copies $1.50 each

The Chinese in Boston, 1970

Charles Sullivan and Kathlyn Hatch

Action for Boston Community Development
Robert M. Coard, Executive Director

Planning & Evaluation Department
Adriana Gianturco, Director

357-6000, extension 405

First Printing, November 9, 1970
Second Printing, November 30, 1970
Third Printing, February 16, 1971
Fourth Printing, April 20, 1971
Fifth Printing, November 5, 1971
Sixth Printing, January 3, 1973

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

PREFACE

Action for Boston Community Development has undertaken this report on Boston's Chinese community as a means of illuminating conditions among one of the City's least-known, yet oldest, minority groups. In preparing it, the staff of ABCD's Planning and Evaluation Department obtained a cross-section of views and opinions from many members of the community, and of the organizations which are involved with it, and distilled the results of this research with the little quantitative data that could be derived from existing sources. While a less immediate deadline would have allowed a greater range of views to be represented, little more in the way of concrete data can be developed until the 1970 Census and other direct surveys of the community are tabulated and analyzed. When this is accomplished, much more will be known that can only be extrapolated or assumed at present. Finally, it must be noted that, although preliminary drafts have been discussed with various members of the Chinese community, this final version is the sole responsibility of ABCD's planning staff.

Summary and Introduction

Conditions among Boston's Chinese, one of the City's oldest but least known communities, are in many respects worse than among any other group. The population, once static, has grown by 51 percent since 1960 to nearly 8,000 in 1970. Before 1945, alien Chinese were entirely excluded from the United States and legislation twenty years before had frozen the community into a predominately male cast. In the last five years, wives and children of American citizens have been allowed to enter without restrictions, and the Chinese community has been augmented by an average of nearly 300 immigrants a year. Because of crowded conditions in Chinatown, most of this growth is occurring in Chinese communities in the South End, Allston-Brighton, and Parker Hill-Fenway. Moreover, at least some Chinese have been found to live in every Boston neighborhood.

This influx of children and relatively young adults has brought an even greater degree of crowding to an area with one of the highest population densities in the City, and has overloaded the already inadequate public schools. Many of those who arrive are unskilled, and many who have already acquired skills are unable to use them because they lack a facility in English. The local restaurants, businesses, and shops which have traditionally absorbed the immigrant Chinese are becoming saturated, and even when these jobs can be found they often isolate the Chinese from American life, and fail to teach English or marketable skills. A major source of jobs for Chinese

women, the garment industry, is in a long-term decline, and the growth prospects of other industries able to use non-English speaking labor is limited.

Problems among Chinese youth are also growing. The strength of the Chinese family cannot always cope with the strains of the immigrant experience, and the youngest children are often left alone when both parents work because of the lack of day care facilities. The expectations of parents conflict with the inability of their children to excel in a school system which offers inadequate English language training. Teenagers, especially those who have grown up in Hong Kong, are dropping out of school at an increasing rate, and some have begun to follow the pattern of delinquency found among American youth. For the native-born, the conflict between the values of their peers and those of their parents introduces an intense cross-cultural conflict.

The disproportionate number of elderly males, unable to retire to China in the traditional manner, constitute a particularly difficult problem. Often they are without the families who would normally support them, and must live with other elderly men in cramped, overcrowded quarters. Existence in nursing homes is often insupportable because of the language barrier and the lack of customary food.

Although little quantitative date exists for the Chinese, several comparisons can be made with other groups. In nearly every case, the Chinese community is shown to have greater problems than most others in the City.

-Chinatown's median family income of $5,170 is the lowest in the City, and is $530 less than that of the next lowest anti-poverty target area.

-Sixty-three percent of Chinese families have annual incomes of

less than $6,000, and 21 percent earned less than $3,000. In contrast, 46 percent of black families earn less than $6,000, and 12 percent less than $3,000. Comparable data for the Spanish-speaking are not available. Among anti-poverty neighborhoods, Chinatown ranks sixth in the proportion of families earning less than $3,000 per year, and next to last in the proportion earning less than $6,000. Relatively many families earn more than $3,000 because almost all wives work, but their combined efforts serve only to provide them with a family income at subsistence level.

-The mean family size in Chinatown is 3.4 compared to 2.9 for the City as a whole. These large families are more crowded than in the rest of the City; 78 percent of the area's housing units have more than one person per room, compared to 8 percent in the City as a whole.

-Almost half of the Chinese pupils enrolled in Boston Public schools in 1969 were foreign born, but English as a Second Language training was provided to only one third of this group. Two years before, one-half had received this instruction. Several schools with large numbers of foreign-born Chinese children provided no ESL whatever.

-Nearly 70 percent of heads of households in Chinatown have less than an eighth grade education, and only 12 percent are high school graduates. Both rates are twice those of the most comparable target area.

-While unemployment as such is very low, one survey found that 82 percent of Chinese heads of households are employed in service jobs, presumably in restaurants and laundries. In the City as a whole, only 12 percent of household heads were so employed.

-The infant mortality rate among Chinese in 1966 was 66.7 per thousand, two and one-half times greater than in the City as a whole and 150 percent greater than in 1960. The incidence of new tuberculosis cases is 192 percent greater than in the City and the general death rate is 129 percent greater, yet no medical facilities are easily available in Chinatown itself. Residents generally patronize Boston City Hospital a mile away in preference to the Tufts-New England Medical Center on the edge of their neighborhood.

-Seventy-two percent of Chinatown's housing is deteriorating or dilapidated, compared to 14 percent in the City.

Despite the magnitude of these problems, there are almost no social services directly available to the community. Chinatown

itself is not included in any anti-poverty target area, and generally the only voluntary agencies serving the Chinese are those with concerned Chinese on their staff. Knowledge of available services is slight, and the language barrier is often insurmountable without the presence of one of the community's few translators.

In the face of these difficulties, Boston's Chinese leadership has the advantages of the community's small size and the incipient nature of many of its problems. They are generally aware of the existence of many of them, and are willing to work together to meet them. This strength is the greatest asset the community has, but the example of Chinese communities in San Francisco and New York provides a clear picture of what is in store if Boston's problems are not met.

I. SOCIAL HISTORY

The first Chinese began to arrive in Boston in 1875, twenty-five years after the initial wave of emigration to California, and by 1890 a small Chinese enclave was established in the Oxford Street area. These first residents originated from rural Kwangtung, a province southwest of Canton, in Southern China. They were traditionally traders and colonizers; this background, plus the scarcity of arable land in China and the opportunities for employment in the American West, contributed to their emigration by the tens of thousands in the 1850's and '60's.[1] They came to the United States by way of California, where they provided a large labor force for construction of the western railroads. After 1869, with the completion of the transcontinental link, there was much anti-Chinese feeling among other West Coast immigrant groups and further employment was closed to them. The Chinese who migrated to Boston in this early period came by railroad, and the South Cove, adjacent to the railroad terminal for Albany and the West, was the most logical place for settlement. By 1935, the Chinese inhabited the entire area of present Chinatown north of Kneeland Street and then gradually moved into the more desirable land to the south as other immigrant groups moved out. At one time, Boston's Chinese community was the third largest in the United States, after San Francisco and New York; presently, however, it ranks fourth, after Los Angeles.

---

[1] See Table 1.

TABLE 1: Chinese Immigration to the United States, 1820-1970[1]

Year or Decade	Number	Annual Average
1820	1	*
1821-30	2	*
1831-40	8	*
1841-50	35	*
1851-60	41,397	4,140
1861-70	64,301	6,430
1871-80	123,201	12,320
1881-90	61,711	6,171
1891-00	14,799	1,479
1901-10	20,605	2,061
1911-20	21,278	2,128
1921-30	29,207	2,921
1931-40	4,928	493
1941-50	16,709	1,671
1951-60	35,858	3,586
1961-70[2]	120,622	12,060

*Less than ten.

[1] For the years 1820-1950, data are tabulated by country of last residence; from 1951 to 1970, by country of birth. For the latter two decades, those born in Taiwan and Hong Kong are included with those born in China.

[2] Immigration for 1970 is estimated at 16,297.

Sources: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Annual Report, 1969, Tables 13 and 14, and The New York Times, August 31, 1970.

A. Chinese in America

The Chinese were the first ethnic group to feel the effects of a growing anti-foreign sentiment among America's native population. They also were the object of the severest form of restriction. Under the Exclusion Act of 1882, a law which was in effect for sixty years, all Chinese were barred from the country with the exception of alien wives and children of American citizens. This statute was reinforced by the Immigration Act of 1924, which denied citizenship to all alien orientals; even the wives and children of citizens were excluded by this legislation. The effect of these restrictions was to keep the population of Chinatown consistently small and predominantly male despite conditions of war, famine and political upheaval in China.

Until after World War II, many Chinese considered their American stay to be a temporary one. Historically, young Chinese men generally emigrated with the intention of providing support for their families at home before eventually returning to China themselves. They consequently left wives and children behind and did not embrace Western culture and American institutions. No more than half ever returned, but this was the dominant expectation and the individual's success in America was measured by the amount he was able to send to his family and the number of times he was able to return home.

In subordinating his own personal advancement in American society to the needs and desires of his elders, the Chinese immigrant was subscribing to the cultural values of rural China. In that crowded

and competitive agricultural society, survival depended on family unity; the stability of the social structure depended in large measure on the individual fulfilling his responsibility to the group. Individual happiness had little place in this ethic of obedience and filial piety, which drew its philosophy of status and obedience from Confucianism. In every respect, the individual was expected to defer to the wisdom and privileges of his elders.

While in this country, Chinese settled for the most part in the communities established by their predecessors in the central areas of large cities, where they were governed by family associations and the ubiquitous Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Associations, which incorporated almost all community groups and provided a vehicle for dealing with most social and economic problems without reference to American institutions. Generally, they worked in the few occupations open to them, or in which their willingness to work long and hard hours gave them a competitive advantage. Perhaps the most typical was that of laundryman, an occupation which has accounted for the small numbers of Chinese spread throughout most urban areas geographically isolated from Chinatowns even where these existed. Where Chinatowns were established, they provided employment opportunities in groceries, restaurants, trading companies and other establishments serving the Chinese community. For the most part, however, occupations outside the community were not open to Chinese.

Because the communities largely consisted of adult males, few Chinese went to American schools, a prime factor in the Americanization of other immigrant groups. Even those who managed to establish families were reluctant to assimilate, and many second-generation Chinese were sent back to China to be educated. Because many families came from rural China, however, they did not invariably share the thirst for education that is commonly thought of as a Chinese trait, and did not always encourage their children to acquire more of an American education than that required by law.

The effect of these factors--among them the temporary stay of most Chinese, the preponderance of adult males, the virtual absence of women, strong ties to the homeland and to the Chinese culture, the prejudice against Chinese expressed by many Americans in daily life as well as through the immigration laws, and the existence of an autocratic, highly-structured society in which a predominate value was respect for the elders--was to isolate the Chinese from the common experience of other immigrant groups. As the "ultimate foreigners" in America, they were excluded from most social institutions by prejudice and by their own culture. Similarly, the communities they founded in American cities typically grew and reinforced themselves even as individual Chinese became successful enough to follow the traditional patterns of other upwardly mobile immigrant groups.

The end of this stage in the development of Chinese communities in the United States came with the passage of less restrictive

immigration legislation at the end of World War II and the conclusion of the Chinese civil war in 1949, which closed the mainland to returning Chinese. On one hand, men who had planned to return to mainland China were prevented from doing so, and were eventually forced to retire in the United States; but, on the other, the admission of women and children made the establishment of a normal American Chinese community possible for the first time. The Chinese who arrived after 1949 could not expect to return to China, nor could they follow the traditional practice of remitting a portion of their earnings to relatives on the mainland. The Chinese children who were born in this period were the first large group of American-born Chinese, as the immigrants who arrived after the war were the first to be committed to the immigrant experience in American society.

The repeal in 1943 of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the clauses of the Immigration Act of 1924 barring orientals from citizenship put the Chinese on the same footing as other immigrant groups. An annual quota of 105 per year was established, exclusive of immediate relatives of American citizens. Immediately after the war, a Presidential Directive authorized the admission of Chinese wives and children of American servicemen, without regard to the quota, and 2,600 more were admitted under the displaced Persons Act of 1948. After the close of the revolution in 1949, over 14,000 additional Chinese were admitted under a succession of Refugee Relief Acts.

While the repeal of the most restrictive legislation and the introduction of a small annual quota were significant in establishing

a less restrictive precedent, the Refugee Relief Acts clearly had a greater impact. In 1949, for example, 2,800 Chinese were admitted beyond those allowed under the quota, more than half the total number admitted during the entire decade of the 1930's. In the 1950's, with the quota system still in force, more Chinese were admitted than at any time since the early 1880's.

The greatest influence of these laws was not simply their effect on the number of Chinese in the United States, but on the composition of Chinese society in this country. Under the Exclusion Act, movement back and forth was permitted, but the establishment of a permanent, normal and growing Chinese community in the United States was effectively inhibited. While this movement was again possible for a short time after the war, the refugee acts and the quota system permanently altered the composition of the community by admitting, for the first time, significant numbers of women and children. In 1890, there had been 2,678 Chinese males for every 100 females; by 1960, the ratio had been reduced to 133 males per 100 females.

Once committed to permanent residence in the United States, many Chinese applied themselves to assimilating American culture as thoroughly as immigrant groups before them. Chinese growing up after World War II rejected their parents' traditional values in favor of American ones to an unprecedented degree. The more successful academically almost invariably entered college intending to concentrate in mathematics or the physical sciences, fields in which proficiency in English is secondary. Often, those who followed this route did not

resettle in Chinese communities, but, like other upwardly mobile second-generation Americans, established themselves in middle-class communities in the suburbs. As with other immigrant groups, those who were most able and willing to assimilate did so; to a certain extent, this inevitably meant that those who remained behind were those who were less willing or able to sacrifice traditional values and pursuits.

Another divisive factor in the post-war period was the presence of sharp ethnic and class distinctions. The vast majority of those who emigrated to America were peasants from southern China who spoke a rural Cantonese dialect; only a few were northerners, a group which speaks the Mandarin dialect and from which the traditional ruling elites were drawn. After the revolution, many Mandarin students were stranded in America. Almost none settled in Chinatowns, but joined the educated Cantonese in rejecting the low-status laundrymen, restaurant workers, and shopkeepers who formed the majority. Despite this division, however, Chinatowns continued to perform a central place function as a source of food, culture and friendship for Chinese throughout metropolitan regions.

Economically, two new pursuits have been important to the Chinese in the post-war period. Chinese restaurants, which first gained popularity among white Americans during the twenties, have expanded into the suburbs, providing employment for many Chinese who commuted out from Chinatowns. In one respect, the Chinese have been fortunate in having this aspect of their culture in such demand, as

it has afforded instant employment for new immigrants and those with few skills and little English. However, this undemanding occupation can also serve as a crutch, indefinitely supporting men in static low-wage positions but providing no opportunity for the acquisition of English or a more marketable skill.

The increased number of women in the community led to greater employment in the needle trades, which have traditionally located in central cities to be close to a large, cheap labor supply. Willing to work long hours at low wages, Chinese women have become the next in a long succession of immigrant women in the garment industry. In San Francisco, and to some extent in New York, they have been exploited in sweatshops controlled by the Chinese themselves, but in Boston all have apparently worked for firms controlled by outsiders.

