

ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS



**ULI Advisory
Services**



ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

An Evaluation of Revitalization Strategies
for the Orchard Park, CrossTown, and
Dudley Square Neighborhoods and
Recommendations for Future Action

June 12-17, 1994
An Inner-City Community
Building Program
Advisory Services Panel Report

ULI—the Urban Land Institute
625 Indiana Avenue, N.W.
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ABOUT ULI— THE URBAN LAND INSTITUTE

ULI—the Urban Land Institute—is a nonprofit research and education organization that promotes responsible leadership in the use of land in order to enhance the total environment. The Institute maintains a membership representing a broad spectrum of interests and sponsors a wide variety of educational programs and forums to encourage an open exchange of ideas and sharing of experience. ULI initiates research that anticipates emerging land use trends and issues and proposes creative solutions based upon this research; provides advisory services; and publishes a wide variety of materials to disseminate information on land use and development.

Established in 1936, the Institute today has some 13,000 members and associates from 46 countries, representing the entire spectrum of the land use and development disciplines. Professionals represented include developers, builders, property owners, investors, architects, public officials, planners, real estate brokers, appraisers, attorneys, engineers, financiers, academicians, students, and librarians. ULI relies heavily on the experience of its members. It is through member involvement and information resources that ULI has been able to set standards of excellence in development practice.

The Institute has long been recognized as one of America's most respected and widely quoted sources of objective information on urban planning, growth, and development.

Much of the Institute's work is accomplished through its councils, which provide the forum for member dialogue. Councils include

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- International Council
- Development Infrastructure and Services Council
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- Small-Scale Development Councils
- Urban Development/Mixed-Use Councils

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of her work before and during the study.

The panel appreciates the briefing delivered by Dr. Philip Hart along with background materials on the characteristics, problems, and opportunities of the three neighborhood districts that are the subject of this study.

This panel was made possible through the help of a grant from the Bank of Boston.

THE INNER-CITY COMMUNITY BUILDING PROGRAM

The Advisory Services panel for the lower Roxbury neighborhood of Boston is the third in a series of ULI panel assignments conducted as part of ULI's Inner-City Community Building (ICCB) Program. The ICCB Program was launched in 1993 to involve the private sector more extensively in inner-city issues and bring the resources of ULI's membership to bear on urban problems. The ICCB Program provides direct technical assistance to inner-city communities and education and research projects designed to attract ULI members and their professional colleagues to the opportunities that exist—or can be created—in urban centers. The Program will conduct approximately nine Advisory Services panels over a three-year period.

Because of contributions from the institutions listed below, ULI has been able to offer its ICCB Program Advisory Services panels to sponsors selected through a competitive proposal process. The panels are designed to help participating local communities resolve specific problems within designated neighborhoods. Primarily through its network of district councils, ULI provides sponsors with ongoing technical assistance in the implementation of panel recommendations.

In addition to the financial support provided by local contributors on a project-by-project basis, the panels are possible in

part because of generous contributions from:

- The Conrad N. Hilton Foundation;
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- The Urban Land Foundation.

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FOREWORD: THE PANEL'S ASSIGNMENT

The ULI panel chair, Barry Humphries, discusses the panel's assignment with Joe Corcoran, the panel's sponsor.

Boston's Roxbury neighborhood is the tenth ULI panel assignment conducted under special programs targeted to low-income neighborhoods. The Inner-City Community Building Program was created under the auspices of ULI to help address the problems caused by disinvestment, neglect, and abandonment in America's inner-city neighborhoods. The mission of the program is to develop successful strategies for delivering low-income housing and improving the physical and economic conditions of low-income neighborhoods.

After many years of neglect and deterioration, Roxbury is perceived by many Bostonians and others around the country as an inhospitable environment for investment. Its negative reputation and social problems along with pervasive racism have kept investors out of the community, shoppers out of its stores, and new residents out of its neighborhoods. Roxbury's poverty, crime, and unemployment problems are mirrored throughout low-income neighborhoods in cities across America.

The city government's response to these problems has been uneven and uncoordinated primarily because of the unusually large number of agencies with economic development-related responsibilities in Boston. These include the Boston Redevelopment Agency (BRA), the Economic



Development and Industrial Corporation (EDIC), the Public Facilities Department (PFD), the Boston Housing Authority (BHA), and the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority (MBTA), among others.

The community has been studied repeatedly and, time and time again, has been promised actions that never occurred. Not the least of these actions are replacement transit for the MBTA's Orange Line, infrastructure improvements in Dudley Square, and the renewal of Orchard Park. A trail of broken promises has created cynicism and distrust in the community, preventing residents from developing a unified, clear vision of what they want Roxbury to become.

The area also suffers from a fragmented community structure that includes the Roxbury Neighborhood Council, the Community Development Corporation (CDC) of Boston, the Dudley Square Merchants Association, the Orchard Park Tenant's Association, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, the Dudley/CrossTown Corridor Coalition, Nuestra Comunidad, the Massachusetts Minority Enterprise Investment Corporation, and the Veteran's Benefits Clearinghouse.

While well intentioned, the various community organizations lack a common focus and are not coordinated to attack community-wide problems systematically. The absence of a comprehensive community-backed development strategy, organization, or plan for neighborhood revitalization will result in two possible futures for Roxbury, neither of which will benefit the people who live there. The first possibility is a piecemeal approach to neighborhood revival whereby housing renovation is not related to commercial revitalization, which, in turn, is not linked to the development of industries and other job-generating activities needed to sustain the neighborhood. The second and worse possibility is that housing, industrial development, and infrastructure projects proposed for Roxbury will never get off the drawing board.

Despite its problems, Roxbury's potential for revitalization remains strong. The neighborhood is blessed with a long and distinguished history beginning in 1630 when the area was settled by the Massachusetts Bay Company as one of six original harbor villages. During the 19th century, the village evolved into a major manufacturing center, thriving as a major destination for waves of European immigrants. Finally, during the mid-20th century, Roxbury became the primary home of Boston's African-American community as a result of in-migration from the American South.

Roxbury's location is one of the neighborhood's most important assets. The community is located at the southern edge of downtown Boston adjacent to Boston City Hospital, the Boston

University Medical School and Hospital, and associated biotech/medtech facilities. Construction of the Massachusetts Avenue connector to the Southeast Expressway, Melnea Cass Boulevard, and the new Dudley Square bus station provides excellent access in several directions. When or if the promised transit line is built through Dudley Square to downtown Boston, Roxbury's position would improve further.

To address the immediate and long-term problems of Roxbury, the sponsor of this panel, The American City Coalition, convened a team of ULI experts from around the United States to examine lower Roxbury and, more specifically, three districts within the neighborhood: the CrossTown Industrial Park, Dudley Square, and Orchard Park. The goal of the panel study is to provide recommendations for improving these districts as part of a comprehensive economic development strategy for Roxbury. The recommendations made by the panel are meant to provide a way for the community to achieve what it wants for itself.

Specifically, the panel was asked to address

- opportunities for attracting industries to the CrossTown Industrial Park to provide jobs for residents of Roxbury;
- the problems faced by the Dudley Square commercial district and to recommend actions that would attract the retail stores and services that the community needs and wants;
- plans for rebuilding the Orchard Park neighborhood and to suggest ways to realize those plans; and

- an implementation strategy for the three districts, including the need for an organization to coordinate community action, ways to pay for needed improvements, and recommendations for achieving a revitalized Roxbury that serves current residents.

Twelve panel members and three ULI staff members were selected to undertake this week-long effort, with the panelists donating their time on behalf of ULI and the citizens and city of Boston. The panelists reviewed extensive background materials and were briefed on their assignment by the The American City Coalition. In addition, the panel toured lower Roxbury and, most important, interviewed more than 50 neighborhood, nonprofit, government, banking, and business rep-

resentatives. The panel includes both public and private sector experts in planning, development, financing, and the implementation of housing, commercial, and industrial development.

This report records the findings, conclusions, and recommendations presented to the panel sponsors and community on June 17, 1994, at the First Church of Roxbury. The Urban Land Institute and the panel members hope the report will assist Roxbury in achieving reinvestment, renewal, and increased vitality in the CrossTown Industrial Park, Dudley Square, and the Orchard Park neighborhood.



ULI panel members conduct a walking tour in the Dudley Square section of lower Roxbury to see its problems and potential firsthand.

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

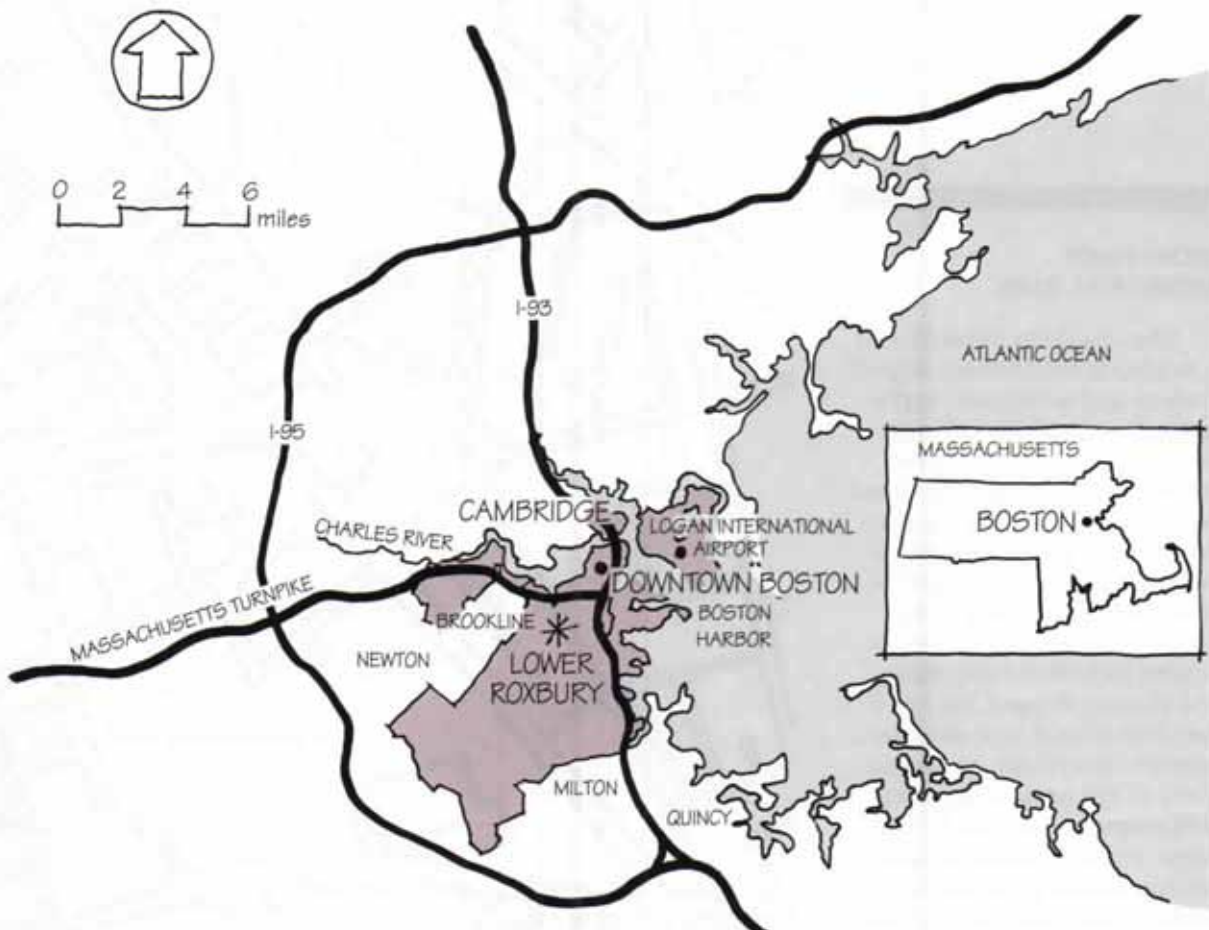
OVERVIEW OF LOWER ROXBURY

The panel's Roxbury study area comprises three contiguous districts known as the CrossTown Industrial Park, the Dudley Square commercial center, and the Orchard Park public housing development. These areas represent industrial/office, retail, and residential land uses, respectively. Traditionally, the three areas have been treated separately for planning purposes and have never been considered comprehensively by either the city or the residents of Roxbury. The panel believes, however, that lower Roxbury's economic development potential will be realized only by crafting a development strategy that recognizes and responds to the interrelationships of the three areas.

The study area is well located in the heart of the Boston metropolitan area. It is served by major arterials and transit that connect it to all parts of the metropolis. Melnea Cass Boulevard, a major crosstown arterial, runs east-west through the CrossTown Indus-

trial Park and borders the northern edge of the Dudley Square commercial center and Orchard Park and connects to the Southeast Expressway. Stations along the MBTA's Orange Line are located at the western edge of the neighborhood at Ruggles Station and Roxbury Crossing. In addition, a new, architecturally distinctive bus terminal has recently been completed in the center of Dudley Square.

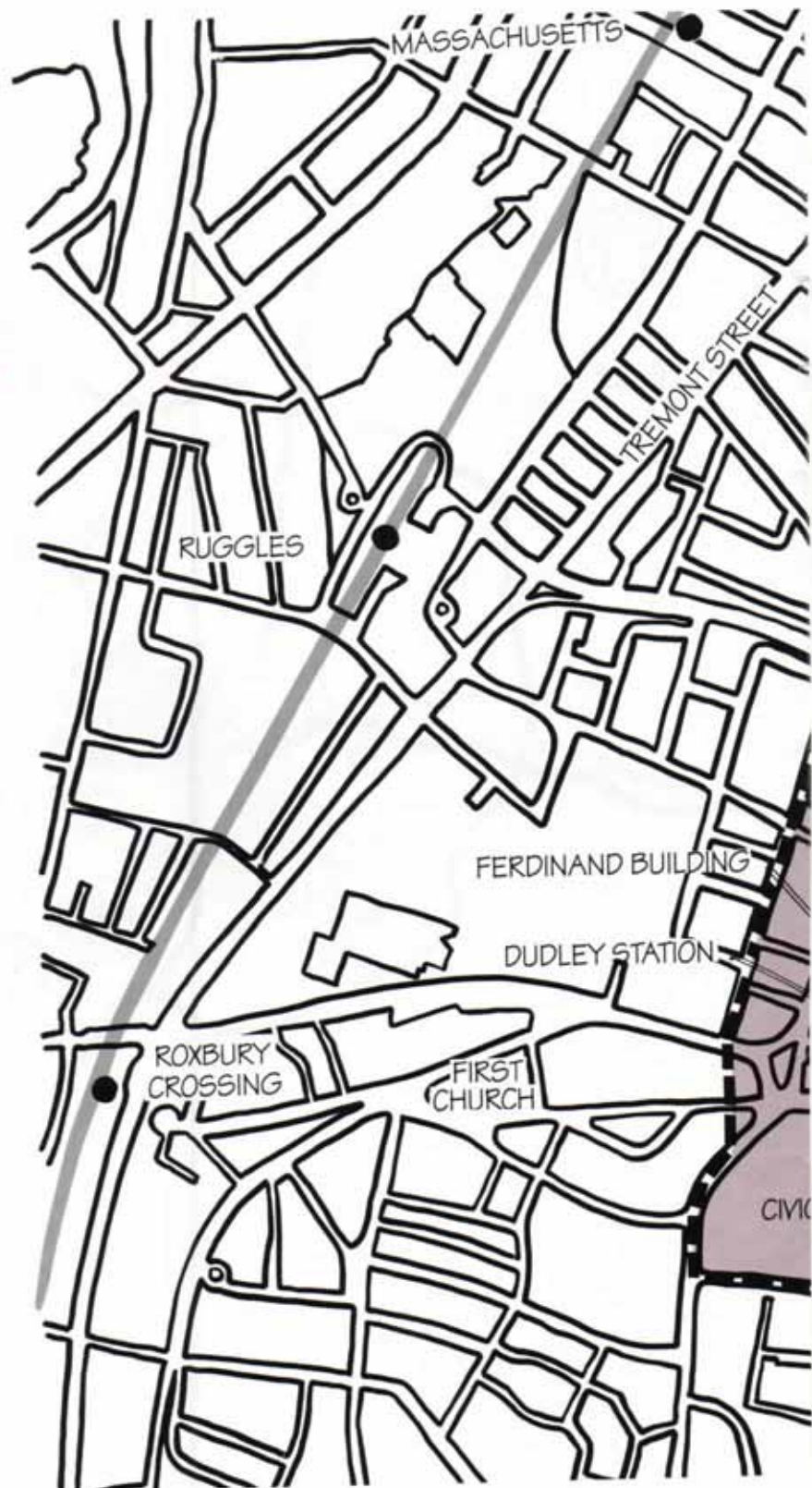
The area is contiguous to one of Boston's major hospital complexes, anchored by Boston City Hospital and University Hospital; adjacent to one of the city's primary industrial areas; and easily accessible to downtown Boston and other major employment centers in the metropolitan area, including Cambridge, Boston University, the Longwood Medical Area, and Northeastern University to the west and the University of Massachusetts-Boston to the east. The area's location has the potential to make lower Roxbury highly desirable for reinvestment if the city and Roxbury's residents, working in partnership, address the neighborhood's problems and carry out a strategy for achieving the area's economic development potential.



