

**BALTIMORE IN TRANSITION:
HOW DO WE MOVE FROM DECLINE TO REVIVAL?**

**Proceedings of the
30th Annual Conference
International Urban Fellows Program
Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies**

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Dear Reader:

I am pleased to publish the proceedings of the Johns Hopkins International Urban Fellows 30th conference held in Baltimore in June, 2000. These urban experts from 24 countries spent five days in Baltimore studying the city's problems and prospects. They talked to experts and advocates, participated in lively discussion sessions with big city mayors and the Maryland Congressional delegation, and brought their best thinking to the formulation of recommendations.

All of the authors of these proceedings have conducted urban research at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore some time over the past 30 years. As you will see in Appendix A ("Background on the International Urban Fellows Program"), they spent four or eight months studying Baltimore and analyzing its similarities and differences from other cities like it around the world. Every 10 years, the Fellows gather in Baltimore to take stock of the city's progress and to offer new insights based on their own evolving perspectives.

The chapters that follow reflect the Fellows' admiration for the progress that the city has made and dismay at its unfulfilled potential. While they focused on development challenges, they recognize the social and economic forces that have shaped the city and strongly affect its options. They understand that even though long-term problems require long-term solutions, the quality of life for the city's citizens can and must be improved today. Their recommendations are aimed at making Baltimore a lively and liveable city, both in its neighborhoods and downtown, by capitalizing on its unique features. Without the constraints of politics or budget realities, the Fellows offer fresh views. But it is intriguing – and gratifying – to see the high degree of congruence between their views and current city policy and practice.

Please contact me if you would like further information on this unique international program or on the Institute for Policy Studies.

Sandra J. Newman
Director
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CHAPTER 1 HOUSING REDEVELOPMENT

Problem Statement

What strategies should Baltimore City pursue to address its vast oversupply of housing?

Background

As a result of the forces of suburbanization and deindustrialization, Baltimore City's population has been decreasing since the 1950s. Between 1970 and 1999, the population declined 30 percent. Because average household size has also been declining, the number of households did not drop as precipitously, declining 14.5 percent between 1970 and 1995. These trends are expected to continue into the current decade. One result of this demographic shift is that many houses in the city are empty, far more than are necessary to facilitate the working of the housing market. Estimates indicate that of the total 302,000 units in the city, there are 55,000 unoccupied units, only 15,000 of which are needed to provide lubrication for the housing market. This leaves an excess of 40,000 units that are either abandoned, vacant, or constitute a severe drag on the housing market.

Abandoned houses are concentrated in the inner city areas of east and west Baltimore with "fingers" extending northward along York Road and northwest along Reisterstown Road. In each of 18 census tracts (11 in east and seven in west Baltimore), there are over 200 abandoned houses.¹

Lessons Drawn from Experience and Research

There are two obvious ways to correct this housing surplus: increase the demand or reduce the supply. The Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development has tried to increase demand by offering settlement expense loans, helping existing homeowners, and by subsidizing rehabilitation of rental and owner-occupied houses. It has also attempted to increase the attractiveness of individual neighborhoods by improving their physical condition and increasing the use of nuisance abatement actions to combat drug houses.

Baltimore's housing problems result from the normal operation of market forces in an economically stagnant city compounded by a high degree of racial segregation, a large stock of older units that have come to the end of their economic life, and high levels of criminal violence. While concentrated in the lower end of the market, the city's housing problems have spread to many transitional neighborhoods of lower middle-income households. These deficiencies are too great to be corrected with the demand-stimulating techniques described above. One alternative the city has pursued vigorously is demolition; in 1999 alone, there were 1,229 demolitions. However, a demolition strategy requires careful application to ensure that surrounding houses are more—not less—desirable.

¹ Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development, Consolidated Annual Performance and Evaluation Report 1999.

In part, the city's severe housing problems would improve if progress were made in addressing the city's more fundamental problems. However, Baltimore must also address its housing problems directly. Failure to do so will result in relentless growth in the number of vacant and abandoned units and an increasing percentage of the city's most vulnerable households being forced to live in homes that present real risks to their health and safety. Further, barriers to attracting and retaining significant numbers of middle-income households will increase.

Principles

Baltimore should focus on three broad housing goals:

- Substantially reduce the total number of housing units in order to restore a healthy balance between supply and demand and to increase incentives to invest in housing in all market sectors. Targets for housing supply reduction must be formulated through a participatory, bottom-up planning process disciplined by rigorous analysis of likely demographic options.
- Provide a mix of additional incentives to stabilize, and where appropriate, upgrade the physical quality of the existing stock including the units themselves and associated private and public open space and other amenities.
- Expand the development of units that can attract middle-income residents to restore the city's income mix. Initially, the focus must be on attracting young persons without children and older "empty nesters," but over the longer-term, families with children must be attracted as well.

Specific Recommendations

Neighborhood Based Strategies

Reductions of housing stock and strategies to stabilize and upgrade units should vary with the severity of the problems facing a particular neighborhood.² It is useful to distinguish three broad types of neighborhoods to guide policy initiatives:

- Severely blighted neighborhoods with the highest levels of abandonment and deterioration

These neighborhoods have outlived their economic usefulness and ability to provide acceptable levels of livability, and their inhabitants are generally those with no other options. Repair and extensive rehabilitation of the few occupied units is simply not economic. These neighborhoods are candidates for substantial revitalization involving extensive demolition and household relocation in order to assemble large parcels of land for redevelopment with higher quality units at much lower densities. The challenge of such efforts is to cover infrastructure costs and overcome the resistance of some residents to such dramatic change.

² One approach to developing such strategies would be to utilize statistical analytical techniques to establish thresholds of vacancy and abandonment that might trigger certain policy responses. These triggers would need to be updated periodically as neighborhood conditions change.

It is essential to use sensitivity in relocating households. Further, the redevelopment process will be costly. However, it can be cost-effective if it allows the city to obtain large parcels on which attractive subsidized and market-rate housing can be constructed along with related amenities. It could also allow for commercial and recreational uses that would enhance the attractiveness and livability of these neighborhoods relative to the suburbs.

- Blighted neighborhoods with significant levels of abandonment and deterioration

These neighborhoods, while greatly challenged, could be stabilized and perhaps upgraded. They are potential candidates for selective demolition, substantial (gut) rehabilitation, and some highly subsidized and market-rate new housing construction. Priority should be given to the demolition of derelict abandoned units and elimination of the notorious alley houses. This strategy should be combined with the redesign of public and private open space to enhance livability and improve security. Substantial progress in these neighborhoods can be quite costly and could take many years, perhaps decades, to achieve. Consequently, significant investments should only be made in such neighborhoods if they have high levels of social capacity evidenced by active civic participation by a substantial percentage of neighborhood residents and the existence of an effective community-based organization(s). Otherwise, investment in these neighborhoods should be limited to physical stabilization of housing units and efforts to develop social capacity.

- Transitional neighborhoods with modest level of abandonment and deterioration

These vital and often heterogeneous neighborhoods are central to Baltimore's future. They are characterized by high rates of homeownership, adult employment, and civic participation. For such neighborhoods, the focus should be on limited spot demolition, incentives (loans, grants, and technical assistance), and code enforcement efforts to maintain and enhance the quality of the existing rental and homeowner units. These activities should be combined with efforts to expand and improve public and private open spaces, including roads and neighborhood parks, along with provisions for their maintenance and incentives for improved amenities.

- Stable neighborhoods

There are, of course, several Baltimore neighborhoods of upper middle-class and wealthy households where housing markets are fairly healthy. These include newly gentrified neighborhoods such as Canton where older commercial structures have been transformed into trendy apartments for young professionals and well-established areas such as Roland Park, Guilford, Homeland, Ashburton, Ten Hills, Windsor Hills and Mt. Washington, that are characterized by some of the most appealing single-family homes in the region. Other than providing adequate levels of municipal services and avoiding regulatory practices that inhibit redevelopment, market forces can be relied upon to maintain housing quality in these areas. As initiatives to address the problems of the city's more troubled neighborhoods begin to achieve some success, these neighborhoods should continue to thrive and "gentrification" to

spill beyond their current boundaries.³ However, if the city fails to address its housing (and other) problems, the viability of even these bulwark neighborhoods could be placed at risk.

Allocating Scarce Resources

During the last several decades, there have been extraordinarily large housing investments in several severely blighted neighborhoods with very high levels of abandonment and deterioration. These investments primarily reflect choices made by the federal government and private charities, not necessarily the citizens or elected officials of Baltimore. Some modest success in these efforts appears to have generated slightly increased property values in some of these areas where particularly large private and public investments have occurred. At this juncture, however, substantial external funding to finance housing redevelopment is highly unlikely. From the standpoint of more economical and efficient use of the limited, discretionary funds available to the city government and community-based organizations, an increased share of investment in housing assistance and improved municipal services should be directed toward transitional neighborhoods. This appears to be a more effective strategy to help protect property investments and values in these areas and provide a solid base from which to work to turn around adjacent neighborhoods with less tractable problems.

Helping Homeowners, Tenants and Landlords

Initiatives to address the problems of blighted and transitional neighborhoods should be facilitated through careful efforts to expand homeownership and to upgrade the capacities of landlords (both resident and non-resident). The primary objective is to foster community-based ownership options. This involves a variety of activities. In addition to upgrading available homeownership counseling, there should also be new programs to counsel and support tenants, especially younger households. Further, there should be well-developed support systems for landlords, especially for community-based organizations, but also for private sector landlords, including individual nearby resident investors and larger landlords willing to participate in responsible management practices. These efforts must involve more than initial homeowner and landlord counseling and extend to providing ongoing technical assistance to help address maintenance, financial, and tenant/landlord issues.

In addition, there should be an array of flexible financial tools to assist in making housing purchases, to cover rehabilitation, and to make expected maintenance affordable. Finally, the city should encourage effective community development corporations to assume greater responsibilities for managing rental units and to consider pilot experiments with new forms of ownership. One prime example is the non-profit housing management associations that have been remarkably successful in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and Germany.

³ Gentrification involves the displacement of lower-income households by middle- and upper- income households in older neighborhoods. In some cities, this process is quite extensive often destroying strong neighborhoods and substantially increasing housing costs for many lower-income households. Gentrification is a negligible problem in Baltimore. A community worker in one of the city's most troubled areas remarked that increased gentrification at this point would be a sign of real progress.

Consistent and Rigorous Code Enforcement

The city government, with the support of community-based organizations, should institute a "tough love" approach to code enforcement. Central to this approach is an array of precisely focused and rigorous enforcement activities undertaken in a consistent and regular fashion throughout the city. These enforcement activities should be combined with the provision of technical and financial assistance to owners and landlords who are making honest efforts to remedy problems. However, landlords who repeatedly fail to respond to enforcement activities should be targeted with all available legal measures to force compliance with all housing condition standards. For these efforts to become fully effective, building codes should be performance-based and city and state laws and regulations governing housing quality as well as eminent domain and condemnation procedures should be reexamined to determine whether they discourage rehabilitation.⁴

Addressing Fundamental Issues

The initiatives described above focus on the physical characteristics of housing units and neighborhood amenities. Choices about where people live and whether they invest in their homes involve much more. These choices are determined by the likelihood of becoming a victim of predatory crime, educational opportunities for children, the richness of community life, ease of transportation, and access to shopping, entertainment, and other amenities. For far too many Baltimore households, these choices are shaped by the rampant drug culture that is having a corrosive impact on virtually every neighborhood. Consequently, "housing policies" will come to naught unless the city government, businesses, the faith community, and civic groups work together to implement:

- The kind of crime prevention, drug use abatement, and youth violence strategies that appear to have worked elsewhere;
- Improvements in schools (public, traditional private, or innovative charter), ensuring that the children are safe and successful;
- Competent and accountable municipal services ranging from child protection and employment assistance to trash pick-up and street maintenance; and
- Strong community-based organizations, both secular and faith-based, in every neighborhood in the city.

Consistency of Current City Actions with Fellows' Recommendations

The City has adopted several approaches to attacking its housing surplus. The first is presented in PlanBaltimore!, which divides the city's neighborhoods into four groups (areas of

⁴ Such revisions would be consistent with Maryland Governor Glendening's "smart growth" policies that are attempting to direct new residential and commercial investment away from the periphery of metropolitan areas and toward center cities and older suburbs.

preservation, stabilization, reinvestment, and redevelopment) and gives priority to demolition in areas with good opportunity for land assemblages and redevelopment. The second strategy involves the Development Review Group, composed of members of the Departments of Housing and Community Development, Planning, Public Works, and Recreation and Parks, as well as the Baltimore Development Corporation. This coordinating body is creating a land management strategy. Quick Take legislation passed last year by the state legislature at the city's urging enables the city to take possession of abandoned property (both houses and lots) more easily. Approximately 13,000 city properties meet the requirements of the Quick Take legislation.

A city partnership with Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, and the Home Builders Association of Maryland, part of a nationwide effort to build one million homes in cities over the next 10 years, should aid in development of new houses once larger tracts have been assembled and prepared.

A new emphasis on transitional neighborhoods is evidenced in the Mayor's new \$3 million Healthy Neighborhoods Initiative, which combines resources from the city, state, the federal government (HUD), local foundations, and local lenders. In the pilot, announced on August 10, 2000, five to six neighborhoods will receive below-market financing, training, technical assistance, and support for neighborhood projects. The program staff will be headquartered at the Baltimore Community Foundation.

On July 27, 2000, seven neighborhood business districts, two of them in Empowerment Zone areas, were selected to participate in the Baltimore Main Streets program. Customized support will be provided to help commercial areas preserve the community's character while growing healthy businesses that meet neighborhood needs for goods and services.

The City's Department of Housing and Community Development has begun to hold code enforcement workshops in districts throughout the city to give neighborhood leaders an opportunity to work with city housing superintendents, inspectors, and code enforcement attorneys on strategies and tactics. The code enforcement legal section has been expanded significantly and has partnered with the Citizens Planning and Housing Association to teach residents about Housing Court, publicize schedules of Housing Court cases, and encourage their participation in the code enforcement process.

An aggressive effort to improve the quality and accountability of municipal services has grown out of the GIS-based techniques being used to refine crime-fighting tactics. CitiStat mapping and bi-weekly meetings of managers responsible for lead paint poisoning, communicable diseases, recreation and parks, and solid waste collection are highlighting performance issues and facilitating quick action. Housing inspections are also being tracked by CitiStat.

Education and on-going support for landlords and new homeowners have not been highlighted among HCD's priorities or the Healthy Neighborhoods initiative. Nor, as yet, does a concentrated focus on school improvement appear to be part of the city's neighborhood revitalization strategy.

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CHAPTER 2 STABILIZING VULNERABLE NEIGHBORHOODS

Problem Statement

How do we stabilize vulnerable neighborhoods that are starting to show signs of decline?

Background

Baltimore has long poured millions of dollars, mostly from federal sources, into creative redevelopment programs for its poorest and most rundown neighborhoods. Despite these efforts, population decline has accelerated in the 1990s, mostly as the result of the departure of both black and white middle-class individuals. The city has become increasingly the home of two distinct populations: a small number of families wealthy enough to insulate themselves in residential enclaves and to send their children to private schools, and large numbers of very poor people who have no other alternatives. Property values in previously stable middle-class neighborhoods are declining along with most of the rest of the city. The number of households with sufficient resources to maintain properties has fallen below the critical level that is needed to convince other middle-class people to stay and invest rather than flee to the suburbs.

