space (rehab/new const.)
4. uncertainty of market

1. community initiative

industrial

a. more small Chinese food and household goods manufacturing industries

b. Chinese owned garment industries

c. small scale high technology industries

1. community initiative

1. community initiative
2. uncertainty of market

1. community initiative
2. skill shortage/job training
3. uncertainty of market

1. community initiative

MEDIUM

LOW

LOW

HIGH
d. small scale Chinese craft industries

social welfare
* a. more day-care centers
* b. more elderly drop-in centers
* c. more workers and sailors social centers

health
* a. nursing home

b. up-grade community clinic (Chinese and western treatments)
employment

a. job reorientation and training center

b. Chinese workers union (restaurant, garment, & other)

1. community initiative
2. funding
3. language problem

educational

a. new Chinese language & culture school

* b. more English language teaching facilities

* c. upgrade Chinese language and culture (promotion of Chinese culture, generally)

1. community initiative
2. funding
3. transportation for students

1. funding
2. volunteer teachers

traffic and parking

a. community related parking structure

1. community initiative
2. uncertainty of market
3. funding
4. site

b. pedestrian streets

1. community conservatism
2. city approval/funding

1. community (merchants) initiative
2. city approval/enforcement
d. landscaped parking lots

e. landscape screen of turnpike and expressway

f. restaurant-taxi-service-pick-up area

1. community initiative
2. approval by parking lot owners

1. agency approval
2. funding
3. community initiative

1. community (merchants) initiative

**general**

*a.* more and better equipped premises for community organizations

*b.* up-grade multi-service center

*c.* new Chinese community center to house the: CCBA functions & Little City Hall etc.

*d.* new Chinese cultural center

*e.* maintain contacts with community youth

1. community organizations' initiative
2. space
3. funding

1. community initiative
2. long-term funding
3. political/community recognition

1. community initiative

1. community initiative
2. space
3. funding

1. community initiative
2. community organization
* f. maintain contacts with middle-aged &/or elderly community

1. community initiative
2. community organization
3. coordination of organizations

* g. street furniture and graphics for Chinese community imageability

1. community initiative
2. community coordination
3. city agency support

(Source: Comprehensive Survey of Community Organizations plus Urban Field Service evaluation)
APPENDIX C

A Chinatown Community Development Corporation

One of the more interesting models for a Chinatown community organization for planning and implementation is the Community Development Corporation (CDC). Following is a discussion of CDC's, their potentials and problems, and possible sources of funding. This discussion is only an outline, but could serve as the basis for a community workshop as part of the Conference on the Future of Chinatown.

1. What are CDC's?

According to the Center for Community Economic Development, a branch of the Cambridge Institute, a "community corporation, or local community development corporation (CDC), is essentially a cooperative, set up in a neighborhood to run economic and social service programs for the community. Its main activity at the moment is operating business or profit-making ventures for the community." "Under the OEO Act of 1964, the community action program was a major component. The statute was amended in 1967 to restrict eligibility for recognition as a 'community action agency' to states, their political subdivisions, or designated private organizations. A non-profit corporation can be formed under state law. Voting age residents of a community are eligible for membership. Original capital is generally derived from foundation grants and private donors."

"Possible activities of a CDC are:

1) General community planning for physical and economic development
2) Community representation
3) Performing functions under the regularly constituted local government
4) Social service programs
5) Co-operative and other non-profit enterprise
6) Profit-making enterprise
7) Investment in businesses owned by community members."

The main activity of CDC's functioning today is operation of business or profit-making ventures for the

* Probably the most knowledgeable organization in the United States is headquartered in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It is recommended that contact be made with:
The Cambridge Institute
Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts
community. "Some have set up factories or shopping centers. Others run maintenance services, gasoline stations, or stores. Other CDC's operate local services, as well as perform municipal services under contract from local government. The CDC can be set up by civic groups and churches, by a Model Cities Board or poverty program Community Action Agency (such as an A.F.A.C. set up by A.B.C.D.), or by any group of individual residents of that community. It really merits the title of community development corporation, however, if any community member may join.

"Once it is established by law, it has the legal rights of any corporation, including the right of limited liability. Depending on the manner in which it is set up, and on its activities, a CDC may or may not be exempt from some taxes.

"A CDC may see its functions as purely economic, that is, building the area's economic base, increasing residents' income and improving job opportunities, or, more narrowly, as providing some specific and concrete services, such as day care centers or schools. Some CDC's may also be concerned with political action. In any case, for a CDC really to represent the community, it should be based on a principle of full community participation in decisions. In principle, this inclusiveness distinguishes the community development corporation from ordinary private businesses, such as those mentioned in programs for minority business enterprise, as well as from branches of large corporations in poor neighborhoods. In these ordinary private businesses, a limited group of individual owners or partners or shareholders run the corporation, and receive the profits for their own private use. In a CDC the profits accrue to the community, and the community decides what to do with them.

"Community development corporations, thus, are a possible form of organization for a community that has economic, social, or political needs, and is interested in working out new ways for its members to cooperate with each other in meeting them." 4

"The community development corporation is, of course,
only a form. Nor is the mere existence of a CDC an indication of community unity, energy, and strength of purpose—especially today, when increasingly the idea of the CDC may take on the aura of a panacea to be initiated without any prior community organizing. The substance of a CDC depends upon the basic strength and mobilization of the community; and upon the strength of its leadership.

