Title of Thesis: **ACCESS TO THE CITY:**

PHYSICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL

INCLUSION

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ABSTRACT

Urban Renewal Highways built following the National Highway Act of 1956
perpetuate a culture of inequity and segregation by acting as socio economic dividers
in many postindustrial American cities of the Great Migration. In the Post-Great
Recession Real Estate Boom communities disconnected by these highways have
received little to no investment, while communities in desirable locations have faced
displacement. Southwest Baltimore, Maryland embodies the former. Separated from
the heart of Baltimore by Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard the neighborhood has
made modest strides in recovering from urban exodus and institutional racism
involved in home loans, red lining, and block busting following World War II. As
cities revitalize, now is a critical point in history to improve connectivity across
Urban Renewal infrastructure and provide access to improved quality of life in
communities like Southwest Baltimore, while maintaining affordability and existing
culture. To maintain these physical dividers in place is an endorsement of divisive
urbanism and subsequent inequitable culture.

ACCESS TO THE CITY: PHYSICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL INCLUSION

by

Adan Jose Ramos

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Chapter 1: Urban Renewal and US Urban History

Section 1: Introduction

      The history of American cities has seen greatness at the forefront of global

power and disinvestment and destruction at the lower limits of livability. These

opposite ends of the spectrum are determined by economic and social forces. Some of

these influences are out of society's control, such as globalization or the Great

Depression, and others are self-imposed such as housing policy, de jure segregation,

and urban renewal. As the country fights for ubiquitous equity in its policy and

perspective, the lasting injustice on past generations is slowly eroding. One social

injustice that has stood the test of time and reinforces antiquated policy is urban

renewal infrastructure. These roads, highways, and neighborhood demolitions were

justified though the goal of providing transportation for the middle class to commute

into central business districts (CBDs) of cities, but they also reinforced lines of

segregation depriving communities of access. Whether these Urban Renewal tactics

were honest in their mission to breathe new life into US CBDs or if there was a

secondary social agenda latent in their implementation can be debated. What is

certain is the lasting negative impact it has had on working class, predominantly

African American, communities in American cities. The lasting effects of Urban

Renewal have a stark relationship to the history of housing policy, public housing,

and American urban history in general. Examining how these relationships perpetuate

mistakes of the past and shape todays urban development is a key to the creation of an equitable future.

US Urban History
Urbanization, Exodus, Rebirth
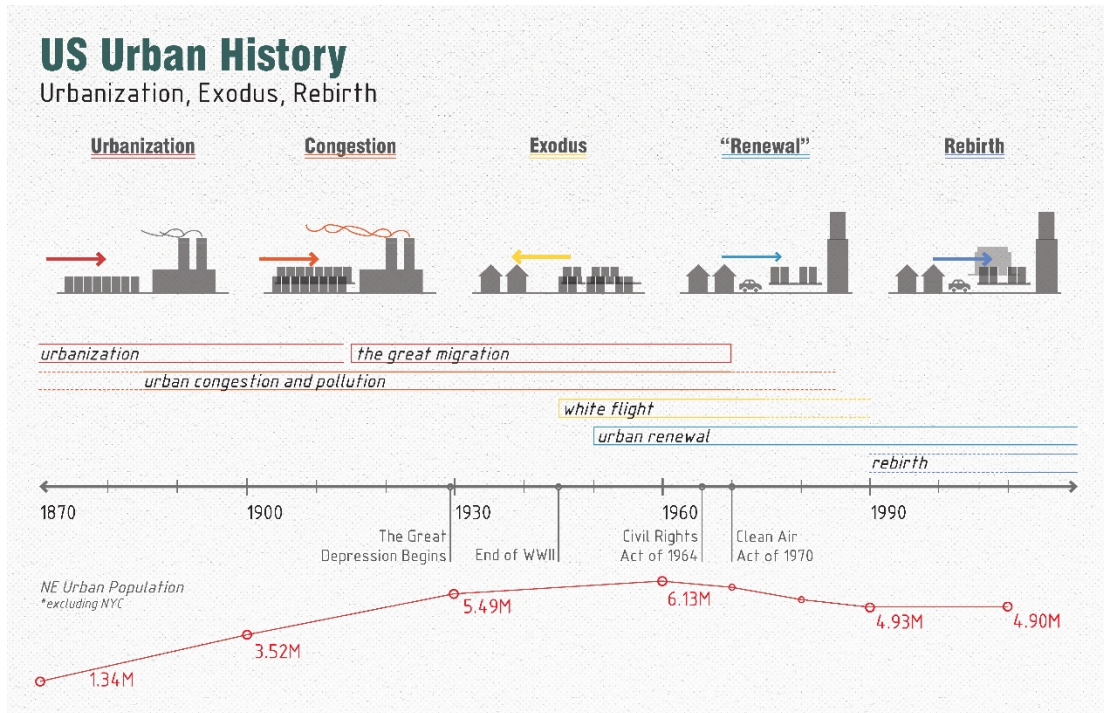
Caption: Timeline of US Urbanism post Civil War [1]

Section 2: American Urbanization

At the end of the Civil War in 1865 the US was a little over a decade away from turning 100 years old. In this century the emerging world power was predominantly a rural country with nearly 80% of its population living in rural communities. In the following half century, the majority would invert with 52% of

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[1] "Social Explorer." *Social Explorer*, www.socialexplorer.com/.

the population living in cities by 1920.[2] Industrialization of agriculture and manufacturing created opportunity in major urban centers, contributing to a great influx of European immigrants. Irish escaping the Potato Famine in 1840 and Germans seeking religious freedom made up a large percentage of these immigrants. In the US these immigrants faced inequitable treatment in employment, prejudice, and unsafe and unsanitary living conditions caused by overcrowding. This was exemplified in New York's tenement housing which featured residences with little to no access to light and air. [3] Despite this the working class lived near the middle and upper class in order to provide services and employment for their homes and business. While living conditions lacked equity for the working class the economy was mutually beneficial.[4] This would not last. Post industrialization among other forces would soon fracture this relationship and the population in cities would decline. In the mid and late 1900s Urban Renewal sought to mitigate issues caused by the loss of population but would also perpetuate inequity as a byproduct.[5]

Between 1910 and 1970 millions of African Americans moved from southern rural areas to cities in the north east, mid-west, and west. This movement, now known as the Great Migration, occurred in two waves. Historians estimate as many as 1.5

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[2] Learning, Lumen. "US History II (OS Collection)." *Urbanization and Its Challenges | US History II (OS Collection)*, courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-ushistory2os2xmaster/chapter/urbanization-and-its-challenges/.