The city government and nonprofit community development corporations have focused on homeownership as a key strategy in combating neighborhood decline, but a growing consensus is emerging about the other issues that must be addressed along with physical redevelopment. Some Baltimore communities have undertaken strategic planning processes that seek to understand and attack the economic and social problems that contribute to neighborhood decline. A number of the neighborhoods have banded together in the Healthy Neighborhood Alliance and sought city and state support for the “Healthy Communities for Maryland Initiative,” which uses an approach pioneered by David Boehlke in Battle Creek, Michigan. The plan, recently endorsed by Mayor O’Malley, calls for: 1) providing resources to finance homeownership as a tool to develop resident leaders, build homeowners’ assets and raise housing standards (by rehabilitating to 110 to 120 percent of appraised value); 2) lending for property improvements to reestablish good repair and maintenance standards and to involve a broad base of current residents; 3) using proactive organizing techniques to empower residents by building the social fabric, surfacing new leadership and enhancing and promoting a neighborhood’s positive image; and 4) converting negative conditions to sustainable community assets (e.g. develop market-based neighborhood plans and use the changed condition as a marketing tool) and involving neighborhood institutions more fully in neighborhood renewal.⁵ (See “Consistency of Current City Actions with Fellows Recommendations,” Chapter One.)

The Live Baltimore Center, a coalition of community and business leaders, representatives from city agencies, nonprofit and philanthropic organizations, and experts from the public relations and real estate industries has been formed to promote city living. It conducts market research, develops communication and media plans, and trains community leaders. City and state funds

⁵ “The Healthy Communities for Maryland Initiative,” (DRAFT), mimeo, Citizens Planning and Housing Association, 2000.

have been matched by several major employers and a major foundation in the city, The Abell Foundation, to support a Live Near Your Work program, which provides \$3000 (for down payments or closing costs) to employees who purchase homes in the vicinity of their workplaces. The Abell Foundation is also guaranteeing homebuyers in one fragile neighborhood, Patterson Park, that their properties will not depreciate in value.

With the enthusiastic support of Mayor O'Malley, the city's Planning Department is embarking on an ambitious new Neighborhood Planning Program that will support the development by neighborhood residents of their own plans, and then help coordinate the city government's response. Government interventions will vary depending on whether the community is characterized as a "preservation area," "stabilization area," "reinvestment area," or "redevelopment area."

Lessons from Research and Experience Elsewhere

Despite cultural differences between European and American experiences, problems, policies, and city dynamics were found to be quite similar and the vocabulary used to describe them a common one. A major difference in settlement patterns, however, results from public housing in Europe leapfrogging into inner suburbs.

Throughout the work group's discussion, the balance between social and physical approaches to urban problems dominated deliberations. Europeans and Americans agreed that both are necessary. William Grigsby, Professor Emeritus at University of Pennsylvania, who addressed the conference, provided an understanding of the dynamics of urban population loss that is critical to thinking about policy responses. He cited numerous analyses that showed that movement of populations outward from city centers, first within the city limits and then beyond, was fueled by rising incomes. This trend began before the automobile, FHA, Interstate highways, homeownership tax deductions and racial change, and other "alleged culprits" and continues today. Middle-class individuals have moved outward from fairly decent city neighborhoods to more "sumptuous" neighborhoods farther out. Negative forces, such as crime, deteriorating public schools, and higher taxes have accelerated this trend. A mismatch between what the city housing stock has to offer and the desires of households with rising incomes has widened since 1970. Grigsby elaborated:

"As long as there is a net flow of middle- and upper-income households out of the upper half of the Baltimore housing market, there will be a destabilizing effect in the lower half, absent. . . a resurgence of immigration of lower-income households from other parts of the country or abroad . . . Efforts that concentrate on the neighborhoods that are in the next tier down the economic ladder do nothing to alter the basic growth/spread dynamic. They simply try to repair the damage. . . It appears that if there are many households at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale who have lots of problems or who cause lots of problems, their neighborhoods are not going to be nice places to live in. And as long as a declining city population enables these households to move from their existing neighborhoods to other neighborhoods, the recipient neighborhoods are going to be 'destabilized.' It is not possible to stop the spread of blight without dealing with these people and the negative externalities they create. Years of effort in this direction have

yielded little success...This is not an argument against existing neighborhood stabilization efforts because they are unable to get at root causes; many successful programs are not preventative in nature. It is an argument, however, against too much optimism.”⁶

The fact that we have not solved urban problems, however, does not mean that we should not continue to try, said Grigsby.

In Britain, a government-appointed task force headed by Lord Rogers, one of the country’s most famous architects, recently made more than 100 recommendations for steps needed to achieve an “urban renaissance.” The task force’s three key recommendations were for: 1) renewed focus on the physical environment of cities along with traditional priorities like health and welfare policy; 2) increased government tax incentives to encourage private investment in distressed areas; and 3) emphasis on the virtues of high density living. Lord Rogers acknowledges that social problems are not solved by physical interventions, but argues that “the physical and the social must go together.”⁷ His task force estimated that only a small fraction of government aid to cities and towns in Britain is spent on physical maintenance and safety, resulting in a cycle of neglect that leaves residents with unhealthy environments and potential investors with little to attract them.

In the Netherlands, new urban policy stresses community-developed vision and citizen participation. When counselors of the European Union met in Amsterdam, the Dutch Citizens Platform hosted representatives of neighborhoods from 32 European cities at the conference under the banner “no Europe without us.” The declaration presented by the neighborhood representatives to the delegates included the following: “1) citizens living in regeneration areas want to be and should be treated with respect and accepted as partners in regeneration schemes. Community involvement is the key to sustainable success. The principle of partnership should be adopted in all regeneration projects and be one of the dominant evaluation criteria for European funding; and 2) there should be a better balance between projects investing in physical infrastructure and the attention given to improving the social infrastructure.”⁸

The Netherlands has also been a leader in providing support for individuals who lack parental, social, and work skills by contracting with other neighborhood residents and professionals. In this way, residents may be better prepared for home-ownership. Emphasis on the value of approaches developed by citizens themselves were illustrated using examples of neighborhood-generated initiatives to build social cohesion, including a “good morning neighbor” assault on anonymity and tension, and an “at home on the street” effort to bring children and their parents into public meeting places in neighborhoods for toy exchange.

⁶ Comments of William Grigsby at the 30th Annual Johns Hopkins International Urban Fellows Conference, June 22, 2000.

⁷ “Waiting for Lord Rogers’s Urban Renaissance,” *The Economist*, August 5, 2000, p. 53.

⁸ Cited by Greta Hettinga, in remarks at the 30th Annual Johns Hopkins International Urban Fellows Conference, June 22, 2000.

Other lessons include:

- Government action in a housing surplus situation may exacerbate the problem. The much welcomed demolition of Baltimore City’s high rise public housing complexes dispersed, through rent subsidies, individuals and families with few social and economic resources into surplus housing in neighborhoods struggling to maintain cohesion. In other neighborhoods like Little Flower in northeast Baltimore, unscrupulous lenders provided loans to people unprepared to own their own homes, subsequently foreclosed, and neglected and left vacant the foreclosed properties. These vulnerable communities have been pushed over the tipping point, say some longtime housing activists.
- Labels matter. David Boehlke included four cautions from the Battle Creek experience, and one of them was “don’t promote negative neighborhood stereotypes,” either in labeling or by limiting marketing to certain classes of potential residents based on (limited) income eligibility.⁹ A neighborhood with many objectively measured flaws may still be a “place worth fighting for” to its residents. Neighborhood assets undervalued by outsiders may include committed leadership, strong kinship and community support (social capital), and in Baltimore, the traditional urban form of the row house, which provides the basic structure and density suitable for urban living.
- Neighborhoods are not static; therefore, setting “stabilization” as the goal perhaps dooms any initiative. Children grow older, retirees can increase in number, racial change can take place, and yet a neighborhood can remain healthy but dynamic.
- One strong point of view in the current debate about the future of Baltimore is that individual inhabitants are the key to the future of the city and its neighborhoods. The Healthy Communities approach developed in East Baltimore over two decades ago and refined in Battle Creek, Michigan is based on the notion that cities will “succeed or fail based on the decisions of individual households to 1) invest time, effort, and money into their properties and neighborhoods; and 2) to invest themselves into the process of community renewal and civic participation.”¹⁰
- Problems are interconnected. Problems *in* the city’s neighborhoods cannot be solved without tackling the problems *of* the city, including resource distribution and employment development. Most of these social and economic issues appear to be the subjects of policy and existing programs. The missing ingredients appear to be coordination and cooperation, though they were often mentioned as goals.

Principles

Principles guiding neighborhood policy should reflect the lessons described above:

⁹ Boehlke, David, “Leveraging Home-Ownership Promotion as a Tool for Neighborhood Revitalization,” mimeo.

¹⁰ “The Mayor’s Healthy Neighborhoods Partnership Demonstration” (DRAFT), mimeo, Citizens Planning and Housing Association, 2000.

- Expectations need to be raised to create a culture of hope rather than despair. Problems cannot be solved immediately and long-term results should be understood to be the goal. Small successes breed more successes. Physical improvements can make areas more livable even while residents' economic or social conditions have not yet been upgraded.
- A focus on enabling individual inhabitants of a neighborhood to become self-sufficient will also enable them to take responsibility for the development of their communities. Creative communities are those in which original and appropriate solutions can be developed by local inhabitants working with government and other private entities that will be called upon to help implement them. Citizen-developed visions provide a focus for development by all parties within the community of an integrated, locally-based program toward self-sufficiency.

Specific Recommendations

Community Generated Plans For Physical and Human Development

- Avoid making resource allocation decisions based solely on the physical conditions of neighborhoods.
- Instead of demolishing areas out of concern about their visual appearance, develop alternative approaches in which people plan for their own futures rather than for buildings.
- Enable all neighborhoods to develop visions, centered on residents, memorialized in a formal contract among all interested parties, combining a full range of locally-defined issues and programs, and featuring a time scale and monitoring process.
- Begin with children to build social capital in neighborhoods.
- Promote or create a unique physical place in each neighborhood that is part of its identity and enjoyed by the larger citywide population.

Municipal Responsibilities

- Prepare a citywide vision with the same contractual and coordinative characteristics.
- Better coordinate the city's initiatives in neighborhoods so that solutions reflect the interconnected nature of problems; include environmental issues in comprehensive approaches.

Consistency of Current City Activities with Fellows' Recommendations

Baltimore's Neighborhood Planning Program, with its emphasis on neighborhood-generated plans, is consistent with the tone of the Fellows' recommendation. Its focus on physical conditions of neighborhoods, shared by the new Healthy Neighborhoods Initiative, is not.

However, the emphasis of Healthy Neighborhoods on community residents' collective capabilities and commitment as a basis for judging where investments should be made and on leadership development sounds a theme that was highlighted in the Fellows' discussions and recommendations.

The new CitiStat program has the potential to look at coordination of municipal service performance neighborhood by neighborhood and across agency boundaries, and is beginning to be used to do so in the area of inspections. The recently announced reorganization of the Department of Public Works is aimed at better managing the wide array of services delivered to neighborhoods.

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CHAPTER 3 WEST SIDE DOWNTOWN REDEVELOPMENT

Problem Statement

The west side of downtown Baltimore, the city's traditional retail district, is receiving intense scrutiny and development interest. The Fellows addressed functional and urban design issues raised by the current West Side plans.

Background

Thirty years ago, the West Side, as it is called, was the retail center of Baltimore. The intersection of Lexington and Howard Streets, with four department stores and another one block away, served as its hub. Despite a major public/private planning effort in the mid-1970s and the adoption of the Market Center urban renewal plan in 1977, the area has continued to decline. Property values have dropped approximately 80 percent in the last 30 years. Today, all the department stores are gone, and the neighborhood is dominated by nail salons, pager stores, wig shops, and clothing stores aimed at a modest income market. These enterprises, concentrated in the two-block Lexington Mall, however, support some of the highest per square foot retail rents in the City outside the Inner Harbor.

In 1998, the Weinberg Foundation, which has significant real estate holdings in the area, provided funding for the West Side Task Force to create a redevelopment plan. The Task Force also included Baltimore Orioles and Charles Center property owner Peter Angelos, the University of Maryland, west side project developers Theo Rogers and Otis Warren, and the Downtown Partnership of Baltimore. The \$350 million plan advocated east-west connections from the University of Maryland to Charles Center, rather than the north-south orientation that had characterized earlier thinking. It also called for reopening the Lexington Street pedestrian mall to traffic, 70,000 new square feet of retail space (much of it to replace existing buildings that would be demolished), and between 1,800 and 2,400 units of new housing. Since the report's release, the Weinberg Foundation, other investors, the Baltimore Development Corporation, and local residents, shop owners, and preservationists have been negotiating the fate of the West Side. In December, 1998, at the behest of then-Mayor Kurt Schmoke, the Baltimore City Council passed an amendment to the Market Center urban renewal plan, authorizing the use of eminent domain by the city to acquire 127 properties in the area.

In December, 1999, Mayor Martin O'Malley announced that Bank of America Community Development Corporation had won exclusive negotiating rights for the block along Eutaw Street (a north-south street parallel to Howard Street) across from the Hippodrome Theater, which is slated to be renovated. This Centerpoint project would selectively demolish some of the buildings, construct an 18-story apartment tower, create dozens of shops and cafes (some with apartments above), add a 400-space parking garage, and reopen an additional old theater in an effort to create an arts and café district attractive to students and young professionals. A group of the highest quality older buildings would be retained for loft apartments. Some of the current

merchants whose buildings are scheduled to be demolished would be offered below-market rents to entice them to return after the redevelopment.

The proposal by the Weinberg Foundation and Grid Properties (developers of Harlem USA in New York City) for mixed-use Howard Street USA was selected by the city for an exclusive negotiating priority for a four-block area along the east-west spine of Lexington Street. Their plan includes retention of several architecturally significant commercial emporiums, but demolition of 80 percent of the buildings to make way for “big box” retail, offices, movie theaters, housing, and garages. In June 2000, the City decided to proceed with an incremental approach: a land-sale agreement with the Weinberg team that allows them to begin work on the first phase of the project, the renovation of the 1901 Beaux Arts-style former Stewarts department store building into high tech offices with retail at street level, and two smaller adjacent properties.

Lessons Drawn from Experience and Research

Baltimore’s West Side area is the former retail center of the city, but is in need of redevelopment. One in four of its stores is vacant, and the area has a high crime rate.

The West Side also has strengths, such as interesting architecture, historical significance, central location, accessibility to light rail and bus, and proximity to economic anchors such as the University of Maryland and Charles Center. The professional schools that make up the University of Maryland, Baltimore employ 4,936 people and draw 5,703 students to its 25-acre campus. The University of Maryland Medical System is headquartered in the area and a significant portion of its 9,000 employees work at its medical center. Fifteen thousand people work within a 1-1/2-block radius of Center Plaza, the heart of Charles Center. The power of these anchors has been felt in the residential rental market; existing apartment projects are full and several conversions of commercial buildings to apartments are underway.