The fundamental changes in Chinese society in America brought about by the new patterns of immigration after the war were institutionalized in the enactment of legislation in October, 1965, which now allows 170,000 immigrant visas a year from Europe, Asia and Africa in addition to unlimited admission of husbands, wives, parents and unmarried children of American citizens. This law abolished the national origins quota system, which reflected the ethnic composition of the 1920 census and substituted a priority system for relatives and members of certain crafts and professions. The most immediate effect was to increase the number of Chinese entering the country five-fold in two years. In fiscal 1965, which

ended before the passage of the Act, 4,769 Chinese immigrated to this country; in fiscal 1967, 25,096 did so. Immigration may have peaked in that year, however, as the total declined to 20,893 in fiscal 1969.

In character, no less than in volume, the flow of immigration since 1965 has been unprecedented. Historically, Chinese immigrants had been unskilled, poorly educated adult males from rural areas of the mainland. The majority of those who have come since 1965, however, have resided for some time in Hong Kong, a densely populated urban society. About half are female, and more than a third are under twenty. Nearly two-thirds are children or housewives, and, most striking, more than one-third of those reporting an occupation are trained professionals or technical personnel. Nearly half, however, are blue-collar workers, and nearly all of the remainder are clerks or sales personnel.[1]

A comparison of birthplace, country of residence, and age of Chinese immigrants in 1969 provides some insight into their backgrounds. Three-quarters were born in mainland China or on Taiwan; most, it may be assumed, into a rural society. Two-thirds, however, claimed residence in Hong Kong. Ninety-eight per cent of the adults were born in China while an equivalent proportion of those under twenty were born in Hong Kong. Nearly all the adults, all of whom were born before the end of the Revolution, thus derive from a culture that, although primarily rural and family-oriented, had been

---

[1] In making these generalizations, the year 1969 was assumed to be typical.

TABLE 2: Major Occupational Categories of Chinese Admitted to the United States, 1969[1]

Occupational Categories	Number	Distribution	
		All Admitted	All Reporting Occupations
Professional, technical and kindred	2,882	13.8%	36.9%
Farmers and farm managers	15	0.1	0.2
Managers, officials and proprietors	617	3.0	7.9
Clerical and kindred	722	3.5	9.2
Sales	216	1.0	2.8
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	464	2.2	6.0
Operatives and kindred	735	3.5	9.4
Domestics	542	2.6	6.9
Service	1,290	6.2	16.5
Farm laborers	18	0.1	0.2
Other laborers	316	1.5	4.0
Subtotal	7,817	37.5%	100.0%
Housewives, children and others for which occupation not reported	13,076	62.5	
Total	20,893	100.0%	

[1] Immigrants born in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Annual Report, 1969, Table 8A.

disrupted by war and political upheaval time and again since the Japanese invasion of 1934. The effect of these disruptions on their values, outlook and educational levels can only be speculated on.

On arrival in the United States, these immigrants have found in Chinatowns a society and a system of values that, in many respects, would have been anachronistic even in mainland China. The social control exercised by elders is more rigorous and extensive than in Hong Kong. Those without skills, or without the facility in English essential to apply them, of necessity settle in the often dingy and overcrowded Chinatowns and depend upon restauranteurs and shop owners for employment. Because of the low wages prevailing in Chinese businesses, wives are often forced to find employment as well, most often in the garment industry. Young children, left alone much of the day and evening, are placed in schools which all too often lack the facilities or the interest to provide English language training, while teenagers, especially those with little English and without an extraordinary aptitude in mathematics or science, are inextricably caught between the extreme value placed by parents on success in school and the difficulty of succeeding in an indifferent school system. Those who cannot make it find the restaurant business an easy alternative, but not one which is likely to provide them with the ability to fully participate in American society.

The influx of new immigrants since 1965 has severely strained the ability of the Chinese to deal with community needs in the traditional manner. Employment opportunities in Chinese restaurants

TABLE 3: Age and Sex of Chinese Immigrants, by Place of Birth, 1969

Age	Males			Females			Grand Total	Distribution
	China	Hong Kong and Taiwan	Total	China	Hong Kong and Taiwan	Total		
Under 5	82	604	686	106	516	622	1,308	6.2%
5 - 9	192	797	989	162	729	891	1,880	9.0
10 - 19	970	994	1,964	1,086	951	2,037	4,001	19.1
20 - 29	1,455	133	1,588	2,492	264	2,756	4,334	20.7
30 - 39	2,243	94	2,337	1,669	154	1,823	4,160	19.9
40 - 49	1,217	60	1,277	1,119	63	1,182	2,459	11.8
50 - 59	680	29	709	722	22	785	1,494	7.1
60 - 69	304	7	311	528	17	545	856	4.1
70 - 79	113	4	117	229	10	239	356	1.7
Over 80	22	1	23	49	4	53	76	0.4
Total	7,278	2,723	10,001	8,162	2,730	10,892	20,893	100.0%

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Annual Report, 1969, Table 9.

and businesses have diminished as their needs have become saturated, while few other fields have the same demand for unskilled, non-English-speaking labor. Because of the language barrier, few or no programs for job training are open, while the few English classes available cannot meet the demand. The strength of the Chinese family, still considered unparalleled in its cohesiveness and solidarity, occasionally fails under the strain of deteriorating and overcrowded housing and the difficulties of existing in an alien culture. The impossibility of returning to China has brought about an increase in the number of elderly men without families and often without resources. In these and other areas, the failure of the community to deal with its own problems has brought a growing realization among the many Chinese that outside help must be sought.

The intensification of problems in Chinatowns brought about by physical deterioration and by the greater flow of immigrants has been paralleled by a reevaluation of Chinese culture among the Americanized, middle-class Chinese. This growing cultural awareness is similar to that undergone by other immigrant groups and in the black community, but among the assimilated Chinese it has taken the form of a renewed interest in the problems of Chinatowns as well as in the traditional culture. Many suburban, acculturated Chinese have expressed their commitment in terms of a desire to move back to Chinatown, provided decent housing and adequate schools and municipal services can be made available. In this respect, the Chinese are unlike other American immigrant groups, among whom the typical pattern

has been to let the old central city neighborhoods of first settlement decline and their inhabitants be dispersed.

Among the youth there are strong divisions between the American-born and the immigrants. Many of the latter face extraordinary difficulties in school, and both resent and envy the ease with which the second- and third-generation Chinese deal with Western culture. Among many in this group, as among many American youth, there is an awareness of the weaknesses of American society, intolerance of needlessly obstructive traditions, acceptance of cultural pluralism, and a renewed pride in many aspects of Chinese culture. Many are still willing to work within established community groups, so long as there is some sign of progress and respect for their views.

At the present time, the vigor of the Chinese community and its growing willingness to work together, often regardless of class or status distinctions, are its greatest strengths. The greater self-awareness of the Chinese has reinforced their cultural identity and has provided a new means of dealing with the problems faced by the community as a whole.

B. The Chinese In Boston

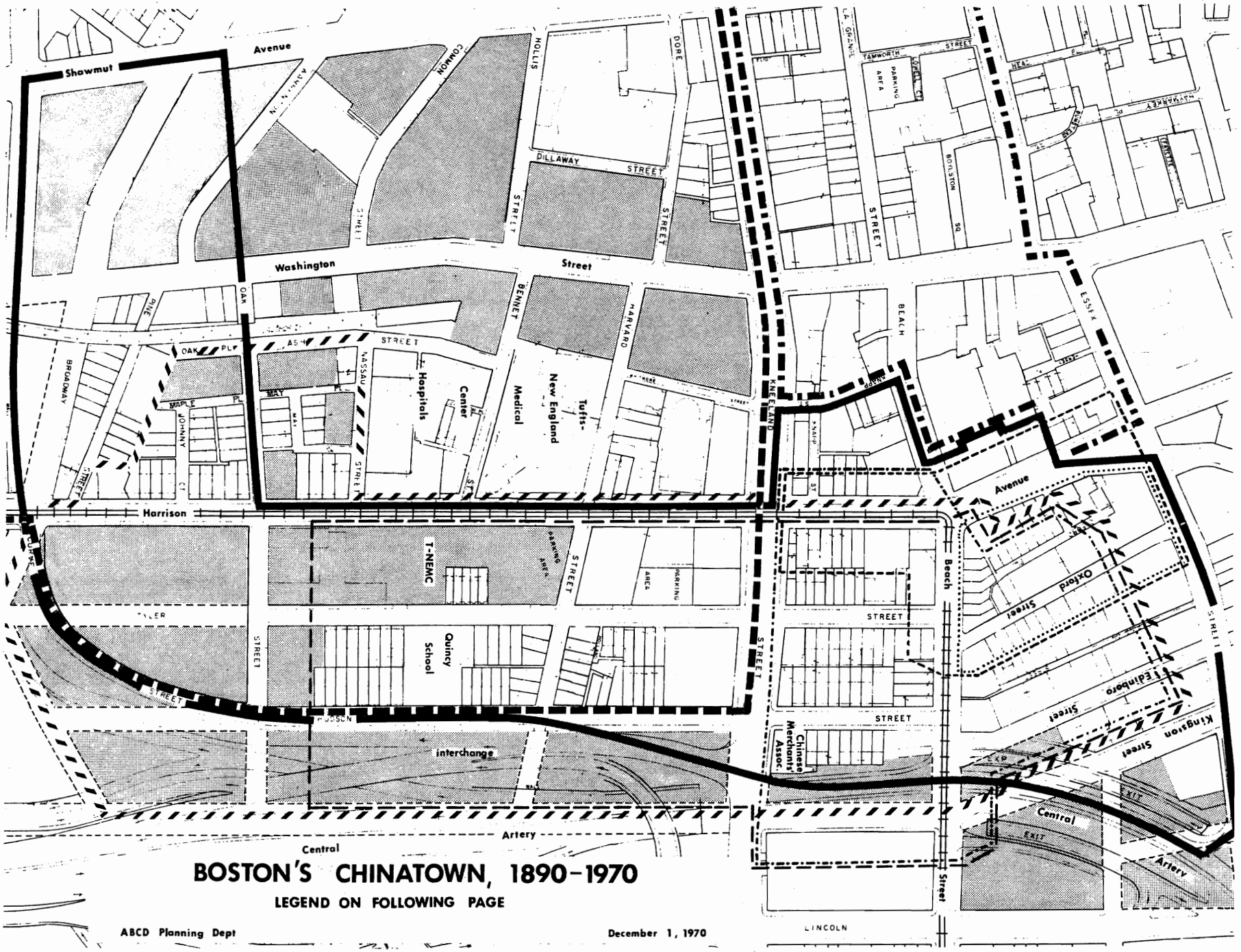
Boston's Chinese community, the fourth largest in the United States, is concentrated in the City's Chinatown, adjacent to the downtown area. Although Chinatown proper contains only one-fourth of the City's Chinese population, its role as a cultural and business center for the metropolitan area's 13,000 Chinese and for an additional

5,000 Chinese throughout New England gives it an importance beyond its size. Beyond the 1,900 Chinese in Chinatown itself, there are considered to be an additional 2,900 in adjacent Castle Square and the South End, nearly 1,000 in Allston-Brighton, 400 in Parker Hill-Fenway, and over 1,000 scattered throughout other areas of the City. For all of these, Chinatown remains the focal point for shopping, jobs, social life and entertainment.

1. Growth and Change:

The present land area of Chinatown, bounded by Essex Street to the north, the Massachusetts Turnpike to the south, the Southeast Expressway to the east and Harrison Avenue to the west, was, for the most part, created by filling in the South Cove tidal flats along the Roxbury neck of the old Boston peninsula (see map). Harrison Avenue, originally called Front Street, and adjacent streets were laid out in 1804-06, and most of the remainder of the South Cove was filled in between 1833 and 1839. Ambitious plans for industrial waterfront projects failed to materialize, chiefly because the Panic of 1837 forestalled investment in the area, although a predecessor of the South Station railroad terminal was erected on filled land at Lincoln and Beech Streets, adjacent to the present Chinatown, in the late 1830's.

Small lots were created by private investors, mostly for residential use, until 1843, when the present land area of Chinatown existed in its entirety. However, railroad lines blocked continuous



BOSTON'S CHINATOWN, 1890-1970

LEGEND ON FOLLOWING PAGE

ABCD Planning Dept

December 1, 1970

BOSTON'S CHINATOWN, 1890 - 1970

APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES

1890
1910
1935
1951
1958
1970 (draft memorandum of understanding)

Partial source: Murphey, Econ. Geog., 1952

0 200 400

Action for Boston Community Development

December 1, 1970

URBAN RENEWAL AREAS

South Cove
Park Plaza

Areas cleared for urban renewal, transportation improvements, and institutional expansion

Elevated railway abandoned

Planning and Evaluation Department

expansion to the east and south and made housing situated near the tracks less desirable and lower in rent, and the leather industry, attracted to the area just north of the railroad station by low rents and convenient transportation, began to establish itself in the 1850's. About this time, the South Cove's middle-class, native American population began to move to newer and more desirable neighborhoods being developed in outlying areas.

The first residents remained for only fifteen years in an area characterized from the beginning by incompatible land uses and physical deterioration. In the 1860's, the garment industry, attracted by low rents, joined the leather industry in South Cove, and residential values further declined with the construction of an elevated railway through the district in 1899. In the first half of the twentieth century, the area saw further encroachment by the garment industry, great reduction of its residential buildings, and the decay of surrounding neighborhoods. A third of the housing was demolished between 1925 and 1950, much of it following a drop in land values in 1928 that made demolition more feasible for owners than paying their property taxes. Since the early 1960's, residential Chinatown, adjacent to the Central Business District, has been the object of competition for its prime space by the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) for the South Cove Urban Renewal Project, Tufts-New England Medical Center, the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, and the Department of Public Works for the construction of the Southeast Expressway. As a consequence of land takings by these institutions,

the area of Chinatown has been reduced by half in the last ten years while its population has increased by twenty-five per cent.

The housing that exists in Chinatown today is essentially the same as that built by its original middle-class occupants, and it has deteriorated with each successive wave of immigrants. By 1860, the Irish had settled there in great numbers, taking advantage of rents lowered by the proximity of industry and the railroads. When the Irish moved out in the 1880's, they were replaced first by Central European Jews and Italians, and then by Syrians. The latter group formed a stable community, but began to vacate the area twenty years later, gradually leaving it to the Chinese, who have populated parts of it continuously for over eighty years. Unlike the more transient immigrant groups in Boston, the Chinese alone have established a distinct, self-sufficient and permanent community in the area of their original settlement.