Lower Roxbury is centrally located in the Boston metropolitan area.

CROSTOWN INDUSTRIAL PARK

The CrossTown Industrial Park is located at the northern edge of Roxbury and is obviously important to the neighborhood's residents as the closest industrial employment generator. The panel believes, however, that the economic development fortunes of the neighborhood should not be defined solely in terms of the CrossTown park. Such a view is limiting for both the community and the city. Indeed, the city's May 1993 economic development plan for CrossTown, as well as many of the community representatives interviewed for this panel, implicitly make the connection between the redevelopment of individual parcels in the industrial park and the neighborhood's employment future. While the successful redevelopment of available parcels in CrossTown, including the Stride-Rite and Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC) facilities, will undoubtedly create new jobs, the successful growth of the nearby Boston University Medical Center's (BUMC) Biosquare project, though not within the boundaries of the park, may contribute equally.



LOWER ROXBURY



The ULI panel study area includes the CrossTown Industrial Park, Dudley Square, and Orchard Park.

The Digital Equipment Corporation site is well suited for the proposed Boston Emerging Industries Center.

In addition, the much larger, adjacent New Market industrial area, a traditional manufacturing, wholesaling, and distribution cluster, is similarly important as an economic generator. As a result, the continued and increased competitiveness of New Market will expand job opportunities for Roxbury residents if they obtain the necessary job skills and training needed to fill the available jobs.

The development of parallel economic development initiatives, such as effective microenterprise loan and business development programs and solid training and education programs, should be the partners to any physical development plans for the CrossTown park and its adjacent neighborhoods. In this regard, the panel strongly believes that the training programs needed by neighborhood residents as a prerequisite to entry into the biotech and other growth industries should aim to open doors not only to businesses planned for the CrossTown park, such as the proposed biotech incubator, but also to those planned for Longwood, Kendall Square, and BUMC. Boston boasts many institutional and corporate resources that should be put to pragmatic use in achieving these goals. These resources do not now appear to be tapped to any significant degree.



Two proposed developments could have a tremendous impact on the development potential of the CrossTown area. The federal government's designation of Roxbury as an empowerment zone would no doubt bring many new resources and a programmatic focus to the area and jumpstart redevelopment efforts. Similarly, the proposed Megaplex project, considered by many as a potentially dramatic economic development project for Roxbury, could have a profound impact on the physical surroundings, land values, and types of development drawn to the area.

While the potential impacts of both the empowerment zone and the Megaplex on lower Roxbury need to be carefully studied, the community must recognize that no single magic bullet will restore Roxbury's economic health. Similar projects in other cities have generated significant growth in service-based jobs and businesses, but not always where expected or in the numbers projected. The community and city must agree on a range of well-defined strategies to achieve job growth that positively affects the Roxbury community not only in the CrossTown Industrial Park but also in contiguous industrial and institutional neighborhoods.

The May 1993 economic development plan for the CrossTown area, prepared by the city of Boston's Economic Development and Industrial Corporation (EDIC), sets a general direction for CrossTown as an industrial and biomedical/emerging industries area. The plan identifies strategies for each of eight CrossTown parcels. Although some of the plans for specific parcels have changed since last year, the overall direction has remained the same. The panel thinks that the redevelopment strategies presented in the plan are generally sound. Rather than cover the same ground, the panel relied on the EDIC's current economic development plan as well as on other materials and interviews with community, business, and government representatives, to review and comment on the "big picture" issues before making recommendations for expediting job growth in the CrossTown area.

From a real estate perspective, the redevelopment of only two facilities—the Stride-Rite facility and the Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC) building—will have a major impact on the CrossTown area and the adjacent community.

That is, while the city's economic development plan lists eight parcels in the CrossTown area, most are not available for significant new development. Two of the parcels constitute the DEC site; Stride-Rite will soon vacate another site; two large sites are already occupied; two more sites are relatively small and offer little opportunity for introducing job-generating activities; and the site that houses the chilled water plant is not available. As a result, bringing new life to the Stride-Rite and DEC sites over the next few years, with their physical and symbolic importance to the community and city, should be clearly articulated as priorities for the city and community.

BIOTECH INDUSTRY POTENTIAL

The feasibility of attracting the biotechnology industry to the CrossTown area generally and to the available sites in particular depends on the following critical factors: proximity to a strong technology base; infrastructure support; clearly defined sources of financing; and the ability to compete locally and globally for private and public opportunities in the biotechnology industry. The panel examined each of these requirements in terms of the available sites in the CrossTown area.

STRONG TECHNOLOGY BASE

Boston's strong technology base could support the growth of the biotechnology industry, including the proposed Boston Emerging Industries Center (BEIC) in CrossTown. At over \$500 million per year, Massachusetts is the third largest recipient in the country of National Institutes of Health funding for health research. Boston hospitals and universities command almost 70 percent of this grant money, which results in over 4,000 research jobs. In addition, Massachusetts General Hospital alone has attracted over \$190 million of private research funds from such major corporations as Hoechst, Shiseido, and Boehringer Ingelheim. Massachusetts has also succeeded in converting its technology base into the third largest biotechnology industry in the country with over 120 firms accounting for over 5,500 jobs.

Although Boston has been the location of most biomedical research and development (R&D) activity in Massachusetts, the biotech industry is located primarily in Cambridge (33 companies) and Worcester (18 companies). Boston is the home of seven biotech companies. CrossTown and the

proposed BEIC have the potential to reverse the outflow of the biotech industry from Boston.

CrossTown is strategically located adjacent to one of Boston's major biomedical complexes. That complex consists of hospitals, including Boston City Hospital and University Hospital; medical schools, including Boston University Medical School, and research laboratories such as the Naval Blood Research Laboratory and the new Biosquare development; and private industry, including DuPont New England Nuclear.

CrossTown is also easily accessible to both the Longwood and South Cove hospital clusters, representing most of the medical research centers in Boston. Another advantage is Cambridge's ready access from CrossTown.

Proximity to the technology base also means that the necessary highly trained labor pool is available. The Massachusetts Biotech Research Institute (MBRI), as proposed for the BEIC, will need to coordinate its biotech education and training agenda for local community residents with Boston University Medical Center's ongoing biotech training program.

A major cluster of biomedical complexes exists at the northern edge of lower Roxbury.



STRONG INFRASTRUCTURE SUPPORT

Much of the infrastructure is already in place in CrossTown to support the growth of the biotech industry at this location. First, the area is zoned for research and medical laboratories, offices and industrial uses, and support amenities such as retail, banking, and daycare. The ability to provide space for both R&D and production makes CrossTown particularly attractive. Second, city ordinances permit recombinant DNA (biotechnology) research in Boston. Third, most permitting issues relative to the environmental impact of recombinant protein production are resolvable as evidenced by the new Genzyme production facility in Boston's Allston section.

Some infrastructure improvements will, however, be needed. To that end, the panel recommends that the community work closely with the city government to make sure the required services are provided. First, safety in the area must be improved. For example, properly illuminated public areas and sidewalks are needed; people who choose to loiter in the area must be provided with alternatives.

Second, the perception of safety in the area needs to be reinforced. Recent statistics show significant decreases in crime over the last two years, yet nobody seems to recognize the decline. Third, the ability to work and commute to work from both distant and local neighborhoods at unusual hours will be critical to R&D and production staff. Safety and transportation improvements should be jointly planned. Fourth, support services such as restaurants, banks, cleaners, and daycare need to be expanded. Proximity to Biosquare will provide easy access to personal services over the short term, but efforts to expand such services into CrossTown will be critical to improving the area's appeal. Fifth, the area needs to take advantage of its accessibility by providing secured parking, improved bus service to neighborhood MBTA stations, and, over the long run, a shuttle service between the area's major hospital complexes.

CLEARLY DEFINED SOURCES OF FUNDING

The developers of the proposed BEIC have successfully acquired a commitment for \$25 million in venture capital from a firm experienced in financing biotech start-up firms as well as a commitment from the MBRI for employee training. This is the proven formula for a successful incubator effort as accomplished in Worcester.

Nevertheless, ongoing operating expenses and future occupancy projections appear to need better definition. In addition, an ongoing management commitment and impetus by a single entity also need to be identified.

The paucity of financing for biotechnology in the last two years has increased the difficulty of building production capability in the biotech industry. As a result, local and global demand is strong for biotech contract manufacturing capability that meets the good manufacturing practices (GMP) requirements necessary for licensing by the Food and Drug Administration. Some of that demand, not currently met by private industry, includes pilot-scale production, purification, and filling and finishing.

Creation of a pilot-scale biotechnology facility in CrossTown would be a strategically significant contribution to the local industry and thus would demand priority attention. It may also represent a possible quasi-public opportunity that could be developed in conjunction with the biochemical engineering program at the University of Massachusetts-Lowell. Such an effort would be an excellent candidate for financing under the new Massachusetts pilot-plant program.

ABILITY TO MEET LOCAL AND GLOBAL COMPETITION

The panel believes that the BEIC proposal and financing plan will enable the city to compete locally and globally for biotech start-up opportunities, including retention of the opportunities generated by the local biomedical R&D effort. The extent to which CrossTown can compete with suburban and/or out-of-state sites will depend on the availability of the usual financial incentives, including initial funding, lower utility rates, tax relief, and reduced land, facility, and maintenance costs. Some properties in CrossTown, especially the Stride-Rite and DEC facilities, are particularly competitive on the basis of land and facility costs (as well as physical location and attributes). The city and state, however, have been less creative than other jurisdictions in providing new business incentives.

POTENTIAL BIOTECHNOLOGY SITES

Three parcels in the CrossTown area are currently under discussion as locations for biotech-related industries. They are Parcel 1, the DEC facility (and the adjacent vacant Parcel 4); Parcel 5B, the Electric Building; and Parcel 7, the Stride-Rite land and facilities.

The panel believes that the DEC facility is the best site—in fact an almost ideal site—for the proposed BEIC and that the community's efforts to develop such a center should focus on the site for the following reasons. It is the closest to the nearby hospital cluster on Albany Avenue; it is the facility that can be most easily and



Panelists Ursula Powidzki (right) and Shelly Henderson (left) study the biotechnology potential of the CrossTown area.

inexpensively converted to both laboratory and GMP manufacturing space because of floor-to-ceiling heights (although the mechanical system will need upgrading); the cafeteria will be a major amenity when the working population in the building grows large enough to support it; and the 60,000-square-foot space represents an opportunity for significant growth potential. Assuming that the BEIC incubator needs 10,000 to 20,000 square feet, the remaining space could be readily marketed to the burgeoning biotech industry. The adjacent vacant lot offers further expansion capability while R&D space can be expanded in the future to Parcel 5B (the Electric Building) where laboratory renovation is probably feasible but will be more expensive.

Despite the DEC site's suitability for the BEIC, the creation of such a facility will not solve Roxbury's or even lower Roxbury's unemployment problem. As a result, expectations in the community for immediate job growth need to be managed carefully. Local community representatives indicated they would prefer newly created and future jobs to be high-quality positions even if that means a smaller number of jobs. This is viewed as preferable to numerous less desirable jobs that could simply be transferred from another local area. If this is the choice of the community's leaders, it needs to be effectively communicated to area residents.

A realistic job growth expectation for the site is based on the fact that most biotechnology companies have less than 200 employees. Of the seven existing biotech companies in Boston, the number of employees ranges from eight to 50, although the new Genzyme manufacturing facility in Allston is expected to employ over 200 laboratory and production workers and to generate several ancillary service jobs. The demand for medical research staff in Boston is expected to reach an additional 5,000 by the year 2000.

In summary, the biotech industry offers a way to convert the available biomedical R&D funds from both private and public sources into corporate jobs for the CrossTown area. The presence of such an industry in the DEC facility would also increase the city's ability to attract additional resources in the future. The Cross-Town/BEIC proposal is a viable solution for reversing the loss of biotech jobs from Boston and for retaining such positions in a nearly ideal location in terms of proximity to the technology base, the ability to provide both attractive and economical R&D and production space, and the potential for enhancing the economic job base of Roxbury.



DEVELOPMENT SITES IN CROSSTOWN



Currently the new Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries facility on Melnea Cass Boulevard presents a positive "front door" view of the lower Roxbury neighborhood.



DIGITAL EQUIPMENT CORPORATION (DEC) SITE

The DEC site occupies a prominent and visible location in CrossTown and includes both developable land at the intersection of Massachusetts Avenue and Melnea Cass Boulevard and the 60,000-square-foot Digital facility. The site is easily adaptable for a number of industrial or biotech uses. It has been the centerpiece of CrossTown's economic development hope since the early 1980s, but political, organizational, and ideological considerations have stalled reuse efforts. The BEIC, supported by several parties, has long been proposed for some portion of the DEC site, although it could be accommodated across the street at Parcel 5B. Nonetheless, the DEC site has remained the preferred location for this incubator project. The panel supports development of the BEIC on the DEC site because of the parcel's prominent location and its potential to symbolize new industrial growth for Boston and Roxbury.

The panel believes that the city should make an immediate decision about the sale and use of the DEC facility so that the Roxbury community sees tangible action on the part of Mayor Menino's new administration. If the city cannot in short order find a private buyer who will accept the 20,000-square-foot BEIC as a ready-made tenant (and many buyers are reluctant to buy a building with a predetermined tenant), then it should promptly assume the role of buyer. The fallback scenario, which is to consider a building such as Parcel 5B for the BEIC, is equally viable and should be pursued if plans for reusing the DEC facility do not advance.

STRIDE-RITE FACILITY

The Stride-Rite facility will soon represent a significant percent of the available land and building space in CrossTown. Slated to close by the end of 1995, the complex includes a five-acre parcel of land, a series of connected, older buildings that total 350,000 square feet, and a newer 200,000-square-foot facility. The site's most likely reuse potential is multi-tenant light industrial and warehousing. In fact, the panel believes that a multi-tenant facility would be a sound complement to the surrounding uses. The site enjoys good access for firms that need in-town locations. In addition, demand is likely to materialize from hospital-related supply and service firms as well as from local light manufacturing firms looking to relocate or expand.

The redevelopment of the Stride-Rite facility will require a developer—either public or private—to retrofit the buildings for multi-tenant use and perhaps selectively clear some of the older buildings to improve loading access and layout. Significant public and private sector financing sources should be identified by the EDIC. Particularly on the public sector side, funds should be committed to the site to strengthen the economic feasibility of retaining the facility for industrial uses.

Use of the Stride-Rite facility or the available land around it has been proposed for biomedical production space or the expansion of firms that will eventually "graduate" from the BEIC. These uses should be considered in terms of their long-term potential (five to ten years). However, the emerging Massachusetts Avenue/Melnea Cass Boulevard biomedical cluster, including the BEIC, the Biosquare development, and the Albany Avenue laboratory facilities, needs to be firmly established before the Stride-Rite facility can effectively compete for the biotech market.

BOSTON EMERGING INDUSTRIES CENTER (BEIC)

The BEIC is a project modeled after the Worcester incubator, which was developed and organized by the Massachusetts Biotechnology Research Institute (MBRI). The proposed Boston-based incubator would also be operated by the MBRI and would focus on nurturing emerging industries in Boston, including but not limited to biotech industries. The Community Development Corporation (CDC) of Boston has been involved as a local partner in the project, and the biotech venture capital firm operating in Worcester is to be brought into

Boston with the BEIC. The EDIC has a property interest in the BEIC in that it owns the land on which the DEC facility is located. In addition, the EDIC and the Massachusetts Biotechnology Council, the Boston area's biotechnology association, have a programmatic interest in the operation of the center.

The BEIC would offer laboratory and administrative space, a technology transfer program, training and education, and potential sources of venture capital for start-up firms. As noted earlier, regional demand for laboratory space, particularly for incubator space for start-up firms, would help the BEIC attract tenants. Beyond the real estate demand that can be met at the center, the BEIC is an exciting and logical economic development concept for Boston and lower Roxbury and should be granted high-priority status from the city and the community.

The panel cautions, however, that the location of the center and its physical characteristics rather than its purpose have dominated public discussion. The panel discovered that the many players in the process have interpreted the BEIC's proposed mission and management in different ways. Some see an incubator for African-American biotech businesses; some see an incubator for biotech industries from throughout the region; still others visualize a broad spectrum of start-up businesses. These visions can perhaps all be accommodated, but it does not appear that the several actors have reached consensus on how the incubator will function and for whom. The panel recommends that the development process be depoliticized, that the project's goals be simplified and clearly articulated, and that the many tasks needed to bring the BEIC to fruition be recognized and supported on a priority basis.