Issues involved in the West Side’s redevelopment include: demolition and preservation of existing structures; existing merchants; cost of redevelopment; crime and public safety; streetscape; and transportation.

International Insights

- Like romantic cities in Italy, the redeveloped West Side could contribute to Baltimore’s image as a city that has high-quality public and open space and values historic preservation. Italian cities have been successful in emphasizing the uniqueness of the inner city.
- The Temple Bar area in Dublin, Ireland is an example of vibrant redevelopment which stimulated small-scale cultural, entertainment, and specialty retail facilities and created pedestrian sequences in the urban fabric. While awaiting development of a planned bus depot on property it had acquired, the national transit authority rented old shops and warehouses on narrow cobbled streets to artists and record, clothing, and book shops. The area took on an artistic identity, the bus depot was successfully fought off, and now the area is also home to the Irish Film Centre, the experimental Project Arts Theater, and centers for music, applied arts, and photography as well as a Children’s Cultural Center and a dozen

galleries. It also includes numerous mid-priced restaurants and traditional pubs as well as modern bars and nightclubs. Intra-block courtyards encourage wandering and discovery of striking architectural and decorative elements. Street theatre contributes to the liveliness throughout the summer.

- Dusseldorf is a good example of a grid system and districts. The city's policy aims to optimize the accessibility of every part of the city by car and by public transport. The intermodal connections have received significant attention. Much emphasis is on the quality of the public space which must be safe for pedestrians.
- Amsterdam has successfully implemented strategies to preserve historic character and small-scale developments and to strengthen the functional mix of land uses. For example, it stimulates the preservation of older buildings and the establishment of small-scale enterprises.
- Every part of the inner city should have its own unique identity: a mix of uses, anchors, historical ambiance (including buildings and public space). All these elements give the location its identity, and this identity will draw visitors. This is the only way the area can compete with other areas—whether retail, recreational, or financial. Cities in America and around the world, from Soho to the Latin Quarter in Paris, display these qualities.
- The West Side should be regarded as essential to Baltimore, the urban fabric in which it is embedded. But any policy recommendations for an area of this size should also consider the West Side in relation to the entire metropolitan area; to consider only the inner city is not a sustainable long-term strategy.

Principles

The redeveloped West Side, then, should offer a living area with a lot of amenities—bars, restaurants, and cultural events—for downtown workers as well as others who prefer not to live in the suburbs. If possible, the area should offer living opportunities to families as well as singles and empty nesters. Its businesses should be a mix of highly specialized boutiques and stores offering necessities to the local resident and working population. The goal should not be to attract people from outside the immediate vicinity for their regular shopping; rather, the area should offer specialty shops, a unique character, and reasons to visit in the evenings.

Principles that should guide the redevelopment include:

- Preserve the neighborhood identity, characteristics, and scale.
- Emphasize quality of architecture and city design. This requires marrying references to existing buildings to more contemporary ones, linking individual buildings to one another.
- Construct functional and spatial linkages. Provide the physical means to get from one place to another—for example, streets and pathways—as well as reasons to take this route. Mixed uses are interesting and attractive to pedestrians. The area should be sufficiently linked to all

the surrounding areas, in order to provide reasons for tourists to visit areas other than the Inner Harbor.

- Include meaningful public space and free space networks, including green spaces, sculpture, fountains, or benches, to create different atmospheres.
- Optimize accessibility by car. Enough parking space at strategic locations in West Side will encourage visitors.
- Government and city investors should take an active role, which will give a positive signal to reluctant developers.
- The Baltimore Development Corporation should not rush to develop the area and should, instead, carefully weigh options and proceed incrementally. The organization should begin by making its redevelopment plan clear to investors and potential inhabitants. The specific function for each part of the area should be indicated.
- Developers and city officials should capitalize on Maryland’s “smart-growth” policies to support redevelopment of the area by advocating city investments by the state that are consistent with the principles of concentrating growth in areas where infrastructure already exists.

Specific Recommendations

Transportation

- Use Howard Street as neighborhood spine.
- Retain and expand the network of pedestrian walks and streets, including skyways. The pedestrian blocks of Lexington Street should not be opened up to traffic. More streets should be pedestrian arcades, or have limited vehicular use—low traffic, low speed, with some parking but only for very short periods.
- Establish area traffic control and management. The existing traffic management system prioritizes car traffic over pedestrians, buses and light rail. Modern techniques of area traffic control enable fine-tuning of the use of traffic lights to help speed up public transportation and give more time to pedestrians. There is plenty of capacity elsewhere for car traffic.
- Define a parking strategy, after carefully considering the needs of retailers. European experience shows that strategies based on promoting public transportation and restricting parking capacities can be very successful in central city redevelopment schemes.
 - in mixed use development, the same parking spaces can be shared by different users at different times of day; requirements should not be aggregated for each use.

- it is worth considering providing less overall long-term (day-long) capacity and more short-term capacity (more parking demand satisfied with less space).
- considerable attention should be given to location of parking with respect to pedestrian scheme (quality of space consumed by parking) and streetscape (problem of parking structures occupying lower levels of buildings).
- Modify light rail location to better connect with bus routes (move light rail station south on Howard).
- Improve east-west transit, preferably with the addition of another light rail line (medium term); meanwhile improve bus routes on east-west lines (short-term).

Housing

- Target students, young professionals, and artists of mixed incomes.
- Construct mixed types of housing in terms of size and price, but all of high quality and appealing architecture.
- Construct new units of high density, building apartments instead of townhouses.
- Retain existing inhabitants.
- Adopt an intensive strategy of managing the public space (and try to find ways to finance - in the Netherlands there are several instruments available).

Retail

- Retail uses should be a mix of those shops that meet the convenience needs of west side residents, visitors to the university/medical center, and nearby workers and others with offerings sufficiently unique to attract people from elsewhere in the region.
- Initiate one or two new and larger projects in the area. The projects must match the scale and identity of the future West Side spelled out in a comprehensive plan, and be directed to entertainment/retail. The location of these projects should be chosen very carefully. The projects should be in the center of West Side, not along the edges of the area.
- Keep and preserve the existing structures and try to adapt them to the modern requirements of retail firms.
- Always try to mix specialty retail with other commercial and public functions.
- Encourage the development of a supermarket in the area; enlargement of the population in the area is likely to attract one. The location of this new supermarket should (functionally) contribute to the existing retail.

- Allow open-air markets to take place; they begin to create the favorable conditions while the city is restyling and redeveloping the public/open space.
- Neighborhood should have a focus on music, theater, and/or film.

Consistency of Current City Actions with Fellows' Recommendations

The current city approach to west side redevelopment appears to be consistent with the Fellows' recommendations for a boldly conceived but incrementally applied approach. The phasing of the Howard Street USA project, beginning with redevelopment of the Stewarts Building, is evidence of this. The mix of high-density housing and retail uses and a focus on arts reflect a shared conceptualization of the functions of the West Side in the context of Baltimore's downtown.

In January, 2001, a dramatic shift in City policy, which will now favor preservation of at least 260 buildings in the West Side area, brings its approach much more in line with the Fellows' thinking. The Fellows would also welcome the announcement in December 2000 by the University of Maryland, Baltimore that it will expand its campus eastward toward Charles Center.

The current plans diverge from the Fellows' west side vision in their lack of emphasis on maximizing green and open space, pedestrian connections, on-street liveliness, active management of public space, and generally, retention of the scale of the pedestrian experience. In particular, the city plans to proceed to reopen Lexington Street to vehicular traffic run counter to the Fellows' recommendations

The Fellows were particularly concerned about transportation and parking planning in the area. The City was urged to seek more creative ways to maximize vehicular access but minimize its negative impact on pedestrians, and to use parking supply and character in coordination with transit policy to further ease circulation.

With regard to retail uses, the Fellows recommend a sharper focus on two types: retail to serve downtown residents (a supermarket, for example), workers, and visitors' necessities distinguished from retail that is unique in the region (for example, arts-related) and therefore might draw from a regional market. They have not, however, embraced a third retail type: trying to duplicate the suburban medium-to-big-box shopping experience downtown. The city's most recent request for mixed-use proposals for the 400 block of Howard Street backed away from a previously unsuccessful focus on developing artist lofts and studios, and the market responded with five strong proposals for residential and retail uses, only two of which include arts-related uses. The winning proposal from a group that included Wendy Blair (see Resources, Housing Work Group) would save eight of the 10 buildings and include apartments, shops, a parking garage, and two courtyard gardens, but no arts elements.

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CHAPTER 4 ENTERTAINMENT

Problem Statement

What is the role of entertainment and large-scale leisure and tourism complexes in the vitality of Baltimore? How can tourism be enhanced?

Background

Baltimore's tourism opportunities are centered around the Inner Harbor. The city's tourism strategy can be segmented into four broad categories: mass entertainment/mass consumption, sports, conventions, and hotel industry.¹¹

Most Inner Harbor facilities provide mass entertainment and mass consumption offerings. Harborplace, which is composed of shops and restaurants, opened in 1980 as the first large attraction. The National Aquarium in Baltimore, opened in 1981, proved to be a major tourist destination. During the last 20 years, these facilities have been joined by more mass entertainment and consumption facilities, such as the Power Plant (with the Hard Rock Café, the country's first ESPN Zone, Gold's Gym, and Barnes and Noble bookstore), The Gallery at Harborplace (retail), and—most recently—Port Discovery (an interactive children's museum) and other Power Plant Live nightclubs on Market Place. It is important to note that some earlier attempts in these venues have failed—for example, earlier entertainment concepts at the Power Plant and the Fishmarket (now home of Port Discovery) were unsuccessful. In its second year of operation, Port Discovery has suffered a downturn in its attendance and has been forced to lay off workers. It is hoped that this “sophomore slump” will be overcome by additional traffic generated by new attractions opening on Market Place.

Baltimore, like many other American cities, has actively targeted professional sports teams, and has built two stadiums in the past decade. Whether these stadiums have benefited the city and its residents economically is regularly debated—the benefits are difficult to measure, and results vary depending on assumptions and research methodology. Advocates of this approach to tourism point to intangible gains, such as improved city image and the pride that city residents take in the attractions. City officials are currently considering building a new arena to attract a professional basketball team to Baltimore. The new mayor has not been enthusiastic unless it is needed as a venue for gymnastics at the 2012 Olympics, if Baltimore and Washington win their bid to jointly host the games.

Conventions, like sporting events, draw visitors with money to spend. Baltimore's downtown convention center was built in 1979 and expanded in the 1990s. The expansion has resulted in greater attraction of events and attendees; however, the convention center incurs significant cost to the city (almost \$17 million in 1999, for example, including \$4.6 million for debt service on

¹¹ See Antònia Casellas, “Tourism Policies and Urban Development in a Distressed City: An Examination of Why Baltimore's Tourism Strategies Do Not Work,” 1999.

bonds). The state has pledged to cover two-thirds of the gap between operating costs and revenues generated.

The hotel industry strategy is closely linked to the convention center approach. During the early 1980s, several hotels were built on the revitalized waterfront, and still others were renovated. This period was followed by an economic downturn that resulted in a loss of hotels; however, plans for new hotels are now underway again. At the eastern and southern frontiers of the Inner Harbor, tension between developers and community residents about high rise plans has slowed efforts to build new hotels. While the new 750-room Marriott is under construction in Inner Harbor East, a number of new hotels have long been on the drawing boards and have not moved forward. Recently, the city, which will be almost 2,000 rooms short of its 2005 commitment to the Shriners convention if no other hotels are built, has announced that it is contemplating undertaking development of a convention hotel itself.

On a smaller scale, nightclubs have begun to be a part of the entertainment offerings to Baltimore residents and tourists. In addition to the complex of clubs beginning to take shape on Market Place (Power Point Live) developed by the Cordish Company, other clubs are slated to open on Guilford Avenue. Uncle Lee's Szechuan Restaurant's China Club has been attracting good crowds, and is a test case in the city's new policy to allow clubs to stay open after 2:00 A.M. if patrons are seated, food is being served, and alcohol sales have ceased.

Lessons Learned from Research and Experience

Baltimore's Inner Harbor redevelopment has been hailed throughout America and internationally as well. The area has been transformed into a major tourist destination.

Entertainment has become the key element of retail and "location-based leisure attractions." It is a major component of attractions' (everything from museums to sports arenas) strategy for luring in-city residents and tourists alike. Many new developments now include opportunities for social gathering as well as entertainment.

- Baltimore's Inner Harbor houses a mix of uses and market segments. These include a waterfront, a pedestrian area, restaurants, entertainment, sports complexes, shopping, and office space, all in a revitalized urban setting. The Harbor is easily accessible by air, rail, freeway, or water and is able to draw big events, such as the Tall Ships, to the city. Ticketed attendance at the Convention Center, the stadiums, and the National Aquarium, among other venues draws millions of dollars to the city. The Inner Harbor has changed the city's image and identity, attracting positive national and international attention to the area. Many of the elements that traditionally have been seen as the pull of cities—as well as of civilization and of urban life—are located at the Inner Harbor.
- Baltimore also has strengths outside the Inner Harbor, such as the city's two major universities and hospitals, as well as historic districts such as Mt. Vernon, where several cultural institutions are located. Better linkages could be formed between these different areas. Some off-harbor events, like Artscape, show that wider participation, and bigger leisure and tourism events, can be realistically achieved. The whole city could be a tourism

and leisure place, spreading opportunities and quality of environment and urban life experience to the entire population. Waterfront cities like Rotterdam, Boston, Amsterdam, Venice, San Francisco, and Seattle have gone further than Baltimore in this direction.

At the same time, the inequitable distribution of Baltimore's resources has been criticized. Other areas of the city have not shared in this prosperity.

- While Baltimore has achieved much in the Inner Harbor, there is a danger of an inequitable situation, so that leisure, living standards, housing, education, and entertainment opportunities away from the Inner Harbor lag behind. Congressman Elijah Cummings' comments on the lack of housing, schooling, and recreational/entertainment opportunities in many inner city neighborhoods highlighted these disparities.
- Redevelopment in the Inner Harbor has generated job growth, but there is no evidence that programs target inner-city residents for employment in the growing leisure and tourism industries.
- The Inner Harbor area, with its low crime rates, is perceived as a safe place. Continued redevelopment of the harbor's edge eastward toward Canton and southward into Locust Point is enlarging the perceived "safety zone" into residential neighborhoods. It is unclear yet whether nearby neighborhoods off the water will also grow safer, particularly now that large public housing complexes have been demolished.

Principles

- Link Inner Harbor attractions to other tourism destinations.
- Take better advantage of water-related opportunities.
- Identify Baltimore's truly unique assets.
- Exploit investments already made.
- Expand neighborhood-based entertainment/leisure opportunities.

Specific Recommendations

Capitalization on Inner Harbor Success

- The Inner Harbor could be linked to assets outside the downtown area—for example, Fells Point, Mount Vernon, universities and museums. This could diversify and extend market segmentation and increase Baltimore's appeal.
- Further develop the waterfront: currently, water-taxi and boat trips are offered, but trips to Annapolis are only available one day per week. Floating restaurants, fishing trips, and eco-trips to bird-rich wetlands and the Chesapeake Bay should be developed.