The first Chinese to be seen in New England were a group of one hundred brought from California in 1875 to break a strike in a shoe factory. By 1890, it is estimated that 250 had settled in Boston, and that 200 of these had established themselves in Chinatown. Because of the restrictive immigration legislation, the community grew slowly; twenty years later, in 1910, there were only 900 in Chinatown, and, by 1940, only 1,300. One researcher has found that the downtown community consistently constituted eighty per cent of the City's Chinese population throughout this period, as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4: Chinese Population in Boston, 1890-1970[1]

Year	Chinatown[2]	Boston[3]
1890	200	250
1900	500	600
1910	900	1,100
1920	1,000	1,250
1930	1,200	1,500
1940	1,300	1,600
1950	1,600	2,000
1960	1,600	5,200
1970	1,900	7,900

[1] Estimates for 1890-1950 based on Rhoades Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," Economic Geography, Vol. 28, No. 3, p. 248; for 1960, on Census reports of "Other Races" in tracts G-1 and G-2; and, for 1970, on ABCD projections of school enrollment data.

[2] As shown in Map 1.

[3] Calculated by Murphey as twenty-five per cent greater than Chinatown's population from 1890 to 1940.

After 1945, Boston's Chinese community began to grow at a faster rate than before, increasing to 2,000 in 1950. One thousand, six hundred of these are estimated to have been in Chinatown, an area which continued to grow during the 1950's until both sides of Albany Street and the east side of Hudson Street were demolished for the Southeast Expressway at the end of the decade. Further demolition for the Massachusetts Turnpike and the taking of several properties

by the Boston Redevelopment Authority on behalf of the Tufts-New England Medical Center have further reduced the available residential units available in this area. About 1,200 are estimated by the BRA to have been displaced by these events. Nevertheless, the number of Chinese living in Chinatown and adjacent areas had remained nearly constant by 1960.[1] The number of Chinese in the City as a whole, however, had increased by more than 3,000 over the decade; most of these are considered to have settled in adjacent streets in the South End, especially in the area now included in the Castle Square housing project. By 1969, the Chinese population had increased to 1,900 in Chinatown and 7,650 in the City as a whole, while the latest estimate, based on school enrollments in November, 1970, places the Chinese population at 7,900 . Very little of the recent increase is considered to have taken place in Chinatown, however.

2. Current Issues:

The changing nature of the Chinese community's response to the problems which have faced it over the last ten years is indicative of how the community itself has changed. Until rather

---

[1] The estimate of 1,600 Chinese living in Chinatown is based on the 1960 Census report of members of "Other Races" living in Census tracts G-1 and G-2. This is somewhat in excess of those reported to be living in the blocks making up the area shown in Map 1, but it is known that there was a very large undercount in Chinatown. The figure given is considered to be a better reflection of reality than other available estimates.

recently, the problems caused by immigration and growth seemed to be manageable in the traditional manner. Employment needs could be filled by the restaurants and other Chinese businesses, as well as by the garment industry, and social problems could be handled within the family or by existing institutions. Encroachment by government agencies and outside institutions seemed to have diminished, at least temporarily.

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

Since the negotiation of the urban renewal agreement by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), the growing population of the area, the constant pressure of external events, and the dissatisfaction of some segments of the community with the terms

of the original memorandum led to the opening of renewed discussions with the City in 1969. A special committee, comprised of members of the CCBA as well as from the Chinese-American Civic Association and other organizations, negotiated a new agreement with the Mayor's office early in 1970 which recognized the community's interest in a larger area than before and affirmed its need to be protected from further encroachment. However, dissension within the community has prevented the ratification of the new agreement, while the legality of this form of contract remains at issue.

Meanwhile, several organizations have begun to take steps to deal with the community's problems. An appropriation for a Little City Hall, the first agency established to deal directly with Chinatown's problems, has been obtained from the Mayor's office, while committees are engaged in obtaining support for a multi-service center, a drop-in center for the elderly, and a health clinic. Many of these efforts have been initiated by progressive elements in the community and have not gained the full support of the traditional leadership of the Benevolent Association. However, all segments of the community continue to work in conjunction with one another, and established organizations have in large measure retained their legitimacy in the community.

II. POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

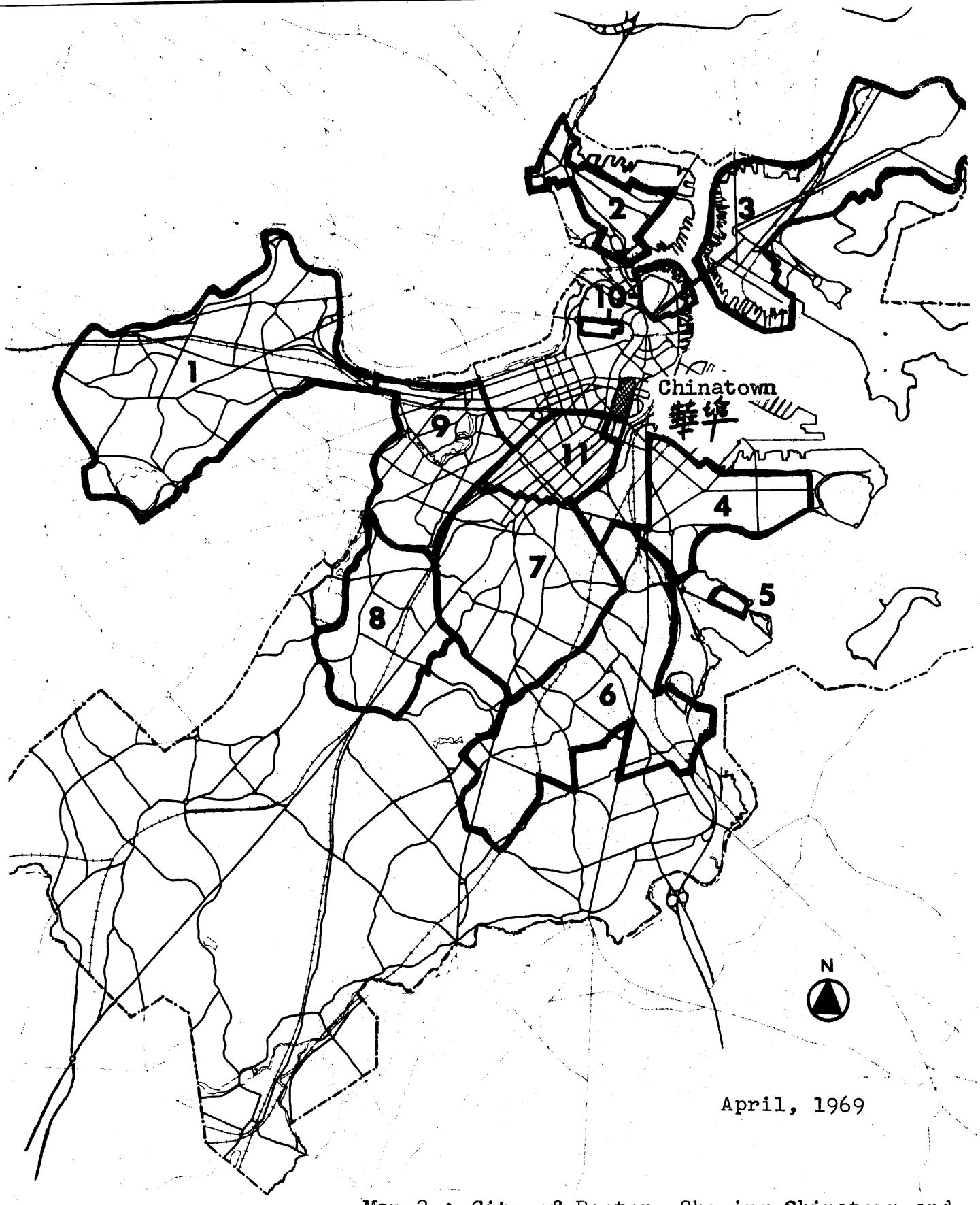
Comparisons of Chinatown and the Chinese community as a whole with other neighborhoods and ethnic groups in Boston are hindered not only by a lack of adequate socio-economic information but by the relatively small size of the Chinese population in Boston. With 1,900 people,[1] Chinatown has one-fifth the population of ABCD's smallest anti-poverty target area, the North End, while the Chinese estimated to live in the City are perhaps one-third as numerous as the Spanish-speaking, the City's next largest major immigrant population. Lacking the massive poverty of other neighborhoods and other groups, the Chinese, nevertheless, have problems that are in several respects worse than those of most other groups in the City.

A. Population Distribution

The proportion of Chinese in the population of Boston and in each neighborhood cannot presently be determined with accuracy. The U. S. Census of 1960, as noted elsewhere in this report, groups Chinese with other Orientals, American Indians and Asian Indians in a category termed "Other Races", and, thus, cannot be considered to be a reliable guide to the number of Chinese, even for that year. Nonetheless, at least one person in the category of "Other Races" was reported in 141 of Boston's 164 census tracts and, given the

---

[1] B.R.A. estimate, 1969.



Map 2 : City of Boston, Showing Chinatown and Anti-poverty Target Areas

ABCD TARGET NEIGHBORHOODS

1 Allston-Brighton
2 Charlestown
3 East Boston
4 South Boston
5 Columbia Point
6 Dorchester
7 Roxbury-North Dorchester
8 Jamaica Plain
9 Parker Hill-Fenway
10 North End
11 South End

miniscule size of the other minority groups, this source can be taken as a crude guide of the distribution of the Chinese in that year.

Assuming this, it can be seen from Table 5 that those of "Other Races" were slightly more than half of those living in the two census tracts covering Chinatown, but no more than two per cent in the anti-poverty target area with the next greatest proportion, the South End. At least some appeared in every area, however, although in nine they constituted less than one per cent of the population. Only in Parker Hill-Fenway and Roxbury-North Dorchester did they amount to even one per cent of the total.[1]

Most neighborhoods had only very small numbers of people of "Other Races" in 1960. The population of this group in the City as a whole was 5,246, and 1,645 of these--thirty-one per cent--were located in the two tracts covering Chinatown. The next largest group, 800, lived in the South End, while 700 were in Parker Hill-Fenway and 600 in Roxbury-North Dorchester. Allston-Brighton, Dorchester and Back Bay-Beacon Hill each reported between 200 and 250 each, or about four per cent of the City's total, while no other neighborhood contained more than two per cent. These amounts and their distribution are shown in Table 6.[2]

---

[1] See Map 2 for the boundaries of the areas described.

[2] These tabulations exclude nine persons from Tract B-6, covering the institutions on the Harbor islands, and seventy-three persons reported in crews of vessels. The neighborhoods listed are comprised of the aggregations of census tracts most closely approximating anti-poverty target area.

TABLE 5: Racial Composition of Chinatown and Anti-Poverty Target Neighborhoods, 1960[1]

	CHINA-TOWN[2]	Allston-Brighton	Chas-town	Col. Point	Dor-chester	East Boston	Jamaica Plain	No. End	Parker Hill-Fenway	Rox-N. Dor-chester	South Boston	South End	All TAs	Rest of City[3]	City of Boston
White[4]	48%	99%	99%	91%	97%	99%	97%	99%	92%	51%	99%	59%	87%	99%	90%
Black	1	*	*	8	2	*	3	*	7	48	*	39	12	1	9
Chinese & Other Races[5]	51	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	2	1	*	1
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than one per cent.

[1] Population of target areas was approximated by assigning entire census tracts to areas regardless of possible divisions among target neighborhoods.

[2] Census tracts G - 1 and G - 2, covering the area between the Mass. Turnpike and between Milk Street and Boston Common and Fort Point Channel.

[3] Excludes Tract B - 6 (Deer Island Prison and other institutions) and crews of vessels.

[4] Includes Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking persons.

[5] Includes American Indians, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Asian Indians and Malayans.

Source: 1960 Census of Population and Housing, Report PHC(1), Boston, Mass.

TABLE 6: Number and Distribution of Chinese and "Other Races", 1960

Area[1]	Chinese and "Other Races"[2] Number	Distribution
Allston-Brighton	260	4.96%
Charlestown	87	1.66
Columbia Point	20	0.38
Dorchester	196	3.74
East Boston	25	0.48
Jamaica Plain	90	1.72
North End	59	1.12
Parker Hill-Fenway	673	12.83
Roxbury-N. Dorchester	585	10.77
South Boston	93	1.77
South End	858	16.36
Subtotal - All Target Areas	2,926	55.78%
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	240	4.57
CHINATOWN[3]	1,645	31.36
Mattapan	94	1.79
Rest of City	341	6.50
TOTAL[4]	5,246	100.00%

[1] Population of target areas was approximated by assigning entire census tracts to areas regardless of possible divisions among neighborhoods.

[2] Included American Indians, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Asian Indians and Malayans.

[3] Includes Census Tracts G - 1 and G - 2, covering the area between the Mass. Turnpike and Milk Street and between Boston Common and Fort Point Channel.

[4] Excludes Tract B - 6,(Deer Island Prison and other institutions) and crews of vessels.

Another source of quantitative information on the distribution of Orientals among Boston neighborhoods is the Boston School Department, which has compiled enrollment data for minority groups since 1968 under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[1] Data obtained from this source indicate that, in 1968, at least a few Oriental children were enrolled in elementary schools in every neighborhood except the North End.[2] Fifty-four per cent of the students enrolled in the Quincy-Lincoln district covering Chinatown were Oriental, while thirteen per cent of those enrolled in South End elementary schools were in this group. Similarly, four per cent of the elementary population of schools in Allston-Brighton were Oriental, and three per cent of those in Parker Hill-Fenway. In seven other target neighborhoods, Orientals were less than one per cent of the elementary population. The racial composition of schools in these areas is presented in Table 7.

In absolute numbers, the schools in the Chinatown district predominated; the 390 Orientals who were enrolled constituted

---

[1] Enrollment data for 1968 were used because it was immediately available for analysis. 1970 enrollments are expected to be published almost simultaneously with this report, and may be the subject of a supplementary memorandum.

[2] In this case, neighborhoods are comprised of the aggregations of elementary school districts most closely approximating each anti-poverty target area. This method, although it results in slightly different geographic areas than for the Census data tabulated above, was the only way of determining the residence of school pupils, as the School Department does not publish this data. It is assumed that the open enrollment program does not seriously affect the correspondence of residence with school enrollment at the elementary level.

TABLE 7: Racial Composition of Public Elementary School Pupils, for Chinatown and Anti-Poverty Target Neighborhoods, 1968[1]

	CHINA-TOWN[2]	Allston Brighton	Chas-town	Col. Point	Dor-chester	East Boston	Jamaica Plain	No. End	Parker Hill-Fenway	Rox-N.Dor-chester	South Boston	South End	All TAs	Rest of City	City of Boston
White	17%	83%	99%	24%	65%	94%	67%	81%	27%	6%	93%	16%	58%	87%	67%
Black	23	10	1	71	34	5	25	18	64	89	3	44	37	9	28
Spanish-speaking Americans	6	3	*	5	1	1	7	1	6	5	4	27	4	1	3
Oriental	54	4	*	*	*	*	*	0	3	*	*	13	1	3	2
American Indian	0	*	0	0	*	*	*	0	0	*	*	*	*	*	*
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than one per cent.

[1]Elementary school districts were assigned to anti-poverty target areas when more than one-half the district appeared to fall within an area. It is assumed that the racial composition of an elementary school approximates that of the six through twelve age group in its immediate neighborhood, and that open enrollment regulations have only a minor effect at this level. Enrollments were not adjusted for differing grade levels in particular schools, most of which included pre-kindergarten through eighth grade levels.

[2]Includes the entire Quincy-Lincoln District.

Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, School System Report, Elementary and Secondary School Survey, compiled by the Boston School Department under provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, October 16, 1968.

thirty-nine per cent of the total Oriental elementary school population in that area. The South End had the next greatest Oriental elementary school enrollment, 238, or one-quarter of the City total, while Allston-Brighton had the third greatest concentration, 129, or thirteen per cent. Back Bay-Beacon Hill and Parker Hill-Fenway had seven and five per cent, respectively, of the Oriental elementary population, while five areas had only twenty-one pupils among them. These quantities and distributions are shown in Table 8.

B. Changes in Distribution, 1960-1968

A comparison of the Census figures for 1960 with the Oriental enrollment figures for 1968 is tempting but difficult and perhaps misleading. Methods have been developed for estimating the population of the City by using current elementary enrollments and comparing them with enrollments in a base year in which the age distribution of the population is known, but the composition of the Chinese population has changed so greatly with the liberalization of the immigration laws that it is difficult to generalize in this case.

Nonetheless, Census data for 1960 indicate that elementary school enrollments for "Other Races" in the Chinatown tracts constituted 12.2 per cent of the total population, only slightly less than the 12.8 per cent reported for the City as a whole. It can be assumed that the relative increase in the school-age population and the decrease in the proportion of older people brought about

TABLE 8: Number and Distribution of Oriental and Foreign-Born Chinese Elementary School Pupils, 1968[1]

Area	Oriental Elementary School Pupils		Chinese Pupils Born Outside U.S.		Foreign-Born Citizens as a Proportion of all Orientals
	Number	Dist.	Number	Dist.	
Allston-Brighton	129	12.9%	39	8.7%	30.2%
Charlestown	5	0.5	-	-	-
Columbia Point	1	0.1	-	-	-
Dorchester	25	2.5	8	1.8	32.0
East Boston	3	0.3	-	-	-
Jamaica Plain	11	1.1	1	0.2	9.1
North End	-	-	-	-	-
Parker Hill-Fenway	54	5.4	16	3.6	29.6
Roxbury-North Dorchester	4	0.4	-	-	-
South Boston	8	0.8	2	0.4	25.0
South End	238	23.9	136	30.2	57.1
Subtotal--All Target Areas	478	47.9%	202	44.9%	42.3%
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	65	6.6	25	5.6	38.5
CHINATOWN[2]	390	39.2	201	44.7	51.5
Mattapan	17	1.8	6	1.3	35.3
Rest of City	45	4.5	16	3.6	35.6
TOTAL	995	100.0%	450	100.0%	45.2%

[1]Elementary school districts were assigned to anti-poverty target areas when more than one-half the district appeared to fall within an area. It is assumed that the racial composition of an elementary school approximates that of the six through twelve age group in its immediate neighborhood, and that open enrollment regulations have only a minor effect at this level. Enrollments were not adjusted for differing grade levels in particular schools, most of which included pre-kindergarten through eighth grade levels.

[2]Includes the entire Quincy-Lincoln District.

Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, School System Report, compiled by the Boston Public Schools, October 16, 1968.

by the influx of immigrant families since 1965 has skewed the population toward a greater representation of the younger age groups. However, the extent of this shift cannot be determined. If it is assumed that twelve per cent of the Chinese population is enrolled in elementary schools, the approximate 1960 figure, the total population of Chinese and "Other Races" is approximately 8,300 on the known base of 995 Oriental elementary school students. Allowing a one per cent shift in the composition of the population and assuming that this group now constitutes thirteen per cent of the population, a total figure of 7,700 is derived. At fourteen per cent--a less likely shift--the total becomes 7,100. These projections are very close to those made by others, allowing for the small proportion of non-Chinese Orientals in the City.

Applying the mid-range estimate of thirteen per cent to the elementary school enrollments tabulated in Table 8 provides an estimate of the Oriental population in each neighborhood, insofar as they are approximated by elementary school districts. The largest enrollment and, consequently, the largest population, is found in the Quincy-Lincoln district, which draws from the South End above East Berkeley (Dover) Street, including the Castle Square project, as well as from Chinatown; this district is estimated to draw from an Oriental population of approximately 3,000, although this includes 575 people associated with the approximately seventy-five children who live outside the district and attend Quincy-Lincoln under the

open enrollment law.[1] The next largest concentration of Orientals is in the South End, where there are estimated to be approximately 1,800. Of the other areas, only Allston-Brighton has a concentration approaching this scale. The distribution of this population is the same as for the elementary school enrollments in Table 8.

A comparison of the population figures for 1960 and 1968, as presented in Table 9, shows very large increases in three neighborhoods--Allston-Brighton, Back Bay-Beacon Hill and the South End--and a moderate increase in Chinatown and Mattapan. Oriental populations declined in six areas, most notably in Roxbury-North Dorchester, where a fairly large concentration seems to have nearly disappeared, and has remained stable only in Dorchester. Generally, however, areas that had a large concentration of Orientals and "Other Races" in 1960 retained and enlarged them over the eight-year period, while neighborhoods with small numbers invariably declined. In part, this may be due to the bias introduced by using school enrollments for estimating the 1968 population, as the younger immigrant families would be more likely to settle near established communities rather than at random throughout the City. However, the decline in these small populations outside established concentrations may also be due to the gradual decline in neighborhood Chinese laundries and the retirement and death of their owners. Clearly, however,

---

[1] About seventy of these live in adjacent areas of the South End, while the remainder come from other neighborhoods.

TABLE 9: Estimated Population of Orientals in Chinatown and Anti-Poverty Target Neighborhoods, 1968[1]

Area[1]	Chinese and "Other Races", 1960[2]	Estimated Population of Orientals, 1968[3]	Per Cent Change 1960 - 1968
Allston-Brighton	260	990	+ 281%
Charlestown	87	40	- 54
Columbia Point	20	10	- 50
Dorchester	196	190	- 3
East Boston	25	20	- 20
Jamaica Plain	90	80	- 11
North End[4]	59	*	unk.
Parker Hill-Fenway	673	420	- 37
Roxbury-N. Dorchester	585	30	- 95
South Boston	93	60	- 35
South End[5]	685	1,830	+ 167
Subtotal--All Target Areas	2,753	3,670	+ 33%
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	240	500	+ 108
CHINATOWN[6]	1,818	3,000	+ 65
Mattapan	94	130	+ 38
Rest of City	341	350	+ 1
TOTAL	5,246	7,650	+ 46%

[1]Areas were defined in terms of census tracts for 1960 data, and elementary school districts for 1968 data.

[2]See Table 3. South End and Chinatown figures adjusted for Castle Square area; see note 5.

[3]Population estimates based on public elementary enrollments as thirteen per cent of total population.

[4]No Oriental students were reported enrolled in North End Schools in 1968.

[5]Not including Castle Square and area north and east of Berkeley and East Berkeley (Dover) Streets.

[6]Including South End areas noted in 5, above.

the long-term trend is toward larger concentrations of Chinese in a few areas as immigration continues and a simultaneous diminishing of scattered families in largely white and black neighborhoods.

This conclusion is reinforced by comparing each neighborhood's shares of the City's Oriental population in 1960 and 1968. Allston-Brighton, which experienced an increase in actual numbers of 254 per cent, increased its share of the City's total Oriental population to thirteen per cent, a growth of eight per cent from 1960. This was clearly the largest growth of any area. The South End showed the next largest growth rate, 167 per cent, and increased its share of the Oriental population from seventeen to twenty-four per cent, while Chinatown, the site of the largest concentration, increased its share by eight per cent to thirty-nine per cent, a growth rate of sixty-five per cent. These changes are shown in Table 10.

This hypothesis is also supported by the number of foreign-born Chinese enrolled in elementary schools in these neighborhoods, as shown in Table 8. These figures, collected in December, 1969, to determine the demand for English language training, show that immigrant children were concentrated largely in the areas already under discussion, and that five neighborhoods reported no foreign-born Chinese at all. Nearly half--forty-five per cent--were found in the Quincy-Lincoln district; thirty per cent in the remainder of the South End; and nine per cent in Allston-Brighton. These foreign-born Chinese were more than half the Oriental elementary

TABLE 10: Estimated Changes in Distribution of Oriental Population, 1960 - 1968.[1]

Area	Increase or Decrease in Neighborhood Share of City Oriental Population[2]
Allston-Brighton	+ 8%
Charlestown	- 1
Columbia Point	0
Dorchester	- 1
East Boston	0
Jamaica Plain	0
North End	- 1
Parker Hill-Fenway	- 7
Roxbury-N. Dorchester	- 10
South Boston	0
South End	+ 7
All Target Areas	- 4
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	+ 2
CHINATOWN	+ 8
Mattapan	0
Rest of City	- 2

[1] This index of the change in each area's share of the City's Oriental population was derived by comparing the area's share of Oriental elementary school children in 1968 with its share of the Oriental population in 1960. This table does not measure absolute changes in the number of Orientals over this period.

[2] Changes of less than one per cent noted as zero.

Source: Tables 6 and 9 .

school enrollment in Chinatown and the South End, and between thirty and forty per cent in Back Bay-Beacon Hill, Mattapan, Dorchester, Allston-Brighton and Parker Hill-Fenway. However, the volume of enrollments in several of these areas is rather small, and does not contradict the conclusion that established Chinese communities will continue to attract immigrants to a greater extent than other areas.

C. Effects of Immigration

The effect of the vastly increased immigration of Chinese to the United States detailed in Chapter I has been to increase the population of Chinese in Massachusetts at an average rate of over 500 per year since 1966, and that of the City at approximately 300 per year. Nearly 3,000 immigrant Chinese have settled in Massachusetts since 1960, and 1,600 of these have specified Boston as their permanent residence--seventy per cent of these in the last four years of the decade. At the same time, the number of alien Chinese in the State has risen from 1,600 in 1960 to 3,200 in 1969, although the naturalization of Chinese has risen to a rate of over one hundred per year.[1] These statistics are shown in Table 11.

Although it is known that the City of Boston is the destination of the majority of the Chinese who emigrate to Massachusetts, the number who have settled in the metropolitan area cannot be determined. Since 1958, Boston has rarely been the destination of less

[1]Naturalization can only occur after five years' residence.

TABLE 11: Chinese Immigration to the United States, Massachusetts, and Boston, and Registered Aliens in Massachusetts, 1958-1969

Fiscal Year	Chinese-born Immigrants: Admitted to the United States[1]	Chinese-born Immigrants: Specifying Massachusetts as State of Permanent Residence[2]	Chinese-born Immigrants: Specifying Boston as City of Destination[2]	Chinese Aliens Registered in Massachusetts[2,3]
1958	3,555	106	42	n.r.
1959	6,566	196	97	n.r.
1960	4,156	121	51	1,599
1961	3,848	116	62	1,625
1962	4,669	113	64	1,305
1963	5,370	163	95	1,410
1964	4,648	190	91	1,619
1965	4,767	152	92	1,620
1966	17,608	486	312	1,675
1967	25,096	697	355	2,246
1968	16,434	481	257	2,800
1969	20,893	472	211	3,168
1970[4]	16,297	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

n.a. = data not available.
n.r. = data not recorded.

[1]Includes immigrants born in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

[2]Includes immigrants born in China and Taiwan only. These were 78.6% of all Chinese immigrants to the United States in 1969, and 88.6% in 1960.

[3]Includes students, diplomats and other aliens on temporary visas.

[4]Preliminary data for 1970.

Sources: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Annual Report, 1958 through 1969, Tables 12A, 12B, 14 and 35, and The New York Times, August 31, 1970.

than half of those who have arrived in the State. In 1967, the peak year, 355 of the 697 Chinese emigrants to Massachusetts settled in Boston, and an additional sixty-three in Cambridge. Twenty-two others settled in New Bedford, Springfield and Worcester, and 257 in other cities and towns. The pattern in 1969 was similar, as Table 12 shows.

The flow of Chinese arriving in Massachusetts and Boston, while continuing at a higher average rate than ever before, appears to have slackened somewhat from its 1967 peak. The number of foreign-born Chinese children in the Boston public schools has continued to increase at approximately the same rate as before, however, indicating that the immigrant population as a whole is getting younger. If the population continues to increase at the same rate, the number of Chinese in the City will easily exceed 10,000 by 1975, as shown in Chart I.

The other characteristics of the immigrants cannot be determined, except as they may be assumed to resemble those of all Chinese arriving in the United States, as described previously. It is probable, however, that those who arrive in Chinatown have a lower occupational level than the average for all immigrants, as the higher level of education of those in the professional category is more likely to enable them to settle in less deteriorated areas such as the South End or Allston-Brighton.

TABLE 12: Chinese Immigration to Massachusetts Cities and Towns, 1958-1969[1]

Reported City of Destination	Fiscal Year											
	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Boston	42	97	51	62	64	95	91	92	312	355	257	211
Cambridge	12	24	4	5	11	9	19	8	25	63	51	41
New Bedford	n.r.	n.r.	2	2	1	2	5	1	6	4	5	3
Springfield	1	3	-	1	-	2	4	2	2	10	1	5
Worcester	n.r.	n.r.	n.r.	2	1	2	-	1	9	8	7	3
Other Cities and Towns	51	72	64	44	36	53	71	48	132	257	160	209
Total	106	196	121	116	113	163	190	152	486	697	481	472

n.r. = data not reported.

[1]Includes immigrants born in China and Taiwan only.

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Annual Report, 1958 through 1969, Tables 12A and 12B.