[3] Ibid
[4] Ibid

[5] Alexander Callow, B. *American Urban History*, (Oxford University Press, 1969), 455.

million African Americans moved north in the first period, from 1910 to 1940. Families moved to escape racist employment practices which prevented the ability to make a stable living. Hope for better education, and employment opportunities sparked the Great Migration, yet African American families found similar prejudiced treatment in the north, sparking the Civil Rights Movement. Segregation persisted during the first period of the Great Migration. Many African American communities saw an explosion of intellectual and creative expression through music, literature, dance, and visual art. This period became nationally known as the Harlem Renaissance. Regrettably the momentum of this movement would soon be crushed.[6]

Section 3: The Decline of American Cities

After World War II ended in 1945 effects of the war coupled with forces of de- industrialization, and racist reactions to the Great Migration, and de-segregation set the country on a path towards destruction of its great urban. The return of thousands of war veterans coupled with a housing shortage created a fear that the country would return to conditions seen in The Great Depression. The government responded by incentivizing the construction of cheap repetitive single-family homes as well as early public housing developments. [7]

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[6] Blair A. Ruble, *Washington's U Street: a Biography*. (Baltimore, Md., 2012)
[7] Robert A. Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban*. (Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2008)

This housing was not targeted towards low income families, instead it was a vehicle for housing returning veterans. [8] Early public housing was a respectable working-class option and was racially segregated. The real estate lobby was threatened by government housing and influenced congress to limit the construction of public housing to 35,000 units per year. This unit cap paired with the development of income and other strict regulations turned public housing into last resort housing for those battling poverty. This concentration of poverty sparked negative stigmas; a belief that surrounding land value would suffer if public housing were introduced. This confined these projects to unfavorable city locations. Through forces of de-industrialization, suburbanization, and racist real estate practices the working-class became predominantly African American. Prejudice public perception of African Americans perpetuated the negative stigma of public housing and the inner city, contributing to urban exodus.[9]

This stigma developed truth throughout time. The 1950s saw the rise of urban theory which viewed high rise buildings in open space as utopian. These city blocks with open space assumed that through optimizing light and air and surrendering to a car centered city scale the country would flourish. A seemingly reasonable reaction to air and water pollution in cities, in practice the theory caused tremendous harm. Urban Renewal high rises became safe havens for drugs and violence. The hallways and countless floors were impossible to monitor and thus immensely difficult to

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[8] Mark Gimenez, *The Color of Law*. (Books on Tape, 2006),

[9] Callow, 461.

maintain. The location of the high rises in the center of blocks diminished walkability to other city amenities and prevented visibility from the street. Through the 1970s public housing would decline drastically, falling into complete disrepair and substandard living conditions. The program was largely regarded as a failure.[10]

In 1972 Oscar Newman's book *Defensible Space; Crime Prevention Through Urban Design* helped to steer public housing away from the tower model. The book described the benefits of small-scale housing, namely creating a sense of ownership, community, providing eyes on the street through residents, and sight lines for passersby and police.[11] New typologies of public housing would make strides towards improvement in the late 20th century. Unfortunately, low funding meant cheap construction and poor maintenance even for the newer projects. Thus, substandard living would continue to characterize urban America.

The cause of American cities declined into concentrations of poverty is immensely multifaceted. One major factor was de-industrializations. The years following the war in the early 1950s the slow decrease in manufacturing jobs, that started in the 1920s and 1930s, accelerated rapidly. A combination of factory automation and outsourcing would cut the percent of US jobs attributed to manufacturing roughly in half by 2010. Simultaneously cars were becoming more affordable leading to a sharp increase in automobile ownership rate. The increase in

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[10] Blumgart, Jake. "What We Get Wrong About Public Housing." *CityLab*, 5 Mar. 2018, www.citylab.com/equity/2018/03/the-rise-and-fall-of-american-public-housing/554597/.

[11] Newman, Oscar. *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design*. Collier, 1971.

suburban development, the loss of center city jobs, and increasing prevalence of the automobile sparked the birth of suburbia and an exodus from America's urban heart.

While sprawling suburban developments have negative environmental implications associated with habitat destruction and increased CO_2 emissions from cars, these ramifications pale in comparison to the social injustice tied to suburbanization.

The first generation of African American migrants identified with the cultural expression of the Harlem Renaissance, but this caused a social divided from African American families migrating in the second period of the Great Migration. These families were viewed as southerners, constituted the lower class among African Americans, and lived in more challenging housing conditions. As the second period of the Great Migration was coming to an end around 1970, so was de jure segregation. Before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 African Americans shopped with in their communities, providing economic stimulation. In Washington DC's U street community, while recently relocated southern families lived in substandard ally homes, the community was predominantly healthy. Post de jure segregation local African American stores could not compete with national stores, severely damaging the African American economy. The closure of many local stores is the tip of the iceberg. Block Busting and White Flight contributed to the mass exodus of US urban centers which eventually sparked Urban Renewal.

The beginning of America's urban exodus aligns with the second phase of The Great Migration, suggesting racism played a significant role in the decreased appeal of urban living. This correlation is made stronger by the relationship to the

desegregation of school in 1954's Brown vs. Board of Education, just 9 years after the end of the war.[12] But the most explicate exemplification of racial influence was a practice known as Block Busting. Real-estate investors used the growing population of African American or Hispanic families in an area to convince White residents that their neighborhood was becoming less valuable and that they should sell their home quickly and cheaply in favor of suburban locations. Immediately following this acquisition investors sold the home to a Non-White family at a very high rate. This new family would then be further evidence to other White property owners that they should relocate to the suburbs.[13] After over a decade of unethical practices, blockbusting was made illegal through the Fair Housing Act of 1968, but the ramifications of segregation would live on.

To an extent Block Busting was made possible because the subsidies offered in mortgages of suburban homes were not made available to African American families. In the 1950's and 1960's Suburban living was heavily advertised as the "American Dream", an investment that would build equity that couples could retire on. An investment which African Americans could not access, despite a significant middle-class population. The 2017 NPR article "A Forgotten History of How the U.S. Government Segregated America" states that; "Today African-American incomes on average are about 60 percent of average incomes by Caucasian's. But African-

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[12] Blair A. Ruble, *Washington's U Street: a Biography*. (Baltimore, Md., 2012)
[13] "A Brief Economic History of Modern Baltimore." A Brief Economic History of Modern Baltimore. N.p., n.d. Web. 13 May 2015.

American wealth is about 5 percent of white wealth." Mortgage restrictions generations ago are a primary reason for this shocking and disturbing statistic.[14]

Although Buchanan v. Warley declared ordnances reinforcing residential racial segregation unconstitutional in 1917, a process referred to as redlining prevented African Americans from building equity through real estate as well as limited community access to goods and services ultimately leading to disrepair. Redlining literally outlined the locations where African Americans lived in red on a map to delineate where banks would not invest in real estate. In these areas, residents were not granted mortgages or insurance. Thus, new commercial uses could not be added and if an existing retailer closed it could not be replaced. This deprived communities of access to goods and services such as groceries and health care. Naturally these areas fell into vacancy and disrepair. Redlining was justified through the claim that African American residents would reduce sounding property value. Thus, areas that were not outlined in red would not provide mortgages to African American families, confining these families to redlined areas. Redlining, Block Busting, the loss of industrial jobs, suburban subsidies, and racist reactions to desegregation all set the table for Urban Renewal to disproportionately effect the predominantly African American working class.[15]

[14] Gross, Terry. "A 'Forgotten History' Of How The U.S. Government Segregated America." *NPR*, NPR, 3 May 2017, www.npr.org/2017/05/03/526655831/a-forgotten-history-of-how-the-u-s-government-segregated-america?utm_campaign=storyshare&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=social.