The three major parties in the development of the project—the city, the MBRI, and the CDC of Boston, need to agree on the BEIC's operational aspects. The MBRI's expertise lies in the area of biotech. If the incubator serves start-up firms in other industries, it is not clear who will have the responsibility and ability to tap into these opportunities. What are the projected operating and capital costs, and how much subsidy, if any, will be needed for the BEIC's early years? How will Boston's many academic, research, and corporate institutions be tied into the BEIC? Beyond any real estate contribution, what is an appropriate city role in supporting the BEIC? Although project organizers may have already addressed some of these questions, the panel found no awareness in the community about these important issues. This needs to change.

RECYCLING INDUSTRY POTENTIAL

A second potential land use proposed for the CrossTown area is a recycling yard for scrap metal. The recycling issue has been raised primarily in connection with the disposition of Parcel 2B, which fronts Melnea Cass Boulevard and is adjacent to Orchard Park and the Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries facility. The Orchard Park neighborhood has vigorously opposed the use of Parcel 2B for recycling. The panel generally concurs with the community's view that the proposed use is probably less than desirable. Such use would reinforce a generally negative view of the Orchard Park area and reduce the value and image of the CrossTown park as a site for higher-value uses, including biotechnology R&D. This consideration is particularly relevant given that Parcel 2B presents a "front door" view of Orchard Park from Melnea Cass Boulevard, which is the main access route.

The Boston Emerging Industries Center and other proposed developments in CrossTown are expected to create jobs for residents of Orchard Park (pictured here) and others in the neighborhood.

Nevertheless, recycling is a diverse industry that is changing rapidly as technological innovations and markets for various materials advance. Businesses in this industry range from small-scale efforts (such as the collection and reuse of printing cartridges) to capital-intensive “clean” industries that break down or alter a variety of industrial materials. As a result, the panel recommends that the exact nature of the proposed product and process should be subjected to slow and deliberate review. The Roxbury Neighborhood Council and other community representatives should keep an open mind on proposed uses in the recycling industry—whether for parcel 2B or other sites in the area. But it will be necessary to determine exactly what type of recycling is being proposed, whether it is “clean,” what it would look like, and how many jobs it would generate.

OVERCOMING REDEVELOPMENT BARRIERS

The potential for job-generating economic development in lower Roxbury is promising; however, the barriers to achieving that potential are formidable. The city and the Roxbury community must work closely together to realize needed economic development. Development goals need to be ordered and agreed upon. The community must speak with one voice, and the city must follow through expeditiously on its commitments to gain the community’s trust. In summary, the panel believes that the following must occur if the area is to achieve its development potential:

- The city and community should recognize ties with the larger economy and look beyond CrossTown’s development. Nevertheless, several viable redevelopment projects in CrossTown will contribute jobs to and mean economic growth for lower Roxbury. These projects will try to capitalize on their proximity to the existing “engines” of growth in both the surrounding neighborhoods and the city as a whole.
- The neighborhood, business community, and city must arrive at a mutually shared understanding of job and business growth expectations. An incubator may not directly yield significant numbers of jobs—particularly not those requiring advanced degrees—for years to come. Everyone, including local politicians, needs to understand the long-term nature of such initiatives. Biotechnology firms, especially those in the production/manufacturing phase, employ more lower-skilled individuals than those in the R&D phase. In either case, the facilities are likely to be highly capital-intensive.
- City agencies, community groups, and the business community must set aside internal and external turf battles for control of projects. Conflicts of this type are not unique to lower Roxbury or to Boston. But the reality is that in today’s international economy the cities that coordinate their public and private investments on a regional not simply local level are better positioned to compete economically.
- Training and education, mentoring, and building relationships with the corporate and institutional community are as important as the development of sites. Particularly relevant is the fact that despite Boston’s surfeit of teaching hospitals, the medical community has historically demonstrated a lack of contact with the surrounding communities, particularly low-income neighborhoods. The South End Neighborhood Action Program’s report “Boston: A Biomedical Frontier” specifies, among other points, the types of jobs generated by the hospital and biomedical industries and notes the obstacles faced by local residents in securing jobs in these industries. A serious coalition of lower Roxbury businesses, government, and residents needs to craft achievable strategies to strengthen the link between local residents and new jobs.
- A critical mass of biomedical and other uses near Massachusetts Avenue and Melnea Cass Boulevard may go a long way toward overcoming safety and amenity problems, which are two of the weaknesses associated with the CrossTown corridor. The continuing development of Biosquare, the Albany Avenue laboratories, and the



DEC site will continue to provide encouragement—in the form of people on the street—to potential retailers and business tenants. In the meantime, the marketing of facilities should be sensitive to the safety issue by describing available security measures and comparing crime rates with other parts of the city to show that the area is safer than generally perceived.

DUDLEY SQUARE

Dudley Square represents the retail and commercial hub of lower Roxbury. As one of three major districts in Roxbury, a revitalized Dudley Square is critical to the success of the community. The panel addressed numerous issues organized around the following four questions:

- What is the potential for the Dudley Square retail/commercial area?
- What can be done to improve the business environment in the area?
- What physical improvements are required?
- What is the role of the community and the city in revitalizing Dudley Square?

The Dudley Square commercial center refers to the retail and commercial concentration in the vicinity of Dudley Station. The area is generally defined as centered along Washington Street and Warren Avenue and extending from Melnea Cass Boulevard on the north and Dudley Street on the south. Included within this 40-acre area is approximately 900,000 square feet of commercial and residential space in various states of repair. About one-third of the space is at ground level, much of which is in single-story buildings.



Historically, the district drew patronage from a wide geographic area, serving as the major shopping area for all Roxbury. Many of Boston's major retailers were located in the district. Moreover, the dismantled MBTA Orange Line as well as many bus lines relied heavily on Dudley Station, making the district a major crossroads.

The district's market pull and vibrancy have declined over the years for a variety of reasons, among them a loss of neighborhood population, falling local incomes, and the removal of the Orange Line. Important, too, has been increasing competition from other shopping areas, first the suburban shopping centers and, more recently, inner-city malls such as the new South Bay Mall in the New Market area. As a result, Dudley Square now struggles for a new identity.

Dudley Square, though deteriorated, is still the commercial center of lower Roxbury.

CURRENT CONDITIONS

The Boston Redevelopment Agency (BRA) has classified almost 250,000 square feet of space in Dudley Square as ground-floor retail space. About 50 existing stores and 40 service establishments occupy 200,000 square feet. The remaining 20 percent of ground-floor space is vacant. About 100 additional businesses and government offices occupy space in Dudley Square, accounting for over 200,000 square feet. Vacancies on the upper floors of the commercial space are much higher than at ground level. In fact, more than half of Dudley Square's 500,000 square feet of commercial space is unoccupied. About 150 residential units occupy 130,000 square feet.

Much, but by no means all, of the building stock is run down or dilapidated. The BRA estimates that 40 percent of the existing ground-floor space and more than two-thirds of the upper-floor space require some degree of rehabilitation—a total of almost 500,000 square feet.

Currently, Dudley Square presents a disorganized and depressed appearance. Streets and sidewalks are in such bad repair that walking on them is hazardous. The streetscape is characterized by several vacant lots and many abandoned, boarded-up buildings. Upper-story space in all buildings is obviously vacant. Sidewalks are empty by early evening and street lighting is inadequate. In addition, ongoing reconfiguration of the street pattern has caused significant disruption, creating noise, dust, and snarled traffic. All this adds up to an uncomfortable and dispiriting experience for the pedestrian and seriously undermines the area's vitality as a shopping district.

On the other hand, the area can point to several elegant and historically significant buildings as well as to many handsome new structures. Dudley Square's curved streets offer the potential for interesting and attractive streetscapes. Even the street reconfiguration, disruptive as it is, presents an opportunity to add amenities to the area. With the proper improvements, the Dudley Square area could become a pleasant place to live, shop, and work.

Dudley Square's potential for the future rests on several key strengths.

- *Traditional neighborhood commercial core.* Dudley Square has the "look and feel" of a true neighborhood shopping district. Its fairly continuous strip of retail along Washington Street and a stretch of Warren Avenue permits shoppers to walk from one store to the next. Moreover, the retail district is within easy walking distance of a sizable residential population.
- *Captive shopper base.* While Dudley Square is increasingly susceptible to competition from other shopping areas, it is still the most convenient retail district for the surrounding population. Many local residents lack access to an automobile and are thereby limited in their ability to shop at other locations. Although local residents typically have incomes below, and often far below, the metropolitan average, the area still commands substantial purchasing power.
- *Historically significant buildings.* Dudley Square is blessed with a rich collection of attractive, historically significant buildings. Although often more expensive to renovate than newer structures, they enhance the attractiveness and therefore the marketability of the district as a whole.

A restored classic commercial building in the heart of the Dudley Square area.



- *Concerned/organized merchant base.* Fundamental to the success of any retail district is a core of dedicated merchants who care about their community and their businesses. Dudley Square is fortunate that it has retained so many long-term merchants. The Dudley Square Merchants Association is newly revitalized and seems prepared to tackle many of the issues facing the district. Moreover, new merchants are bringing exciting new ideas to the district, including the UJAAMA Mart, which serves as an incubator space for retail startups that otherwise might be street vendors.
- *Dudley Station as a crossroads.* Thousands of commuters and local residents come into the edge of Dudley Square daily via the newly renovated bus terminal. Many bus riders could be encouraged to spend more time and money in Dudley Square if the retail district were revitalized. Currently, bus riders must be regarded as a vast, largely untapped market. In addition, Dudley Square still serves as a destination for many in the community. For example, chess players congregate along Washington Street near the Ferdinand Building. Clearly, Dudley Square could capitalize on its historic draw.
- *Multiethnic center.* The Dudley Square area served as the commercial core of Roxbury for many years, extending back to the 19th century. The community's racial composition has changed substantially over the years from predominantly white to predominantly African-

American and Hispanic, with increasing numbers of West Indian and Cape Verdean households.

Perhaps no retail district in Boston is better situated and ready than Dudley Square to serve as a multiethnic shopping district. The district is convenient to many of Boston's minority concentrations. Its location is enhanced by easy access to Dudley Station. Moreover, the district already has several established retail buildings and multicultural establishments that can provide the basis for an even stronger retail district. This potential is most visibly demonstrated by the regional appeal of the Tropical Foods supermarket.

At the same time, Dudley Square faces some significant challenges and issues, many of which are interrelated. To cite just one illustrative cycle: the lack of a nighttime population limits the market for nighttime retail and recreation uses, which thereby heightens security concerns. In turn, the lack of people on the street at night limits the market for nighttime retail uses, and so on. In fact, most of these issues are so interrelated that it is impossible to address them in a piecemeal, uncoordinated fashion. For the sake of exposition, however, the issues are discussed individually.

- *Security and crime.* The overriding issue identified by virtually all people interviewed by the panel is that fear of crime keeps shoppers—local residents as well as potential shoppers from other areas of Boston—away from the district, particularly at night. Although the perception of crime seems to be worse than the reality, real crime and fear of it nonetheless severely limit Dudley Square's market potential.
- *Poor mix of goods and services.* Even though Dudley Square exhibits the complexion of a neighborhood district, its functional reality in some ways is less than meets the eye. For example, of the 200,000 square feet of retail space identified by the BRA, almost one-third or 65,000 square feet is occupied by a building supply store that has little physical or functional connection with the rest of the retail district. In summary, Dudley Square provides for relatively few of the "convenience" goods and services normally associated with a neighborhood district. Restaurants and entertainment establishments are likewise in short supply.
- *Limited complementary land uses.* One of the key factors limiting retail demand in the district is the relative lack of complementary land uses, such as residential and office uses, along Washington Street and

Tropical Foods is one of the few successful food markets in the neighborhood.



Warren Avenue. Retailers therefore do not benefit from customer support from daytime workers and derive only limited support from the local population during the work week. Moreover, the lack of a residential population within the business district severely cuts into demand for nighttime uses such as restaurants and entertainment establishments.

- *Few available retail spaces.* The BRA estimates that the district contains close to 400,000 square feet of ground-floor retail-type space. More than one-third requires rehabilitation, however; therefore, only about 240,000 square feet are suitable for immediate occupancy. Of this, only an estimated 15 percent of the space or less than 40,000 square feet is vacant and potentially available for rent. Thus, although the district has many identified retail needs, the space needed to attract new merchants or to motivate the expansion of existing businesses is limited.

- *Long-term inaction.* The district in general and several key parcels in particular have suffered from inattention for so long that the psychology of neglect seems to have taken root. The longer problems fester and remain unaddressed, the more intractable they will become.
- *Architectural issues.* Architectural issues identified by the panel through interviews and inspection of the area include visible vacant space (especially on upper floors), which contributes to the district's sense of deterioration; unkempt vacant lots that create gaps in the retail fabric; inadequate provisions for safe, convenient parking; the poor condition of sidewalks and roadways, which deters shopping by elderly residents; and a dire shortage of such basic street amenities as plantings, benches, and the like, which detracts from the district's attractiveness and makes the area appear menacing and unfriendly.

- *Limited attraction to national tenants.* The physical problems of Dudley Square, especially in concert with the security issues, continue to limit the district's appeal to most national and regional chain tenants. The panel is aware that Pay-Less Shoes will soon open a store along Washington Street. However, there has been little evidence of other similar tenant interest. National tenants can signal a district's stability, help attract additional capital, and send a positive message about the local business climate.
- *Uncoordinated, ill-planned public investment.* Without doubt, the city and state have steered a goodly share of major capital projects to the Dudley Square area. Unfortunately, these investments have suffered from an almost total lack of coordination, compounding the fragmentation of assets within the community. Prominent examples include the fortresslike police building, which turns its back to the community (no windows overlook the square) and the new post office (situated close to, but off, the retail core). With no linkage among the projects or to the community, these uses generate few positive spin-offs for local residents or businesses.

CONSTRAINTS TO IMPROVEMENT

Several factors actively inhibit the redevelopment of Dudley Square.

- *The lack of a political champion.* Politics plays an important role in the allocation of Boston's scarce resources. While Boston is by no means unique in this regard, the panel finds that political sponsorship is exceedingly important in Boston. Dudley Square undoubtedly suffers from traditionally weak or non-existent representation at the city and state levels. In short, with no influential politicians fighting for Dudley Square, the area's share of government programs as well as its control over issues that directly affect the community are severely limited.
- *Inadequate police presence.* The community almost uniformly believes that the police have not addressed the local crime problem with the required effort. Clearly, the business and residential community cannot solve the crime problem without appropriate police support.
- *Falling between the bureaucratic cracks.* Historically, the BRA performed all planning for downtown Boston, leaving the Public Facilities Department (PFD) to cover the neighborhoods. In a departure, the BRA asserted control over Dudley Square and master planned the area. Now, however, the BRA lacks funds to implement its policies while the PFD, which potentially commands funds, is not vested in the BRA's plans.
- *A "Balkanized" community lacking common vision.* Government assistance can be expected to be limited unless and until lower Roxbury can develop and communicate a clear, common vision about its future.
- *Government indecisiveness.* The state's failure to select and build an alternative to the Orange Line is severely inhibiting private investment because of the uncertainty about possible property takings. Moreover, the city government has used its own lack of action as an excuse to defer such critical capital improvements as sidewalk repairs.

- *Increasing competition from new retail centers (e.g., South Bay Mall) and competing districts (e.g., Blue Hill Avenue).*
- *Widespread distrust of government (generally) and the city (specifically).* This attitude limits the community's willingness to seek required assistance. A general lack of sophistication about how to attract government resources and confusing government responsibilities compound the problem.

MARKET POTENTIAL

The ULI panel finds substantial yet untapped market potential for the Dudley Square retail district. Achieving the area's full potential requires a combination of many essential steps as well as Dudley Square's willingness to reinvent itself consistent with the new economic realities. These broad conclusions are based on the panel's review of existing studies, interviews with key community leaders and members, and visual inspection of the Dudley Square district and surrounding area.

GROUND-FLOOR RETAIL

The panel believes that the 400,000 square feet of ground-floor space projected in the proposed Dudley Square master plan may not be supportable. A market area defined as encompassing 60,000 people seems to reflect past shopping patterns more than current trends. Dudley faces more competition than ever before.

The new post office (left) is away from the center of Dudley Square and separated from it by abandoned commercial structures.



The issue is not so much leakage from the immediate community—community residents tend to be the most captive to the Dudley Square market—but rather the shrinkage of the market area itself.

Without a traditional supermarket and some other key goods and services, the district has been losing its more distant customers to competing shopping areas and new malls. In addition, population continues to decline in the district's immediate vicinity. Accordingly, the panel believes some planned shrinkage in the projected amount of retail space is appropriate. The district could provide a mix of community-serving retail (basic convenience goods and services), smaller specialty destination retail (multiethnic), and transit-related retail. Once the district gains some momentum and a new identity, the addition of new retail space—through either new construction or renovation of existing buildings—might prove feasible.