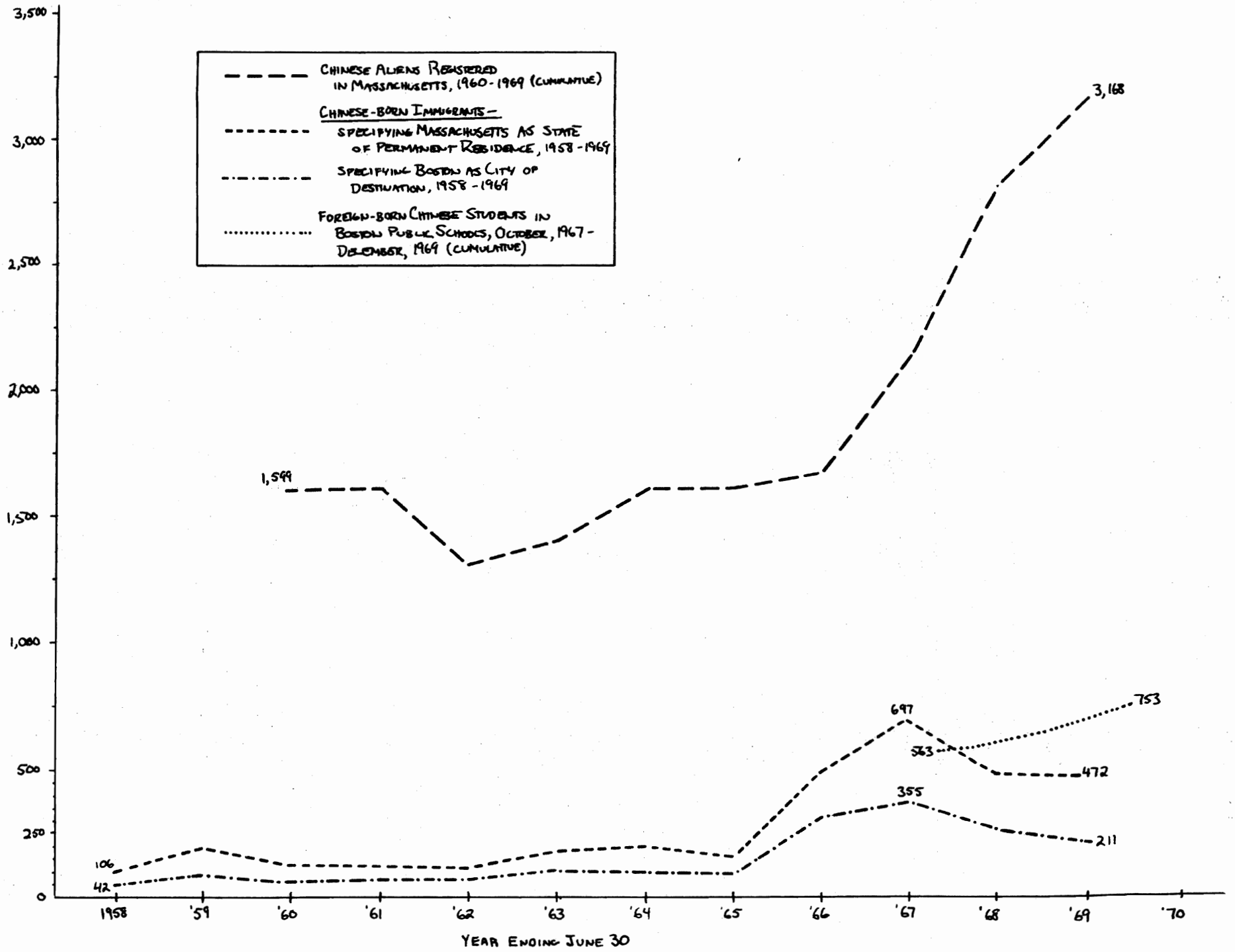


CHART ONE
FOREIGN-BORN CHINESE IN MASSACHUSETTS AND BOSTON, 1958-1969

III. SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CHINATOWN

Chapter III begins with a short evaluation of two general indicators of social conditions in a community, income distribution and household composition. It continues with a discussion of education, employment, health and housing among the Chinese, four major areas in which problems currently exist, and concludes with an evaluation of two major groups which face grave difficulties, youth and the elderly. The problems of immigrants, the most critical element in the community, cut across all these areas and are not dealt with separately.

A. General Indicators

1. Income Distribution:

Statistics on median family income, the best indicator of poverty and general social pathology, are sketchy for the Chinese population. However, the current BRA estimate of median family income information is $4,800, less than two-thirds the City median of $7,540 and nearly $1,000 less than that of the lowest ABCD target areas, East Boston and the North End.[1] 1966 BRA data show a median family income for the population to be relocated from the South Cove project area of

---

[1] City-wide and target area statistics given here and in the following sections are based on the 1969 Boston Area Survey, conducted by the Joint Center for Urban Studies, as presented for ABCD target areas in ABCD's CAP 5, Community Information, September, 1970.

$4,667, which, if expressed in 1969 purchasing power, still amounts to only $5,170, significantly less than for all other areas. This figure is used in Table 13, in which Chinatown is ranked with ABCD's anti-poverty target areas and other areas of the City.

TABLE 13: Chinatown and Anti-Poverty Target Areas Ranked by Median Family Income, 1969

Area	Median Income	Rank
Non-target areas	$9,719	1
Roxbury-N. Dorchester	$7,250	2
Dorchester	$7,125	3
Jamaica Plan and Parker Hill-Fenway	$6,999	4-5
South End	$6,750	6
Allston-Brighton	$5,999	7
Charlestown & South Boston	$5,917	8-9
East Boston & North End	$5,700	10-11
CHINATOWN	$5,170	12
City of Boston	$7,543	

Source: 1969 Boston Area Survey, and Diagnostic Report of Residents to be Relocated, South Cove Urban Renewal Project, 1967. BRA figures are expressed in 1969 dollars.

Little information on income distributions for the Chinese or for any other group is available, but some limited comparisons are possible. These indicate that the incomes of Chinese families scheduled to be relocated from the South Cove area, when

adjusted for inflation over the period 1966-1969, were significantly lower than those of Blacks or of the major white ethnic groups. Sixty-three per cent of the Chinese families interviewed had annual incomes of less than $6,000 and twenty-one per cent earned less than $3,000. By contrast, the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard found in the Boston Area Survey that forty-six per cent of Black families had incomes of less than $6,000, and twelve per cent less than $3,000, while for the City as a whole, the equivalent shares are forty-two per cent and sixteen per cent. None of the ethnic groups surveyed by the Joint Center had a larger proportion of families in these lower income categories than the Chinese. The incomes of these groups are compared in Table 14.

TABLE 14: Family Incomes of Chinese and Other Racial and Ethnic Groups

Total Family Income*	Ethnic Groups				
	Chinese in South Cove	Black	White Protestant	Jewish	Total City
Less than $3,000	21%	12%	11%	19%	16%
$3,000 - $5,999	42	34	31	34	26
$6,000 - $9,999	32	39	38	21	33
$10,000 - $14,999	4	11	16	21	16
$15,000 or more	1	4	4	5	9
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Includes single-person families.

Sources: How the People See Their City, A Report of the Boston Area Survey, Joint Center for Urban Studies, Table 5.8; recomputed data presented in Diagnostic Report of Residents to be Relocated, South Cove Urban Renewal Project, BRA, Chart VIII.

It must be noted, however, that while the BRA's sample of Chinese relocatees from the South Cove area may approximate the population of Chinatown, it cannot be taken to describe the large numbers of Chinese living in other parts of the City.

When ranked with ABCD's anti-poverty target neighborhoods, Chinatown is seen to place sixth in the proportion of families earning less than $3,000 per year, but ninth in families earning less than $6,000 per year. These rankings are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15: Chinatown and Anti-Poverty Target Areas Ranked by Proportion of Low-Income Families, 1969

Area	Families Earning Less Than $3,000		Families Earning Less Than $6,000	
	Per Cent	Rank	Per Cent	Rank
Dorchester	13%	1	41%	1
Jamaica Plain and Parker Hill-Fenway	15%	2-3	52%	4-5
Roxbury-N. Dorchester	15%	4	43%	2
South End	20%	5	51%	3
CHINATOWN	21%	6	63%	9
Charlestown and South Boston	23%	7-8	55%	7-8
Allston-Brighton	23%	9	53%	6
East Boston and North End	29%	10-11	65%	10-11
Columbia Point	34%	12	n.a.	

n.a. = data not available.

Source: BRA, Diagnostic Report, and adjusted data from ABCD, CAP 5, Community Information.

2. Household Composition:

Little more data exist for household composition than for other aspects of the Chinese community. The BRA survey of 1966 documents a well-known characteristic of older Chinese communities, that of large numbers of elderly men living together under overcrowded conditions, but provides no information on the existence of extended families which include one or both grandparents. The report also notes that the ". . . Chinese population in South Cove is characterized by a high percentage of male heads of families and male individuals [living alone]." Fourteen per cent of the households surveyed contained two or more individuals living in joint households, while for the City as a whole, the proportion of such households was approximately eight per cent.[1] The number of households comprised of individuals living alone is essentially the same as that reported for the City as a whole in 1960, although slightly more than reported by the BAS in 1969. Ninety-three per cent of single-person households were men.

The Chinese in the South Cove area were also characterized by relatively large families: eighteen per cent of the households surveyed contained six or more persons, while only eleven per cent of those in the City as a whole are in this category. Excluding single persons living together, the mean household size in Chinatown of 3.4 persons is larger than that in the City as a whole, with 3.0

---

[1] 1960 Census of Population and BRA Diagnostic Report.

persons.[1] Ninety-five per cent of all households with minor children were headed by a man. The characteristics of households in these two areas are contrasted in Table 16.

TABLE 16: Household Composition Among South Cove Chinese and in the City of Boston, 1966 and 1969

Size or Type of Household	Chinese in South Cove[1]	City of Boston[2]
One Person	29%	24%
Married Couple--No Children	9	16
Married Couple With Children or Elders	48	35
Other Types[3]	14[3]	25[4]
TOTAL	100%	100%

[1]1966 data from BRA Diagnostic Survey.

[2]1969 data from Boston Area Survey.

[3]Individuals living in joint households.

[4]"Includes divorced, widowed, and separated adults with children, related and unrelated persons living together, et al."

[1]1969 Boston Area Survey and BRA Diagnostic Report. More recent unofficial data from the BRA reports the household size in Chinatown to be 4.4 and in the City as a whole 2.8.

B. Problem Areas

1. Education:

For the Chinese, education has been a means for upward mobility and immigrant parents generally expect their children, despite their language handicap, to attend college. Because of their emphasis on good grades, many recently-emigrated parents are often disappointed when their children cannot keep up in American schools and the resulting conflict between expectation and reality is a common cause of tension in immigrant families. Among those who graduate from high school and go on to college, many are studying the social sciences, law and medicine, breaking the traditional pattern among educated Chinese of concentration in mathematics and science. Among the adults, there is great interest in learning English, but Chinatown's adult population currently lacks adequate English language instruction and adult education classes.

a. Chinese in the Boston Public Schools. Orientals accounted for 1.7 per cent, or 1,643, of the 94,887 pupils in Boston public schools in 1969.[1] This represented a 1.6 per cent increase over the enrollment figure for the previous year. The number of Chinese

---

[1] U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, School System Report, Elementary and Secondary School Survey, compiled by the Boston School Department under the provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, October, 1969. Since Chinese comprise almost all of the City's Oriental population, School Department figures for Oriental pupils are treated in this report as entirely Chinese. Parochial school enrollments are not considered to be significant.

students born outside the United States, however, increased fourteen per cent in the same period, and thirty-three per cent from 1967 to 1969. In December, 1969, it was estimated that 773 foreign-born Chinese were enrolled in public schools, accounting for almost half of all Chinese pupils. English as a Second Language (ESL) programs have been unable to accommodate this increase in foreign-born Chinese pupils; in 1969, only one-third of these pupils received ESL instruction while two years earlier more than half were enrolled.[1] Table 17 documents the changing ethnic composition of the City's schools, Table 18 provides a breakdown for minority groups in elementary, intermediate and high schools, and Table 19 presents the number of foreign-born Chinese receiving ESL training.

TABLE 17: Racial and Ethnic Groups in Boston Public Schools, 1968-1969

Group	Children Enrolled in All Boston Public Schools				
	1968		1969		Per Cent Change 1968-1969
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
White	68,703	69.11%	62,657	66.03%	- 8.81%
Black	25,190	26.50	27,276	28.75	+ 8.28%
Spanish-surnamed Americans	2,505	2.63	3,205	3.38	+ 27.94%
Orientals	1,617	1.70	1,643	1.73	+ 1.60%
American Indians	56	0.06	106	0.11	+ 89.28%
TOTAL	95,071	100.00%	94,887	100.00%	- 0.20%

Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, School System Report, compiled by the Boston School Department.

[1] It cannot be assumed that all foreign-born Chinese pupils, especially at the high school level, need English instruction. American-born Chinese children with non-English-speaking parents often require language training when they enter school. However, ESL figures used in this report are compiled for foreign-born Chinese pupils only.

TABLE 18: Minority Groups in Boston Public Elementary, Intermediate, and High Schools, 1968

Group	Elementary		Intermediate		High School		Special		Boston	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White	38,489	66.84%	11,154	68.33%	15,697	76.98%	363	47.27%	65,703	79.11%
Black	16,160	28.06%	4,827	29.57%	3,977	19.50%	226	29.43%	25,190	26.50%
Oriental	995	1.73%	71	0.43%	496	2.43%	55	7.16%	1,617	1.70%
Spanish	1,904	3.31%	269	1.65%	208	1.02%	124	16.15%	2,505	2.63%
Indian	39	0.07%	3	0.02%	14	0.07%	0	—	56	0.06%
TOTAL	57,587	100.00%	16,324	100.00%	20,392	100.00%	768	100.00%	95,071	100.00%

Source: Boston School Department.

TABLE 19: Foreign-Born Chinese Children Receiving English as a Second Language Training in Boston Public Schools, 1967-1969

Area[1] Level	FOREIGN-BORN CHINESE CHILDREN IN BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS											
	October, 1967			May, 1968			December, 1968			December, 1969		
	Total Number	Receiving ESL Number	Receiving ESL Per Cent	Total Number	Receiving ESL Number	Receiving ESL Per Cent	Total Number	Receiving ESL Number	Receiving ESL Per Cent	Total Number	Receiving ESL Number	Receiving ESL Per Cent
Area 1	276	136	49.27%	274	140	51.09%	326	120	36.80%	371	95	25.60%
Area 2	18	7	38.8	21	9	42.85	30	14	46.66	17	10	58.82
Area 3	48	8	16.66	41	11	26.82	39	29	74.35	44	4	9.09
Area 4	56	31	55.35	67	41	61.19	57	19	33.33	91	50	54.94
Area 5	5	2	40.00	9	4	44.44	21	13	61.90	23	14	60.86
Area 6	160	51	85.00	167	88	52.69	175	92	52.57	207	93	44.92
TOTAL	563	235	41.74%	579	293	50.60%	648	260	40.12%	753	266	35.32%
Grades 1-8	335	148	44.17%	334	161	48.20%	400	155	38.75%	447	131	29.30%
Junior High	11	2	18.18	15	3	20.00	22	11	50.00	28	12	42.85
High School	217	85	39.17	230	129	56.08	226	94	41.59	278	123	44.24
TOTAL	563	235	41.74%	579	293	50.60%	648	260	40.12%	753	266	35.32%
Day School	53	53	100.00%	66	66	100.00%	52	52	100.00%	20	20	100.00%
GRAND TOTAL	616	288	46.75%	644	359	55.74%	700	312	44.57%	773	286	36.99%

Source: Boston School Department.

[1] Note on following page.

Table 19, continued.

AREA 1

Charlestown, South End, North End, Back Bay, Chinatown, East Boston

AREA 2

South Boston, Roxbury-North Dorchester, Dorchester

AREA 3

Roxbury-North Dorchester, Dorchester

AREA 4

Dorchester, Mattapan, Roslindale, Hyde Park

AREA 5

Jamaica Plain, Roslindale, Roxbury-North Dorchester, West Roxbury

AREA 6

Allston-Brighton, Roxbury-North Dorchester, Parker Hill-Fenway, Jamaica Plain

At the elementary level, there were almost 1,000 Oriental pupils enrolled in City schools in 1968, forty per cent of whom were born outside the United States. Although English language instruction is especially critical in the primary grades, less than a third of these foreign-born children were enrolled in ESL programs in 1969.[1] Furthermore, as several recent studies have made clear, participation in Boston's ESL programs is seldom an effective means of learning English.