[15] Gimenez, Mark. *The Color of Law*. Books on Tape, 2006.

Section 4: Urban Renewal, Physical and Sociological Destruction

In 1949 the government sought to improve its deteriorating cities through a program known as Urban Renewal. The program aimed to remove "blight" or "slums" form city centers. Slums resulted from overcrowding in neighborhoods of working-class Americans that moved to the cities in search of greater freedom and jobs. In many cities these areas constituted of primarily African American or Jewish families. Living conditions in these communities suffered as a result of a lack of economic resources paired with overcrowding. These homes were often located in prominent locations in the city with easy access to factory jobs. Through the innovation of the streetcar in the late 1800s and early 1900s many middle-class city residents moved away from the congested city center. This left a concentration of working-class residents. The country's loss of industrial jobs and urban exodus in the mid-1900s exacerbated this issue ultimately resulting in "slums" at the heart of many American cities.

The government sought to recapture the value at its urban core and thus increased its right to seize privately owned property in 1949. This right was referred to as Eminent Domain. It allowed cities to take property in low income communities, displace existing residents, and sell the land to private developers at subsidized prices in order to stimulate new construction. These developers were often from out of town thus had no stake in the communities at risk. The goal was to stimulate large scale private rebuilding, new tax revenues, revitalize down towns, and slow the urban exodus. Urban Renewal equally focused on highway infrastructure to allow the

middle class to commute to inner city office jobs. These highways also had huge implications for demolition and displacement. The promise to relocate displaced residents to decent, safe, and sanitary living conditions better than those they previously inhabited was rarely kept. The protests of these residents gained little media support or political backing.[16]

Mobility against Urban Renewal faced a difficult political and economic climate. Communities alone struggled to have their voices heard, but Civil Rights leaders and other activists such as Jane Jacobs brought increased attention to issues of community and equity. The discussion centered on the unethical displacement of families from their homes but also on theoretical viewpoints. Urban and architectural theories of Modernity not only embraced new technology but advocated for a complete dismissal of the old. This dogma produced plans for free standing towers, large blocks, and an extensive network of roads and highways. Jane Jacobs fore saw that the demolition of brownstones, small blocks, and streets would not only be physically destructive but also sociologically. In 1961, her ground-breaking book "*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*" advocates for small blocks for chance meetings, eyes on the street for safety, and walkability. Activist and author Norman Mailer wrote about the social and physical sterility of high-rise housing. While leaders like Jacobs and others mitigated the advance of Urban Renewal, countless projects were implemented mostly in minority communities because of lacking political power.

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[16] Gimenez, Mark. *The Color of Law*. Books on Tape, 2006.

By the mid-1960s some projects were old enough to evaluate their effectiveness. As of March 1961, 126,000 units were demolished and only 28,000 new units were constructed. Most of these new units were out of the price range of the working class. Relocation of residents was often rushed because of government pressure to get projects underway. This made the relocation of residents into other substandard slums common place. In fact, a 1961 study of 41 cities found that this was true for 60% of displaced residents. Many of the residents who were relocated to improved living conditions had to pay more than they could afford in rent. Because two thirds of those directly affected by Urban Renewal were African American the program was viewed as "Negro Clearance".

These statistics begin to make it clear that Urban Renewal was not about rehousing the working class in adequate housing at all. Clearance areas were not chosen based upon the most inadequate housing conditions but instead upon their investment potential. In 1965 sociologist and Columbia University Professor, Herbert J. Gans, wrote "Since public funds were used to clear the slums and to make the land available to private builders at reduced costs, the low-income population was in effect subsidizing its own removal for the benefit of the wealthy." In the same paragraph Gans points out that what the working class received in return was miniscule. Between 1949 – 1964 only 2% of federal expenditure on Urban Renewal was spent to aid the relocation of displaced residents. If payments to residents are not included in this number, then one half of 1% was spent on housing for the displaced.

The social impact of this displacement is difficult to quantify. People live in neighborhoods for decades, their institutions and small businesses are destroyed.

Families and friends are scattered across a city. Marc Fried a clinical psychologist conducted a study of those displaced from Boston's West End. The study showed that 46% of women and 38% of men "give evidence of fairly severe grief" when asked about their former community. The physical and emotional destruction caused by Urban Renewal was seen as a necessary by product to increase city taxes, retain the middle class, and revitalize down towns. But in many cases where land was less desirable, cities had to grant tax write offs to developers offsetting any additional tax revenue for the city.

Some projects were successful. Under the Kennedy and Johnson administration in the 1960s practices were shifted slightly from removal to rehab. Programs such as 221(d) (3) and rent subsidies for relocated residents also helped. But these improvements were in total quite modest. They did not correct the fundament flaw that Urban Renewal was for middle class benefit not the aid of the working class.

The Urban Renewal program was designed around the use of private developers to take cleared land. Thus, projects would only be implemented if a return on investment was possible. Naturally profitable site selection was prioritized over determination of the most inadequate housing. For this reason, Urban Renewal did not clear out the most harmful slums, but instead demolished many homes in good locations that were run down, but not demonstrably harmful. Removing these homes

from the affordable housing supply did more harm to the working class than if nothing was done at all.[17]

While Home Ownership Subsidies, redlining, block busting, and public housing structures each contributed to US socio-economic divide at the time Urban Renewal highways physically reinforce this separation today as much as when they were built.

Section 5: Lasting Socio-economic Division

The decline of American cities from an epicenter of industry and opportunity which drew migrants and immigrants from all parts of the country and the earth into concentrations of poverty and inadequate living conditions was caused by a multitude of factors. The government's subsidies of suburban homes and roadways, the sharp decline in manufacturing jobs, redlining, block busting, poorly designed public housing, and urban renewal all played a significant role. Today state and local government no longer strongly incentivize urban exodus, office jobs have replaced the manufacturing jobs, redlining and block busting practices have been exposed and stopped, and public housing has largely altered its tower typology to more defensible spaces. Urban reinvestment in office space and downtown amenities in the 1970s 80s and 90s sparked a resurgence. Around 2000 the population decrease in many US cities plateaued and, in some cases, began to rise. Since the 2008's Great Recession

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[17] Gimenez, Mark. *The Color of Law*. Books on Tape, 2006.

there has been a housing boom in many cities including, Washington DC, Baltimore, and New York. US cities are in the midst of a rebirth, but not all are benefiting from this reinvestment.[18]

The population marginalized by unethical real-estate practices, public policy, and crippling federally funded infrastructure continues to suffer. While these injustices have left a lasting scar of economic disparity, nearly all these antiquated practices, including the design of public housing, have been corrected to some degree. The exception, Urban Renewal remains an open wound. Urban Renewal practices claimed the heart of the city for new economically exclusionary development and disconnected the periphery of the city with highways meant for middle class commuters. The predominantly African American working class was pushed to this disconnected disinvested periphery. Areas which do not benefit from the late reinvigoration of US urbanism. Existing Urban Renewal infrastructure continues to reinforce the injustice of past policies and practices every day.