Given that a parking shortage may be limiting the district's appeal to new retailers, the district should consider surface parking as an interim use for some of the more prominent vacant parcels.

Though architecturally distinctive, the Ferdinand Building is abandoned and has no market for the office space on its upper floors.

UPPER FLOORS

The upper-floor space in the Dudley Square area presents a special challenge. The panel believes that the market shows little need for substantially more office space over either the short or long run. Attracting office tenants in sufficient numbers to justify renovation costs is not realistic in the short run. Moreover, developers would face great difficulties in securing debt financing for their projects.

A related approach that may offer more potential is to attract government offices to some key buildings in the district, particularly the Ferdinand Building. The introduction of a stable daytime population throughout the district would be extremely beneficial. Debt financing should also be easier to secure in view of government's creditworthiness as a tenant relative to more speculative uses.

The panel sees significant potential for developing upper-floor residential units along the major retail streets. Adding population to the district would increase off-hour use of the streets and bring new life and purchasing power to the district. The great number of small residential projects blooming in Roxbury demonstrates both the need for more housing and the feasibility of new construction with appropriate subsidies. However, a critical mass of housing is needed to ensure maximum success.

COMMUNITY AND CITY ROLES IN DUDLEY SQUARE'S REVITALIZATION

Before initiating the marketing and redevelopment of Dudley Square, the community and the city must define the roles that each will play. The Dudley Square business community is faced with a common paradox. If the district is to receive government financial support for needed infrastructure improvements, the city requires the district's diverse interests to





A new bus terminal in the center of Dudley Square provides a transit focal point, but the continuing lack of resolution of the MBTA Orange Line replacement inhibits neighborhood redevelopment.

provide a uniform and realistic vision of what, when, how, how much, and in what order the city and community should make various improvements to create the milieu that will encourage additional private sector investment. The irony is that the community believes that it cannot proceed unless the city responds first by installing new infrastructure.

The city believes that its position is not dissimilar from that of a lender responding to a loan applicant. The city wants the community to develop an organization that fully represents the diverse parties in the district as well as those who may live and work in the district in the future. The city would like the organization to formulate a realistic action plan that considers short- as well as long-term community goals; demonstrates community willingness to invest money, time, and sweat to achieve a positive result; and, most important, speaks with a single voice and attests to the aggressive leadership that is needed to get the job done regardless of the impediments that inevitably arise. Only when the community proves its willingness to roll up its sleeves and participate in the process will the city provide loans, grants, and other assistance for needed improvements.

The ULI panel supports this "tough love" approach to assisting in the redevelopment process and agrees that the leaderless approach of the past must come to a halt. But it is essential that the city participate in the process in new and imaginative ways. Most important, the city must overcome its past reputation and earn back the trust of the community.

An underlying problem for the community is that it needs to enhance its organizational talents, leadership, and knowledge to proceed in a manner that satisfies the basic criteria set forth by the city's "tough love" approach to revitalization. In other words, the city must provide financial assistance to fund a group of knowledgeable advisers who can guide the community in the formation of the group and the articulation of its goals. The city must also assume primary responsibility for providing a matrix upon which the community can organize itself and learn the political process such that lower Roxbury gains expertise in doing for itself. Toward this end, the city must clearly outline its expectations relative to the community.

Given that the retail community has suffered a long string of broken promises and neglect, the city must immediately provide local businesses with tangible evidence of its commitment to Dudley Square before the formation of the community task force. The city should

- resolve the location, mode, and design of the new unified transportation link to the rest of Boston. While the final funding of the proposed transit project is a state and federal transportation issue, the city must initiate the process and apply significant public pressure to the state to respond with a solution and a timetable for completion of a new transit line to serve the Dudley Square business community. The importance of the timing and positioning of this critical link affects the scheduling of the redevelopment and revitalization of the main portion of the shopping district along Washington Street. This area is not only the centerpiece of the revitalization effort in Dudley Square, it is the district's transit corridor. Until street size is confirmed, merchants, landowners, and landlords cannot make a realistic business decision about how and when to improve their properties;

- provide public safety at a level unprecedented in Boston. Clearly, the most commonly repeated comment among all Bostonians when asked of their impression of Roxbury in general and Dudley Square in particular is public safety. Telling people that the area's lack of security is past perception and past reality is not an answer—it is a nonresponse. In this case perception is reality. As financially painful as it may be for this cash-strapped community, it must assign highest priority to visible, block-by-block, 24-hour public safety. The presence of beat-walking neighborhood police is long overdue. It is *not* enough to operate a police station in the community; the station must be an active, interested, and progressive participant in the community. Crime cannot persist in an environment with a visible police presence. In addition to police patrols, a community patrol should be staffed by trained residents living in the community, and
- pursue initiatives during the preorganization phase of the community task force to demonstrate its "good faith" intentions toward Dudley Square. One initiative would be to work with the few sophisticated businesses in the area that want to expand. These "quick reaction" programs, unlike longer-term improvement programs, can often be the catalyst for additional development.

In summary, the community will not be inclined to help itself if it does not believe the city will do its part. The history of the area is marked by a litany of broken promises. As an essential step to improving conditions in the area, the city's new administration must take advantage of its position and demonstrate that yesterday's broken promises will not become tomorrow's dashed hopes.

RECOMMENDED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACTIONS

Once the critical measures relating to the Orange Line replacement and public safety have been undertaken, the community must turn to more direct economic development measures. This is not to imply that the community should wait for the initiation of the first two critical actions before it takes its own actions. Rather, the effectiveness of specific economic development measures will be greatly enhanced by resolving the Orange Line and public safety issues.

First, local merchants should expand their activities and exert greater control over the operations of the district. Using the private shopping center as a model, the retail community should consider adopting a "managed" approach. Specific ideas include coordinating business hours, assessing merchant's fees for specific capital improvements, hosting festival events, and coordinated advertising. The managed approach has been successful in communities around the country and would have excellent potential in Dudley

Square. It would be a clear sign to the city that public investment in the community is justified. It would also demonstrate to Boston at large, particularly the city's minority communities, that Dudley Square wants its shoppers to shop in Dudley Square.

Second, the retail community should capitalize on the fact that it represents Dudley Square's historic retail center and that its merchants and customers represent a broad range of cultures. A primary success factor for any economic development venture is to capitalize on the strengths of the area; in the case of Dudley Square, the area could become Boston's major multiethnic shopping district. Coordinated marketing efforts and physical improvements should complement this effort. Specific uses include restaurants and entertainment establishments that would expand the district's hours of operation.

Third, specific development initiatives should be undertaken. The district must work hard on two issues: the diversification of land uses and the improvement of key parcels. On the issue of land use, the added retail and nighttime uses needed by the community will materialize only in the presence of a strong residential base.

Regarding key parcels, several sites in the district are perhaps more important for symbolic reasons than for their market strength. Most prominent is the Ferdinand Building in the center of Dudley Square. This vacant, dilapidated structure stands as a painful testament to both the district's past glory and its current problems.



Another site, Parcel 10 along Melnea Cass Boulevard, is an important gateway to the district. Maximum resources should be devoted to resolving the use of these parcels. A radical approach for redevelopment of these sites would be a "use it or lose it" policy whereby owners of the parcels would be required to put their buildings into positive use or else face loss of the properties to eminent domain.

Finally, the city and the merchants association must reach out to the existing merchant base to provide necessary technical assistance. In some cases, retailers are either suspicious of government intervention or not sufficiently knowledgeable of business concepts to ask the right questions regarding marketing, management, or physical improvements.

RECOMMENDED PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENTS

Design solutions alone cannot address the underlying conditions that have led to Dudley Square's current state of physical disrepair and deterioration. They can, however, help create a more positive impression and help the area function more effectively.

Many of these ideas are not new. The area has been studied repeatedly; earlier studies have recommended several items listed here.

The first level of design solutions for Dudley Square involves simple maintenance of the area and the addition of some inexpensive design elements that begin to define the area and to give it a special identity. Although maintenance is simple, it is crucially important and must be accepted as an ongoing process rather than as a one-time project. Some of the following recommendations involve city participation. Many, however, can and should be undertaken by local merchants on their own initiative.

- Streets and sidewalks should be repaired and kept in good repair, especially in view of the new federally mandated Americans with Disabilities Act requirements.
- A regular street and sidewalk cleaning program should be initiated.
- Storefronts need to be painted; windows need to be cleaned.
- Vacant upper-story spaces need to be disguised by repairs to broken windows and by visual masking with blinds or shades.

Local merchants should expand their activities and exert greater control over the operations of the Dudley Square area.

- Street lighting must be upgraded and kept in proper working order.
- Boarded-up buildings must be kept clean and, to the extent possible, in good repair. Trash deposited in and around such buildings should be removed immediately.
- Signage needs to be upgraded.
- A theme for the business district needs to be developed and strongly expressed, possibly with banners or other inexpensive graphic devices.

The second level of design solutions involves repairing the urban fabric of the area and providing necessary services such as parking and restaurants to support retail activities. These solutions will require a much larger economic commitment than the level-one solutions. Level-one improvements can help create the climate to attract the investment needed to accomplish the following:

- Vacant lots should be filled in with appropriately sized and designed buildings.
- Ample additional free parking must be provided in parking structures and in surface lots behind buildings.
- Buildings and spaces that are currently vacant need to be rehabilitated.
- Buildings that have little architectural or historic significance and that would be costly to renovate should be replaced with buildings of a similar scale.

- Development should be governed by simple design guidelines to ensure that new buildings contribute to rather than detract from the positive aspects of the area. At the same time, guidelines should not be so restrictive that they discourage development. The current guidelines for the area should be reviewed and possibly rewritten with these goals in mind.

The third and most sophisticated level of design solutions involves providing the amenities and experiences that would make the Dudley Square retail district a distinctive, attractive, and memorable place—a district that would lure transfer commuters from the bus station or would prompt someone traveling through by automobile to return and explore the area on foot. Several urban design interventions are appropriate for this list. The ones that follow are illustrative rather than inclusive:

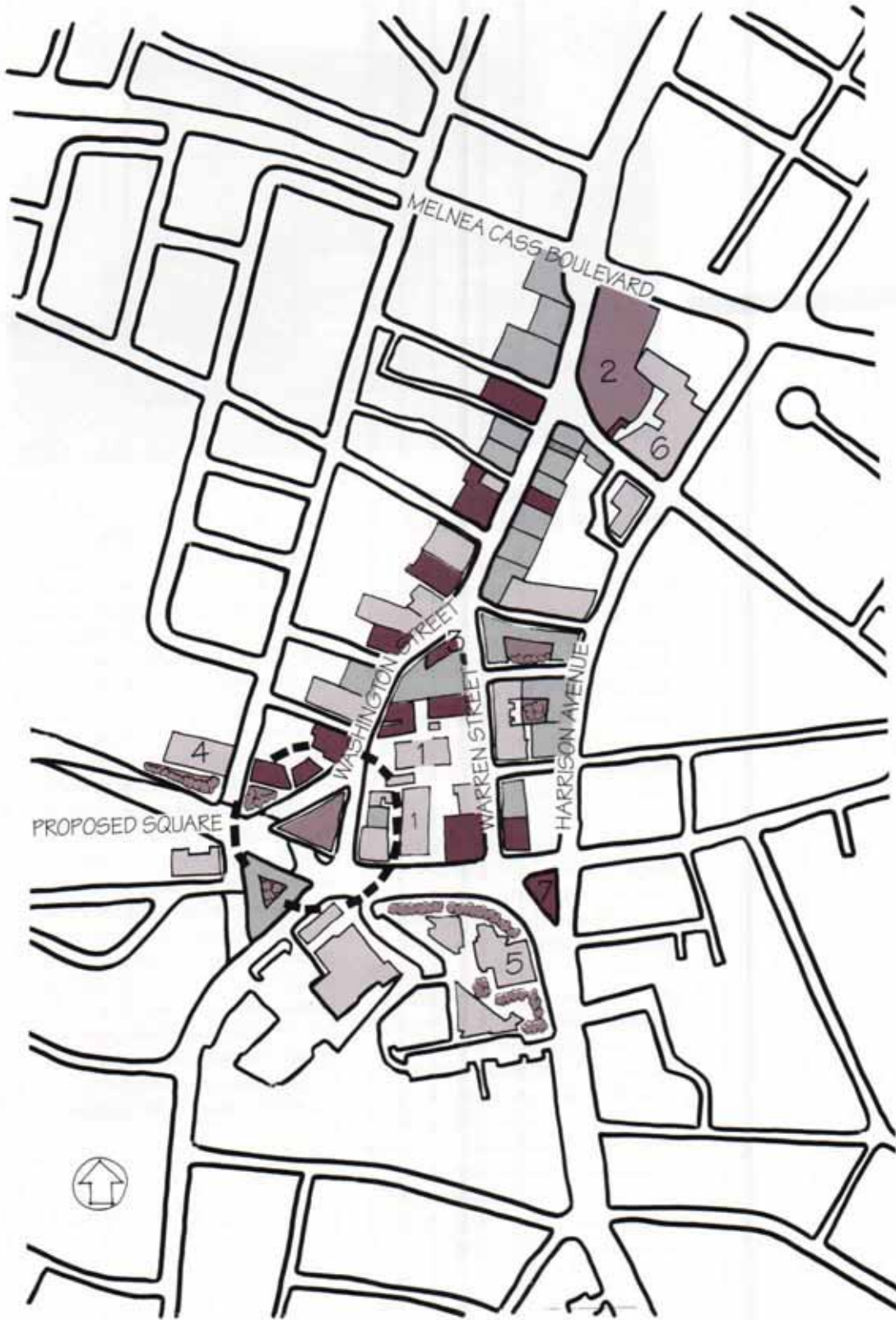
- Provide a center. Dudley Square needs a public open space, well defined by surrounding buildings, to serve as the heart of the community. Such a space should provide a platform for festivals and street fairs and a place for the community to come together.

- Widen sidewalks to accommodate pedestrians. Provide benches, street trees, and places for outdoor dining in the summer.
- Redesign the street frontages of buildings that now turn their backs on the street. For example, the inhospitable facade of the public library on Dudley Street could be greatly improved by a new entrance or some other design element that gives the building some evidence of human habitation. The same is true of the police station.

To trigger the revitalization process, the panel recommends that in addition to the improvements already listed, a coherent section of Dudley Square should be developed as a demonstration project. The proposed new street configuration will create two triangular islands bordered by Washington Street, Roxbury Street, and Shawmut Avenue and divided by New Dudley Street. The panel recommends that the lower island closer to the bus station should be developed as public, landscaped open space that is visible and easily accessible from the station. The Roxbury Street edge consists of buildings in good repair or already slated for renovation; the Washington Street edge needs renovation and infill. The upper triangle can be developed initially as a temporary landscaped area, eventually to be replaced by a

new residential or mixed-use project that will be visible down the length of Washington Street and stand as a symbol of the new Dudley Square.

In summary, the revitalization of Dudley Square is central to the long-term success of the residential neighborhoods that surround it, particularly Orchard Park. But success demands a committed public/private partnership that can agree on a common vision, assign priorities to what needs to be done, and trust that policies and programs—once established—will be carried out by both the city and the community.



- 1 DUDLEY MBTA STATION
- 2 OLD ROXBURY BURIAL GROUND
- 3 FERDINAND BUILDING
- 4 NEW POST OFFICE
- 5 POLICE STATION
- 6 HARRISON BUILDING SUPPLY STORE
- 7 DUDLEY SQUARE
- PARKLAND
- NEIGHBORHOOD ANCHORS
- SITES FOR NEW DEVELOPMENT
- KEY PARCELS FOR REDEVELOPMENT

DUDLEY SQUARE

Physical improvements are needed not only to the streets and sidewalks but also to existing structures and vacant lots.



ORCHARD PARK PUBLIC HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

The Orchard Park neighborhood is the third district within the panel's study area and includes a major, low-income public housing project. The deteriorated neighborhood is situated between Dudley Square and the CrossTown Industrial Park and, as such, represents a critical link in the community.

The panel reviewed Orchard Park's proposed rehabilitation plan, which is scheduled to be carried out under the auspices of the BHA and the Orchard Park Task Force (the local resident association). The panel reviewed documentation of the proposed rehabilitation project. It also met with individuals from the community: resident leaders, planners, staff members, and executive leaders from the BHA; top city government officials; and directors, board members, and representatives of the several organizations and agencies in the surrounding Dudley Square/Roxbury area.

The panel addressed a range of questions regarding the current redevelopment plan, including its proposed implementation strategy, goals, and objectives—all with an eye toward recommending current and future directions for the redevelopment effort and identifying opportunities for improving the current proposal. In this regard, the panel considered opportunities for mixing land uses and facilities and for integrating high-quality social services in one location. Other issues addressed by the panel include how to deal with the uncertainty of the project's financing, the need to coordinate the redevelopment of the neighborhood with the redevelopment of the Dudley Square and CrossTown areas, and, perhaps most important, the need for a coalition of city and community leaders to make it all happen.