Exploit Other Assets

- Many of Baltimore's attractions are not unique. Central Baltimore needs to identify the core of its uniqueness. One suggestion might be Historic heritage tours, on foot, involving guided, programmed, timed, and marketed offerings could open other areas to tourism.
- With regard to the stadium complexes, there is a need to evaluate whether they can be more intensively used. Consideration should be given to using the PSI Net Stadium to attract a wider range of mega-events (music, prayer, or other sporting) in order to increase the economic impact of the facility.
- Consider reviving the Baltimore City Fair, involving the city's rich ethnic communities as well as community and neighborhood organizations. Such events are capable of drawing large audiences from a variety of backgrounds, especially when visitors do not have to be concerned with crime and when events highlight cultural diversity.
- First Thursday events, in which arts organizations stay open late and provide free or reduced-price admission, have shown that there is potential for city-wide leisure and tourism events.
- Basic urban leisure can be taken to the neighborhood level instead of always occurring downtown. The city should explore the use of existing facilities for this purpose, and should also consider designing new schools or reusing old ones to serve as learning centers and locations for community leisure.
- Several constraints limit the realization of change, including the community's self-image and self-confidence. Additionally, care should be taken so as not to constantly create new programs but, rather, to adapt, integrate, and coordinate those that already exist.

Conclusions

Much has been achieved in Baltimore in the sphere of tourism, leisure and entertainment. However, this success is not cause for complacency but rather for evaluation and new targeting. The fact that many hard problems have been tackled effectively should give Baltimore confidence to address some deeper and wider problems. To quote Baltimore native, educator and reformer Henrietta Szold: "The key resource you need to achieve something is strong and committed human beings who believe in what they are doing."

Consistency of Current City Activities with Fellows' Recommendations

The Baltimore Area Convention and Visitors Association (BACVA) website appears to promote some of the diverse offerings highlighted in the Fellows' recommendations. However, the "Baltimore History" button only provides a text history of Baltimore with no links to opportunities to see the places where the history unfolded. One needs to dig deeper to find within the "Arts, Attractions and Recreation" a listing of historic sites. No maps or suggested itineraries (walking or water routes, for example) are included. No electronic links to websites for additional information about the attractions are provided. Another promising lead, "ethnic

heritage,” proves even more disappointing. African American Heritage and Jewish Heritage are the only two listed, and neither is connected to any information. Highlighted recreation options are mostly golf courses.

The city’s website for visitors fares better. Its promotion office provides schedules of events all over the city, and the ArtsNet highlights indigenous literary, performing, and visual arts of all types. ArtsNet also includes mostly complete information on the neighborhood in which venues or events are located. The city also attacks the self-image challenge by touting the fact that it was named the best city in the U.S. for arts and culture by *Money Magazine*. There are further opportunities to link the city website’s excellent information about the city’s neighborhoods with its visitor pages.

None of the BACVA or city offerings highlight the growing network of greenways, the Jones Falls Valley reclamation, the efforts to complete a publicly accessible walkway around the entire Inner Harbor, Baltimore’s historic parks, or other outdoor environmentally-oriented activities. If the City is successful in obtaining state funds to complete the harbor pedestrian promenade, a major opportunity to promote waterfront access for citizens and visitors will be created.

The new administration is encouraging neighborhood-initiated planning through the Neighborhood Planning Program. If communities make recreation/entertainment a priority, it may stimulate further efforts on the part of the city government to expand neighborhood-based leisure activities, which the Fellows advocated. The Safe and Sound Campaign, which is aimed at institutionalizing initiatives that improve the lives of children and youth, has focused attention and funding on improving options for children during the after-school hours, including recreation offerings.

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CHAPTER 5 INDUSTRIAL REUSE

Problem Statement

How can the industrial reuse successes of the waterfront (harbor and river valleys) be extended to other parts of Baltimore?

Background

The 20th century witnessed the steady deindustrialization of America and the rise of the information age. Productivity improvements enabled manufacturing output to increase steadily as employment declined. Cities that relied on manufacturing industry to employ their residents and fuel their economies are being forced to redefine themselves in order to survive. In 1970, one in five Baltimore employees worked in manufacturing. Between 1970 and 1999, Baltimore's economic structure shifted from a balanced mixture of manufacturing, trade, services, and government to one dominated by the service sector. Over 71,000 manufacturing jobs were lost between 1970 and 1999.

One economic and physical redevelopment solution is the transformation of old, industrial buildings into homes for high-tech companies. Baltimore has abundant vacant industrial sites, many of which are located around its waterfront where industry has historically concentrated. Currently, Baltimore's "digital harbor" is being promoted as an attractive location for high-tech businesses as well as their complements, support and service companies.

Canton is a waterfront neighborhood on Baltimore's east side. In the latter half of the 20th century, it suffered from deindustrialization and suburbanization. Plant closings resulted in the neighborhood being rezoned from industrial to residential. The first industrial reuse projects were for apartments and condominiums. Numerous developments in the 1980s and 1990s, including the reuse of the former American Can Company for high-tech offices, restaurants, shops and a technology incubator, have drawn young, affluent residents to this traditionally Polish-American neighborhood. Rents and home prices are up, and the neighborhood's population has grown while that of other neighborhoods decreased. Longtime residents are concerned that the neighborhood's unique character is changing.

Another area that is being redefined as a home for high-tech firms is Locust Point, an industrial neighborhood located on the peninsula that forms the southern edge of the Inner Harbor waterfront. While it is still predominantly working-class, the neighborhood is also changing. New housing development is underway for the first time in decades. Most significant is the redevelopment of the former Procter & Gamble plant, which is being transformed into Tide Point, with 400,000 square feet of office space for high-tech industries, and related amenities such as gyms and eateries. Employees of these firms are expected to flock to the area, drawn by its proximity to their workplace as well as its affordable homes and unique character.

Efforts are also underway to reshape the old mills along the Jones Falls Valley, which extends northwesterly from its outlet at the Inner Harbor. Old mills in Woodberry, Hampden and Mt. Washington have already been successfully redeveloped and others are under consideration.

Struever Bros. Eccles & Rouse, whose pioneering projects in Canton and Locust Point are powering this trend, has recently bought the 80,000 square foot Kirk Stieff building, a 72-year old silver tableware manufacturing plant overlooking the Jones Falls Valley. Planners from the Greater Homewood Community Corporation envision transforming all 11 mills in the valley; high-tech firms will be among the new occupants. The plans will also capitalize on attractions like the Baltimore Zoo and the Baltimore Museum of Art and recreational opportunities along the stream valley.

Off the waterfront, Sam Himmelrich Associates, which successfully redeveloped the mills at Mt. Washington and Woodberry, is tackling the long-vacant one million square foot former Montgomery Ward warehouse building in southwest Baltimore. The city is also seeking to interest property owners and developers in the redevelopment of the not-so-historic Camden-Carroll industrial corridor that forms the city's gateway from the south.

Lessons Drawn From Experience and Research

- In order for old industrial sites to be appealing to firms, the areas must be located in attractive neighborhoods. Today's young knowledge workers put a higher premium on living near their worksites, particularly since they often work long and non-traditional hours. They are looking for the same convenient location of recreational opportunities. The neighborhoods that attract them possess a high quality of life, distinctive architecture, a lively and diverse population and gathering places, and recreational spaces. Areas with mixed uses—the “live, work, play” concept—experience successful industrial reuse, and there is a direct correlation between home purchases and the development of business activity in areas of industrial reuse. This space is generally less expensive to rent or buy because of existing infrastructure such as electricity, water, sewage system, and streets.
- One barrier to reuse may be environmental contamination. Owners of these “brownfields” sites are hesitant to sell because required environmental assessments may uncover contamination for which they will then become liable. Similarly, lenders have been reluctant to provide financing, fearful of the potential for becoming the owner of such sites in the event of a foreclosure. Uncertainty about liability has been a large barrier to successful redevelopment of older industrial sites.
- Users of industrial reuse space are young and generally have non-traditional office desires and work habits. These same types of people frequently run and are employed by high-tech firms. Digital economy businesses require relatively little capital to start, and have increased flexibility in terms of start-up costs and physical facilities. These qualities make such firms good candidates for occupancy of buildings located on former industrial sites.
- There is a greater public, official, and business acceptance of the concept of reuse of industrial properties than in the past. This acceptability arises from early successes of selected sites. Young entrepreneurs choose these locations because, to use the Latin, of “genius loci”—“the spirit of the place.”

Principles

The Baltimore government should invite representatives of metropolitan area governments, the private sector, and the education sector to assist in the development of a comprehensive strategy for industrial reuse considering, as a minimum, the following elements:

- Concentrate industrial reuse in areas with attractive housing and other amenities nearby.
- Concentrate industrial reuse in areas that have potential for critical mass.
- Continue efforts to address financial liability for brownfields sites.

Specific Recommendations

Residential Linkage

- Industrial reuse areas should be selected on the basis of their desirability as neighborhoods; those that are safe, have a high quality of life, are close to existing industrial reuse sites, and have the capability to provide business exchange networks should have the highest priority.
- Residential space should be available within reasonably close proximity to business space.

Economic and Financial Considerations

- Changes in financial liability laws should continue to be pursued.
- “Brownfields” sites should be inventoried and classified, and developer-funded cleanup should be sought for those with less serious contamination.
- There should be a critical mass in some identifiable industry area.
- Baltimore should seek linkages with other regions, such as Washington, DC, to enhance Baltimore’s industrial reuse and economic growth potential.

Consistency of Current City Actions with Fellows’ Recommendations

To date, the industrial reuse in Baltimore City has been market-driven, admittedly mostly by only two imaginative developers. In almost every case, however, public financing has played a significant role in making the projects work. The recent commitment by a state agency to a large lease to kick-start the Montgomery Ward reuse (named Montgomery Park) also represents a tangible expression of the state’s Smart Growth policy, which should benefit future industrial reuse projects.

The city’s efforts in Carroll-Camden do not fit the prototype suggested by the Fellows, since there is no “natural” neighborhood connection, no charming buildings, no funky eateries, and no water. However, if linkages can be forged to Washington Village on the west and South

Baltimore neighborhoods to the east, the chances of successful reuse for technology businesses might be enhanced. The Montgomery Park redevelopment should be closely monitored to determine whether its size will permit it to create its own community in the absence of nearby stable residential areas.

Industrial Reuse Work Group

J. Hugh Nichols (U.S.), Leader, Principal, Independent Consulting Associates
Anton Anton (Romania), Professor, Technical University of Civil Engineering
Pierre Desrochers (Canada), Post-doctoral Fellow, Whiting School of Engineering, Johns Hopkins University
Roland Hahn (Germany), Professor, Institute for Geography, University of Stuttgart
Milena Horcicova (Czech Republic), Deputy Director, Financial Policy Department, Ministry of the Czech Republic
Janusz Kot (Poland), Professor, University of Lodz
Tadeusz Markowski (Poland), Professor, University of Lodz
Vladimir Zanadvorov (Russia), Professor, State University, Moscow
Hans Zimmerman (Switzerland)
Alexandru Sandu (Romania), Assistant Professor, Technical University of Civil Engineering

Recorder

Jodie Misiak, Institute for Policy Studies

Resources

David Gillece, Colliers Pinkard
Al Barry, AB Associates
Amy Bonitz, Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse
Laurie Feinberg, Baltimore City Department of Planning
Jennifer McLaughlin, Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse
Chris Ryer, Washington Village-Pigtown Neighborhood Planning Council
C. William Struever, Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse

APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND ON THE INTERNATIONAL URBAN FELLOWS PROGRAM

Now entering its 31st year of operation, the Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies International Fellows Program in Urban Studies is the longest running international fellowship program focusing on urban problems and policy in the United States.

Overview

The Program brings six to eight urban experts from outside the United States to the Institute for Policy Studies for a semester or full academic year of advanced study. Junior Fellows are graduate students or young professionals who spend nine months at the Institute, typically register for one or two courses each semester from the course offerings of Johns Hopkins, and conduct a research project on a topic of relevance to the problems and prospects of Baltimore and other challenged cities. Senior Fellows spend four months at the Institute. In addition to conducting their research projects, Senior Fellows also typically prepare technical assistance materials for use by policymakers or urban specialists in their home countries. Senior Fellows may also teach a University course and present lectures and seminars to the University community. Both Junior and Senior Fellows meet periodically with Institute faculty and other staff to discuss their fellowship research projects, and become integrated into the educational and social life of the Institute for Policy Studies.

Selection of Fellows

Selection of nominees is made by a committee composed of the Institute's Director, the Program Coordinator, and a faculty member. The most important criterion for selection is the quality of the research proposal prepared by the applicant. The program's focus is on research that pertains to declining older industrial cities, particularly our home city of Baltimore, and cross-national lessons for cities in both the U.S. and in the Fellow's home country. High priority is also placed on the applicant's competence and expertise in urban studies research, and the degree to which the applicant, the Institute for Policy Studies, and U.S. urban policy are likely to benefit from this fellowship.

Annual Conference

Prospective Fellows, current Fellows, alumni, supporters of the Program and guests gather annually at an international conference on a timely topic in urban policy, which is hosted by a past Fellow. For example, the 1997 conference in Heerlen, the Netherlands, examined economic development in cross-border regions, and the 1998 conference in Lodz, Poland considered east-west comparisons in urban and regional development policy. The 1999 conference, held in Cork and Dublin, Ireland, focused on the effects of economic growth on cities using a cross-national context.

Every 10 years, the conference returns to Baltimore. In June of this year, Fellows from 24 countries gathered at the decennial conference to work on issues related to the revival of

cities. Based on thorough background materials, study tours, briefings, and cross-national discussions with community leaders, big city mayors from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C., and members of the U.S. Congress, they were able to formulate recommendations for Baltimore and industrial cities like it around the world.

The Program's Impact

The Program's most direct impacts are its creation of a worldwide network of professionals who are dedicated to solving pressing urban problems, and the cross-national understanding of urban issues it fosters not only among Fellows but between Fellows and urban decisionmakers. For example, Fellows' projects have led to continuing cooperation among Johns Hopkins, regional businesses, and public agencies on issues such as the decline in manufacturing and urban redevelopment.

The annual conferences provide an opportunity for the host city to examine problems from fresh perspectives and to benefit from the insights of these international experts. The conference participants suggest creative approaches based on their own wide-ranging experiences and prepare a report with recommendations for policymakers in the host city.

More subtle—yet profound—is the impact on individuals. A number of Fellows have testified that the program launched their careers, or formed the core of their life's work. They believe that the understanding of American cities they gained during their fellowship in Baltimore enabled them to become leaders in their academic or professional fields, and to become forces for positive change in their own cities.