Section 6: Today's Trends and Outlook

By 1920 52% of the US population lived in cities, by 2000 53% of the population lived in Suburbs and only 31% of the population lived in dense urban areas. Between 2000 and 2014 cities maintained this percentage. More importantly the total urban population increased from 87 million to 98 million between 2000 and

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[18] "Social Explorer." *Social Explorer*, www.socialexplorer.com/.

2016, representing a 13% increase[19]. In 2010 25 out of 53 city centers' growth

exceeded that of their respective suburban growth[20]. An American urban renaissance

was in full swing lead by three populations, Baby Boomers, young professionals, and

immigrants. Empty nester Baby Boomers moved back into cities they left when they

started a family. Young professionals are getting married later allowing for a

prolonged urban lifestyle. This generation also perceives investing in a suburban

home as a major risk and often cannot afford the down payment[21]. Lastly immigration

constituted the greatest percentage of population increase in cities[22]. This metro area

shift began around 2010 during the economic recovery[23]. The US urban

reinvigoration did not spell the end of suburbia, in fact suburban communities

experienced the greatest population growth between 2000 and 2016 at 16%, as

compared to cities' 13% growth.

   Suburbs continued to grow during the peak of urban population growth in the

early 21st century. In 2017 and 2018 urban growth slowed considerably. For example,

between 2009 and 2016 Washington DC saw an average population growth over

[19] Parker, Kim, et al. "Demographic and Economic Trends in Urban, Suburban and Rural Communities." *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project*, 22 May 2018, www.pewsocialtrends.org/2018/05/22/demographic-and-economic-trends-in-urban-suburban-and-rural-communities/.

[20] Cortright , Joe. "Are Americans Fleeing Cities for Suburbs? Not So Fast." *CityLab*, 11 June 2018, www.citylab.com/life/2018/06/are-americans-fleeing-cities-for-suburbs-not-so-fast/562580/.

[21] "The Atlantic." *The Atlantic*, Atlantic Media Company, www.theatlantic.com/.

[22] Parker, Kim, et al. "Demographic and Economic Trends in Urban, Suburban and Rural Communities." *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project*, 22 May 2018, www.pewsocialtrends.org/2018/05/22/demographic-and-economic-trends-in-urban-suburban-and-rural-communities/.

[23] "The Atlantic." *The Atlantic*, Atlantic Media Company, www.theatlantic.com/.

12,000 per year. In 2018 population growth was under 7,000[24]. Meanwhile the suburbs continue to outpace their urban counter parts. Bill Frey of Bookings Institution reassures that the urban revival is not regressing. He states; "While growth has slowed in the densest counties, it remains above its long-term trend there. And while growth has rebounded in less dense counties, growth remains below long-term trends." While 17 of 53 cities outpaced their respective suburbs in 2016 as compared to 25 of 53 in 2010 this number is still significantly greater than the 7 of 53 seen in the 1990s[25]. Jeanette Chapman, deputy director at The Stephen S. Fuller Institute at George Mason University, also expects continual investment in cities. She states it is part of a cycle that ultimately forecasts "long term growth" at a slower rate than the 2010 peak[26].

Chapman acknowledges the cost of living plays a role in the decreased rate of growth in Washington DC . The nation's capital, like many other major markets such as New York and Seattle face affordability issues and are losing residents to secondary markets such as Columbus, Ohio[27]. The Urban Land Institute's

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[24] Austermuhle, Martin, and Wamu. "D.C.'s Population Growth Has Seriously Slowed Down. What Gives?" *DCist*, WAMU 88.5 - American University Radio, 31 Jan. 2019, dcist.com/story/19/01/31/d-c-s-population-growth-has-seriously-slowed-down-what-gives/.

[25] Cortright , Joe. "Are Americans Fleeing Cities for Suburbs? Not So Fast." *CityLab*, 11 June 2018, www.citylab.com/life/2018/06/are-americans-fleeing-cities-for-suburbs-not-so-fast/562580/.

[26] Austermuhle, Martin, and Wamu. "D.C.'s Population Growth Has Seriously Slowed Down. What Gives?" *DCist*, WAMU 88.5 - American University Radio, 31 Jan. 2019, dcist.com/story/19/01/31/d-c-s-population-growth-has-seriously-slowed-down-what-gives/.

[27] Ibib

development trends of 2019 highlights opportunities in growing secondary markets or "18-hour cities"[28].

Increasing cost of living diverts the lower middle class to other metropolitan areas but displaces working-class residents away from the urban core within the same metropolitan area. The rapid development of once disinvested communities, increasing the cost of living, and displacing historic residents is known as gentrification. While there are a variety of empirical definitions of gentrification a study conducted by Governing utilizes the following assumptions. Areas eligible to gentrify have median household income and median home value in the bottom 40th percentile. In order to be considered gentrified median home values and percentage of adults with bachelor's degrees must rise to the top third percentile in the metro area. The study found that between 2000 and 2015 42 of the 50 most populated cities in the US had over 10% of eligible neighborhoods gentrify, and 20 of the 50 had over 20% of eligible neighborhoods gentrify[29]. Portland, OR and Washington, DC topped the list at 58.1% and 51.9% respectively. The loss of community and culture by those who have been diluted or displaced cannot be quantified. Equally as important, Chapman states that if not for immigration areas of Washington DC would have seen population decrease in recent years[30]. Between 2000 and 2014 urban centers totaled a

[28] "Emerging Trends in Real Estate® United States and Canada 2020." *ULI Americas*, americas.uli.org/research/centers-initiatives/center-for-capital-markets/emerging-trends-in-real-estate/americas/.

[29] "Baltimore Gentrification Maps and Data." *Governing*, www.governing.com/gov-data/baltimore-gentrification-maps-demographic-data.html.

[30] Austermuhle, Martin, and Wamu. "D.C.'s Population Growth Has Seriously Slowed Down. What Gives?" *DCist*, WAMU 88.5 - American University Radio, 31 Jan. 2019, dcist.com/story/19/01/31/d-c-s-population-growth-has-seriously-slowed-down-what-gives/.

population increase of 7 million through immigration while the net difference through domestic migration amounted to negative 5.4 million. In the same time period Suburban communities saw an increase in those living in poverty of 51% as compared to the 31% seen in Urban areas. Without the support of immigration, the US urban renaissance of the 21st century is displacing more working-class residents than white collar residents it is adding. This could explain why during this time suburban communities gained 6.4 million domestic migrants[31]. The battel against sprawl will be lost if the working class is denied access to the city. It is important to note that gentrification in of itself is not detrimental, only when paired with inequity. Decoupling urban improvements from social inequity is imperative.

Chapter 2: West Baltimore History

Section 1: Introduction

Southwest Baltimore was established upon a strong foundation of innovation, diversity, and opportunity. As the sight of the first long distance railroad in the world, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, a mixed income, culturally diverse community was born in the early 1800s. Unfortunately, today its historical heritage and proximity to the heart of Baltimore has been out weighted by disinvestment, poverty, and vacancy.