In 1968, almost half of the foreign-born Chinese children of grade school age attended schools drawing from the Chinatown area. Quincy School, half of whose 138 Oriental pupils were foreign-born, had a ninety-seven per cent Chinese enrollment in 1965. A 123-year-old structure located in Chinatown proper,[2] the school offers ESL instruction but figures for participants were not available. While the student body at Quincy is almost entirely Chinese, the enrollment at Abraham Lincoln School, which draws from both Chinatown and the South End, represents an ethnic mixture. Of the 454 pupils at Abraham Lincoln in 1968, fifty-six per cent were Oriental, thirty-seven per cent Black and ten per cent Spanish-speaking. In 1969, approximately half of the Oriental pupils there were foreign-born and only one-quarter were receiving language instruction.

---

[1] Language training is especially important at this age level because younger immigrant children have received little English instruction in Hong Kong schools. American-born Chinese whose parents speak little English are rarely proficient in the language when they enter school.

[2] A new Quincy School, to serve as both a school and neighborhood center, is projected for 1973.

In 1968, almost a third of the seventy-two Chinese pupils enrolled in the City's junior high schools were born abroad, and half received language instruction.[1] Over the three year period from 1967 to 1969, the number of Chinese immigrants in Boston junior high schools increased from eleven to twenty-eight, or 154 per cent.

Almost half of the 496 Oriental pupils in Boston high schools in 1968 were born outside the United States, and 41.6 per cent of these participated in ESL programs. In 1968, English High School, which has competitive admissions, had 130 Oriental pupils, the largest number of any high school in the City. Two-thirds of the seventy foreign-born Chinese there in 1969 were enrolled in English language classes. Other Boston area high schools with competitive admissions policies enroll many Chinese and, to a great extent, provide ESL instruction for non-English-speaking pupils.[2] In 1968, the largest number of immigrant Chinese of high school age attended Jeremiah E. Burke High School in Dorchester, where about half of the eighty-three foreign-born Chinese pupils participated in the ESL program. Brighton High School, which enrolled thirty-four

---

[1] These figures do not include junior high school age Chinese enrolled in primary schools, which include grades one through eight.

[2] Other area schools with competitive admissions enrolling Chinese in 1968 were: Boston Latin, 74 Chinese (34 foreign-born); Girls' Latin, 71 Chinese (11 foreign-born); Girls' High School, 29 Chinese (11 foreign-born).

Chinese pupils born outside the United States, offers no supplementary language instruction.[1]

b. Levels of Education Among Chinese Adults. In 1966, according to the BRA's Diagnostic Report, the level of education attained by Chinese heads of households was, on the whole, extremely low. More than two-thirds of those surveyed had obtained less than an eighth grade education, a rate twice that of the nearest anti-poverty target area. Twelve per cent are reported to have graduated from high school, a share one-half as large as in the nearest target area, and six per cent have attended college. These figures seem to reflect the contemporary role of Chinatown as a receiving area for the newly arrived and those unable or unwilling to learn English; poor housing conditions and overcrowding have tended to drive out those who have attained the education necessary for upward economic mobility. However, these figures do not reflect the educational attainments of the recent immigrants, most of whom are reported to have received at least primary and often secondary schooling in Hong Kong. Moreover, the results of the BRA's study may have been biased by communications problems with the interviewers and by the common difficulty of equating levels of schooling in other countries with their equivalents in the United States.

---

[1] A recent study of Chinatown in New York City showed a 15% dropout rate for Chinese high school pupils, a majority of them foreign-born. Statistics for Boston are unavailable, but preliminary impressions indicate that a similar pattern may exist here. Achievement scores, attendance records, and other information that might allow a comparison of the Chinese with other groups are not available.

The educational attainments of Chinese heads of households in South Cove are compared to those of household heads in target areas in Table 20.

2. Employment:

Since the passage of anti-Chinese legislation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Chinese have traditionally avoided economic competition with other groups, establishing instead restaurants, laundries and shops specializing in Chinese goods. At first, Chinese businesses relied on local patronage but, since the 1940's, the tourist trade has accounted for an increasingly large percentage of the community's income. Chinatown's economy has also provided jobs for its working population. The relatively few immigrants allowed into the United States prior to 1965 was easily absorbed into the local labor force, and during the post-war years, the garment industry recruited workers among the growing numbers of Chinese women, admitted into the country for the first time in any numbers since 1882. The recent influx of Chinese immigrants arriving in Boston has followed the same pattern, finding work in the metropolitan area's forty-plus Chinese restaurants, or the fifteen to twenty garment factories. However, if the steady flow of new arrivals continues, Chinese restaurants and businesses will no longer be able to absorb this additional labor supply. Local shops have provided some jobs, but the laundries, once a large employer of immigrant labor, are disappearing. Chinatown's female labor force is almost certain to

TABLE 20: Educational Attainments of Household Heads Among South Cove Chinese and in Anti-Poverty Target Areas, 1966 and 1969

Years of Education Completed	CHINA-TOWN	Allston-Brighton	Charles-town and So. Boston	Dor-chester	East Boston & No. End	Jamaica Plain & Pkr. Hill-Fenway	Rox-bury N. Dor-chester	So. End	All TAs	City of Boston
Eighth Grade or less	69%	17%	33%	27%	34%	15%	27%	28%	25%	22%
1 - 3 Years High School	12	10	26	25	17	17	26	23	20	18
High School Graduate	12	27	32	33	34	32	28	23	30	29
1 - 3 Years College	3	27	9	14	5	17	10	15	15	17
College Grad. or above	3	19	0	1	10	19	9	11	10	14
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sources: Chinatown data from BRA, Diagnostic Report; target neighborhoods from ABCD, CAP 5.

be affected by the current slump in the garment industry, and few job alternatives exist for Chinese women.

The BRA Diagnostic Report of 1966 reported a very high rate of employment status of male household heads in the Chinese community. Ninety-one per cent of family heads were employed full time. Among individuals living alone, sixty-two per cent were employed full time, and twenty-four per cent were retired. Unemployment was one per cent in the former group and two per cent in the latter, at a time when the unemployment rate in the metropolitan area was 3.4 per cent and, in the South End-Roxbury area, 6.8 per cent. Since unemployment rates fluctuate widely over short periods of time, no further comparisons can be made from the data at hand. Moreover, the current high rate of unemployment in the metropolitan area--4.9 per cent, a forty-four per cent increase over 1966--cannot be said with certainty to have an equivalent effect on unemployment in Chinatown, since restaurants and places of entertainment generally are somewhat insulated from short-term economic shifts. The current slump in the garment industry, however, has had negative consequences for employed Chinese females, who are relatively highly concentrated in this industry. The employment status of the male household heads in the BRA's South Cove survey are presented in Table 21.

The 1966 survey also found a very high proportion of Chinese heads of households employed in services and other blue-collar occupations. In 1966, eighty-five per cent of the employed heads of Chinese households were employed in service occupations, presumably

TABLE 21: Employment Status of Chinese Male Heads of Households, South Cove, 1966

	Family Heads	Individuals Living Alone	All Heads
Employed Full-time	91%	64%	80%
Employed Part-time	3	7	5
Seasonal or Irregular Employment	0	0	0
Retired	4	24	12
Disabled	1	2	1
Unemployed	1	2	1
Student	0	1	*
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

*Less than one per cent.

Source: BRA, Diagnostic Report.

largely in restaurants, and only twelve per cent in white collar occupations. In the anti-poverty target neighborhoods, by contrast, only eleven per cent of male heads of households were employed in services, and twenty-four per cent in white collar occupations. Since the BRA data almost entirely antedate the rise in immigration of Chinese families since 1965, however, it probably seriously understates the current proportion of those occupied in services and other blue-collar trades. Furthermore, it deals only with heads of households and neglects employed persons who are not in this category, who are more likely to be newly arrived, single males living with families or other men and

employed in restaurants or other low-salaried jobs. Nevertheless, it is clear that the occupational patterns of Chinese in Boston is atypical of other areas of the City.

Table 22 summarizes the occupational profiles of Chinese household heads in the BRA sample, and compares this data with that reported for anti-poverty target areas in the Boston Area Survey.

While Chinatown's economic self-sufficiency provides ready employment for the new immigrants, in the long run it contributes to the community's problems. Pay for restaurant and seamstress work is very low; little English is demanded and employees never acquire the language skills necessary for better-paying jobs. Because this type of work is centered in the Chinese community, it offers immigrants little opportunity to adjust to the new American culture. Chinatown's young immigrant population is particularly affected by the community's employment situation. Teenagers are often caught in low-paying restaurant jobs with little prospect for advancement, yet they cannot participate in the City's job training programs because they lack the necessary English. Immigrants trained in skilled occupations in Hong Kong cannot find similar work because of their language difficulties.

Chinatown's families pay a social price for their easy access to the community's labor market. While local jobs provide steady work and prevent the extreme poverty and unemployment found in other inner city areas, low pay forces both parents to work in order to maintain a family income above subsistence level. The median yearly

TABLE 22: Occupational Profiles of Employed Household Heads Among South Cove Chinese and in Anti-Poverty Target Areas, 1966 and 1969.

Category of Employment	CHINA-TOWN	Allston-Brighton	Chas-town	Col. Point	Dor-chester	East Boston	Jamaica Plain	No. End	Parker Hill-Fenway	Rox-N.Dor-chester	South Boston	South End	All TAs	City of Boston
White-Collar[1]	12%	52%	19%	n.a.	30%	48%	54%	48%	54%	20%	19%	23%	37%	46%
Blue-Collar[2]	6	30	69	n.a.	59	45	29	45	29	51	69	43	45	39
Service	82	18	12	n.a.	11	7	17	7	17	29	12	34	18	15
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	n.a.	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

n.a.: data not available.

[1]Includes Proprietors and the Professional, Managerial, Clerical, and Sales categories.

[2]Includes Craftsmen, Foremen, Skilled and Unskilled Laborers.

Sources: Chinatown data from BRA Diagnostic Report; target neighborhoods from ABCD CAP 5.

earnings for Chinese were $5,170 in 1969, compared with a median of $7,543 for the City. The types of employment readily available to the new immigrants demand long and late hours.[1] Since there is only one day care program in Chinatown, a Head Start class with fifteen pupils, children with working parents are left home alone. According to one recent study, New York's Chinatown had the highest proportion of working mothers of any area of the City.

Middle-class American-born Chinese, lacking the language handicap of foreign-born Chinese, are largely unaffected by the employment situation in Chinatown. They are generally an upwardly mobile, well-educated group and have moved into middle-class professional occupations, usually in the science and engineering fields.

3. Health:

Conditions such as low income, poor sanitation, inadequate public services, overcrowded housing and long working hours contribute to Chinatown's health problems. The community also has a large population of non-English-speaking immigrants and elderly persons in need of special health care.

Little information exists as yet on health problems among the Chinese in Boston, and even less that can be compared with

---

[1] A recent New York study indicated that twenty per cent of the workers employed in industries similar to those hiring Boston Chinese worked sixty hours or more a week.

other neighborhoods in the City. Furthermore, communication problems may distort the little available information and there are different conceptions in western and Oriental cultures as to what constitutes good health care. In addition, the Chinese are reluctant to discuss their problems with outsiders, or seek medical assistance. In the BRA's sample of Chinese relocatees in the South Cove area, only five per cent of the Chinese households interviewed reported the presence of a serious medical problem; similarly, only two per cent acknowledged having made recent contact with an agency for some medical service.

Vital statistics are the only point of reference for comparisons with other neighborhoods. These show that not only are the general death rate and the infant mortality rate extraordinarily high for Chinese in Boston, compared to the City as a whole, but that the rates increased enormously from 1960 to 1966, as shown in Table 23.[1]

TABLE 23: Vital Statistics, 1960-1966

	Rate per 1,000					
	Chinatown			Boston		
	1960	1966	% inc./dec.	1960	1966	% inc./dec.
Birth Rate	16.7	19.3	+ 17.4	22.2	18.7	- 15.8
Infant Mortality Rate	26.6	66.7	+ 150.8	13.8	25.6	+ 85.5
Death Rate	47.6	30.3	- 36.4	24.2	13.2	- 45.5

Source: Boston Department of Health and Hospitals.

[1] These figures include the first years following after enactment of the 1965 immigration law. The influx of new families into Chinatown may have increased the infant mortality and birth rates somewhat. The high proportion of elderly residents in the community is probably responsible for Chinatown's high death rate.

The infant mortality rate in the Chinese community, an indicator with which comparisons can be made with the anti-poverty target neighborhoods, was two and one-half times greater than in the City as a whole in 1966, and seventy-four per cent greater than the anti-poverty target area with the next highest rate. These comparisons are shown in Table 24.

Data are also available showing the number of newly reported cases of tuberculosis among Chinese. In 1969, this rate was 192 per cent greater among Chinese than among the population as a whole, even though the incidence of this disease among Chinese had decreased by more than one-third from the previous year. Generally speaking, however, the decline of this disease among the Chinese parallels that among the population as a whole, although at a slower rate, as shown in Table 25.

While available statistics indicate that Chinatown's population needs better health care, community residents, because of their cultural isolation and language difficulties, do not benefit from the City's health facilities. The segment of Chinatown's population with the greatest health needs, recent immigrants and elderly persons, are generally poor, speak little English, and are, for the most part, unaware of medical services available in Boston. With a few exceptions, local public health institutions and private organizations have made little attempt to ensure that these members of the Chinatown community receive adequate health care.[1]

---

[1]Typically, the only voluntary agencies which serve the Chinese community are those with concerned Chinese on their staffs. The only voluntary hospital to become interested in Chinatown is Peter Bent Brigham in Mission Hill, whose chief administrator happens to be Chinese.

TABLE 24: Infant Mortality Among Chinese and in Anti-Poverty Target Areas, 1966

Area	Number of Infant Deaths per 1,000 Births	Rank
CHINATOWN	66.7	1
South Boston	38.4	2
South End	36.0	3
Roxbury-No. Dorchester	35.7	4
Columbia Point	27.8	5
East Boston	27.5	6
Dorchester	24.5	7
Parker Hill-Fenway	21.1	8
Non-target areas	20.8	9
Jamaica Plain	20.2	10
Allston-Brighton	19.8	11
North End	14.1	12
Charlestown	12.9	13
All Target Areas	27.4	
City of Boston	25.6	
United States	24.7	

Source: Bureau of Vital Statistics, Department of Health and Hospitals, City of Boston.

TABLE 25: Newly Reported Cases of Tuberculosis, 1960-1969

Year	Chinese	City of Boston
1960	n.a.	63.9
1965	n.a.	51.9
1967	202.7	41.9
1968	135.1	46.9
1969	121.6	41.7

n.a. = not available.

Source: Boston Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, from the South End Health Unit, Boston Department of Health and Hospitals.

Although Tufts-New England Medical Center is located on the edge of Chinatown, it has historically been a research and teaching hospital and, until recently, did not provide out-patient facilities. The reservoir of hostility generated in the community by the Medical Center's aggressive acquisition of Chinatown property and its indifference to the health needs of those in its immediately surrounding area have led most Chinese to look for care elsewhere. Boston City Hospital, located on Harrison Avenue, a mile from Chinatown, is patronized in preference to T-NEMC, and is the only health facility generally used by the Chinese. This City-operated hospital, however, is understaffed and overcrowded and hours for its clinics are inconvenient for Chinatown's working population. Since there are few private physicians with offices in Chinatown, community residents usually patronize doctors in other areas of the City.