THE REDEVELOPMENT PLAN

Orchard Park was originally constructed with 774 units on 15.74 acres of land. Over the years, reprogramming of units and unit breakthroughs have reduced the total number of units to 720, about 40 percent of which are currently vacant. The BHA and the residents feel strongly that the original density of 49 units per acre is unacceptably high for the long-term viability of the site and therefore propose to reduce the number of units by 36 percent to a minimum of 450 or by 30.5 percent to a maximum of 500 units. Selected demolition would enlarge the units to a contemporary spatial standard.

Although federal law normally requires a one-for-one replacement of demolished public housing units, the redevelopment strategy proposed for Orchard Park obviates this requirement. The city's Public Facilities Department (PFD) has agreed to serve as the housing replacement arm of the BHA and must complete replacement within five years. It is anticipated that replacement will take the form of a scattered-site program.

The Orchard Park community expects to receive \$37 million to \$40 million in federal funds, along with a projected \$3 million from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to carry out a comprehensive redevelopment program. A document that sets forth the goals and objectives of the redevelopment plan as well as recommendations for different conceptual alternatives has been developed by the BHA. In addition, more detailed plans addressing security and livability issues within the complex have also been prepared and presented to the community by the BHA and the Orchard Park Tenants Association.

Only the first phase of the rehabilitation project has received funding. Various sources, including the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Programs (CIAP) (which are federally funded), the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Federal Housing and Urban Development

Major Reconstruction of Obsolete Projects (MROP) program, and other federal programs, have provided \$15 million. The first phase will include demolition, site clearing, construction of 126 units, and infrastructure improvements such as the building of new streets and underground utility distribution systems.

Phases II and III of the neighborhood redevelopment project will require additional funding of \$22 million to \$25 million that is not yet committed. The BHA assumes that it will obtain funding for these phases and that it will complete the entire project within the next few years.

Phase I of this energetic redevelopment process is slated to begin in November 1994, with a completion date of spring 1996. It should be noted that even though an illustrative site plan is in place, no true master plan for the entire complex has been completed. Similarly, no firm completion schedule for all three redevelopment phases has been formalized.

SITE DESIGN

Based on a superblock configuration, the existing design of Orchard Park has contributed to the project's isolation from the surrounding neighborhood. The design creates areas within the site that are inaccessible to cars and security surveillance. It is the goal of the residents and the BHA to create a more typical neighborhood environment in which

The panelists arrive at Orchard Park. Some buildings have been vacated while others continue to be occupied.



all buildings and individual units have front entrances facing the streets. Parking will be more visible and protected while backyards will be more secure with fences, walls, and restricted access. Yards will be designed for children's play areas, private outdoor space, gardens, and the like. In addition, frontyards and entrances will be designed to face other building fronts; backs will face backs. The proposed design scheme will provide a clear delineation between public frontyard areas and more private backyard areas. The panel supports Orchard Park's design goals and believes that they will contribute to the creation of a successful, livable community where people will feel safe and take pride in their surroundings.

The panel agrees that the streets should be designed to control the speed of traffic, prohibit cars from entering pedestrian areas, and provide a clear indication of where pedestrian pathways cross vehicular roadways. Regarding automobile parking, a one-to-one ratio of units to spaces is preferred; the panel believes that this ratio can be achieved without compromising overall site design. Parking will be located along the new internal streets, along one side of existing public streets, and within new small lots as close as possible to building and unit entries. Separate parking for staff and visitors should be provided adjacent to the BHA management and maintenance offices, thereby minimizing the parking competition between residents and nonresidents.

The panel is briefed by representatives of the Orchard Park Task Force on plans for the redeveloped neighborhood.

The panel believes that great care must be taken in the design of Orchard Park's public spaces and facilities to ensure that they link residents to the larger community and to each other. Several projects are underway or planned. The Dearborn School, which is located on the Orchard Park site, is expected to be renovated, although the structure's future use has not been determined.

In addition, the PFD is currently developing a recreation center at the corner of Dearborn and Ambrose Streets at the edge of the neighborhood. This facility will front on the planned green space to be created by closing Dearborn Street. Entry and parking requirements for this facility should be taken into account as the PFD develops its alternative schematic plans for the green space.

Current plans call for a central pathway through the site, leading from the Dudley Station area through the west half of the

site to the major park in the east half of the development. The panel supports this plan and agrees that it should be well illuminated for "safe passage," wide enough to serve as a major pedestrian thoroughfare, and well defined with fencing, curbing, and raised planters to separate public traffic from the private areas near individual units. Public pedestrian movement should be directed along the fronts of buildings and away from the backs of the courtyard.

Shrubs and other permanent plantings are planned for building fronts, which are more public and visible to passersby. Similar plantings for the buildings' edges will buffer private unit areas from public activity near the street and building entrances. Orchard Park's management organization will be responsible for maintaining the landscaping along the building fronts. Residents will be expected to maintain the plantings in their own private outdoor spaces. These several site design goals are laudable, and the panel supports their implementation as part of the overall strategy for rebuilding the Orchard Park neighborhood.





POPULATION TO BE SERVED

The panel supports the idea that Orchard Park's existing households, which span a broad range of incomes from very low to moderate, should form the core of the neighborhood's future population. Orchard Park should not be considered housing of last resort for the lowest-income families, although these families certainly need to be accommodated along with others in the redeveloped neighborhood.

After carefully reviewing the anticipated plans for the new Orchard Park, the panel strongly believes that, well before redevelopment is initiated, residents need to step back and take a look at some broad issues regarding the future of their community and the role of Orchard Park in that community. Residents must seriously consider the type of community they want, the type of housing replacement program that should be recommended for the site, and the mix of residents that would be desirable in a redeveloped Orchard Park.

The overall goal of this effort should be to ensure that families have a variety of options—whether seeking affordable housing in other parts of the community; living in the new Orchard Park; participating in and being a part of the creation of a new, diverse, stable, mixed-income neighborhood; or helping the city meet its long-range goal of establishing and

managing a new series of urban villages. These urban villages can be viewed as cities within a city, neighborhoods within a neighborhood, and, even more important, as housing developments that are incorporated into the fabric of existing neighborhoods.

As for the ethnicity of families currently living at Orchard Park, the panel noted a rich mix of households comprising a diversity of racial and cultural populations. This diversity, which is one of the community's major strengths, has existed for many years and is projected to continue. The panel believes that Orchard Park's redevelopment will enhance the area's appeal for many different population groups if certain problems are candidly recognized, positively addressed, and properly corrected.

Many of the businesses and services provided in the Dudley/CrossTown area already serve Orchard Park's diverse ethnic population. The new Orchard Park community should seek to enhance and strengthen its dynamic mix of cultures. According to the panel's view, Orchard Park residents are in a position to push forward the revitalization of the entire neighborhood by providing a sense of new life that will spread throughout the Dudley/Roxbury area. Orchard Park residents can help link the neighborhood's public and private interest groups, associations, businesses, and residents in a way that has not been done before.

Orchard Park currently is an ethnically diverse neighborhood that should be integrated into the adjacent Dudley Square and CrossTown areas when it is redeveloped.

MIXED-INCOME POPULATION

The panel feels strongly that a mixed-income population would enhance both Orchard Park, particularly its current residents, and the surrounding neighborhood. The panel recommends performance of a market study to identify the types of moderate- and market-rate households that would be attracted to the new Orchard Park, how much they would be willing to pay, and the kinds of amenities that would attract them. A mixed-income residential community at Orchard Park should be similar to other urban neighborhoods, i.e., one characterized by diversity, stability, and choice of housing options. The target mix of households should include low-income families (earning less than 50 percent of Boston's median income), moderate-income families (earning from 50 percent to 80 percent of the median), and some market-rate families (earning from 80 percent to 100 percent of the median).

In some mixed-income developments, subsidized units are provided only for low-income families earning 20 percent to 40 percent of the metropolitan median income. The panel believes, however, that a continuum of income levels can help emphasize the inclusiveness of the new Orchard Park and avoid limiting housing opportunities only to the poor and the privileged.

In the end, however, the project's financing requirements, as discussed later, will most likely drive Orchard Park's income distribution. The middle- to moderate-income units, and possibly even the market-rate units, may require some level of subsidy to make them affordable; for the market-rate units, a subsidy could take the form of city-funded infrastructure improvements needed to bring the development up to market-rate standards.

UNIT TYPES

Today's standards for family housing in public housing complexes call for units that are 20 percent to 40 percent larger than decades ago. Yet, in Orchard Park, adequate space is not a problem in the larger units. Nonetheless, many of the other units are undersized and are characterized by poor layouts and amenities that fail to meet important behavioral needs of today's families, particularly those with a large number of children.

To address the needs of all types of families, the panel recommends that each unit at the new Orchard Park site should be designed with similar amenities and that unit sizes should vary only as a function of the number of bedrooms per unit. Further, the panel advises against differences in design, location, and access to services between Orchard Park's public housing and market-rate units.

The panel also believes that residents should have the option to purchase a unit in the new Orchard Park. While most new units should be rental units, Orchard Park can point to some demand for homeownership. Indeed, some residents are undoubtedly saving or thinking of saving to purchase a property of their own.

Based on the income levels of some Orchard Park residents, the panel believes that the option to purchase a unit should come under the purview of the Orchard Park Tenants Association. Owner-occupied units could be constructed either on the site or immediately adjacent to it to encourage a further sense of neighborhood stability and to provide an incentive for existing public housing residents to move toward self-sufficiency while still remaining part of the intimate Orchard Park community.

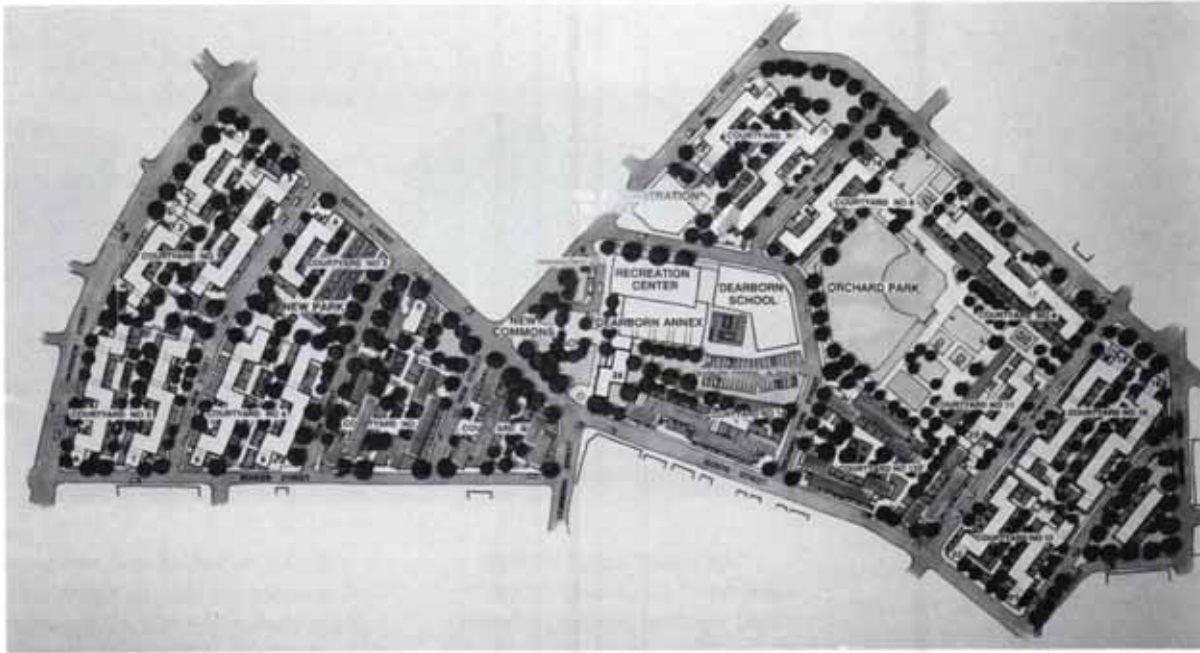
HOUSING MANAGEMENT

Most large public housing agencies that have experienced operational difficulties over the years suffer from the perception that they lack the capability to manage and maintain their properties. In many cases, however, this is not the reality. While many factors contribute to deteriorating public housing in major cities across the country, it is the responsibility of the community and the city, working in partnership, to correct any deficiencies and to implement the type of management best suited to the local context.

At Orchard Park, the panel believes that the community should consider five basic management options: continued public management by the BHA; a joint venture between the BHA and a private management firm; a site-based private management company; a joint venture between a private management company and an Orchard Park tenants association; and a joint venture between the BHA and the Orchard Park Tenants Association.

The second option, a joint venture sponsored by the BHA, would create a new public/private partnership that would demonstrate to residents that a completely reinvigorated management process is in place. The third option, a site-based private management company, would likely be seen as representing a revitalized Orchard Park community significantly different from the other projects currently owned and/or operated by the BHA in terms of unit types, method of service delivery, and mix of tenants. In addition, providing the high level of service needed to sustain revitalization efforts and to attract market-rate families may require the experience and flexibility of a private management company.

The fourth option, a joint venture between a private management company and an Orchard Park tenants association, is similar to the site-based private management company option but involves the participation of residents as a partner in the management of the complex. The fifth option would be a joint venture between the BHA and the tenants association. These last two options would provide resident housing management training and charge residents with responsibility for budgeting, resident selection, and the delivery and monitoring of some or all operating services as defined in a management plan.



The site plan for the redeveloped Orchard Park neighborhood.

Working together, the BHA, Orchard Park residents, and city government must decide what type of management is needed to sustain the revitalized Orchard Park community. It should be noted, however, that any transfer of management responsibility should not be viewed as a negative judgment about the BHA. Transfer of management responsibility does not mean that the BHA is divesting itself of total responsibility for the new Orchard Park or that it is disengaging itself from the development. Rather, some form of private management or joint public/private management could benefit the BHA by allowing it to focus its efforts on the conventional public and assisted-housing sites it now serves. At the same time, experienced management could operate the large-scale redevelopment of a mixed-income Orchard Park.

In considering management options, the BHA, Orchard Park residents, and the city must also consider as additional concerns both operating costs and management efficiencies. Given that the recommended mixed-income Orchard Park community would

comprise a variety of housing types, different management rules would obviously apply to higher-income households. Often, private management firms enjoy greater flexibility in providing a variety of services to different household types. In addition, a private firm could assist in creating a new image for Orchard Park to help attract higher-income households, thereby leading to the larger community's greater acceptance of Orchard Park.

It should be noted that funding for the day-to-day operation of the revitalized Orchard Park will depend on the type of funding programs used to redevelop the site. Steps will have to be taken by the BHA to ensure that adequate funds are available for its own operations and daily management of the site. An analysis of the funding currently provided for Orchard Park under the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Performance Funding Systems (PFS) is needed. Finally, a specific proposal will have to be developed by the BHA to allow a portion of the current PFS funding to support the cost of central BHA operations.

RESIDENT SELECTION AND COMMUNITY RULES

Current residents who share common goals and objectives for day-to-day living are central to a successful community at Orchard Park. To reinforce these goals and to promote greater stability, BHA should request and obtain a waiver that permits Orchard Park to create a development-based waiting list for low-income units rather than rely on a citywide BHA waiting list. Use of a development-based list at Orchard Park will require the participation of site-based property management staff and resident leaders in selecting and placing residents, thereby further promoting neighborhood stability and self-sufficiency. In addition, the panel believes that Orchard Park's management and residents should jointly develop a set of community rules that would apply equally to residents at all economic levels.

A multiservice center for Orchard Park residents is being created at the abandoned Dearborn School site.

The BHA, a private management company, or the resident management organization would enforce the rules.

These recommendations are critical for establishing among Orchard Park residents a sense of control over their own homes and neighborhood. The inclusion of residents in both the resident selection process and the development rules provides the kind of local involvement that will continually help achieve the goals of a high-quality, stable, and livable environment for both Orchard Park and the larger community.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

The Orchard Park community and lower Roxbury as a whole require a broad range of social, recreation, health, and education services. In conjunction with the Orchard Park Tenants Association Task Force, the BHA is preparing an application to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for funds to create a multiservice center in the abandoned Dearborn School building. Specifically, the BHA is seeking \$11 million to rehabilitate the building and to provide family and investment support services. The panel supports the creation of such a center in Orchard Park; however, in addition to city-sponsored programs, Orchard Park residents need access to a broader array of services and programs.



The panel recommends creation of an on-site consolidated services facility to benefit all families with children regardless of household income. Such a facility should offer youth and recreation programs, daycare and eldercare, adult basic education, and health and social services. The facility should be constructed as part of the Orchard Park redevelopment effort.