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[31] Parker, Kim, et al. "Demographic and Economic Trends in Urban, Suburban and Rural Communities." *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project*, 22 May 2018, www.pewsocialtrends.org/2018/05/22/demographic-and-economic-trends-in-urban-suburban-and-rural-communities/.

Post industrialization, suburbanization, and negative by products of Urban Renewal all played a pivotal role in the community's decline. Many neighborhoods in postindustrial American cities face similar challenges. In the case of Southwest Baltimore semblance enough of the urban fabric and historic structures that made the neighborhood great remain. These remains provide a scaffolding for revitalization that must be examined at three scales; neighborhood, block, and building, or diagram, dimension and detail. To dissect the neighborhood in this way a historical overview must first be understood.
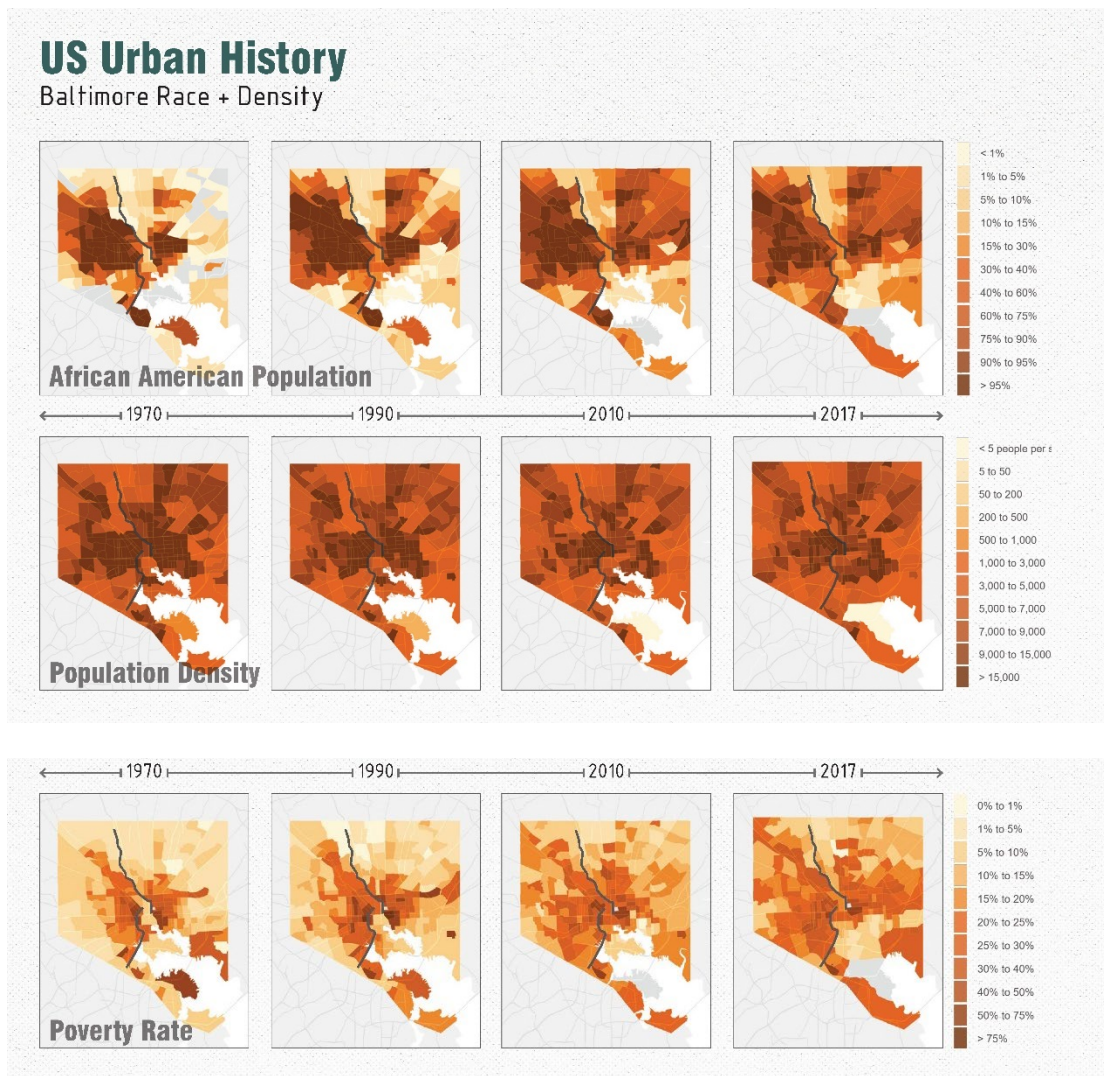
Caption: Timeline of Baltimore City Demographics [32]

Section 2: Industrialization

In 1730 the first industrial use was established in the Southwest neighborhood. Nearly one hundred years later, in 1828, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad or the B&O railroad began construction. When completed in 1853 the industrial revolution was in full swing in Baltimore city. The railroad provided 1000 jobs, attracting immigrants to the area. Irish immigrants escaping the 1840s famine and German immigrants made up nearly the entire workforce at the time. This great population influx caused a demand for housing. Anna McHenry, daughter of James Mc Henry began to lease land to builders along Hollins and Schroeder streets. New immigrants often occupied two story 14ft wide alley houses. More established residents occupied the homes on Hollins street, several blocks north of the railroad. Soon other industries were established in the area such as Barrett Iron and Newman Brothers and Son piano factory. The rapidly growing population required access to food. The city responded with the opening of Hollins Market in 1836. This market still provides a great amenity to the area today.[33]

During this period the Baltimore Inner Harbor was also seeing a boom in industry and population, fueled by immigration. The growing congestion at the heart

[32] Social explorer

[33] Connors, Emily, et al. "West Baltimore Street Toolkit for Commercial Revitalization." Edited by Michele Lamprakos, DRUM, 2014, drum.lib.umd.edu/handle/1903/16377.

of the city lead the upper and middle class to seek housing in South West Baltimore and other less populated areas. This was made viable by the establishment of the Omnibus in 1844. This house drawn cart was the cities initial form of public transit. It allowed the middle class to move further from their place of employment. Landowners soon capitalized on this growing trend. In 1848 the Canby family built four story town homes with larger yards and architectural details such as iron verandas and ionic columns around a public square. This square, known as Franklin Square, became a model for other developments. Union Square was constructed in 1852 by the Donnell family. These middle-class residences provided additional work for blue collar workers. The demand to furnish the large homes sparked a robust furniture industry. Additionally, service workers such as waiters and launders were hired by middle class residents. By 1888 the Omnibus was replaced by the Streetcar running on W Baltimore Street connecting the neighborhood to the Harbor. This greatly strengthened the already growing retail corridor on W Baltimore Street. This boom in local business continued into the early 1900s, featuring drug stores, an ice cream shop, restaurants, saloons, a movie theater, and bowling alley. The increasing activity instigated further development of housing along Gilmore, Pratt, and Hollins Streets in the 1870s. These homes while not as lavish as the residences on the squares featured similar architectural details and were a step above alley homes. This prosperous neighborhood also featured several churches and schools.