Selected Characteristics of Former Fellows

Country of Origin, 1970-2000

European Economic Community	153
Other, most Eastern European	70
Asia/Middle East	14
Latin America	5
Oceania	5
North America	5
Africa	<u>3</u>
Total	255

Illustrative Research Topics of Fellows

- The role of public/private partnerships in urban revitalization
- The social implications of low-income housing
- The fiscal impact of urban sprawl
- Metropolitan governance strategies
- Environmental racism
- Reuse of industrial properties

- The effectiveness of tourism strategies for urban revitalization

Staff

Sandra J. Newman, Director, Institute for Policy Studies

Marsha R. B. Schachtel, Senior Fellow and International Urban Fellows Program Coordinator,
Institute for Policy Studies

Laura Vernon-Russell, Administrative Secretary, Institute for Policy Studies

**APPENDIX B:
CONFERENCE PROGRAM**

**Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies
30th Annual International Urban Fellows Conference
BALTIMORE IN TRANSITION: HOW DO WE MOVE FROM DECLINE TO REVIVAL?
Baltimore, Maryland
June 17-21, 2000**

Saturday, June 17, 2000 WELCOME

4:00 PM – 7:00 PM Registration
Pier Five Hotel and Mt. Vernon Hotel

7:00 PM – 8:00 PM Registration
7:00 PM – 9:00 PM Opening Reception Music: Betsy Kraning
Top of the World, 27th floor
World Trade Center Baltimore

Sunday, June 18, 2000 DOWNTOWN & ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

7:45 AM Shuttle bus leaves hostel

8:00 AM – 9:00 AM Registration
Pier Five Hotel lobby

8:00 AM Continental breakfast
Pier Five Hotel lobby

8:30 AM – 9:15 AM Opening Session Lueder Bach, Chair
Pier Five Hotel Sandra Newman, JHU IPS
West Ballroom Marsha Schachtel, JHU IPS

9:15 AM – 10:30 AM Downtown walking tour Tour leaders:
Alfred Barry, AB Associates
Charlie Duff, Jubilee Housing Baltimore
Andrew Frank, Baltimore Development Corp.
Jim Hall, Baltimore City Planning Dept.
Marsha Schachtel, JHU IPS

10:30 AM – 12:00 PM Economic development briefing Matthew Arndt, Chair
University of Maryland M.Jay Brodie
School of Nursing Baltimore Development Corp.
655 W. Lombard Street Reed Cordish, The Cordish Company
John Moag, Legg Mason Inc.
C. William Struever
Struever Bros. Eccles and Rouse

12:00 PM – 1:15 PM Downtown walking tour continues Tour leaders:
See above
Dominic Wiker, Downtown Partnership of Baltimore

1:15 PM – 3:15 PM	Buffet lunch and working group sessions <i>Pier Five Hotel</i>	
	I. Housing redevelopment <i>West Ballroom B</i>	Otto Hetzel and Michael Springer, Leaders Resources: Wendy Blair, Blair Development Co. Carol Gilbert & Rob Inerfeld Neighborhood Design Center Daniel Henson The Henson Development Company, Inc. Michael V. Seipp, Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition
	II. Stabilizing vulnerable neighborhoods <i>West Ballroom A</i>	Ian Appleton, Leader Resources: Cheryl Casciani Baltimore Community Foundation Mel Freeman Belair Edison Housing Services Kevin Jordan, Operation Reach Out Southwest (Bon Secours Health System) Dan Klocke, Charles Village Community Benefits District Ed Rutkowski, Patterson Park Community Development Corp.
	III. West Side downtown redevelopment <i>West Ballroom C</i>	Alex Jansen, Leader Resources: Sharon Grinnell, Baltimore Development Corp. William Pencek, Baltimore Heritage, Inc. Jane Shaab, University of Maryland, Baltimore Mark Wasserman, University of Maryland Medical System Dominic Wiker, Downtown Partnership of Baltimore
	IV. Entertainment complexes <i>East Ballroom D</i>	Lueder Bach, Leader Resources: Michael Beyard, Urban Land Institute Andrew Frank, Baltimore Development Corp. Dominic Wiker, Downtown Partnership of Baltimore

	V. Industrial reuse <i>East Ballroom E</i>	J. Hugh Nichols, Leader Resources: Alfred Barry, AB Associates David Gillice, Colliers Pinkard William Struever Struever Bros. Eccles & Rouse
3:30 PM – 5:15 PM	Cross-national session: Economic Development <i>Pier Five Hotel</i>	Tadeusz Markowski, Chair Antonia Casellas, Spain Amador Ferrer, Spain Roland Hahn, Germany
5:15 PM	Shuttle bus to hostel	
5:15 PM – 6:30 PM	FREE TIME	
6:15 PM	Shuttle bus leaves hostel for industrial reuse tour	
6:30 PM	Shuttle bus leaves hotel for industrial reuse tour	
7:15 PM	Dinner <i>Baltimore Museum of Industry</i> <i>1415 Key Highway</i> <i>Museum tours available from 7:30 PM to 8:30 PM</i>	Music: Big Cam & the Lifters
9:30 PM	Buses to hotel and hostel	
Monday, June 19, 2000 NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT		
7:45 AM	Shuttle bus leaves hostel	
8:00 AM	Continental breakfast <i>Pier Five Hotel lobby</i>	
8:45 AM	Greetings <i>Pier Five Hotel West Ballroom</i>	Steven Knapp, Provost, JHU
9:00 AM – 9:45 AM	Briefing on neighborhood change	Eric Champagne, Chair Sandra Newman, JHU IPS Thomas Stosur, Baltimore City Department of Planning
9:45 AM	Buses leave for neighborhoods bus tour	Tour leaders: Alfred Barry, AB Associates Laurie Feinberg, Baltimore City Dept. of Planning Christopher Ryer, Washington Village/ Pigtown Neighborhood Planning Council
10:00 AM – 11:00 AM	Briefing on Sandtown Winchester <i>1300 N. Fulton St.</i>	Allan Tibbels, New Song Ministries
11:00 AM – 12:00 PM	Neighborhoods bus tour continues	
12:00 PM – 1:00 PM	Briefing on East Baltimore <i>Johns Hopkins School of Nursing, 525 N. Wolfe St.</i>	Michael Seipp, Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition

1:15 PM – 2:15 PM	Lunch <i>Pier Five Hotel</i>	
2:15 PM-- 3:30 PM	Cross-national session: Housing redevelopment	Klaus Gartler, Chair Chickie Grayson, The Enterprise Foundation Patricia Payne, Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development Jan van Weesep, Netherlands
3:30 PM – 3:45 PM	Break	
3:45 PM – 5:00 PM	Cross national session: Stabilizing vulnerable neighborhoods	Klaus Gartler, Chair William Grigsby, University of Pennsylvania Greta Hettinga, Netherlands Andrzej Majer, Poland
5:00 PM	Shuttle bus to hostel	
5:00 PM – 6:15 PM	FREE TIME	
6:15 PM	Buses leave hotel and hostel for drive to and brief tour of Columbia, Maryland	
7:15 PM	Dinner <i>Historic Oakland Manor Columbia, Maryland</i>	
9:00 PM	Buses return to hotel and hostel	
Tuesday, June 20, 2000	URBAN SOCIAL WELFARE	
7:30 AM	Shuttle buses leave hotel and hostel	
8:00 AM	Breakfast <i>Johns Hopkins University Levering Hall – Glass Pavilion</i>	Edward Burns, co-author of <u>The Corner</u>
9:00 AM	Briefing on social issues <i>Johns Hopkins University Levering Hall – Great Hall</i>	Bob Stephens, Chair Peter Beilenson, Baltimore City Department of Health Selwyn Ray, Safe & Sound Campaign
10:15 AM	Buses leave for Penn Station	
10:55 AM	MARC train #421 leaves for Washington, DC	
11:48 AM	Train arrives Union Station, Washington DC	
12:00 PM	Lunch (box lunches, eat on the train or at Union Station food court)	
12:30 PM	Meet at front door of Union Station for walk to Rayburn House Office Building	
1:00 PM-- 3:00 PM	Congressional roundtable <i>Gold Room RHOB 2168 Rayburn House Office Building</i>	Sandra Newman, Moderator The Honorable Benjamin Cardin The Honorable Elijah Cummings The Honorable Paul Sarbanes
3:45 PM	Meet at gate for train #148 (Northeast Direct) <i>Union Station</i>	

4:05 PM Amtrak train leaves from Union Station
4:50 PM Train arrives Penn Station, Baltimore
Light rail to Camden Station, walk to Inner Harbor

6:15 PM Reunion Evening Dinner Cruise
George's Island, west wall Inner Harbor

8:30 PM Shuttle bus from harbor to hostel

Wednesday, June 21, 2000 LESSONS LEARNED

7:45 AM Shuttle bus leaves hostel

8:00 AM Hot breakfast buffet
Pier Five Hotel lobby

8:30 AM – 9:45 AM Fellows Association business meeting
*Pier Five Hotel
West Ballroom*

10:00 AM – 12:00 PM Mayors Roundtable
Sandra Newman, Introduction
Hal Wolman, University of Maryland
Baltimore County, Moderator
The Honorable Tom Murphy
Pittsburgh
The Honorable Martin O'Malley
Baltimore
The Honorable Edward Rendell
Philadelphia (formerly)
The Honorable Anthony Williams
Washington, DC

12:00 PM – 12:50 PM Plenary discussion of work group issues (cross-panel input) Otto Hetzel, Facilitator

12:50 PM – 3:15 PM Work group meetings and buffet lunch
Housing redevelopment – *West Ballroom B*
Neighborhood stabilization – *West Ballroom A*
West side revitalization – *West Ballroom C*
Large scale entertainment – *East Ballroom D*
Industrial reuse – *East Ballroom E*

3:15 PM Break

3:30 PM – 5:00 PM Work group reports and recommendations for Baltimore Otto Hetzel, Facilitator
Pier Five Hotel West Ballroom

5:00 PM Shuttle bus to hostel
5:00 PM-- 6:45 PM FREE TIME
6:45 PM Shuttle bus leaves hotel for dinner

7:00 PM Closing dinner Music: Norris Berry
*Johns Hopkins University
Peabody Library
East Mt. Vernon Square*

9:30 PM

Shuttle bus to hotel

The Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies gratefully acknowledges the following conference co-sponsors:

The Abell Foundation • Amtrak • The Annie E. Casey Foundation • Baltimore City Mayor's Office • Baltimore Community Foundation • Enterprise Foundation • Fannie Mae Foundation • Dr. Jack C. Fisher • France-Merrick Foundation • Goldseker Foundation • Hoffberger Foundation • Johns Hopkins School of Nursing • Dr. Robert M. Keenan • Macht Philanthropic Fund • Maryland Department of Transportation • RTKL Associates • Larry Stappler and Baltimore Harbor Tours • John Steven, Ltd. Fells Point • Aaron Straus and Lillie Straus Foundation • Struever Bros. Eccles and Rouse • Stanley Sugarman • University of Maryland, Baltimore

**APPENDIX C:
LIST OF ATTENDEES**

Anton Anton (Romania), Professor, Technical University of Civil Engineering
Ian Appleton (Scotland), Leader, Architect, The Appleton Partnership
Marjorie Appleton (Scotland), The Appleton Partnership
Matthew Arndt (Luxembourg), Consultant, Territoires Conseil Associés
Lueder Bach (Germany), Professor, University of Bayreuth
Slobdan Bjelajac (Croatia), Professor, University of Split
Michael Bell (U.S.) MEB Associates
Walter Boehlk (Germany); and Helga Boehlk
Jack Bovaird (US), France-Merrick Foundations
Jason Byrne (Australia), Graduate Student, University of Southern California
Antonia Casellas (Spain), Department of Urban Planning, Rutgers University
Eric Champagne (Canada), Urban Specialist, World Bank Institute
Raymond Delavigne (France), L'Institut d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme de
la Région d'Ile-de-France (Retired); and Guislaine Delvavigne
Pierre Desrochers (Canada), Post-doctoral Fellow, Whiting School of Engineering, Johns
Hopkins University
Gabiella Ernst (Hungary), Ministry of Economic Affairs
Amador Ferrer (Spain), Director of Planning, Barcelona
Francesco Forte (Italy), Professor, University of Naples
Rolf Froehling (Germany), City Administration Planning Officer, Duesseldorf
Stanley Gabor (U.S.), Retired, formerly Dean of the School of Professional Studies in Business
and Education, the Johns Hopkins University
Klaus Gartler (Austria), Architect and Urban Planner, Freelance lecturer, School of Architecture,
Technical University Graz; and Bozena Gartler
Tamer Gok (Turkey), Professor, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, Mersin University
Maria Gravari-Barbas (France), Associate Professor, University of Angers
Roland Hahn (Germany), Professor, Institute for Geography, University of Stuttgart
Janet Heller (U.S.), Baltimore Architecture Foundation
Greta Hettinga (The Netherlands), Community Consultant, Yerwey-Jonker Institute
Yael Aspis Hes (U.S. formerly Israel)
Otto Hetzel (U.S.), Co-leader, Attorney
Kurt Hoppe (Switzerland), Swiss Institute of Technology
Milena Horcicova (Czech Republic), Deputy Director, Financial Policy Department, Ministry of
the Czech Republic
Irinia P. Ilina (Russia), Professor, State University, Moscow
Virgil Ioanid (Romania), Professor, Technical University of Civil Engineering; and E. Ioanid,
daughter
Alex Jansen (The Netherlands), Leader, DHU, Amersfoort
Lillian Kadanoff (US), Director of Development and Marketing, Baltimore Reads
Volker Kirchberg (Germany), Assistant Professor, William Paterson University, Wayne, NJ
Janusz Kot (Poland), Professor, University of Lodz
E. Ray Lichty (U.S.), CSX Railroad (Retired)
Octavian Victor Luca (Romania), Professor, Technical University of Civil Engineering
Andrzej Majer (Poland), Professor, University of Lodz

Tadeusz Markowski (Poland), Professor, University of Lodz; and Bozenna Markowski
Juergen Meyer (Switzerland), Senior Project Manager, EMCH & Berger, Ltd.
Aaron Miripol (U.S.), Director, Thistle Community Housing, Chicago, IL
Carmen Morosan (U.S., formerly Romania), Environment Program Analyst, PADCO, Inc.
Vladimir Braco Music (Slovenia), Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia
Sandra Newman (U.S.), Director, Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies
J. Hugh Nichols (U.S.), Leader, Principal, Independent Consulting Associates
John O'Donnell (Ireland), City Planning Officer, Cork (Retired)
Giorgio Piccinato (Italy), Professor, Universita Degli Studi Roma Tre; and Mario Piccinato
Celia Robbins (U.K.), Research Associate, University of the West of England
Aila Salminen (Finland), Regional Planner, Regional Council of North Savo
Alexandru Sandu (Romania), Assistant Professor, Technical University of Civil Engineering
Marsha Schachtel (U.S.), Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies
Michael Springer (U.S.), Co-leader, Policy Advisor, U.S. Department of the Treasury
Bob Stephens (New Zealand), Public Policy Chairperson, University of Wellington
Stanley Sugarman (U.S.), Homewood Realty, and Ethyl Sugarman
Niels Peter Thomsen (Denmark)
Jette Pio Trampe (Denmark)
Anthony S. Travis (U.K.) Leader, Director, EastWest Tourism Consulting
Philippa Travis (U.K.)
Franz Vonk (The Netherlands), Senior Policy Advisor, The City of Heerlen; and Anke Vonk
Jan van Weesep (The Netherlands), Professor, Utrecht University
Richard Woolrych (U.K.), Consultant, Creative Solutions in Housing and Social Care
Vladimir Zanadvorov (Russia), Professor, State University, Moscow
Hans Zimmerman (Switzerland)