The consolidation of services in a single facility has many benefits. The facility would be a "one-stop facility" for everyone who wants to take advantage of its services. Those who stop by to use one program would more than likely get information about and participate in other programs. In addition, service providers can offer better and more coordinated services in an on-site multiservice center.

The panel further recommends that a community college or other educational institution be encouraged to open a satellite minicampus in the immediate neighborhood around Orchard Park to address the growing education and training needs of lower Roxbury's residents.

Social activities and recreation services are also an essential component of the mixed-income community that the panel envisions at Orchard Park. The provision of such amenities is often the key to successful marketing of a site to market-rate households—and all households benefit no matter what their income level. The market study previously recommended by the panel for market-rate housing should identify the specific development amenities that would appeal to existing and future Orchard Park residents of all income levels.

Amenities could include a network of green spaces for passive and active recreation facilities, including bicycle paths and tennis courts. A greenbelt could be designed to extend into the surrounding neighborhood to integrate Orchard Park further into the larger community. In addition, fitness centers and swimming pools have been provided in some mixed-income developments, especially on the East Coast. The appropriateness of specific amenities will, however, depend on the availability of similar amenities nearby, neighborhood demand, cost, and the operation of a shuttle service to serve the various facilities.

The panel believes that the community should explore the creation of a van or shuttle service that would run frequently through Orchard Park to connect the services and amenities located there with the larger neighborhood, including Dudley Square. The Orchard Park Tenants Association and the BHA should approach the city to fund this service. If city funding is infeasible, the cost of the shuttle should be included in the operating costs for the new Orchard Park community.

CITY GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

The panel believes that the city government should take broad responsibility for the redevelopment of Orchard Park as a new type of inner-city community. At the outset, however, residents of Orchard Park, the community at large, and the BHA must take some preliminary steps to begin signaling both a change of attitude and a sincere desire to improve the community and its image. In return, the city, at the request of the residents of Orchard Park and their representatives, should agree to become a true partner in the community's revitalization.

The city's most important role relates to the provision of infrastructure. A commitment to fund necessary infrastructure improvements in and around Orchard

Park would be a positive signal to the entire Roxbury community that the city is solidly behind the community's revitalization. It would further reinforce the importance of Orchard Park to the long-term success of the revitalization of Roxbury.

REDEVELOPMENT FUNDING SOURCES

Options for securing funds for phases two and three of the redevelopment of Orchard Park include the development of low-income tax credit units that could be backed with public housing subsidies under a lease arrangement through the BHA; project-based certificates or 15-year project-based assistance through HUD's Section 8 housing assistance program; private capital to develop the recommended market-rate units; and other new public initiatives, including a funding program creatively employed across the country that uses union pension funds to create affordable, low-income housing units backed with Section 8 certificates. This ingenious approach serves union interests by supporting the creation of construction jobs, expanding housing opportunities for workers, and promoting good public relations and visibility in the community.

The panel cautions that any funding strategy for the redevelopment of low-income housing such as Orchard Park that reduces the number of public units must account for any cutback in public operating funds resulting from the loss. For example, HUD's Performance Funding System (PFS) is based on the number of public housing units in a complex; therefore, a reduction in units results in the loss of BHA operating funds unless a waiver is granted to cover the cost associated with BHA's overhead and the operation of any conventional housing units. Further, if, in the case of a ground lease, the BHA retains ownership of land containing non-BHA-owned units, the authority's cost of monitoring the terms of a ground lease must be part of the project's operationing budget.

OTHER MANAGEMENT ISSUES

The issues addressed in this section are representative of the several management concerns that face the community in redeveloping Orchard Park. While any number of different redevelopment and management models could be used to create the mixed-income family community described earlier, selecting and refining a model with a visionary approach to stabilizing and enhancing Orchard Park is a prerequisite to extensive design and finance work. The panel expects that ongoing discussions among residents in and outside Orchard Park, BHA officials, city officials, the business community, and local community organizations will become the mechanisms for total participation in the revitalization effort.

Panelists discuss options and strategies for funding Phases II and III of Orchard Park's redevelopment. (Clockwise from bottom left to right) Andrew Nelson, Susan Haviland, David Nelson, Joe Williams (far left), Merrick Malone, Michael Beyard, Shelly Henderson, Ursula Powidzki, and Alan Feltoon.



The panel believes that the following management issues need to be addressed:

- The BHA should set up a program for Orchard Park residents that refers young people to small businesses in lower Roxbury for jobs and training. Most employers in the neighborhood do not seem to be hiring Orchard Park residents; for example, few residents are employed at the Goodwill Industries Morgan Memorial facility that abuts the public housing complex.
- Dedicated BHA staff should be assigned to Orchard Park to work with the property manager and the residents association leaders. Currently, the BHA's resident services unit does not seem to be organized in a way that provides the kind of services needed in Orchard Park. Essential support mechanisms between the BHA and the residents and the larger community seem to be missing.
- The BHA needs to provide essential maintenance services throughout the complex. At present, for example, the on-site administration building has several broken windows. The BHA needs to demonstrate its commitment to the importance of high-quality housing and facilities.

- A minipolice station (a unit taken out of inventory) should be set up and operated round the clock at Orchard Park to demonstrate the police force's commitment to a safe neighborhood. In conjunction with the police foot patrols, the visibility of the police station is critical to the reduction of crime in the area. Whether true or not, the community views Orchard Park as a crime haven. This sends the wrong message to residents, the community, and all of Boston and allows people to continue to type cast residents of public housing.
- The BHA and public housing resident organizations throughout the city should negotiate with the chief of police and the field superintendent to ensure that regular police officers rather than public housing patrols are assigned to Orchard Park. In addition, harassment and disrespect of people who report crimes must be reduced if the police and residents are to improve communications.

- The BHA and the residents organization should take the lead in organizing both on- and off-site meetings to develop consensus and set priorities for redeveloping the community. City government leaders, community organizations, and local business leaders, including representatives of the chamber of commerce and other associations, should be invited to participate.
- The process of moving residents to accommodate phase one of the redevelopment effort needs to be carefully managed. The process should assign high priority to closing off nonsecure areas before and during reconstruction, providing better lighting even if only on a temporary basis, and ensuring a high level of security for residents who remain in other parts of the community during the first phase of revitalization.

Orchard Park buildings awaiting the start of planned reconstruction.



- Design standards for the new development must reflect the latest design techniques. The Orchard Park community should draw on the Boston area's tremendous design expertise to review current plans and to ensure that they meet the needs of the residents while at the same time providing the amenities that will attract and retain market-rate tenants.

The local business community, other communities' housing authorities, organizations outside the public housing sector, Orchard Park and other lower Roxbury residents, and design professionals from surrounding communities such as Cambridge should be involved in the planning process. Even though phase one has already been designed and planned with demolition imminent, the panel believes that the general design standards for the entire redevelopment effort should be subjected to broader review by the entire community.

- As redevelopment proceeds, Orchard Park residents need to become directly involved in getting out the message to the Dudley Square/CrossTown area as well as to the rest of Boston that the community is changing. Residents can participate in various local organizations and committees, work closely with the city government to solve problems, and support the local business community in creating a new image for the community.

Local businesses should be encouraged to "adopt" public housing units and become involved in such community activities as helping to renovate units or maintaining some community amenities at no cost to the development or the BHA. The BHA needs to enhance its policy of hiring Orchard Park residents for jobs that involve helping to maintain, manage, and landscape the community, setting up house security groups, and participating in resident turnover and retenanting decisions.

AVOIDING PAST FAILURES

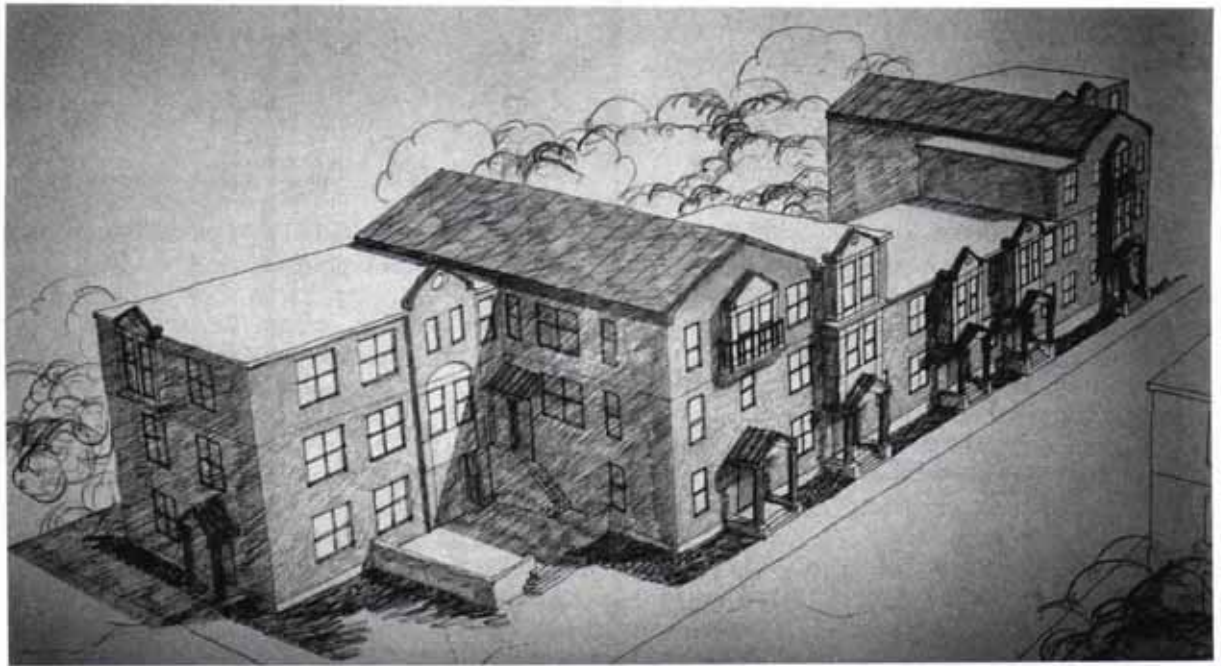
The panel strongly believes the time is at hand to review past failures as they relate to the lack of public/private cooperation and trust in operating Boston's public housing and to the lack of open communication among city agencies and departments whose often unclear responsibilities overlap. The panel sees evidence that a critical review may be in its infancy; it applauds the trend.

One clear failure identified by the panel is the isolation of poor people's shelter needs from their other needs for health care, job training and employment, and family counseling. If this failure remains unaddressed, the problems evident today in Orchard Park will be repeated upon completion of Orchard Park's redevelopment.

Strong management is required to carry out innovative housing policies, including the introduction of mixed-income housing and the provision of one-step comprehensive social services. Clearly, the traditional business-as-usual approach will not produce the desired outcome. For example, promoting the public housing environment to prospective higher-income residents requires a slow and deliberate strategy based on market analysis of residents and their requirements. Marketing efforts should then be directed at how higher-income households can benefit both current residents and the community as a whole.

In summary, the panel strongly believes that it is time to recognize that the new Orchard Park should not be considered housing of last resort, but rather housing of choice. Accordingly, the city and the community must acknowledge that the neighborhood has special needs, interests, and requirements. At the same time, special development and implementation strategies, innovative funding sources, and, without question, a fervent commitment are all prerequisites to success. Therefore, the panel concludes that the new Orchard Park must be the product of a new public/private development and management coalition that is inclusive and committed to the creation of an environment in which existing and new residents will command the resources, support, and ability to move up the ladder of success.

Rendering of planned rehabilitated housing at Orchard Park.



IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

INTRODUCTION

A communitywide implementation strategy is required to carry out the panel's recommendations for revitalizing the heart of lower Roxbury. A strategy of this type is, however, only a guide for executing and realizing articulated goals and missions; the more specific the goals, the more concrete is the plan.

By examining the three districts in the study area, the panel learned much about their economic and social fabric. It did not, however, uncover any unified views from which a precise implementation plan could be developed. In fact, the panel found that several representatives of the city and the community hold conflicting visions and that the degree of interest in effecting change varies from high interest to high skepticism.

As a result, the implementation strategy developed by the panel provides only the degree of specificity supported by these findings—despite much interest in a final product often termed a “plan.” The panel believes that when participants reach agreement on what is to be accomplished in lower Roxbury, an actual “plan” can be developed. In the meantime, the panel believes the community must think about and decide how the following elements should be addressed if it is to revitalize itself:

- *Unified vision/mission.* Both the implementors of a particular strategy and the beneficiaries of that strategy need to develop a shared vision of the community's future. To the degree that consensus can be reached on a particular strategy, the greater will be the support for the development of a revitalization program. If full consensus cannot be reached, at least a critical mass needs to come to some level of agreement for the program to advance.

- *Achievable consensus goals.* Implementation is a strategically oriented set of activities designed to carry out a plan whose purpose is to achieve stated goals. Realization of these goals is essential for achieving the unified vision.

With any plan, certain touchstones can either help or hinder plan efficacy. These touchstones include the following:

- *Clarity.* How clear are the action steps to be taken? How clear is the articulation of the goals embodied in the plan?
- *Communication.* Are the parties responsible for the plan communicating with each other so that misunderstandings can be avoided and differences resolved?
- *Feasibility.* Is the execution of the plan feasible? To make that assessment, it is necessary to be realistic about and understand any constraints that may exist and to craft a strategy for dealing with, overcoming, or working around constraints.
- *Timetable.* What is the period of time over which the plan is going to be achieved? What is

the period of time by which intermediate milestones can be measured?

- **Strategy.** What are the action steps to be taken in carrying out the plan?
- **Testing.** It is important to monitor plan implementation so that, upon completion, the plan achieves the goals that represent the long-term vision of the interested parties.
- **Constituents.** Any plan must bring together the key parties to the strategy that is to be implemented. At the very least, constituents include participants in the implementation process; the beneficiaries of the plan; funders who are asked to support the implementation strategy; the general public; the government; the media that report on the plan; and experts and consultants who advise in connection with the plan.
- **Sustainability.** The plan needs to be examined to determine that, once put into place, it is financially self-sufficient and that the cost of maintaining it will not drain ongoing activities to the detriment of the plan itself.
- **Measurability.** As with any plan, the first element of measurability relates to the plan's progress

toward clearly articulated milestones. In other words, it is important to see if the strategies established at the beginning of the process still appear on target or whether they need modification.

The second element of measurability concerns the relationship between the plan and its goals. If the goals represent the general vision of what is to be achieved, then the plan must embody an effective strategy for bringing about those goals. As the process moves forward, however, the problems, the goals, or even the plan itself may require modification. Nonetheless, the relationship between each of those three elements—the plan, the problem, the goals—remains constant.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY STAKEHOLDERS

The revitalization of lower Roxbury is critically dependent on the ability of the community stakeholders and the local government to develop a common vision and to coordinate a strategic plan. The implementation strategy must be guided by the principles of communication, consensus, coordination, and commitment between

community stakeholders and local government. More important, the same principles must apply among community stakeholders as well as within the government bureaucracy responsible for spearheading the revitalization effort.

The roles, responsibilities, and expectations of all participants in the revitalization effort must be clearly defined. In addition, the appropriate parties must assume accountability for each assigned task or project. Similarly, a mechanism is needed for securing both the financial and human resources necessary to execute the strategy.

The panel believes that the government and the community should embark on a course of action that will demonstrate both parties' commitment and capacity to implement the strategy and, as a byproduct, develop trust and credibility between these two participant groups.

Several strong community-based organizations currently represent a multitude of community stakeholders within lower Roxbury; in fact, each brings unique resources and leadership capabilities. These entities include the Roxbury Neighborhood Council, the Community Development Corporation of Boston, the Dudley Square Merchants Association, the Orchard Park Tenants Association, the Dudley/CrossTown Corridor Coalition, and Nuestra Comunidad. Each entity, however, has developed a separate and distinct expectation about the future of the community that is consistent with its specific and narrowly defined focus.



Panelists Ursula Powidzki and Alan Feltoon interviewing Dr. Philip Hart (right), head of the CDC Boston, about implementing redevelopment strategies in lower Roxbury.

None of these community-based groups is perceived by the others or by the residents of the study area as representing the entire community. Further, the panel believes that none has emerged with the capacity to develop the stakeholder consensus and coordination required in preparing a comprehensive revitalization strategy. Consequently, the panel recommends the creation of a coordinating organization composed of representatives from each of the community-based organizations. The coordinating group would develop common goals and a vision for the community, provide a single point of contact for the city to negotiate an overall revitalization plan, and formulate a strategy to achieve community goals. The panel also recommends that the stakeholders assist in funding a professionally trained economic development specialist/executive director who would administer and execute the implementation policies and strategies developed in conjunction with the area revitalization plan.