Section 3: Decline

In its prime South West Baltimore was a well-connected self-sustaining mixed income community established on the cornerstone of new industry. Soon self-interested business and segregation by race and class began to plague the area. As early as the 1860s alley houses began to decline. Landlords offered poor upkeep and subdivided units to maximize their income. Overcrowding soon lead to unhealthy living conditions. As the white-collar population increased low income families were forced into residual space. In 1911 a city ordinance stated African Americans could not move into blocks that were over 50% white and visa versa. This ordinance effectively ghettoized Black Baltimoreans. South of the Railroad Pigtown was one of the first poor African American areas. Although the Supreme Court found the ordinance unconstitutional in 1917 defacto segregation was reinforced through fear, intimidation, redlining, restrictive housing covenants, and steering.[34]

This socioeconomic segregation and disregard for wellbeing set the stage for rapid decline. Beginning in the early 1900's Southern African Americans, fleeing poverty began to migrate to Baltimore. Early black neighborhoods were confined to the northern part of the city, but as the economy declined, developers seeking to maximize their profit began to buy homes from white residents at low prices and sell them at as much as 70 percent markup prices to incoming African American families. This malicious practice utilized existing prejudice against African Americans for personal gain. The realtors would threaten white households with the prospect of plummeting real estate pieces because of a predicted influx of African American

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[34] Connors, Emily, et al. "West Baltimore Street Toolkit for Commercial Revitalization." Edited by Michele Lamprakos, DRUM, 2014, drum.lib.umd.edu/handle/1903/16377.

households in the neighborhood. This allowed the agents to buy properties cheap

from white homeowners and sell them at high rates to African Americans, not only

for profit but also to scare the remaining white residents into selling even cheaper.[35]

Between 1950 and 1970 the African American population doubled, and by 1997

African Americans comprised nearly two-thirds of the city. Suburbanization sparked

economic decline. The once flourishing furniture industry declined in the 1950s and

1960s. The 1970s saw a sharp increase in the outsourcing of America manufacturing

jobs. This coupled with the automation of factories and middle-class suburbanization

crippled Southwest Baltimore. With the loss of industry and jobs servicing the

middle-class South West Baltimore had lost its reason for being.

Section 4: Urban Renewal

Urban renewal efforts exacerbated issue weighing on the community. The

1942 Robert Moses Freeway Plan threated to displace 19,000 people immediately to

the north of the Southwest neighborhood. Moses put his disregard for public welfare

on full display stating, "the more of them that are wiped out the healthier Baltimore

will be in the long run." Following two decades of controversy a one mile stretch of

the highway was constructed in 1970. Today the highway sees minimal traffic and

shatters the urban fabric. In 1982 the construction of Martin Luther King Junior

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[35] "A Brief Economic History of Modern Baltimore." A Brief Economic History of Modern Baltimore.
N.p., n.d. Web. 13 May 2015.

Boulevard placed six lanes of traffic between South West Baltimore and downtown Baltimore. Used to connect suburban commuters entering the city from the south on I95 and I695 to the north of the city, the construction of the road disregarded inner-city residents, further crippling pedestrian connectivity.

In the 1960s and 1970s Baltimore city concentrated its funds towards revitalizing the Inner Harbor. Construction of restaurants and retail along the waterfront increased tourism at the heart of the city but further damaged the economy of sounding communities. The department stores in South West Baltimore moved downtown causing smaller business to lose exposure and ultimately close. Additionally, the riots following the assassination of Martin Luther King Junior damaged the remaining retail uses on the once thriving West Baltimore Street. In some cases, this damage was beyond repair and vacancy increased. The 1970s saw minor reinvestment initiatives such as the painting of murals and repaving of sidewalks. In the 1990s Mayor Schmoke successfully secured federal funding through designating the city as an Empowerment Zone. This funding was allocated primarily to the demolition of buildings.
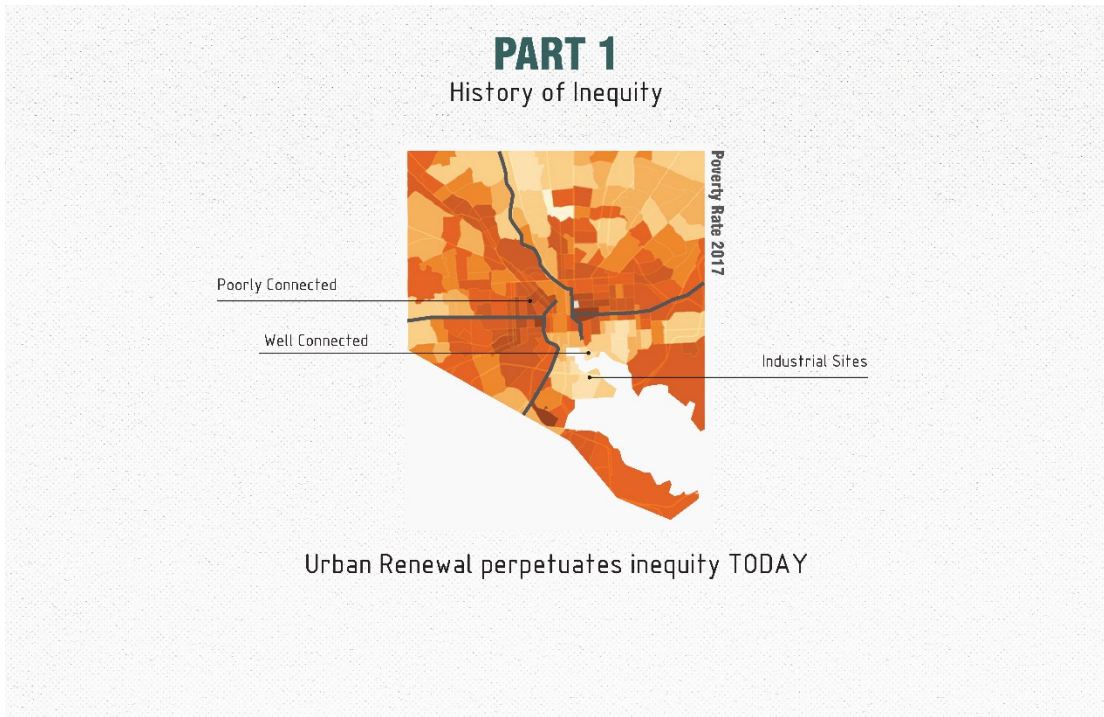
Caption: 2017 Poverty Rate + Urban Renewal Infrastructure[36]

Caption: 2019 Southwest Baltimore Edge Condition Caused by Urban Renewal

[36] Social explorer

Section 5: Current Conditions

Today several of the neighborhoods such as Franklin Square and Hollins Market have been designated historic districts. Regardless, the littered streets are lined with overgrown open lots and buildings with boarded up windows, decaying wooden details, and chipped paint. Any existing street trees are greatly suffering, and the streets have needed resurfacing for decades. As of 2014 vacancy was 28.89% and over 50% of households had incomes below $34,000. Landlords struggle to find tenants prohibiting up-keep of historic buildings. The crime rate in the area is 76 per 1000 residents and consists of 51.2 property crimes and 24.8 violent crimes. This is 123% of the Baltimore city average of 61.8 per 1000 residents. 49% of residents achieve a high school education or higher.[37]

In 2012 the increasing number of drug rehabilitation facilities in the community prompted the seven neighborhoods of Southwest Baltimore to join in a partnership. This facilitated a master plan lead by Gensler's Baltimore office. City entities, non-profits, and institutions joined community members and the design team in the formation of this plan. The action plan focused on five strategies; housing development, education and workforce development, safe and walkable streets, commercial development, and preservation and promotion. The B&O Railroad

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[37] "The Plan." Southwest Partnership, southwestpartnershipbaltimore.org/about-us/the-plan/. www.umbiopark.com/biopark.