**APPENDIX D:
RESOURCE PERSONS**

Al Barry, AB Associates
Michael Beyard, Urban Land Institute
Wendy Blair, Blair Development Co.
Steve Broache, Citizens Planning & Housing Association
M. Jay Brodie, Baltimore Development Corp.
Amy Bonitz, Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse
Barbara Bonnell, Baltimore Development Corp.
Cheryl Casciani, Baltimore Community Foundation
Blake Cordish, The Cordish Company
Charlie Duff, Jubilee Housing Baltimore
Laurie Feinberg, Baltimore City Department of Planning
Andrew Frank, Baltimore Development Corp.
Mel Freeman, Belair Edison Housing Services
Carol Gilbert, Neighborhood Design Center
David Gillece, Colliers Pinkard
Chickie Grayson, Enterprise Homes
Sharon Grinnell, Baltimore Development Corp.
Daniel Henson, Daniel Henson Development
Rob Inerfeld, Neighborhood Design Center
Kevin Jordan, Operation Reach Out Southwest
Dan Klocke, Charles Village Community Benefits District
Jennifer McLaughlin, Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse
John Moag, Legg Mason
Patricia Payne, Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development
William Pencek, Maryland Historic Trust
Ed Rutkowski, Patterson Park Community Development Corp.
Chris Ryer, Washington Village-Pigtown Neighborhood Planning Council
Michael V. Seipp, Historic East Baltimore Community Action Coalition
Jane Shaab, University of Maryland, Baltimore
Tom Stosur, Baltimore City Department of Planning
C. William Struever, Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse
Allan Tibbels, New Song Ministries
Mark Wasserman, University of Maryland Medical System
Dominic Wiker, Downtown Partnership of Baltimore

**APPENDIX E:
RESOURCE MATERIALS**

**BALTIMORE IN TRANSITION:
HOW DO WE MOVE FROM DECLINE TO REVIVAL?**

**30th Annual Conference
International Urban Fellows Program
Harbor Inn Pier Five
June 17-21, 2000**

***BALTIMORE CITY:
THREE DECADES OF CHANGE***

Marsha R. B. Schachtel
Marya J. Kuklick
Jennifer T. Comey

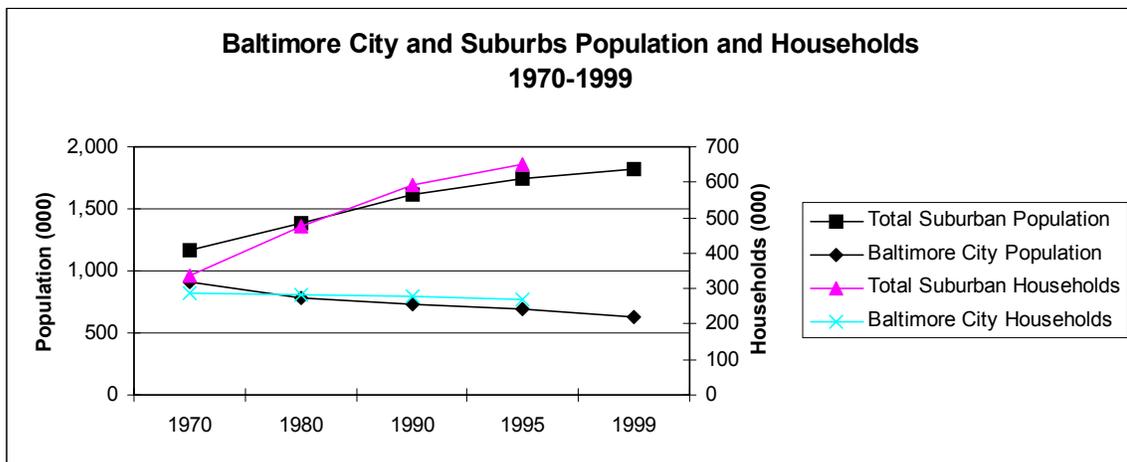
Johns Hopkins University
Institute for Policy Studies

Over the 30 years of the Johns Hopkins International Urban Fellows Program, Baltimore City has experienced significant change, much of it driven by the same forces of suburbanization and deindustrialization that have reshaped older cities throughout the United States and elsewhere. The following summary documents these trends and describes the impact they have had on Baltimore's demographics, economy, and social systems.

FORCES

Force 1. Suburbanization of people, jobs, and wealth

Beginning in 1950, more people were leaving Baltimore City than were being born or moving there. First the white middle class, and then in later years the black middle class, moved towards the suburban ideal of a single family home on a small plot of land and away from racial tension, crime, and declining schools. Between 1970 and 1999, Baltimore City's population declined 30 percent. The number of households shrank 14.5 percent from 1970 to 1995. At the same time, the population of Baltimore's suburbs increased about 50 percent.



Source: Bureau of the Census; Maryland Department of Planning

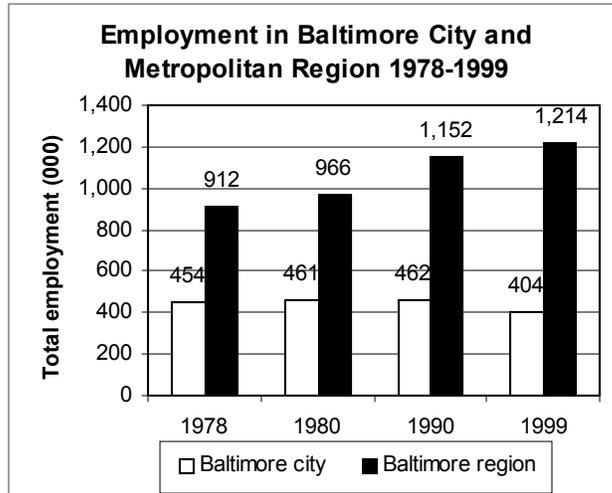
Suburbanization of industry began to gather momentum in the 1970s. The total number of nonagricultural jobs in Baltimore City remained stagnant between 1980 and 1990, and decreased by 12.5 percent between 1990 and 1999. The number of suburban jobs grew by 33 percent between 1978 and 1999. In 1960, all but three of the most job-intensive planning areas in the metropolitan area were in Baltimore City. By 1990, only three were in the City.

Job Intensive Planning Areas 1960-1990

1960		1990	
Metrocenter*	104,800	Metrocenter*	141,900
East Baltimore*	42,300	Towson	64,900
Canton*	42,200	Columbia	60,700
Waverly*	35,400	Cockeysville	49,500
Edgemere	34,700	East Baltimore*	43,700
West Baltimore*	34,700	Friendship	43,500
Towson	22,400	Annapolis	37,400
Highlandtown*	21,200	Canton*	35,500
Carroll Park*	20,300	Security	34,500
Annapolis	18,700	Fort Meade	34,000

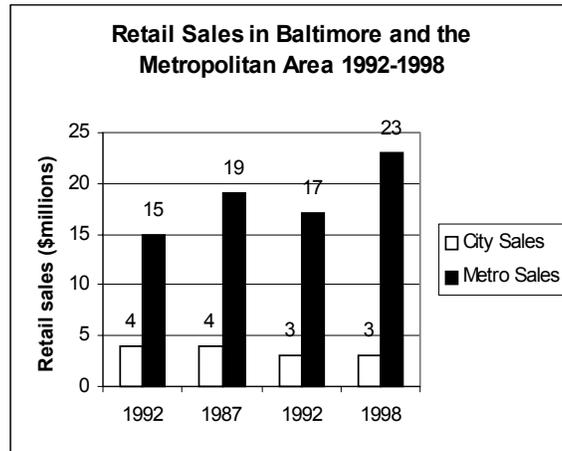
Source: Baltimore Metropolitan Council, Baltimore 2000 and Beyond Regional Report, June 5, 1999

*Area Located in Baltimore City

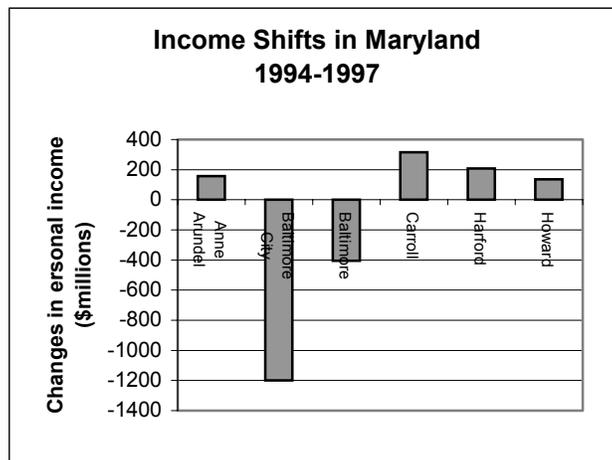


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Emigrants from the City have been those of modest to comfortable means. Within the past decade, they have spread farther from the center of the region, fueling growth and wealth in Carroll and Harford counties. Retail sales and employment have followed this population to the suburbs.

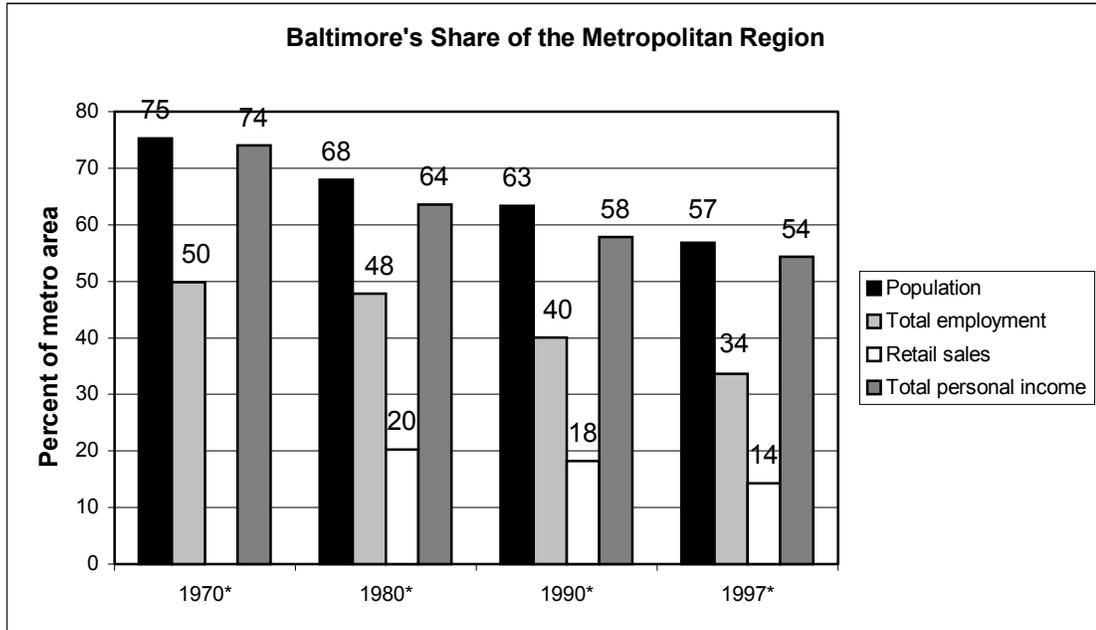


Source: Bureau of the Census



Source: Internal Revenue Service, analyzed by *The Baltimore Sun*

At the turn of the century, Baltimore is far less the center of the region than ever before. Other comparable U.S. metropolitan areas have experienced the same diminution in central city strength, but Baltimore's share of population and retail sales has dropped more sharply.

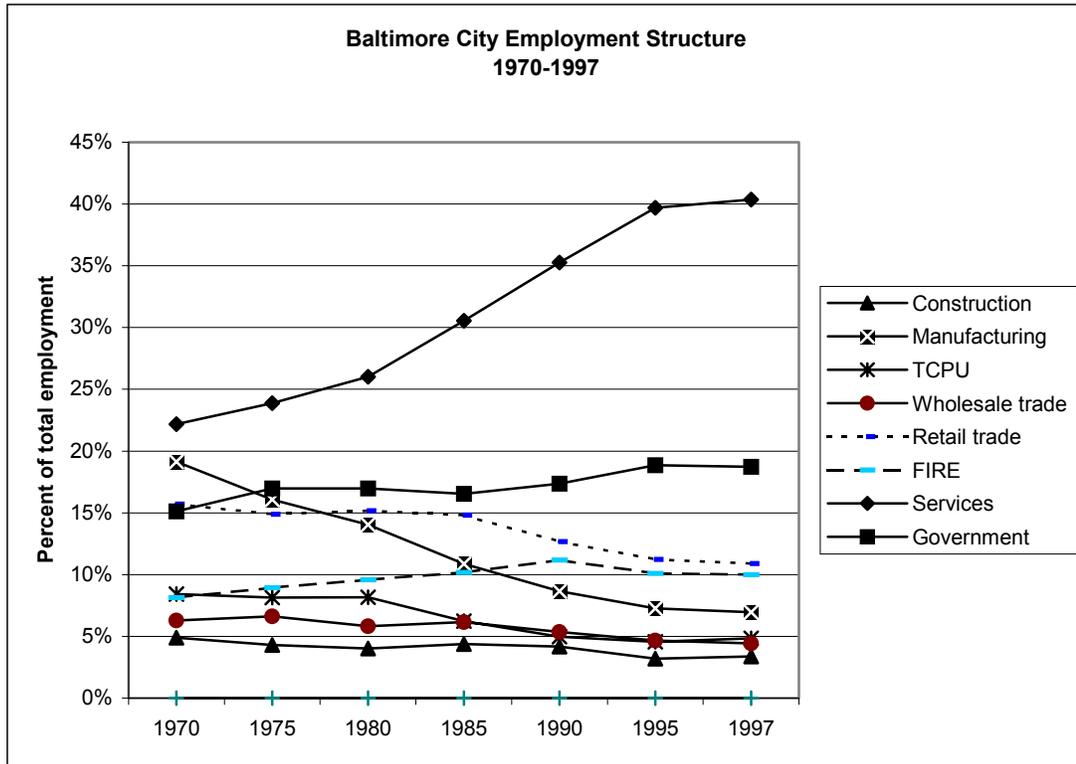


Sources: Population, Bureau of the Census; Employment, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Retail Sales, Bureau of the Census (1982-1992), Sales and Marketing Management Magazine (1998); Total personal income, Bureau of Economic Analysis

*Note: The years for the four indicators vary. Population years are 1970, 1980, 1990, and 1999; employment years are 1978, 1980, 1990, and 1999; retail sales are 1982, 1992, and 1998; and total personal income years are 1970, 1980, 1990, and 1997.

Force 2. Deindustrialization

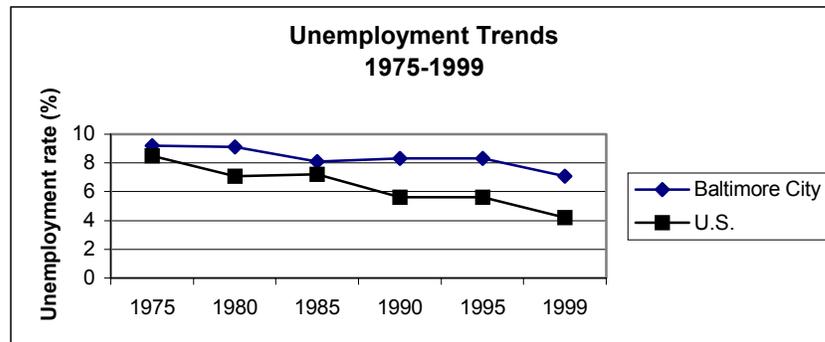
The share of total United States employment engaged in manufacturing has been decreasing for over 50 years. Productivity improvements have enabled manufacturing output to increase as steadily as employment declined. In 1970, one in five Baltimore employees worked in manufacturing. Between 1970 and 1999, Baltimore's economic structure shifted from a balanced diversity of manufacturing, trade, services, and government to one dominated by the service sector. Over 71,000 manufacturing jobs were lost between 1970 and 1999.