The panel suggests that the coordinating organization crystallize community awareness, involvement, and consensus by

- convening community meetings that engage community stakeholders in developing revitalization goals, strategies, and plans. Meetings should be open to permit the general population to view, review, and comment on the proceedings, thereby building consensus and trust in the community and among the stakeholders;

- defining, assigning priority to, and communicating to public authorities exactly what city and regional improvements should be provided to benefit the community. The panel believes that the most immediate need is a decision on the replacement transit for the MBTA's Orange Line and the associated street and sidewalk improvements that have been delayed pending that decision;
- reviewing city and state regional improvement programs and recommending ways to eliminate potentially negative effects on the neighborhood; and
- creating and widely circulating a newsletter to inform community residents of activities and projects underway in the neighborhood.

The panel also recommends that the coordinating organization galvanize and link all the resources needed to execute the community's plans and programs by

- encouraging and enabling all community stakeholders to participate in such community projects as clean-up days; community-based policing; social, historical, and cultural awareness development; and programs designed to enhance the image of the community and highlight its diverse heritage;
- serving as a clearinghouse for the most effective programs and ideas to assist local residents in starting and managing small businesses, gaining employment skills and jobs, and achieving the community's economic development goals;
- encouraging area universities and nearby hospitals to establish and coordinate programs that complement the area's revitalization efforts;
- working with city officials to design and implement effective community policing programs that would include police foot patrols through the entire area and citizen patrols in the residential areas;

(From left to right) ULI panelists Barry Humphries (panel chair), George Kaufman, Merrick Malone, and Susan Haviland conducting interviews at the First Church of Roxbury.





The neglect and decline of the lower Roxbury area must be arrested through a public/private partnership.

- working with both residential and commercial stakeholders to maintain vacant properties, reduce loitering, remove trash, and restore or cosmetically improve boarded-up storefront buildings;
- articulating to public officials the neighborhood's revitalization plans, which should include the strategic disposition of vacant, city-owned land within the target area;
- identifying key redevelopment projects that will leverage resources and sustain economic development; these should be the neighborhood's highest-priority projects;
- serving as a clearinghouse to identify and work with experienced professionals to develop key projects and to assist in enhancing the capacity of community-based organizations to sustain future development projects; and
- demonstrating through its actions that it has the capacity to engage other participants from both public and private sectors and that it "has its act together." This capability is critical to counteracting the city's excuse for not providing needed financial and government support for the revitalization of lower Roxbury.

THE ROLE OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT

The city government, particularly its political leaders, should embrace the principles of communications, consensus, coordination, and commitment to ensure the timely delivery of necessary resources to revitalize the target area. Most of the decline and deterioration of the neighborhood has resulted from sustained government indecision and neglect, and, yet, the area is potentially one of the most viable neighborhoods in the city. Some of the factors working in its favor include its proximity to downtown, its accessibility, the strategically sited vacant parcels and buildings in CrossTown and Dudley Square, and its potential to attract new industries and jobs as a result of adjacent employment centers.

The panel recommends that the city assume the following roles to make the revitalization of lower Roxbury a political and economic priority, thereby sending a signal to both the government bureaucracy and Boston's public and private sectors that the city is seriously committed to the revitalization effort:

- Create a sincere and committed partnership with the community-based stakeholders through every phase of revitalization to achieve consensus on the disposition of key public and private properties.
- Deliver the city services and financial resources that are necessary to support revitalization and to build community capacity for sustained economic development.
- Expedite the ongoing reorganization of the city's economic development, housing, and planning functions under a single organization so that the city can better coordinate its resource delivery and redevelopment policy functions.
- Foster the image and reality of a local government organization that is responsive to low-income communities.
- Designate, fund, and publicize a specific city agency within the city government to champion lower Roxbury. This agency should be charged with responsibility for identifying and expediting the commitment of resources and necessary approvals.
- Ensure that each city department operates under clearly defined responsibilities and revenue sources and that the community understands the respective purview of each department. This step is essential to making the government truly accessible, helping the community identify and secure available public resources, and establishing a clear priority for and commitment of funds.

- Integrate other city government departments and agencies into the revitalization process, particularly those responsible for public safety, education, and human services. Secure program and resource commitments from the appropriate agencies to support the agreed upon revitalization plan.
- Designate highly qualified, experienced property managers to oversee the implementation of the strategic plan and to assist in coordinating the disposition of key properties.
- Provide businesses and residents with the necessary financial incentives to support revitalization. All types of businesses as well as low- and moderate-income buyers should benefit from such incentives as real property, commercial, and industrial development tax abatements and deferrals.
- Strengthen city programs that expand homeownership opportunities within the area. In addition, the city should target available funding resources to provide necessary infrastructure improvements, including the maintenance of sidewalks and streets and the provision of adequate lighting. The city should also encourage corporations and other private groups to direct resources to lower Roxbury.
- Improve parking in the Dudley Square area to support community-based retailing and to meet the needs of local merchants. Several vacant city-owned parcels could be used as interim or permanent sites to support retail parking. Even if they are not used for parking, these parcels are largely unkempt and need to be cleaned up and fenced. Over the long term, the parcels should be converted to residential uses with retail operations on the first floors consistent with the community's revitalization plan.
- Work with private organizations such as banks, insurance companies, pension funds, and non-profits to attract private investment into the community.
- Establish a working relationship with local banks, particularly those with branches in lower Roxbury, to develop a community reinvestment strategy that targets the types of businesses and residential (re)development programs that are consistent with community goals.
- Vigorously support the self-help efforts of the community to revitalize the community. Create a sincere and committed partnership with the community-based stakeholders throughout each phase of the revitalization effort to achieve consensus on the disposition of key public and private properties.

REVITALIZATION PLAN

The commitment of the city government and the local community to work in partnership to develop and implement a revitalization plan for lower Roxbury is critical. The perception of the area must, however, change dramatically if the plan is to succeed. Accordingly, the panel believes that the plan's first priority must be to address the public perception that the area is unsafe. Until this overriding perception and its underlying reality are addressed, no plan will succeed in attracting new residents, merchants, small businesses, or visitors.

Parking needs to be improved; vacant lots could be used for this purpose until development opportunities arise.



The revitalization plan needs to address the following specific elements:

- **Residential development.** The panel believes that a strong residential base is required for a stable community and healthy retail core at Dudley Square. New housing should take three forms: units above existing store spaces, units on vacant lots, and the redeveloped Orchard Park.

No appropriate use has been found for the long-time vacant spaces above Dudley Square's existing stores. Providing units above retail shops would, however, help create a market for the street-level stores and allow Dudley Square to remain vibrant after 6:00 p.m., a time when most legal activity ceases in the neighborhood. In addition, if the recommended market studies demonstrate a need for more housing, it could be developed on vacant lots as either rental or for-sale units.

- **Retail development.** The panel believes that the Dudley Square area needs additional retail space for neighborhood and community-related goods and services. New retail uses should specifically serve local residents, many of whom now shop in other neighborhoods, as well as people who pass through the area by bus or car.

To attract more shoppers, however, the area must present a clean and inviting appearance and pose little or no personal risk. Few suitable retail spaces currently exist; of those, they are often separated from one another by vacant lots. Shoppers demand a continuous retail experience. The panel therefore recommends that infill retail uses be planned for the first floors of specified residential buildings.



Panelist Andrew Nelson presents recommendations regarding the rebirth of retailing in Dudley Square.

- **Employment opportunities.** The panel believes that the creation of jobs is a critical component of the plan. Jobs should be drawn from the expanded retail area of Dudley Square as well as from new businesses at the CrossTown site. The plan should address the match of jobs with the skill levels of the residents in the immediate community, the need for training, and the steps that need to be taken to attract biotechnology-related companies and perhaps other firms to the available facilities and sites.
- **Government support.** The panel believes that, at a minimum, the plan must include steps to achieve the following: additional police assistance and visibility in the community to reduce crime; infrastructure improvements through a street and sidewalk repair program; short-term use of selected vacant lots as parking areas to relieve congestion in Dudley Square; resolution of transit line issues; and incentive programs such as tax abatement agreements to attract businesses and residential development to the Dudley Square area.
- **Funding and organization.** The panel believes that to be successfully implemented, the plan must clearly set forth where the money is expected to come from as well as identify who is going to do what. The groups and individuals responsible for implementation must have access to both financial and human resources. The financial resources must start with seed capital, which is traditionally the most difficult money to acquire because it is needed when a project is least formed and faces the greatest risk of failure. Next, the required equity funds may be secured through private investors or grant funds. Loan funds may be available either from traditional lending sources or charitable organizations or from government sources that offer loan dollars on advantageous terms.
- **Self-help programs.** The panel believes that the revitalization plan must include self-help programs that complement other recommended actions. While several individuals and groups advocate change in lower Roxbury, the panel clearly sensed despair and even surrender among many area residents.

Panel chair Barry Humphries presents implementation strategies for lower Roxbury.

Therefore, the community itself needs to care and to demonstrate that care through self-help programs that will help convince the community's redevelopment partners, i.e., government and private investors, that lower Roxbury is a good place to do business, a place where things can get done, and a place where money and time will not be wasted.

Even though the panel has broadly identified the components of a revitalization plan, it believes that the organization that is formed to represent the area's diverse interests should take responsibility for defining specific elements of the plan.

FINANCING MECHANISMS

A public/private partnership between the local government and the financial community is essential for the successful redevelopment of the Dudley Square area. Through this partnership, public financial support can be leveraged with private capital to underwrite a greater number of projects while achieving an appropriate sharing of risk. As noted, the ability to maximize the partnership's potential is premised on targeting the Dudley Square area as a principal redevelopment zone, coordinating and focusing public funding sources on the area, and clearly defining a set of objectives to be achieved by the redevelopment.



MIXED-USE DEVELOPMENT

While local banks currently offer community development financing programs for owner-occupied buildings, only recently have such programs been developed for investor-owned real estate. With the cooperation of local government and banks, financing programs for investor-owned mixed-use properties such as the recommended residential/retail buildings can be developed to encourage the acquisition and rehabilitation of buildings in the Dudley Square area. The panel believes that pure acquisition loans should be discouraged to ensure that loan proceeds are used to add value to properties rather than to encourage speculation. To induce financial institutions to become active providers of acquisition and rehabilitation capital, government-provided permanent financing will be needed.

Given the uncertainty of the income stream of noncredit retail tenants, banks will generally be reluctant to provide long-term financing. By providing permanent financing, however, the public sector can work with lenders to develop the underwriting criteria that will help determine the level of risk lending institutions will be willing to assume in providing short-term construction financing.

NATIONAL RETAIL CHAINS

The proximity of Dudley Square to major transportation corridors and a significant underserved population suggests that demand might be sufficient to attract some national retail chains to the area, particularly national chains that have focused on inner-city business strategies, e.g., Caldor, Bradlees, and Pathmark Supermarkets. To attract such retailers, however, the city should be prepared to make concessions with respect to financing and subsidies. In addition, the city might need to invoke its eminent domain powers to assemble adequately sized sites for stores and parking.

A program recently initiated by the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) demonstrated how community-based organizations can be developers/owners of retail projects. LISC is a leading nonprofit intermediary that works to expand the capacity of community-based organizations. LISC recently established The Retail Initiative (TRI), which provides equity in supermarket development projects to be owned and managed by community-based nonprofit organizations. Projects receive significant public subsidies together with bank financing.

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The availability of long-term financing for commercial real estate projects is critical. Because traditional sources of permanent financing for commercial real estate (e.g., insurance companies and pension funds) are generally not available to projects located in low- and moderate-income communities, the public sector will have to induce the placement of private capital in Dudley Square. In addition, commercial banks, still recovering from real estate losses sustained in their commercial loan portfolios during the 1980s, will be reluctant to provide financing without the availability of permanent financing, the provisions of the Community Reinvestment Act notwithstanding. Potential sources of government-sponsored permanent financing include

- *Loan guarantees.* Government guarantees could be used to encourage the city's public pension funds to provide permanent financing for commercial loans originated by banks.
- *Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) and Section 108 funds.* The use of CDBG or HUD Section 108 funds should be explored to provide low-cost construction and permanent financing. This money could be leveraged with bank financing, provided that the bank debt is taken out upon conversion to a permanent loan.
- *Use of tax increment financing.* Historically used to promote large-scale downtown development, tax increment financing has also found innovative applications in low- and moderate-income communities to support residential and economic development. For example, St.

Paul, Minnesota, preserved 900 blue-collar jobs at a paper mill and carton folding company when the city agreed to sell tax increment bonds to help local investors purchase the plant. A special assessment on the property will repay the city loan. In exchange for the city's financial support, the company agreed to maintain current production levels for at least 10 years and made a commitment to the city to implement a first-source hiring policy.

HOUSING

Successfully developed, economically integrated housing—either rental or owned by first-time homebuyers—can help stabilize the Dudley Square area by reversing declining population trends. Financing mechanisms would be required for both multifamily rental projects and single-family and duplex homeowner units.

- *Multifamily rental projects.* Multifamily rental projects require sources of permanent financing to induce lending institutions to provide construction financing. For example, the state and

city of New York's public pension funds have provided permanent financing for multifamily housing construction loans originated by banks. The state's mortgage authority guarantees the permanent loans.

- *Homeownership.* Vacant city-owned land for the development of housing could be used to make homeownership possible for moderate-income families. One product type that might be explored is the two-family home, in which one unit generates rental income that pays for a substantial amount of the purchaser's monthly debt service. To make such housing affordable to the targeted income group, additional government subsidies are typically required to reduce the purchase price. The success of the Dudley Square Neighborhood Initiative in obtaining foundation support for housing subsidies might be a useful model to expand to the Dudley Square area.



National retailers may be attracted to Dudley Square if the city provides the right incentives.

Panelist Earl Phillips recommends ways to create a new Orchard Park that better meets the needs of its residents and the community.



ATTRACTING EQUITY CAPITAL

For significant equity capital to be invested in the Dudley Square area, investors must be convinced that they can realize a sufficient return on equity. The most crucial elements for making Dudley Square attractive for equity investments include the following:

- **Safety.** Although already mentioned several times, the safety issue needs to be stressed. Investors must be confident that the Dudley Square area provides a safe environment for businesses and residents. A safe environment depends on the increased involvement of the police in the area, with an emphasis on community policing.
- **Designating Dudley Square a high-priority redevelopment area.** The city must decide to make the revitalization of Dudley Square a high priority and coordinate the disposition of public resources in the area. City resources should be targeted to improving the infrastructure, e.g., sidewalks and street lighting, and providing low-interest loans for facade improvements.
- **Eminent domain.** The city should expedite the redevelopment process by aggressively using its eminent domain powers to assemble residential and retail sites only if the private sector is unwilling or unable to do so.
- **Social services.** Social services should be coordinated with revitalization initiatives to treat and rehabilitate drug users and alcoholics and to assist the homeless.
- **Reversal of population decline.** A safer Dudley Square will help create an environment that is conducive to affordable housing and retail/commercial initiatives, thereby bringing more residents into the area and generating additional demand for retail services.
- **Integration of Orchard Park into the Dudley Square community.** A successful Dudley Square depends on the incorporation of Orchard Park into the community. Job creation can help forge the needed link between Dudley Square and Orchard Park. To the extent that the CrossTown industrial area can be used to attract businesses whose job requirements match the skill level of Orchard park residents and other nearby public housing residents, the development of industrial uses should be encouraged. The expansion of retail stores and services in Dudley Square should also provide growing job opportunities for neighborhood residents.
- **Availability of financing.** Investors/owners of buildings in the Dudley Square area must be encouraged to upgrade their properties. As noted, the availability of financing for acquisition and/or rehabilitation is essential to induce owners to make additional investments.
- **Tax assessments.** Disparities in the assessment of Dudley Square properties should be remedied. Reassessments may be required to reflect declines in property values. Lower taxes in conjunction with other revitalization initiatives will help motivate owners to invest in their properties and attract new investors.
- **Technical assistance for small businesses.** Two types of small business assistance should be made available; one type for start-ups and the other for established businesses with expansion potential. By relying on overhead support grants, lending institutions should consider funding nonprofit intermediaries experienced in providing such assistance.
- **Creation of a secondary market for small business loans.** The Senate recently introduced legislation as part of the proposed Community Reinvestment Act amendments that would create a secondary market for small business loans. If passed, this provision could be a catalyst for making significant private sector financing available for small business loans.
- **Creation of a business improvement district at Dudley Square.** The panel recommends that merchants consider creating a business improvement district.

The merchants would tax themselves and use the proceeds for two purposes; first and foremost, to engage a security force; second, to hire professional assistance to make sure that the commercial area remains clean and in good repair.

- *Creation of a loan pool by the Dudley Square Merchants Association.* Creation of a loan pool would enhance the association's ability to secure financing for member activities if, over time, the association could accumulate a pool of money or some other form of credit enhancement by which it could guarantee loans taken out by its individual members. Before the association would guarantee such a loan, however, it should review the application with the proposed borrower both for completeness and the applicant's ability to succeed in business and thus repay the obligation. Once assured, the association could offer to guarantee a loan from the bank where the applicant maintains its business account.