Federal and private health care programs do not serve Chinatown's population in proportion to its needs. The Chinese do not participate to any great extent in Federal medical care programs. Although low income qualifies many residents for Medicaid assistance, the Welfare Department office serving Chinatown estimates that only 150 - 200 residents currently participate in the program.

4. Housing:

Transient occupancy and age have left Chinatown's housing in a severely deteriorated condition. For most of its history, the district has been characterized by incompatible land uses, low rents and steadily deteriorating living conditions. The Chinese now occupy tenements that have housed successive groups of immigrants for more than one hundred years. Reports of housing conditions in Chinatown are extremely sketchy and generally based on subjective evaluations. The BRA unofficially reports that seventy-two per cent of the housing units are dilapidated or deteriorating, compared to fourteen per cent in the City. The same source estimates that seventy-eight per cent of Chinatown's dwelling units are overcrowded, compared to 7.7 per cent in the City as a whole. An apartment in Chinatown averages approximately 2.6 rooms with 4.4 persons per unit while the City average is 2.8 persons per unit. Housing conditions in Chinatown and the City as a whole are shown in Table 26.

The number of housing units available in Chinatown has decreased steadily in the last fifty years. During the 1920's and 1930's, the garment industry and local businesses claimed community residential space. Construction of two new traffic arteries, urban

TABLE 26: Housing Conditions in Chinatown and Boston

Conditions	Chinatown	City of Boston
Dwelling Units		
Sound[1]	28%	86%
Deteriorating	58	14
Dilapidated	14	
TOTAL	100%	100%
Overcrowded[2]	78%	7%
Structures		
Sound	9%	n.a.
Deteriorating	79	n.a.
Dilapidated	12	n.a.
TOTAL	100%	

n.a. = data not available.

[1]The U.S. Department of Commerce defines sound housing as that which has defects that can be corrected during regular maintenance. Deteriorated housing has defects of an intermediate nature that must be corrected if a building is to provide safe and adequate shelter, and dilapidated housing is defined as inadequate and unsafe, requiring extensive repair or rebuilding.

[2]More than one person per room.

Sources: Unofficial BRA estimate, 1970, and Boston Area Survey.

renewal, and expansion by the Medical Center in the 1960's reduced the land area of Chinatown by half. The decrease in available housing coincided with a sharp increase in population, with severe overcrowding as the result. With Chinatown's population increasing at a rate of

ten to fifteen per cent a year since 1965, it is unlikely that this situation will improve.

Inadequate sanitary conditions exist throughout the Chinatown area. Building maintenance is generally poor because rent returns are low and tenants fail to demand repairs. Only seven per cent of the residential space in Chinatown is owner-occupied, while Chinese own about three-quarters of the residential structures. Ownership has changed little since 1960, but buildings are assessed at a 1930-1940 level and low resale prices threaten the stability of the area.

C. Subgroups

1. Youth:

Adjustment to a new, American urban culture is difficult for Chinese children with immigrant parents. When both parents work long and late hours, their children do not benefit from the support of close family ties. Discipline is often left up to the schools and pre-school-age children, left at home during the day, receive little supervision.[1] Immigrant parents are unfamiliar with the new language and culture and, as a consequence, their children often fail to receive adequate medical care. The Chinese community, overcrowded

[1] The only day care center in Chinatown is the Head Start pre-school program of the Chinese Christian Church, which enrolls fifteen pupils.

and confined to a very small geographic area, has few recreation facilities: two small tot lots, a blacktop play area and the Quincy school yard. There are few programs for small children; the YMCA, which provides the community's only indoor recreation space, primarily serves teenagers.

Foreign-born Chinese children and those of non-English-speaking parentage are severely handicapped by their lack of English when they enter American schools. Both grade schools drawing from the community offer English as a Second Language Program (ESL) to meet this problem, but the programs are too small to give assistance to the large numbers of new immigrants of school age. Intense conflicts are likely to arise if a child cannot overcome the language barrier and excel in school.

Chinatown teenagers sometimes find the conservative, elder-dominated community a difficult place to live. The community provides no indoor recreation space or meeting place for them and there is little in the way of athletic facilities. The YMCA on Tyler Street sponsors several programs, but can accommodate only a few of the area's teenagers because of its small staff and extremely limited space. The delinquency pattern typical of American urban ghetto teenagers, once non-existent in the Chinese community, is beginning to appear in Chinatown. However, it is still largely confined to truancy, runaways and unwed pregnancies.[1] Community leaders are

---

[1] Statistics on Chinatown delinquency are unavailable, but the Department of Probation estimates that only two or three cases involving Chinese teenagers reach the Juvenile Court each year.

concerned about a developing drug problem among Chinatown teenagers.

Adjustment to American life is especially difficult for teenagers who have grown up in Hong Kong. According to the Boston School Department, there were 278 foreign-born Chinese in the City's high schools in 1969, and less than half were receiving language instruction. Recently-emigrated teenagers also experience many problems in high school because of their unfamiliarity with the American culture. They tend to associate exclusively with other Chinese-speaking teenagers, and this generates rivalry between the American-born and the immigrants. Those of employment age find jobs easily in local Chinese restaurants, but cannot look forward to better employment unless they learn English. Existing training programs cannot benefit young Chinese immigrants until they develop language skills; there are currently no adult English classes in the community except for those taught informally by volunteers. Without an understanding of English, young Chinese trained for a skilled job in Hong Kong cannot find similar work here and are often forced to take low-paying restaurant jobs.

English-speaking American-born teenagers have difficulty establishing an identity within two conflicting cultures. Raised in the conservative Chinese culture accepted by their parents, they have, to some extent, adopted the ideals of the dominant American society. Many college-age American-Chinese, however, are interested in community problems. They have sponsored tutorial and recreation

programs in Chinatown and participate in community activities and organizations. Those who are concentrating in the social sciences, law and medicine are providing skills largely lacking in the community.

2. The Elderly:

Because of restrictions barring female immigrants, Chinatown's residents were ninety-five per cent male until after World War II. The population now contains a high proportion of single, elderly men, estimated at approximately 300 out of a total of 1,900 residents. Formerly, men returned to their families in China in their later years, but the current political situation there prohibits their re-entrance. Those who have no close relatives in America do not receive the traditional care extended by Chinese families to their elderly members. Many speak little English and are unfamiliar with the rest of the City. They often live together in the worst of Chinatown's housing. Because their language handicap and cultural isolation makes them dependent on the local Chinese community, Chinatown's elderly have been especially hard hit by demolition, overcrowding and rising rents.

Elderly Chinese who have lived in the United States for a number of years receive Social Security benefits and approximately 200 are receiving Old Age Assistance from the Welfare Department. For the most part, however, Chinatown's elderly have near-subsistence incomes. Many are in poor health but refuse nursing home care because of cultural and language difficulties. Those eligible

for Social Security also receive Medicare benefits, and some elderly are enrolled in Medicaid, but the number is small.[1]

Chinatown's elderly residents rarely seek assistance from the City's social service institutions. Because many speak only Chinese, they tend to remain in their own community and are unfamiliar with agencies outside. City social service institutions, for the most part, do little outreach in Chinatown. In addition to Welfare case workers, there are only two full-time social workers serving Chinatown, and these do not deal exclusively with elderly clients.

---

[1]The Welfare Department reports that there are 150-200 Chinese Medicaid participants, but cannot provide a breakdown for elderly recipients.

IV. INSTITUTIONS, EXISTING SERVICES AND PROGRAM NEEDS

Residents of Chinatown have relied primarily on Chinese institutions and family members for social services. The traditional Chinese extended family assumes responsibility for its needy members and children are expected to care for their elderly parents. Many established families in Chinatown have formed associations which provide aid for their members. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, a proprietary, "quasi-judicial superstructure" in the community, oversees business transactions, sometimes arbitrates family disputes, but provides no services to individuals. The CCBA, rather, functions as a legislative policy-making group and has generally served as the main spokesman for all factions of the community.

This system of community self-help has broken down with the tremendous influx of non-English-speaking immigrants in the past few years. The new arrivals, crowded into Chinatown's small area and unfamiliar with an alien culture and language, have compounded existing community problems to the extent that Chinese institutions and the few agencies serving Chinatown are unable to meet their needs. In the past year, a loose coalition of elders, businessmen, professionals, college students and other community leaders, most of them members of the progressive Chinese-American Civic Association, has recognized the needs of Chinatown's new immigrant population and is seeking to interest public and private institutions, which offer a much wider range of services than those currently available in Chinatown, in the community's problems. Several committees, operating under the sponsorship

of Chinatown organizations, are drawing up plans for locally supervised services, such as a community referral center and health clinic. Many organizations that were formerly only socially-oriented have become involved in community work. Some of the services conducted and planned by these and other organizations are summarized in Chart One.

A. Chinese Organizations

Chinese organizations have rarely provided social services to individuals in the same sense that Western voluntary organizations have. Historically, most have been established to perform certain functions for their members alone. Traditional Chinese organizations have been family associations, or groups organized for limited, specific purposes, such as by businessmen and merchants. In America, the same pattern has been followed in the formation of American Legion Posts, Masonic groups, and recreational or social clubs.

Although no voluntary organizations have yet been formed for the sole purpose of providing social services, several groups recently have been formed as vehicles for organizing the community around specific issues and others to obtain specific services. The Chinese-American Civic Association is such a group, and the various ad hoc committees operating under the auspices of the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association constitute a further development along the same lines. In every case, however, these organizations are granted their mandate by and derive their legitimacy from the Benevolent Association,

which, in the past, has enforced its policies by economic boycotts and social sanctions. A short description of each major Chinese organization follows.

Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association

The Benevolent Association, serving Chinese throughout New England, is the most influential community group. An umbrella agency that includes representatives of eleven Chinatown organizations on its executive board, the seventy-year-old CCBA sponsors almost all Chinatown activities.[1] Its conservative members dominate Chinatown's internal affairs and all other groups are careful to obtain its sanction, but, in some cases, the initiative has passed to younger, more progressive groups.

Chinese Merchants Association

This trade association, comprised of conservative, Chinese-speaking businessmen and merchants, provides financial backing for the Benevolent Association and facilities for community meetings and projects. Its headquarters on Hudson Street is the largest structure owned by a community organization, and the site of the proposed health clinic.

---

[1] The eleven organizations represented on the Board of the Benevolent Association are: The Chinese Merchants Association; the Chinese American Civic Association; the Chinese Nationalist Party; the Freemasons; the Chinese Evangelical Church; the Chinatown YMCA; the Chinese Women's Club; the Ni Lun Association; a seamen's group; the Hip Sing; a merchants association; the American Legion Post; and the Ku Sing Music Club.

Chinese-American Civic Association

This three-year-old group focuses its activities on Chinatown although about half of its membership is comprised of Chinese businessmen and professionals who live in the suburbs. The Civic Association was at first a social organization but many of its members are currently involved in community activities and it is currently the most active community group. Its members, who are drawn from almost all segments of the community, form the backbone of Chinatown's planning groups and the organization itself supports committees for a community health clinic and multi-service center. The CACA represents the broadest spectrum of views of any community organization.

The Mayor's Task Force for the Resolution of Grievances in Chinatown

This committee, operating under the auspices of the Benevolent Association, was established in December, 1969, as the result of a meeting of community leaders with the Mayor's Office of Human Rights. While the Task Force serves officially as a link between Chinatown and City Hall, it operates in the community as a forum for discussion of local problems and as a medium for publicizing Chinatown's needs. The group has approximately forty members, mostly businessmen, professionals and college students. The following six committees are elements of the Task Force: housing for the elderly; cultural identity; recreation; education; physical environment; and police protection.

Little City Hall

Chinatown's Little City Hall, which opened in mid-July, plays an important role in the community. Formed to provide better communication between the Mayor's office and Chinatown, this municipal bureau also functions as a community center and catalyst for issues and groups. Its director, the only full-time, paid community worker in Chinatown, conducts short-term surveys, community-oriented programs, and performs social service referrals on a small scale.

Chinese-Americans For Tomorrow

Originally organized as a social club, CAT has sponsored many community-oriented projects in its three-year existence. These projects have included tutoring, English classes, lectures, conferences of Chinese students and clean-up programs. Members, who are for the most part American-born Chinese college students, are currently involved in the Mayor's Task Force and Civic Association committees.

Boston Chinese Youth Association

This Chinatown-based youth group, formed for educational, recreational and athletic purposes, also participates in community activities. Its forty-five members are mostly foreign-born college students fluent in both Chinese and English who work on community problems through existing organizations and committees.

Other Chinatown organizations whose members are often involved in these groups include social clubs, cultural societies, family associations, athletic and youth groups and the Quincy School Community Council, formed by South End, Castle Square and Chinatown residents in 1968.

B. Organizations Serving the Chinese Community

Chinatown residents have traditionally preferred to solve local problems without outside aid. As a result, Boston area organizations, despite the recent influx of immigrants in need of social services, do not serve Chinese to any great extent. Few City agencies sponsor programs in the community or assign workers to serve Chinatown; the exceptions are generally agencies with Chinese staff members.[1] There are no referring agencies in the area; private and public service agencies receive, for the most part, only those cases referred by hospitals, the courts, and the police.

The YMCA is the only City-wide organization with a program in Chinatown. The Y there, however, has only one full-time staff member and two part-time employees. Facilities are poor and programs are hampered by inadequate funds. A $45,000 gym is planned, but only half of the money has been raised so far. With 300 paid members, the Y

---

[1] The Boston Area Tuberculosis and Respiratory Association, which recently sponsored a screening program in Chinatown, is one example; Boston Children's Service is another. However, there are very few Chinese professionals on the staffs of social service agencies.

CHART TWO: SERVICES AND FACILITIES IN CHINATOWN

Existing:

- Language	English as a Second Language programs at Quincy School and Abraham Lincoln School; Maryknoll Sisters classes in English for adults; language classes for adult women at Quincy School, taught by volunteers.
- Recreation	Two municipal tot lots, a blacktop play area, YMCA programs and facilities including a blacktop lot with basketball courts and an indoor games and meeting place. The Maryknoll Sisters conduct a recreation program for boys.
- Social Services	Two social workers from Tufts and Boston Children's Service, plus Department of Public Welfare Caseworkers.
- Day Care	One Head Start class of fifteen children in the Chinese Christian Church.
- Health	Tufts-New England Medical Center daytime out-patient clinic.

Planned:

- Recreation	$45,000 YMCA gym.
- Social Services	Multi-service center proposal currently being prepared by Chinese-American Civic Association (CACA).
- Housing	$8 million, 214-unit housing complex for low and middle income residents; construction to begin this year.
- Elderly	Nursing home planned for inclusion in new Chinese Christian Church; this project has received no funds so far. Hot lunch program and drop-in center sponsored by Little City Hall.
- Day Care	A new day care center included in plans for new Quincy School, slated for construction in 1973.
- Education	New Quincy School, planned for 1973.
- Community Center	To be included in new Quincy School complex.
- Health	Proposal by CACA for community clinic nearing execution stage.

In addition to the above, the Mayor's Task Force is developing a Master Plan for community services.

sponsors recreation and athletic programs for all age groups but, because of lack of space and money, concentrates on providing services to teenagers.[1] It is guided by an Executive Committee of Chinatown residents.