Source: Bur. of Labor Statistics Note: TCPU is transportation, communications, & public utilities; FIRE is finance, insurance, and real estate.

Force 3. Business Cycles

Like most older urban areas, Baltimore has suffered deeper troughs and incomplete recovery in the economic downturns of the past 30 years.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics; Maryland Dept. of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation

Force 4. Illegal drug waves

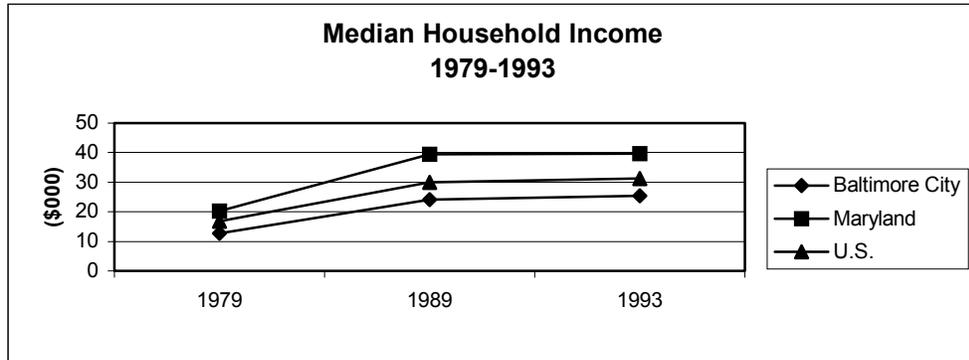
During the 1960s heroin wave on the East Coast, heroin moved from a habit of the elite hipsters to the business of professional dealers who became "success stories for an increasingly alienated ghetto world."

The arrival of cheap, plentiful cocaine in the 1980s exploded addiction beyond the hardcore, brought in female and white users, and created a “freelance market with twenty year-old wholesalers supplying seventeen year-old dealers.” By the mid-1990s, the majority of heroin addicts were using heroin and cocaine simultaneously.¹

RESULTS

Result 1. Income disparities

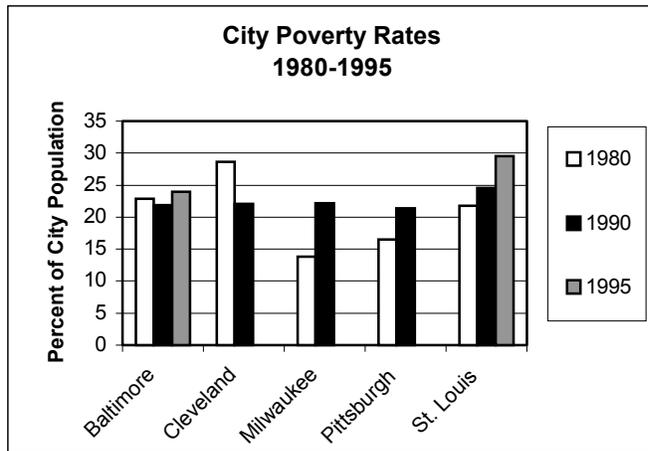
The outmigration of the middle class has left Baltimore the home of the comfortable and the prison of the choice-less. The enclaves of upper middle and upper income population have recently pushed into formerly industrial areas around the harbor. Overall, however, the number of high-income individuals is insufficient to pull the city’s median income close to regional, state, or national averages.



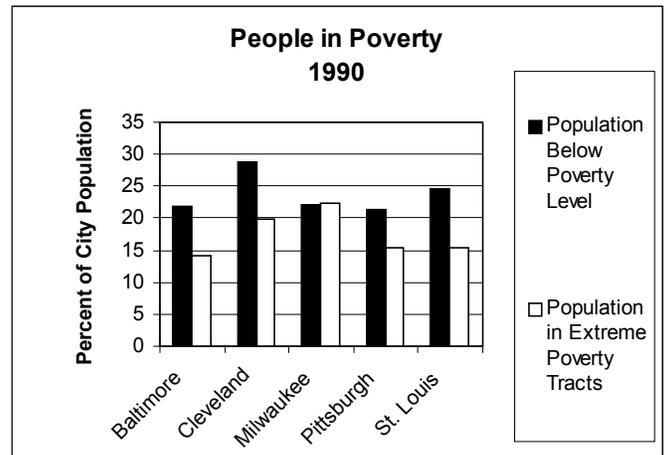
Source: Bureau of the Census

Result 2. Concentration of poverty

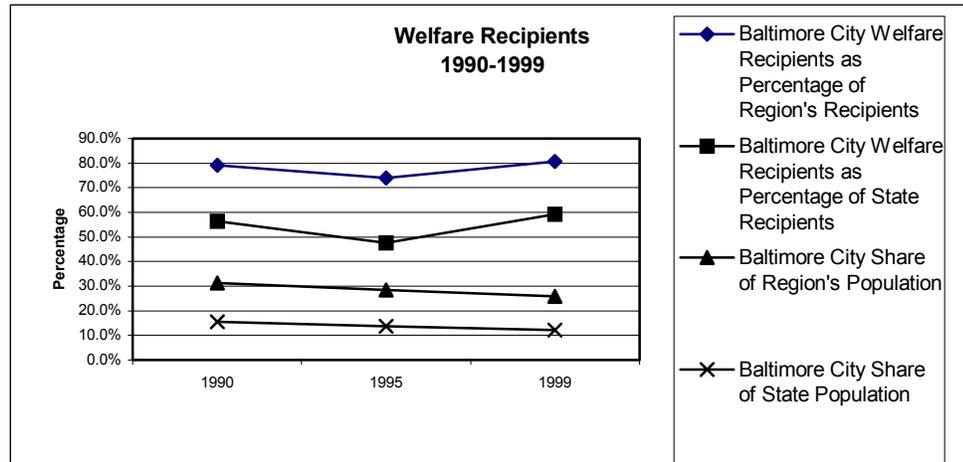
Baltimore City is the home of 62 percent of the region’s poor (in 1995) and 81 percent (in 1999) of the region’s welfare population. The number of the poorest residents has not changed substantially in 40 years, but the evaporation of the middle class has meant that the poor comprise a larger percentage of the total population. In 1990, one of every five Baltimoreans lived in poverty. In comparison to other post-industrial cities, Baltimore’s poverty rates are average.



Source: Bureau of the Census



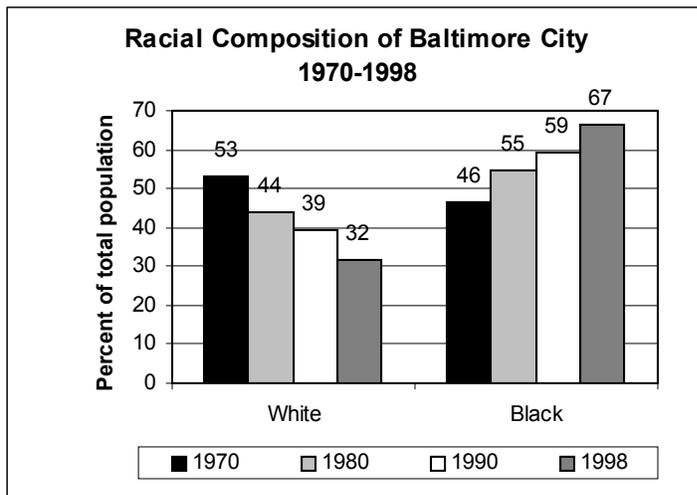
Source: Bureau of the Census Note: Extreme poverty tracts have rates above 40%.



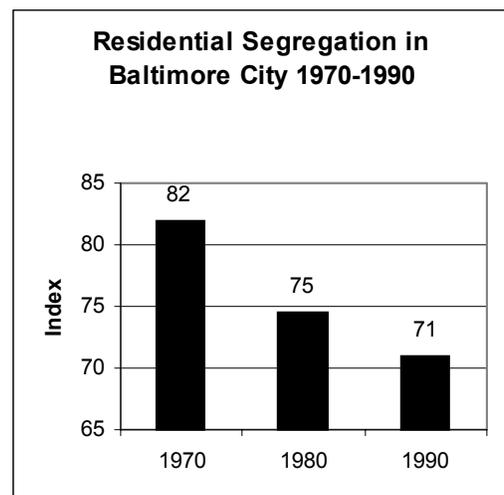
Source: Bureau of the Census; Maryland Department of Human Resources

Result 3. Racial segregation

Baltimore's white population has decreased steadily over the last three decades. Within the City, racial segregation persists: in 1990, Baltimore's residential segregation index was 71, which means that 71 percent of all blacks would have to move to other neighborhoods (in the mathematically correct proportions) in order for all neighborhoods to be racially balanced in proportion to the city's population.²



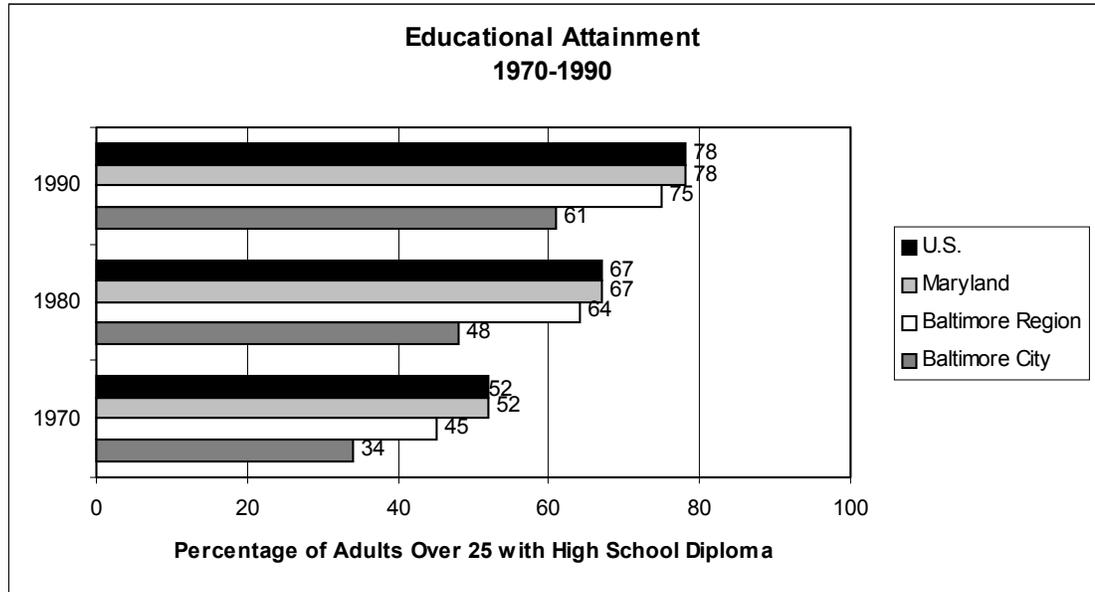
Source: Bureau of the Census



Source: Bureau of the Census

Result 4. Educational disparities

The percentage of Baltimoreans holding a high school diploma or equivalent has increased dramatically between 1970 and 1990, but still trails the region, state, and nation.



Source: Bureau of the Census

Result 5. Spatial and skills mismatch between City residents and jobs

In 1997, almost two-thirds of Baltimore metropolitan employment (62 percent) was in low-skill jobs, and two out of three of these jobs were located outside of Baltimore City. There are more low-skill job seekers in Baltimore City and the remaining counties than existing low-skill job openings (a three-to-one ratio in Baltimore City and a slightly lower ratio in the remaining regions). Baltimore City has a slightly higher concentration of low-skill job seekers and a lower share of job openings than the rest of the region. The region is expected to generate nearly 42,000 jobs annually through 2005; approximately 63 percent of these are expected to be low skill.

Baltimore Metro Job Gap: Annual Number of Low-Skill Seekers Compared to Projected Annual Low-Skill Job Openings

	Total Metro Area	Baltimore City	Baltimore County	Other Counties
Total Low-Skill Job Seekers	76,676	27,551	22,035	27,090
Total Low-Skill Job Openings	26,459	8,952	8,287	9,220
Low-skill Job Gap	50,217	18,599	13,748	17,870
Ratio of Job Seekers to Net Openings	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.9

Source: Department of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation; The Jacob France Center, University of Baltimore

Result 6. Teen births, prenatal care, and infant health

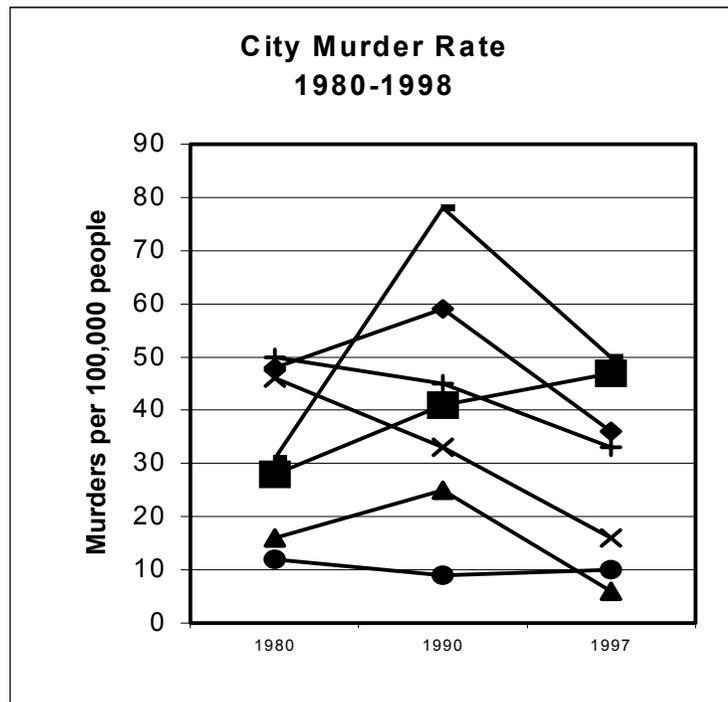
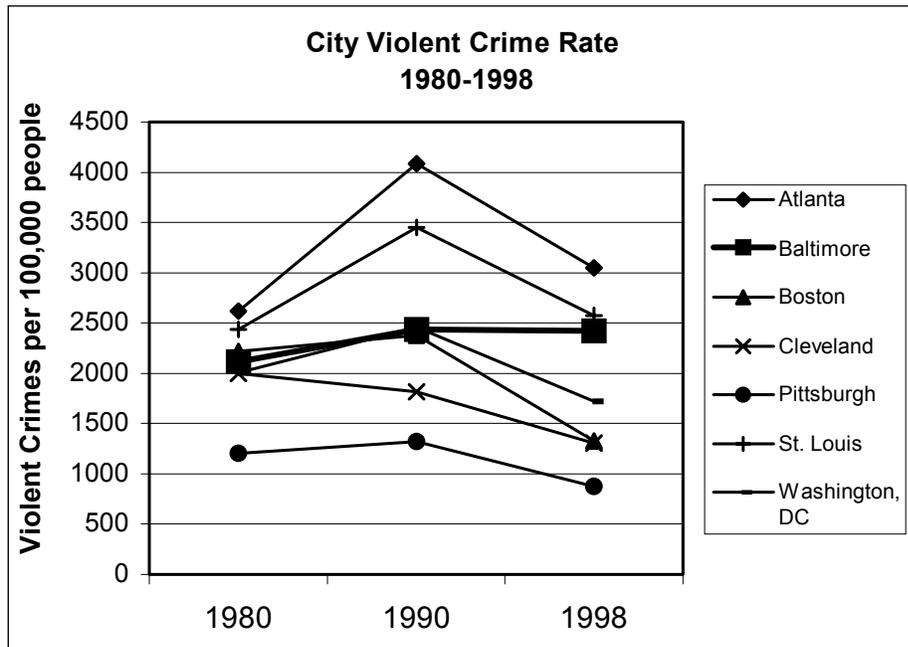
Baltimore has consistently ranked among the cities with the highest rates of teen births, which has provoked a concentrated effort by public health agencies. Teen birth rates have dropped in recent years, but Baltimore still has the highest percentage of teen births among the largest 50 cities. Baltimore also has the highest percentage of low-birth weight babies (under 5.5 pounds), and the City ranks 30th in the percentage of women receiving no or late prenatal care.³

Result 7. Drugs

Baltimore has the highest rate of intravenous drug use in the nation, and one of the highest rates of AIDS cases, the majority of which are related to needle-sharing by addicts.