Museum, the historic Hollins Market, and the University of Maryland Bio Park have been identified as cornerstones to redevelopment.

For decades South West Baltimore has seen attempts at revitalization. Great potential lays in its historical heritage and proximity to the heart of Baltimore. It's network of residential squares, schools, well dimensioned blocks and streets, and detailed historic structures further exemplifies this potential. In the 1990s and 2000s the rate of population decline slowed in Baltimore city. From 2010 to 2017 the population stayed within one thousand of 620,000. The most popular neighborhoods for reinvestment in Baltimore city can be found along its north south axis and along its waterfront. Despite its great potential Southwest Baltimore has been largely neglected in the rebirth of Baltimore city. Reasons for neglect as well as further examples of potential are seen at three scales; neighborhood, block, and building.

Section 6: Neighborhood, Block, + Building

At the scale of the neighborhood (the diagram) several organizing principles strengthen the community. There are several strong axes running north-south. Carey street is anchored by a shopping center on its southern most point and captures several pocket parks, historic structures, and Franklin Square along its Promenade. South Schroeder Street is anchored by the B&O Railroad museum on its South, features several schools, the University of Maryland Bio-Park, and an affordable apartment building opened in 2018. The prominent East-West axis, W Baltimore street, offers the strongest connect to downtown Baltimore. Immediately across

Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, to the East, the University of Maryland Medical school resides. By 2010 the University constructed a new 470,000 square foot Bio Park to the West of MLK Boulevard and has since purchased surrounding vacant parcels for future development.[38] The Bon Secours Baltimore Health System anchors the west end of the axis. In between the two anchors the remains of the historic retail corridor provide redevelopment potential. Washington Boulevard in Pigtown also offers a much-needed East-West connection and has seen a recent increase in local business. Most notably development has rallied around the Mobtown Ballroom and new Suspended Brewing Company opened in early 2018.[39] Additional landmarks include Franklin Square, Union Square, and Hollins Market. Thanks to non-profits such as the Neighborhood Design Center, the Parks and People Foundation, and other murals and pocket parks are peppered throughout the neighborhood. The Greek Revival and Italianate architectural details and historic Churches provided heritage and culture most communities can only dream of. The pocket parks and murals bread a new culture of landscape and art into the area.[40]

Despite these strengths and opportunities South West Baltimore has seen little investment for one crippling reason, it has become isolated from the rest of the city. To the north the sunken highway acts as a canyon. To the west a river of cars on

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[38] Overview | UM BioPark, www.umbiopark.com/biopark
[39] Case, Wesley. "Suspended Brewing Company to Open in Pigtown This Weekend." Baltimoresun.com, 27 Feb. 2018, www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/music/midnight-sun-blog/bs-fe-suspended-brewing-tours-20180112-story.html.
[40] Connors, Emily, et al. "West Baltimore Street Toolkit for Commercial Revitalization." Edited by Michele Lamprakos, DRUM, 2014, drum.lib.umd.edu/handle/1903/16377.

MLK Jr. Boulevard limits access. To the South a desert of once great industrial infrastructure stands. And to the East a large cemetery acts as a lake.

At the block scale (dimension) there are also many strengths and weaknesses. The blocks have an appropriate scale for walkability at 300' x 350' often with an alley running through them. Most of the streets are one-way two-lane roads featuring 8' parallel parking on one or both sides. Sidewalks are spacious and often feature stoops producing out into them providing some separation from building facades. Alleys provide tighter spatial conditions, often one lane with parking on one side and narrower sidewalks. Row homes on typical blocks and allies range from two to three stories, some with pitched third floors or English basements. Unfortunately, the facades, trees, sidewalks, and streets have been poorly maintained and the blocks and alleys have high vacancy. Additionally, many the square shaped blocks that do not feature alleys have green space at their center. For a time, these spaces acted as great amenities, but during decline the spaces became dangerous. Because these inner block parks were not easily visible from the street, they became areas of crime. This led to many of them being paved to prevent overgrown vegetation from hindering visibility.

Zooming into the third scale (detail), buildings feature a diversity of historically relevant architecture styles. These styles include Federal, Greek Revival, Italianate, and Second Renaissance Revival. Unfortunately, it is often cost prohibitive to bring these buildings up to code, creating a barrier to vacancy mitigation. Patterson Park Community Development Corporation (PPCDC) and Trace Architects have provided precedent for conversion of historic buildings into low income dwellings on

the North East side of Baltimore City. The University of Maryland's West Baltimore Street Toolkit for Commercial Revitalization as well as Gensler's Master Plan provide residents with tools for researching, buying, and managing real-estate.

There is clearly a framework for rebirth of Southwest Baltimore. The value of its historic structures and location near the center of Baltimore city cannot be underestimated. More importantly the community is immensely committed to revitalization. The South West Partnership organizes meetings to discuss and act upon major issues. Committees for different topics such as education and housing were formed and meet regularly. Non-profits such as Lots of Art and Parks and People participate in these efforts. Stakeholders such as the University of Maryland are also active in the community. With this energy and strong foundation South West Baltimore is poised to improve immensely, but if it remains disconnected from the remainder of the city progress will be slow. As population increase in Baltimore city new residents will favor more connected neighborhoods. A closer examination of growing communities such as Federal Hill and Fells Point may reveal that South West Baltimore's greatest weakness has spared it from gentrification and culturally devoid developer driven augmentations. This has afforded the South West Partnership a unique opportunity to grow while maintaining their unique character.

Section 7: Baltimore City Future Outlook

Governing's study of gentrification provides data for individual cities. Between 2000 and 2015 39 of Baltimore's 129 qualifying neighborhoods were

gentrified. This constitutes a 23.2% rate. This is a significant increase from the 9%

rate experienced in the 1990s.[41] Mapping these neighborhoods provides a

development pattern in the city directly shaped by urban renewal infrastructure.

Socioeconomic dividers are created by Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard on the

West and Routh 83 on the East. In between these two major roads is well connected

urbanity with easy access to the central business district. These areas such as Federal

Hill, Locus Point, Mount Vernon, and Hamden represent a north south spine of rapid

development. The Inner Harbor waterfront extends East along which Harbor Point,

Fells Point, and Brewers Hill have seen significant development. North of this east-

west leg Rout 40 disconnects development from norther communities.