The Maryknoll Sisters, with a staff of four nuns, live in Chinatown. They sponsor citizenship and English classes, a small recreation program for boys, and provide social services on a small scale. Three churches in the area--the Chinese Evangelical, St. James Roman Catholic and the Chinese Christian--provide space for community services but rarely initiate their own programs.

The Department of Public Welfare is the only government agency serving Chinatown residents to any great extent. The Church Street Welfare Office has five or six case workers serving the community part-time. They handle three or four Aid to Families of Dependent Children cases, 150-200 Medicaid recipients and approximately 200 persons receiving Old Age Assistance.

There are only two full-time social workers in Chinatown. By the end of this year, their agencies, Boston Children's Service and Tufts-New England Medical Center, hope to expand their services to Chinatown by adding an extra worker apiece.

Figures for participation in ABCD programs indicate that few Chinese seek assistance outside their immediate neighborhood. Of the 17,642 participants in ABCD programs in the first half of 1970,

---

[1]The YMCA in Chinatown also houses fourteen men on its upper floors.

only sixty-three were Chinese. Despite the fact that there are 2,900 Chinese living in the South End and an additional 1,900 in Chinatown, in the ten month period from November, 1969 to August, 1970, only three Chinese were served at the South End Neighborhood Employment Center (NEC). The Housing Department at the South End Neighborhood Action Program (SNAP), which reaches large numbers of Boston's Spanish-speaking population, served four Chinese in the first six months of this year; there were no Chinese participants in the Center's family service clinic or recreation and education programs. There are two Chinese staff members employed by SNAP and one Chinese on its governing board. SNAP also sponsors the Head Start class in Chinatown, which has a Chinese teacher and neighborhood worker. In Allston-Brighton, which has a Chinese population of over 1,000, the Area Planning Action Council served twenty-five Chinese teenagers in the first half of 1970. In the same period, there were only four Chinese participants in the NEC program.

Only two APAC's, in addition to the ones mentioned above, served Chinese in the first half of 1970: Jamaica Plain, with sixteen Chinese participants; and the North End, with two. During a ten-month period beginning in June, 1969 and ending in March of this year, the Parker Hill-Fenway NEC served fourteen Chinese; Dorchester, twelve; and Jamaica Plain and Roxbury-North Dorchester each had one Chinese participant.

C. Program Needs

Chinatown, despite its many problems, currently receives little aid from Boston area institutions. The community, in need of housing and physical improvements, has been largely denied the necessary public investment. The social service needs of Chinatown residents have not been met by City agencies. It is generally agreed that the community lacks services in a number of areas, but, in every case, the underlying need is for English language training. The needs most often mentioned are the following:

- Housing — Chinatown needs more low and middle income housing units to relieve overcrowding and accommodate its increasing population. Existing residential dwellings, in very poor condition, are in need of rehabilitation.

- Health — Because of the large non-English-speaking elderly and immigrant population, a community clinic with a Chinese-speaking staff is needed. There is no nursing home in the area for the community's elderly residents.

- Social Services — The lack of social services available in Chinatown and the language barrier faced by many Chinese necessitates a local organization to provide information and referral services to organizations outside the community.

- Employment — Chinatown's working population, especially younger members of the community, requires job training and language instruction in order to obtain better employment. Jobs for unskilled labor, in addition to those locally available, are also needed.

- Education — Local neighborhood schools need better facilities, more intensive and wider-reaching language programs and more Chinese-speaking staff members. The community's adult population lacks adequate language instruction and education.

- Community Services: More extensive municipal services, in the form of better police protection, sanitation, and traffic management, are needed for the stability of the community.

- Day Care: Large numbers of young children are left alone because both parents work; one Head Start class, serving fifteen children, exists to meet the demands of approximately 200 families.

In response to these needs, most of which seem to be generally recognized by many in the community, a number of services and facilities have reached the planning stage. The information and referral center being planned by a sub-committee of the Chinese-American Civic Association is considered to be among the most important of these; it is hoped that such a facility will form the basis for a multi-service center to be controlled by the community and staffed by Chinese-speaking professionals. The health center being planned by another subcommittee of the CACA is closer to reality; space has been committed to the project by the Chinese Merchants Association, and the City Department of Health and Hospitals has agreed to provide partial funding for the first year of operation. **An additional $20,000 needed before this project can begin operation is being raised.**

Other projects are further in the future. The new Quincy School is being planned by a committee made up of South End, Bay Village, and Chinatown residents, but is considered to be at least three years from completion. A nursing home is being considered for inclusion in a new Chinese Christian Church. A Master Plan for physical development and community services is currently under discussion.

V. FUTURE TRENDS

The trends that are apparent in the future of the Chinese community are, in brief, continuing growth at a rate of no less than three per cent per year from immigration alone; continued overcrowding in Chinatown, with little prospect for relief; further growth of the already established Chinese communities in Allston-Brighton and Parker Hill-Fenway; a growing unemployment rate, as the local demand for unskilled, non-English-speaking labor is saturated; a higher dropout rate among teenagers, as greater demands are placed on an unresponsive school system; and a growing rate of youth crime and delinquency, as job opportunities diminish. These projections are a reflection of what has already occurred in San Francisco and New York. The advantages of Boston's Chinatown are that it is small, that its leadership is becoming united on the need to take action now, and that it has the examples of other Chinatowns before it.

Physically, Chinatown is constrained by its small size and inflexible boundaries. Furthermore, it is threatened by interests in its increasingly valuable property. Tufts-New England Medical Center is not likely to have satisfied all its future needs for space with its present holdings, while the boundaries of the Park Plaza renewal project have yet to be finalized, in spite of tentative agreements to recognize the community's interests in the Chinatown area. On the other side, the South Station development is certain to generate a large investment in peripheral projects. The very location of the community, at the crossroads of the two major transportation

arteries of Eastern Massachusetts, means that, in some eyes, its land is not being utilized to its full potential.

Caught within its inflexible boundaries, Chinatown can expand in only two directions: south, into the South End past Castle Square, and up, into high-rise structures. The former is a continuing process, but the latter, given present housing costs, cannot provide the low-cost housing Chinatown needs if it is to continue to perform its traditional function as a central place and neighborhood of first residence for newly arrived Chinese. Meanwhile, new communities may be established in other areas of the City, where there are already large numbers of Chinese. In any case, while Chinatown may continue to be the business and social center of the community, it is clear that it can no longer accommodate all or even most of the future growth of the Chinese community.

The prospective growth of the community is difficult to determine because of uncertainty over future levels of immigration and because the natural growth rate cannot be calculated without more knowledge of its present composition. However, the increase from immigration alone, if it continues at its present levels, will not be less than three per cent per year for at least the next five years. The natural increase is expected to be large, due to the large numbers of young families entering the country.

The problems of many elements of the community have already been explored, and they can only be expected to increase in intensity as the population grows in size. The experience of Chinese communities

in other cities shows that the Chinese family, strong as it is, cannot be expected to withstand all the pressures of the immigrant experience under the current conditions of a weak economy, inadequate schools, and indifferent social agencies. The traditional expectations of parents for their children's achievement, while it has produced some of the most distinguished academic records of any ethnic group in America, create great strains if they cannot be met. The increasing polarization of youth and the older generation, so apparent in middle-class American society, is intensified in Chinese families as the youths acquire the values of their American peers and their parents refer back to the traditional Chinese values of obedience and respect.

Underlying all these problems is that of the economy. As already noted, the local job market may be nearly saturated. Without a facility in English and the necessary skills, the Chinese will be unable to compete with other groups for jobs outside the community, yet there are few opportunities for them to acquire either of these prerequisites. Furthermore, the magnitude of the transition from the protected Chinatown economy to competition with other groups for jobs in the general economy may have been underestimated. The extraordinary hostility shown to the Chinese early in the century caused them to withdraw from competition on the open labor market by the First World War, and the tradition of isolation may be difficult to overcome.

Without an infusion of these skills, the Chinese will be forced to compete for unskilled jobs in such areas as the apparel,

light manufacturing, and electronics assembly industries. However, these industries are among the weakest in the City's economy. The number of jobs in the garment industry, now a major employer of Chinese women, is projected to decline by 1,300 or 11 per cent, by 1975, while other manufacturing sectors are not expected to do much better.[1] Services are expected to show the greatest growth, but a facility in English is almost invariably required in jobs dealing with the public. Only extensive language training could enable the majority of Chinese to participate in the growth of this sector, estimated at 27,000 jobs over the next five years.

While the magnitude of these problems cannot be minimized, the relatively small size of Boston's Chinese community is a factor in its favor, as is the unity of its leadership. The opinion that Boston's Chinatown is two to three years behind those in other cities has been expressed more than once, and appears to be at least partially valid. If so, this gives Boston hindsight in advance of its prospective difficulties, an advantage that must not be wasted.

---

[1] Preliminary results of a study of Boston's economy undertaken by the Research Department of the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

A P P E N D I X A

SOURCES OF DATA FOR CHINATOWN

APPENDIX A: SOURCES OF DATA FOR CHINATOWN

Determination of social and economic conditions in Chinatown is hindered not only by a lack of current demographic data for the City as a whole, but by the almost total lack of accurate quantitative information on the Chinese community for any period, contemporary or otherwise. Published U. S. Census reports fail not only to distinguish Chinese from other Oriental groups, but lump Orientals with Asian and American Indians as "Other Races". In any case, they do not provide descriptive information on the characteristics of any individual group. Other sources of information that are normally available on racial and ethnic groups, such as school enrollments and unemployment information, often do not distinguish between Blacks and other "non-whites". As a result, most estimates of the Chinese population of Boston are only that and all are subject to a greater degree of subjective error than for most groups. Finally, much information must be stated in terms of entire geographic areas, and accepted under the assumption that all those living in the area studied are, in fact, Chinese; housing and building conditions, especially, fall into this category, as does the determination of total population from census tract information.

The U.S. Census of 1960, ordinarily the mainstay of demographic research, can be assumed to provide reliable information on the Chinese in Boston only for those tracts encompassing Chinatown.[1] These tracts--

---

[1]However, Chinatown was once a predominately Syrian neighborhood, and it is unclear how remnants of this group would have been categorized in 1960.

G-1 and G-2--contained 1,645 inhabitants of "Other Races" in 1960, but the majority of the 5,246 residents categorized as of other races are scattered throughout 134 of the City's 156 mainland census tracts.[1] In many cases--as in Allston-Brighton--this distribution generally corresponds to known concentrations of Chinese, but it is not possible to say with certainty that these scattered residents are not Japanese, American Indians, or other groups.

Other published sources of data are equally inadequate, either because they deal only with the geographic area of Chinatown as a whole or because they provide information only on a segment of the Chinese community. In this latter category are the Boston Redevelopment Authority's study of the project location caseload from the South Cove Urban Renewal Area,[2] which deals only with families in buildings chosen for demolition in the lower portion of Chinatown, and the School Department's tabulation of racial and ethnic groups in the Boston Public Schools.[3] The BRA's study of population trends

---

[1] Excluding Boston Harbor Tract B-6 (Deer Island Prison) and crews of vessels.

[2] Boston Redevelopment Authority, Diagnostic Report of Residents to be Relocated, South Cove Urban Renewal Project, October, 1967.

[3] U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, School System Report, Elementary and Secondary School Survey, compiled by the Boston School Department since 1968. Required by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, these are the first tabulations of racial groups to show Chinese in City schools. Data for prior years, compiled under the state racial imbalance laws, first classified Orientals as white to reduce the number of imbalanced schools, but, presently, groups all non-Caucasians together.

for the South Cove renewal area is an example of data available only for the entire population of a geographic area; it provides no information on the population trends of the Chinese as a separate ethnic group from the others in that area.[1]

Information on the volume and characteristics of Chinese immigrants is available from the annual reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, which list the number of alien Chinese immigrants specifying Boston as their destination regardless of port of entry, and the number of Chinese aliens naturalized in each year. However, information is not provided on the movement of aliens within the United States, so the internal migration of immigrants who may first have settled in other parts of the country cannot be traced. Illegal entry is an unquantifiable factor. Over 1,400 Chinese are known to have jumped ship in United States ports in 1967, a number equal to seven per cent of the total legal immigration.

Other sources are fragmentary and often incomplete. Vital statistics, which are compiled for census tracts by the Department of Health and Hospitals, are not available for any year since 1966.[2] The incidence of tuberculosis among Chinese is published for Census tracts by the Boston Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association,

---

[1] Boston Redevelopment Authority, Population Study, South Cove Project, 1965/1975, February, 1968.

[2] Statistics for recent years are expected to be released altogether in November, 1970.

and is available for the years 1967 through 1969 only. Case rates for AFDC, OAA, General Relief and Medicaid can only be estimated by workers at the Church Street branch of the Welfare Department. Participation rates in Boston's anti-poverty programs are available for several recent years, although the nature of the reporting system casts some doubt on the completeness of the information.

General information on health, income, education, employment and other characteristics of the Chinese community are presently available only on the small and unrepresentative sample of households surveyed for the BRA's relocation report; at present, informed estimates of those familiar with the community are the only alternative. However, new sources of data are gradually becoming available. Health information from a screening conducted by the Boston Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association in September, 1970 will provide a greater insight into the problems of a small and, unfortunately, unrepresentative sample of the community. A survey conducted by Dr. Richard Hessler of the Tufts-New England Medical Center in the Summer of 1970 will be released in 1971. Finally, the Census of 1970 will become available in 1971-1972, although many of the limitations that were present in the 1960 effort will continue to be present.

APPENDIX B

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

APPENDIX B: SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Persons Interviewed

William Bray, Director, Chinatown YMCA
Peter Chan, Boston Chinese Youth Association
Mrs. Caroline Chang, Director, Chinatown Little City Hall
Gene Chang, member, Chinese-American Civic Association Committee for Multi-Service Center
Mrs. Aili Chin, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Professor Robert Chin, Human Relations Center, Boston University
Terry Chin, Boston University
Leigh-Wai Doo, Harvard Law School
Sister Ann Elise, Maryknoll Sisters
Edward Goon, President, Chinese-American Civic Association
Dr. Richard Hessler, Tufts-New England Medical Center
Paul Kaufman, Director of Community Affairs, Mayor's Office of Human Rights
Mrs. Evelyn Lee, social worker, Boston Children's Services
Trevor O. Moo, Mayor's Office of Human Rights
Miss Stephanie Wong, Chinese-Americans for Tomorrow
Reverend Peter Y. F. Shih, Pastor, Chinese Christian Church of New England
Miss Mary Jo Source, planner, Boston Redevelopment Authority
Donald Taylor, Director, South End Neighborhood Action Program

Agencies

Boston Department of Probation
Boston School Department
Boston Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association
Department of Public Welfare, Church Street branch
Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice

Other Sources

Boston Redevelopment Authority, Diagnostic Report of Residents to be Relocated, South Cove Urban Renewal Project, 1967.
Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, Report of the Boston Area Survey, 1970
Lee, Calvin. Chinatown, USA. New York: Doubleday, 1965.
Murphey, Rhoades. "Boston's Chinatown," Economic Geography, 28; No. 3:245-55, July, 1952.