With a credit enhancement mechanism, the bank risk is no longer dependent on the ability of the individual borrower to repay the loan but rather depends on the credit level of the



Panelist Lewis Jones (second from left) presents ways to finance the redevelopment of Dudley Square.

merchants association, which guaranteed the loan. In addition, the interest rate ordinarily charged for the loan would be reduced to reflect the lower credit risk. Over time, such an arrangement would yield a strong merchants association and higher-quality tenants in the area. The success of each store within the Dudley Square area will support the success of every other store in that neighborhood.

ORGANIZATION FOR REVITALIZATION

The panel believes that there is an important, even critical, role for a nonprofit organization in the economic revitalization of lower Roxbury. A description of that role, however, requires a look at earlier attempts to improve parts of the neighborhood. The panel learned

that lower Roxbury has been "studied to death" by several public and private groups but that the city government has never focused a sharp lens on the area for a sustained period. Removal of the MBTA's Orange Line transformed Dudley Square overnight from an aging but well-trafficked community to a dying town center. The alternative mode of transportation promised seven years ago has not materialized. For these and other reasons, Dudley Square has gone from a thriving commercial center to a marginal set of businesses in only a few short years.

The community needs to reinvent itself and develop a new identity. Unfortunately, several groups are competing for attention throughout the target area, and no single voice has been able to speak for or act on the entire community's behalf. Moreover, the community and its inhabitants are weary of government promises that do not bear fruit, of a municipal maze that is difficult to navigate, of local actions that do not produce change, and of the community's own lack of an effective organization to marshal the needed financial and human resources to rebuild the community. For example, the Dudley Square Merchants Association's membership has fluctuated dramatically but today does not represent a majority of the area's retailers.



Orchard Park and Dudley Square should be connected to form one community.

In addition, the Dudley Square Task Force, with an original membership of 15 persons, now accounts for only four dedicated individuals who have doggedly continued their commitment to provide the city of Boston with revitalization recommendations.

Crime in lower Roxbury has remained a serious threat to residents and visitors. The media instantly report bad news and fuel the city's perception that the area is unsafe. At present, local organizations have not been able to counter reported incidents with evidence of how security problems are being addressed. The natural outcomes are therefore discouragement, inertia, and flight.

The community needs to develop a media response that protects its image from damage by external sources. When appropriate, the community should approach the media to indicate that change is apace. Visible successes should be promoted in press releases; the media should be encouraged to report these stories.

Over the longer run, the community should embark on a public relations effort to draw visitors. Such an effort could take several forms, including a street fair that features local crafts or ethnic foods. When a special event is scheduled, the community should be well prepared to ensure the safety of visitors and the success of the endeavor.

Reversing the community's economic and social decline must begin immediately with the creation of an organization charged with coordinating the community's revitalization and drawing the attention of the new administration in city hall. Because the hard-fought efforts of many speaking for individual parts of the area have failed to produce effective change, the area is perceived as disorganized and fractionalized. The efforts of several community leaders, currently working separately, should be melded to produce effective results. In addition, lower Roxbury residents, through their various community groups, should decide whether the coordinating group should evolve from an existing community organization or be created anew. In any case, the panel believes that residents and their community groups should shape the powers of the group, determine its governing structure, and serve on its board of directors.

The coordinating group should not exclude or restrict from its membership persons who qualify as financial and political stakeholders in the revitalization process. While the groups themselves ultimately need to define what constitutes a stakeholder, we believe relevant factors include residency or a financial interest within the target area.

If change is to take place, the panel believes that the coordinating group must effectively represent common, communitywide interests and set policy for neighborhood revitalization. The group should assume responsibility for developing consensus redevelopment goals, creating a strategic plan for achieving these goals, identifying high-priority projects, creating a nonprofit development corporation to carry out specific revitalization projects, and initiating change by using the resources of its member representatives and seeking support from its redevelopment partners, including the government, private investors, foundations, and the media.

African-American Fashion World exemplifies the type of new entrepreneurial activity that must be encouraged if lower Roxbury is to succeed.





In addition to coordinating the needed financial and human resources, the coordinating group must demonstrate a highly developed political sense if it is to bring all of the area's representatives through a process in which the desired outcome is the creation of a nonprofit development corporation. The coordinating group would guide and direct the nonprofit in its efforts to redevelop the neighborhood.

The sponsor has asked the panel whether the American City Coalition (TACC) could be helpful to the redevelopment of lower Roxbury. The panel believes that the Roxbury community needs an organization that can function as the catalyst for neighborhood revitalization, help organize the community to reach consensus, and advise the community on how to get the job done. In undertaking this work, such an organization will need to win the trust and support of the lower Roxbury community and be truly representative of the many and varied interests there.

The panel firmly believes that this determination must be made by the lower Roxbury community itself.

In the panel's view, TACC or any other organization that assumes the role of redevelopment coordinator needs to meet several important criteria. It must have substantial resources and a professional staff with extensive experience in inner-city neighborhood revitalization. In addition, it must have a board of directors with a broad spectrum of community representatives. Its financial statements and pro formas must be widely available to the public. Finally, the organization must have a clear business plan for accomplishing the goals that are articulated in its mission statement.

The coordinating organization must be prepared to commit sufficient resources to launch a range of activities, including consensus building on community goals, developing a credible economic revitalization program, raising capital to start the process of economic change, engaging in the political process to secure government support, and implementing several indigenous initiatives in which the community is an active participant in its own revitalization. If the coordinating organization is structured as a short-term entity, the panel believes that it must find a complementary local community development organization that is capable of both coordinating overall redevelopment activity over the long term and carrying out specific redevelopment projects. Such a community development corporation should meet the same community-supported criteria outlined earlier for the coordinating organization, including a community-based board of directors, an experienced professional staff, and sufficient resources to carry out its mission.

The potential for redeveloping lower Roxbury is strong, but it will require a concerted, long-term partnership of the city of Boston, the local residents, and the financial community.

CONCLUSION

The panel has recommended an ambitious agenda for the city and the lower Roxbury community. The task is formidable but not out of reach if the community, including its organizations and residents, forms a partnership with the city. The overall revitalization task requires a major commitment from the city to focus its organizational expertise and resources on a neighborhood that it has long ignored and abused. It also requires the community to take the initiative in setting forth its goals and priorities, speaking with a unified voice, and initiating self-help projects that begin to create a new image and signal that the community is taking control of its future.

ABOUT THE PANEL

BARRY K. HUMPHRIES
PANEL CHAIR
Columbus, Ohio

Barry Humphries is the owner and president of Renaissance Group, Inc., a real estate development and management company located in Columbus, Ohio. Established in 1980, the company specializes in the ownership, development, and management of individual properties and provides consulting services. Renaissance Group, Inc. owns and manages award-winning retirement campuses in Ohio and actively advises a number of clients on development, management, and marketing issues. Before forming his own company, Humphries was the president of Battelle Memorial Institute's real estate subsidiary in Columbus, Ohio. He received the national Award of Excellence from President Reagan at the White House in 1982 for the Renaissance Project, a 22-block neighborhood revitalization project undertaken by Battelle.

Before arriving in Columbus in 1976, Humphries was vice president and general manager of Central City Development Corporation in Beaumont, Texas. The company directed a highly successful redevelopment of the central business district that resulted in \$143 million of public and private investment over a five-year period. Before entering the private sector, Humphries served as assistant city manager of Denton, Texas, and as assistant director of the East Texas Council of Governments.

Humphries received his undergraduate degree from Texas A & I University and his master's degree from North Texas State University. He is a member of the Columbus Rotary Club and serves as a board member of National Church Residences, which owns and operates over 13,000 housing units for the elderly. An active member of the Urban Land Institute, Humphries has served on its board of trustees, written professional articles for *Urban Land*, and served on or chaired ULI panel services for 10 U.S. cities.

ALAN J. FELTOON, AIA, AICP
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Alan J. Feltoon is a principal and cofounder of Feltoon Parry Associates, Inc., and has over 19 years of experience in planning and commercial and residential design. He is licensed in several states as a registered architect and planner. As an active member of the design community, Feltoon has served as a design juror and guest speaker at the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel University in Philadelphia. In addition, he has presented seminars to real estate and home builder associations, focusing on planning and architectural design trends. Many of Feltoon's projects have been published in national magazines such as *Professional Builder*, *Custom Home*, *Builder*, and *Metropolitan Home*. Most recently, the September 1993 issue of the Urban Land Institute's *Project Reference File* profiled a 60,000-square-foot office condominium project known as Luxembourg Corporate Center.

Feltoon holds a bachelor's degree in architecture from the Pratt Institute and a master's degree and master of city planning degree in urban design from the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to being a member of the American Institute of Architects, Feltoon is a member of the American Planners Association, the American Institute of Certified Planners, the Foundation for Architecture, the National Association of Home Builders, and the Urban Land Institute.

SUSAN HAVILAND
Palo Alto, California

Susan Haviland holds a bachelor's degree in art history from Wellesley College, a PhD in cognitive psychology from Stanford University, and a master's degree in architecture from the University of California, Berkeley. After working for several years in the San Francisco office of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, Haviland joined the firm of Daniel Solomon and Associates and became a principal in its successor firm Solomon, Inc. In 1991, she founded her own firm, Susan Haviland AIA, which provides architectural and urban design services. Current work includes the design of a private residence and a project with Stanford University to make the campus more comprehensible (to both visitors and regular users).

SHELLY HENDERSON

Waltham, Massachusetts

Shelly Henderson is director of domestic and international business development for BioMetics, Inc., in Waltham, Massachusetts. BioMetics is an architectural, engineering, and validation services firm that specializes in the design and validation of manufacturing facilities that adhere to good manufacturing practices (GMP) for the bio/pharmaceutical and medical device industries. BioMetics has completed over 35 projects for over 24 clients. Projects include three major biologic production facilities for Abbott, ImmunoGen, and Celltech Biologies.

Before joining BioMetics, Henderson was involved for more than 15 years in the sales and marketing of medical diagnostic products for such companies as Abbott and Becton Dickinson and of raw materials for the GMP production of biotherapeutics for GIBCO/Life Technologies, Inc. Henderson holds a bachelor of science degree in medical technology from the University of Vermont and a master's degree in business administration from Babson College.

LEWIS P. JONES

New York, New York

Lewis Jones is the first president of Chemical Bank's community development corporation subsidiary, Chemical Community Development, Inc. Created in 1988, Chemical Community Development has provided more than \$300 million in private financing that has been leveraged with government subsidies to provide more than 5,000 units of affordable housing in the New York City area. In addition to using government subsidies, a central component of Chemical Community Development's strategy has been the expansion of its investor base by selling participation to other banks—foreign and domestic—and using public pension funds as a source of permanent financing. As an example of this public/private partnership, the New York City Employees Retirement System has committed to purchase \$33 million in permanent mortgages originated by Chemical

Community Development for affordable multifamily rental housing. In addition, Chemical Community Development is currently negotiating with the New York State Common Retirement Fund for an allocation of \$50 million to originate permanent mortgages for affordable multifamily rental housing and inner-city commercial development projects.

Before joining Chemical, Jones worked as an investment banker in public finance at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette and practiced law. He received his undergraduate degree from Harvard University and his law and business degrees from Columbia University. He is the chair of the East Harlem College and Career Counseling Program, a nonprofit organization that provides education and counseling services to students from the sixth grade through high school.

GEORGE W. KAUFMAN
Washington, D.C.

George Kaufman joined Arnold & Porter as of counsel in 1990 and serves as president of MPC Associates, Inc. Kaufman brings wide-ranging experience to real estate representations, including leasing, purchase, sales, and financing work as well as feasibility analysis for nonprofit and commercial entities. Kaufman has also represented exempt organizations in providing financial assistance to community development organizations in which real estate is frequently the primary form of security.

Over the years, Kaufman has worked with such nonprofit clients as the Ford Foundation, the GAIA Leadership Project, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation, the Corporation for Supportive Housing, the National Arts Stabilization Fund, the Pew Charitable Trust, and Tulane University. He is a director of the Tree of Life Foundation, Inc., the GAIA Leadership Project, and MPC Associates, Inc.

Kaufman received his bachelor's degree from Columbia College and his law degree from Yale Law School.

MERRICK T. MALONE
Washington, D.C.

Merrick T. Malone is the assistant city administrator for economic development and the director of housing and community development for the District of Columbia.

He has 15 years of experience in corporate law and in strategic formulation and management of public and private urban housing production policy, with an emphasis on finance, securities, and antitrust law.

Malone previously served as deputy chief of staff and legal counsel to Mayor Kelly of the District of Columbia, providing legal and executive-level expertise in the formulation of policy on housing, economic development, public safety, education, and utilities regulation.

Before joining the District of Columbia government, Malone served as a corporate attorney at Ameritech. In 1980-1983, Malone directed and coordinated housing policy in Detroit, Michigan, as deputy director of the city's housing department. He was responsible for all aspects of Detroit's public and privately assisted housing activities and oversaw the direction, coordination, planning, and operation of private and public housing programs and projects.

Malone holds a bachelor's degree from Ohio Northern University and a juris doctorate from Georgetown University.

ANDREW J. NELSON

San Francisco, California

Andrew Nelson directs the northern California practice office of Deloitte & Touche's Realty Consulting Group. He is a real estate economist and focuses on market, financial, and economic analyses of property development and repositioning of existing real estate assets. In addition to managing the regional practice office, Nelson has consulted with several public agencies, developers, law firms, and financial institutions on many development and real estate issues. Nelson has particular expertise in evaluating retail potential.

Before joining Deloitte & Touche, Nelson was a senior associate with Sedway & Associates, an urban and real estate economics firm based in San Francisco. Previously, he held various positions in the Boston and New York City governments. As a policy planner for the Neighborhood Development and Employment Agency in Boston during the mid-1980s, Nelson helped develop commercial revitalization strategies for key neighborhoods throughout Boston.

Nelson holds a master's degree in city and regional planning from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University as well as a bachelor's degree in economics from Harpur College, the State University of New York at Binghamton.

DAVID ROBERT NELSON

Farmington Hills, Michigan

David Robert Nelson is president and chief executive officer of The Nelson Companies. He has over 23 years of experience in all types of real estate development, including low-rise as well as high-rise residential development and large-scale as well as small-scale retail development. Nelson-owned firms have acted as general contractors, property managers, and real estate brokers for apartment and condominium communities and industrial buildings, enclosed malls, congregate care facilities, and churches. They have also managed the construction of public utilities, roads, and bridges.

Nelson received a bachelor's degree in design from the School of Architecture and Design at the University of Michigan in 1965 and a juris doctorate from Wayne State University in 1968. He is licensed in the state of Michigan as both a residential builder and a real estate broker. He is a member of several professional organizations, including the National Association of Home Builders, the International Council of Shopping Centers, and the Urban Land Institute. He is a member of ULI's Inner-City Coordinating Committee, vice chairman of the Advisory Services Committee, and a member of ULI's Leadership Group.

EARL PHILLIPS

Seattle, Washington

Earl Phillips has over 20 years of experience as a public housing administrator. In March 1994, Phillips joined the Seattle Housing Authority as its deputy executive director. Before moving to Seattle, he served as executive director of the Housing Authority of the City of Atlanta. He also served at the helm of the housing authorities of Wilmington, Delaware; Newark, New Jersey; and Houston and headed Metropolitan Dade County's Department of Housing and Urban Development. Phillips has earned a well-deserved reputation for building winning programs and top-notch management teams.

Phillips has served in leadership roles with numerous agencies, including three terms as national president of the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities; president of the Urban Leagues

in Newark and Morristown, New Jersey, and New York; director of an anticrime commission in Newark; and vice president of the University of Medicine and Dentistry, Newark.

A graduate of Howard University, Phillips has professional expertise in other arenas, including housing management, public affairs, employment relations, human resource planning, grant development, and management.

His professional affiliations include the Atlanta Coalition for Public Education; the Literacy Action Board, the Neighborhood Task Force, the National Board for Soccer-in-the-Streets, the United Way of Metropolitan Atlanta Board, the Inner City Games Board, and the United Negro College Fund Stars Panel Chair of 1993.

URSULA POWIDZKI

Baltimore, Maryland

Ursula Powidzki has 17 years of broad-based professional experience in the areas of economic development, commercial real estate development, and planning. She spent over eight years with the Baltimore Development Corporation, the city's economic development organization. As a senior vice president, she directed the business development efforts of the nonprofit organization, working with, among others, manufacturers, start-up firms, and biotechnology firms. She has managed public sector lending programs, a business incubator, and industrial real estate development projects. For the past year and one-half, Powidzki has served as a consultant to both public and private sector clients in Maryland and has been working in two Polish cities under Agency for International Development (AID)-funded contracts on local development projects. Powidzki is a graduate of Brown University.

ADJUNCT PANEL MEMBER**JOE WILLIAMS**

Worthington, Ohio

Joe Williams is vice president and regional manager of the Renaissance Group. He is a graduate of the Ohio State University in real estate/urban analysis. His experience is primarily in property management and brokerage activities.

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