"The publicity that this institutional form has received in low-income areas has led to the creation of many such corporations. Some of these newer examples may go on to important work; others will disappear without having accomplished anything. Yet together with political energy and sophistication, the CDC seems likely to provide a new and powerful means for the unrepresented poor of our society to begin to make themselves felt." 5

2. CDC’s: Advantages and Problems

Despite the potential for CDC's, the establishment and operation of a CDC is not a guarantee for successful community economic and social development. Problems facing corporations established to date have been enumerated by the Harvard Law Review in May 1970: 6

1) general lack of entrepreneurial skill
2) lack of ability to acquire necessary capital
3) lack of management experience
4) large scale employment of unskilled workers
5) multiple community goals

The Chinese community may, or may not, be subject to the above potential problems, but in contemplation of establishing a Chinese CDC, the possibility of such problems reducing the success of a CDC should be squarely considered.

Advantageous factors in contemplation of a Chinese CDC include:

1) Organizers are familiar with local conditions.
2) Organizers enjoy respect of the community.
3) Organizers intentions may attract local capital.
4) Government assistance programs are available.
3. Funding of a CDC

Community development corporations encounter difficulty in securing financing from traditional sources because the profit motive is not dominant, and because of the general history of high risk of failure of businesses in the ghetto areas of the city where CDC's have been attempted. However, because the CDC is set up for low-income areas, it can attract investment that an ordinary businessman could not. The following is a partial listing of financing sources:

A. Government Programs

1. The Special Impact program: oriented toward business development, emphasis on community control and broad-based minority group leadership.

2. Community Action Program: emphasizes community control, democratic procedures, community organizing, and immediate community benefits in preference to a business-oriented approach.

3. Model Cities program: under HUD, provides funds for business ventures in low income urban neighborhoods.

4. Area Planning Action Councils (APAC): in 1970 $2,044,490 in A.B.C.D.'s C.E.O. funds were allocated to the eleven APACs to provide the administrative structure needed to deliver effective programs and services in the low-income neighborhoods around issues such as housing, welfare, civic and recreational needs that may be especially relevant to the neighborhood and to establish themechanism for community participation in policy making and program implementation for the agency. The program may be placed under H.U.D. in the near future.

B. Private Grants:

1. Private Contributions: These are in the form of tax-deductible contributions, but a CDC using this source must be operated exclusively for
charitable or educational purposes. No part of net earnings may inure to the benefit of persons with a private interest.

2. **Stock issue:** Sale of stock in the CDC may be made either in the community or to outside investors. Sales within the community (1) assures community control (2), purchasers of stock within the community will have greatest confidence in the CDC thus providing programmatic freedom (3), such sales adhere to the goals of community benefit and self determination, and (4) such sales generate community pride with success.

Sales to outside investors allow the raising of capital by private placement with a few large investors or by a public floatation. There is also a potential for development of capital by sales to suburban investors willing to accept a lower return in order to help the inner city (this is particularly applicable to the Chinese community because of the large number of Chinese suburbanites with an interest in Chinatown). This disadvantage of sales to outside investors, (other than Chinese), however, will be the desire for intense involvement in planning and operation of the CDC.

C. **Sources of Debt Financing:**

1. **Private debt financing:** Ordinary bank financing for new business ventures in low-income areas is generally difficult to obtain. Some banks have set up Urban Development Divisions with lower than expected interest loans and administrative assistance for free. The bank will likely insist on operation restrictions of the CDC. Debt financing is perhaps superior to equity financing, however, due to the possibility of greater retention of control by the community. Also, a CDC can deduct interest payments, but not stock dividends.

2. **Small Business Administration:** This independent
government agency provides financial assistance to small business concerns, such as CDC's, that cannot obtain private financing. It gives loans to businesses owned and/or operated in low-income areas. SBA prefers individual, not community, owned business, however, and non-profit organizations are excluded from SBA.

3. Economic Development Administration Loan Program: EDA makes long-term, low interest loans to industrial enterprises. However, EDA expects financial strength and/or exceptional management, which may not be typical in a CDC. Also, state and local agencies must give EDA loan approval, thereby controlling the CDC.

D. Entrepreneurial and Managerial Assistance:

1. Professional and managerial talent is critical to a CDC but often difficult to find in areas where a CDC would be established. Assistance is possible from (a) the federal government (b) charitable organizations (c) business enterprises. However, expertise from outsiders is best acquired in an economically mutually advantageous agreement.

E. Franchise, Buyout, and Turnkey arrangements:

1. Franchising: This offers built-in management training and financial assistance, at least a minimum patronage, and economies of scale. However, the disadvantages are (a) there is a service change, and (2) franchisors are reluctant to locate in marginal income areas, (3) franchises are retail-service businesses, not generally employing large numbers, and not generally instilling community pride, and (4) there is little community control.

2. Purchasing Existing Businesses: The advantages are (a) less start-up capital is needed, (b) financing could be found easier (c) vendor might impart his knowledge to a CDC. Disadvantages
are that sophisticated professional advice is required on the transaction needed.

3. Turnkey Arrangements with Established Corporations: In this situation, corporations are induced to establish a manufacturing plant in the community and transfer ownership to the community when it is successfully established. The disadvantage of this is that an outside corporation will not generally willingly set up competition and will probably assume too much control, thus not generating community pride.

F. Use of Multiple Entities:

Some of the above problems can be resolved by creating more than one legal entity, such as a profit-making subsidiary to attract assistance unavailable to non-profit ventures. These 'non-profit-parent'-profit subsidiary' arrangements are complicated, however, and may be beyond the needs of the community.

4. Conclusion:

Community Development Corporations can play only a limited role in rebuilding a community. They may, however, be a key for meeting some of the economic, social, political, and physical redevelopment needs of the Chinese community in Boston.
1. Action for Boston Community Development Inc.

2. Robert McLean: *Chinatown.*