Result 8. Crime

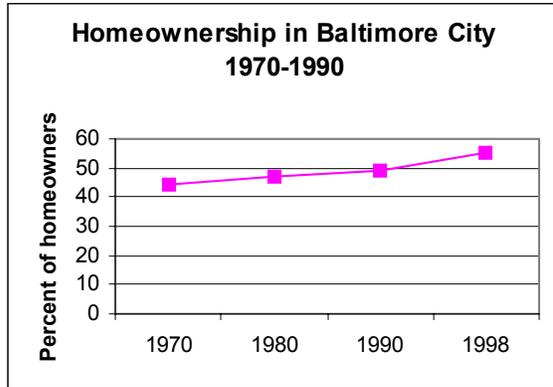
The rates of all violent crimes, and murder in particular, have increased in Baltimore. Other big cities have experienced recent decreases in violent crime, but Baltimore has not. Baltimore's murder rate was second highest in the country in 1998. Mayor O'Malley has made crime-fighting his top priority.



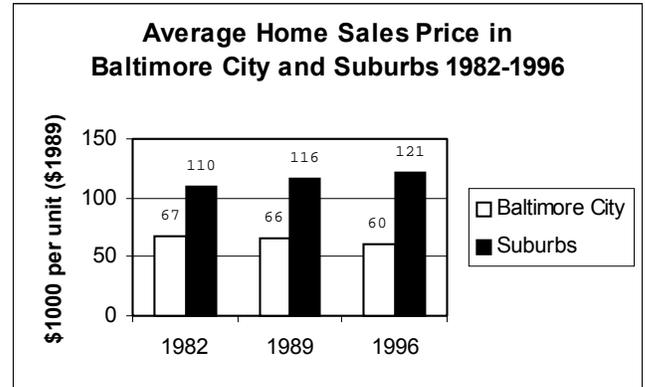
Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports

Result 9. Housing

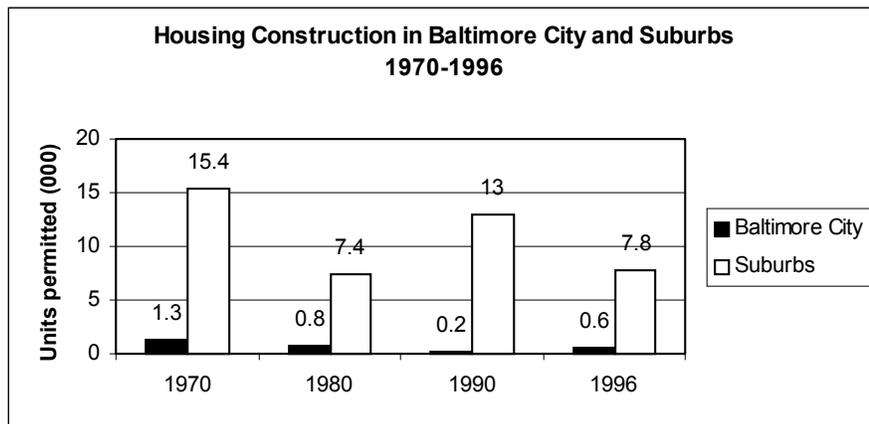
The percentage of homes that are owner-occupied has grown in the 1990s. However, other aspects of Baltimore’s housing are not so promising. As population declined, city officials demolished more than 4,000 derelict row homes between 1996 and 1999. If the rate of demolition continues at the same pace, more than 20 percent of the central city houses will be torn down by the year 2004.⁴ Since 1970, most housing construction in the area has occurred outside the City. Average sales prices of Baltimore homes have declined in relation to those in the suburbs, and median sales prices have declined in most city neighborhoods. Between 1990 and 1997, median home sales prices rose in 28 census tracts, compared to 165 census tracts where median sales prices dropped. The value of property in the city declined by 17 percent between 1990 and 1997.⁵



Source: Office of the Mayor, Baltimore, MD, "Baltimore 1999: A Transition Report."



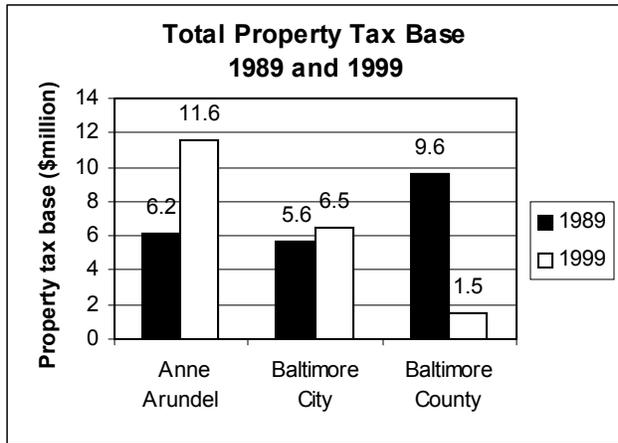
Source: Maryland Association of Realtors, analyzed by the Baltimore Metropolitan Council



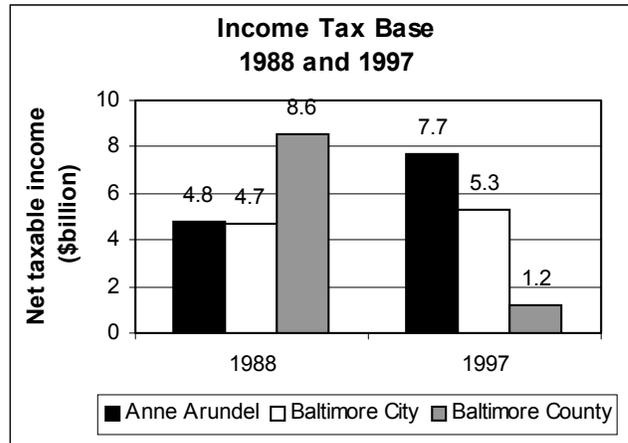
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis; Bureau of the Census; Maryland Department of Business and Employment Development; Baltimore Metropolitan Council

Result 10: Fiscal disparities

An anemic income tax base and declining residential property tax base make it difficult for Baltimore to pay for the services its needy population requires.



Source: Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation



Source: Maryland Comptroller of the Treasury

¹Simon, David and Edward Burns, *The Corner, A Year in the Life of an Inner-City Neighborhood* (New York: Doubleday, 1997).

²Rusk, David, *Inside Game/Outside Game: Winning Strategies for Saving Urban America* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1999).

³Annie E. Casey Foundation, KIDS COUNT, www.aecf.org

⁴Rozhon, Tracie, "Old Baltimore Row Houses Fall Before Wrecking Ball," *The New York Times*, June 13, 1999.

⁵Chen, Alex and Sandra Newman, "Housing and Neighborhoods in Baltimore," Kanuary 2000, mimeo

APPENDIX E: SUMMARIES OF BACKGROUND MATERIALS

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1. "Less is More: Planners Ponder How to Reduce Housing Stock," The City Paper, November 19, 1997.
2. Housing statistics (average prices, number of homes for sale).
3. Consolidated Annual Performance and Evaluation Report, Prepared by the Baltimore
4. Department of Housing and Community Development.
5. "A New Look at Baltimore's Vacant Housing," Citizens Housing and Planning Association, Spring 1997 Conference Report.
6. "Baltimore's Vacant Housing, Adjusting to Undercrowding: Proposals," Citizens Planning and Housing Association, November 22, 1997.
7. "The Dismantling of Public Housing in the USA," Jan van Weesep and Hugo Priemus.
8. "How Market Competitive is America's Public Housing? The Case of Baltimore," Martin Abravanel, et al.
9. "A Housing Mess on O'Malley's Steps," The Baltimore Sun, May 7, 2000.

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1. "Leveraging Home-Ownership Promotion as a Tool for Neighborhood Revitalization," David Boehlke.
2. "The Mayor's Healthy Neighborhood Partnership Demonstration," (DRAFT), Citizens Planning and Housing Initiative (CPHA).
3. "The Healthy Communities for Maryland Initiative," (DRAFT), Citizens Planning and Housing Initiative (CPHA).
4. "Steering Neighborhoods Up," Sandra Newman and Alex Chen, The Baltimore Sun, April 5, 2000.
5. Excerpt from "Housing and Neighborhoods in Baltimore," Sandra Newman and Alex Chen. (including PlanBaltimore! Neighborhood Typology).
6. Live Baltimore Marketing Center Fact Sheet.
7. "Home Owners Wanted," Greg Rienzi, The JHU Gazette, September 27, 1999.
8. "Boys and the 'Hood," Baltimore City Paper, October 20-26, 1999.

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- a. "St. Ambrose Housing Aid Center Marks Anniversary," Tom Werthman, July 1, 1998.
- b. "At the Tipping Point," Kurt Streeter, The Baltimore Sun, March 29, 2000.
- c. "Rebuilding, Block by Block," Kurt Streeter, The Baltimore Sun, November 17, 1999.

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- a. Charles Village Community Benefits District, Live Baltimore Neighborhood Profiles.
- b. "Lifting Charles Village Economy a Priority for District Officials," James Stiehm, The Baltimore Sun, June 4, 1999.
- c.

3. Patterson Park

- a. Patterson Park Community Development Corporation Fact Sheet
- b. "Patterson Park, Senators Celebrate Redevelopment of a City Neighborhood," Kurt Streeter, The Baltimore Sun, December 2, 1999.
- c. "Abell Foundation Offers Home Value Guarantees in Patterson Park," Amy Oakes, The Baltimore Sun, October 15, 1998.
- d. "Rejuvenating Landmarks in City's Highlandtown," Jacques Kelly, The Baltimore Sun, March 26, 1998.
- e. "Testing Ground: A New Strategy for Saving City Neighborhoods Takes Root in Patterson Park," Molly Rath, The City Paper, May 31, 2000.

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6. Remington

"The City Enclave Prosperity Forgot," Jamie Stiehm, The Baltimore Sun, March 13, 2000.

7. Pen Lucy

"Pen Lucy's Residents Fight Against Decline," Carl Schoettler, The Baltimore Sun, June 17, 1999.

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- a. "Putting Community in Policing," The Baltimore Sun, May 31, 1999.
- b. "Home Runs on City's East Side," (editorial) The Baltimore Sun, October 11, 1998.
- c. "Big Plans for East Baltimore," Alec Klein, The Baltimore Sun, May 7, 1998.
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- a. "O'Malley Learning About Role as City Father," Michael Olesker, The Baltimore Sun, March 28, 2000.
- b. "Gangs, Drugs Recede in City Neighborhoods," The Baltimore Sun, March 11, 2000.
- c. "Living a Life of Desperation," Kurt Streeter, The Baltimore Sun, September 30, 1999.

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- a. "Trash Tops a Heap of Urban Problems," Ivan Penn, The Baltimore Sun, March 24, 2000.
- b. "City's War on Garbage Picks Up," Gail Gibson, The Baltimore Sun, May 2, 2000.

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"Magic in Beantown: Boston Main Street a Model for Baltimore," Lorraine Mirabella, The Baltimore Sun, May 28, 2000.

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- a. "FBI Probes Fraud in City," John B. O'Donnell, The Baltimore Sun, March 28, 2000.
- b. "HUD Bans Action by FHA," John B. O'Donnell, The Baltimore Sun, April 11, 2000.

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3. "Projected Baltimore City Population Growth by Age Cohorts," Maryland Office of Planning.
4. "Bringing Back Vibrant Downtown," Edward Gunts, The Baltimore Sun, December 4, 1997.
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6. "Westside Master Plan," prepared for the West Side Task Force and sponsored by The Henry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation.
7. "Foundation Plans to Invest \$71 Million to Transform Stewart's Adjacent Area," Jacques Kelly, The Baltimore Sun, December 20, 1998.
8. "West-Side Story," Molly Rath and Brennen Jensen, The City Paper, March 17, 1999.
9. "\$100 Million Financing Set for West Side," Gerard Shields and Bill Atkinson, The Baltimore Sun, March 18, 1999.
10. "West-Side Renewal Plan OK'd," Gerard Shields, The Baltimore Sun, May 4, 1999.
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2. "Professional Sports as a Catalyst for Metropolitan Economic Development," Robert A. Baade, Journal of Urban Affairs, Volume 18, Number 1, pages 1-17.
3. "When Professional Sports Justify the Subsidy, a Reply to Robert A. Baade," Thomas V. Chena, Journal of Urban Affairs, Volume 18, Number 1, pages 19-22.
4. "Does the Emperor Have New Clothes, a Reply to Robert J. Baade," Mark S. Rosentraub, Journal of Urban Affairs, Volume 18, Number 1, pages 23-31.
5. "Stadium Subsidies Make Little Economic Sense For Cities, a Rejoinder," Robert A. Baade, Journal of Urban Affairs, Volume 18, Number 1, pages 33-37.
6. "The Economic Impact of Oriole Park at Camden Yard: Results of a Fan Spending Survey for the 1992 Season," City of Baltimore, December 1992.
7. "Baltimore's Camden Yards Ballpark," Bruce Hamilton and Peter Kahn.
8. "Giuliani Pushes Stadium As Catalyst For Economy," Charles V. Bagli, New York Times, March 2, 2000.

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 - b. "Powered By Retail," Hugh Cook, Building Design & Construction Magazine Online, August 1999.

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- b. "Basketball Group Eyes Suburban Arena Sites," Scott Graham, Baltimore Business Journal, May 19-25, 2000.

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Map: Whole Area

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- a. "Industrial Heart of Baltimore Beats to a New Rhythm," Tom Pelton and Kurt Streeter, The Baltimore Sun, May 7, 2000.

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- a. Map: Separate map of Jones Falls Valley

- b. "Group Will Draft Plan to Revitalize Valley," Mary Gale Hare, The Baltimore Sun, March 6, 2000.
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- b. "Waterfront Shopping Proposed: Big Box Plan Would Require OK From City Council," Lorraine Mirabella, The Baltimore Sun, March 25, 2000.
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