Today the majority of development occurs along this north south axis and

eastern leg. Outside of this area predominantly African American working-class

communities inhabit crumbling structures and streets disconnected from amenities

and opportunities by major highways. The diagram created is often referred to as the

"white L and black butterfly". Along the "white L" countless new luxury apartments

are coming online, Harbor Point offers several new high rise office towers, and Fells

Point celebrated the opening of the Sagamore Pendry Baltimore hotel.[42][43] Along with

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[41] "Baltimore Gentrification Maps and Data." *Governing*, www.governing.com/gov-data/baltimore-gentrification-maps-demographic-data.html.

[42] "Harbor Point." *Harbor Point*, beattydevelopment.com/harbor-point/.

[43] Swartz, Dan. "Peek Inside Kevin Plank's New Baltimore-Themed Hotel: Washingtonian (DC)." *Washingtonian*, 18 Sept. 2018, www.washingtonian.com/2017/04/06/sagamore-pendry-hotel-brings-gritty-luxury-baltimore-kevin-planks-60m-project-provides-latest-escape-d-c-residents/.

the hotel Under Armor found Kevin Plank's development company, Sagamore

Development Co. plans a $5.5 billion development on the southernmost point of the

center city called Port Covington. The development proposes 14.1 million square feet

of mixed-use development, public transit, a 3.9 million square foot Under Armor

headquarters, parks, and restored waterfront on 235 acres.[44] Plank is also involved in

the disinvested communities of Baltimore as well but not nearly to the same

magnitude. How might investment in the areas that need it most become attractive

financially, an inclusive community, and well-connected development.
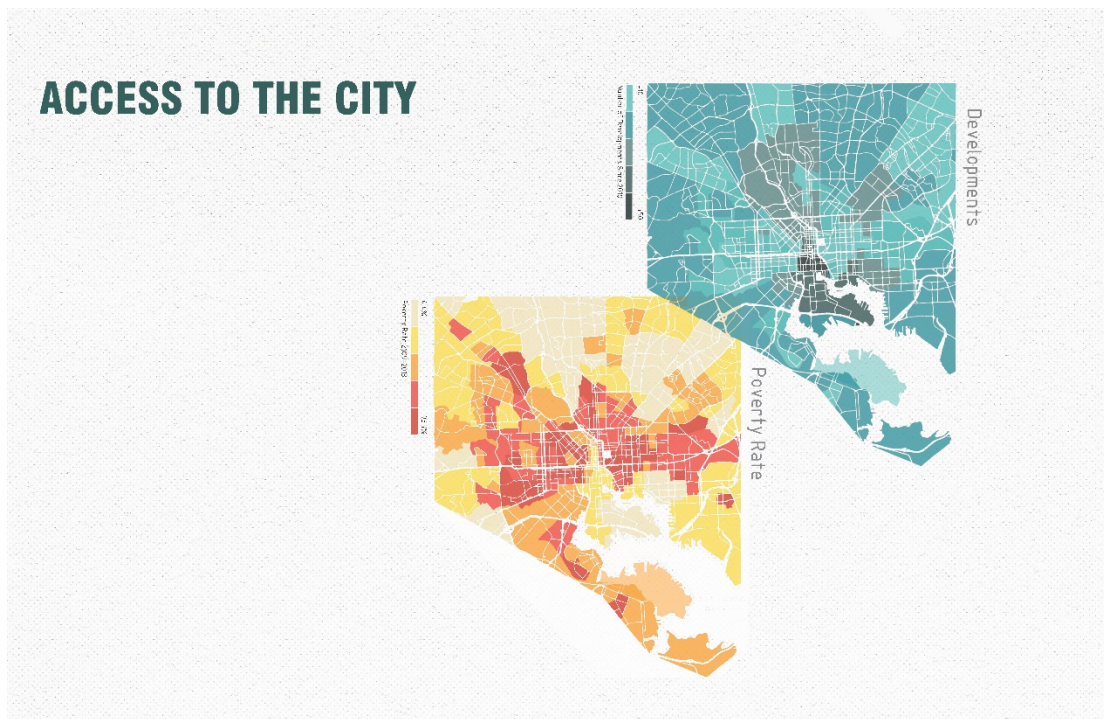
Caption: Neglect in of high Poverty Rate vs. Displacement in Redevelopment areas[45]

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[44] Sisson, Patrick. "Can Baltimore's Billion-Dollar Waterfront Development Change the City's Direction?" *Curbed*, Curbed, 11 Apr. 2017, www.curbed.com/2017/4/11/15258408/baltimore-under-armour-port-covington-innovation-village.

[45] "Social Explorer." *Social Explorer*, www.socialexplorer.com/. Baltimore City

Chapter 3: Financing Affordable Housing

Section 1: Introduction

In North America a housing crisis increases in intensity resulting from increased cost of living and financial obstacles to providing affordable housing. Today a young family's mortgage amounts to over half of median income as compared to 23% in 1973 leading to a drop-in home ownership rates and an extremely high demand for rental units. Thus, rents have reached a two-decade peak according to the Harvard Center for Housing Studies. The working class is greatly affected by this competitive market, competing with the middle class for apartments. Two thirds of all low-income families in the US spend more than half their income on rent. Since 1980 federal assistance has shrunk from $33 billion a year to under $8 billion. Yet out of the 4.3 million poor households in the US only one quarter receive any subsidy[46]. The demand for affordable housing is growing while funding diminishes, keeping the supply on pair with the demand poses a complex financial challenge. The variety of methods used to address affordable housing around the world and throughout time highlight the nuances and complexity of the issue.

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[46]"Affordable Housing: Lessons from Canada," The American Prospect, accessed May 24, 2019, https://prospect.org/article/affordable-housing-lessons-canada.

People and places around the world are vastly different, but the need for safe, decent affordable housing is ubiquitous. The creation of affordable units has many approaches. Some countries such as the United States focus on incentivizing private developers. Conversely many post-industrial countries such as Canada, Sweden, Holland, and France have turned their efforts to aiding nonprofit community developers[47]. Most countries have turned away from government developed public housing as a result of the tremendous failures of mid-block residential towers, but Singapore remains steadfast in its public housing development. The key difference being that its housing supports a variety of classes as opposed to only those living in extreme poverty, thereby avoiding concentrations of poverty and the associated neglect and unrest[48]. The potential roles of the Government, private developers, and community groups frames a key discussion on the most effective approach to public housing development.

Today 80% of the population in Singapore, one of the densest cities in the world, lives in public housing. Yet it's livability score is among the heist in the world. The World Bank points to four reasons for this unlikely condition. Fist while most

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[47] "Affordable Housing: Lessons from Canada," The American Prospect, accessed May 24, 2019, https://prospect.org/article/affordable-housing-lessons-canada.

[48] WBG_Cities, "'But What about Singapore?" Lessons from the Best Public Housing Program in the World," World Bank Blogs, accessed May 24, 2019, https://blogs.worldbank.org/sustainablecities/what-about-singapore.

countries public housing has been reserved for those living in poverty Singapore has focused on creating mixed income neighborhoods and housing projects. This helps to ensure each community has access to public transport, education, and other amenities such as the socially economic diverse food markets, Singapore hawker centers. Residential buildings and blocks have commons spaces and corridors that encourage "kampong" (social cohesion) through human interaction. Second while the promotion of midblock towers as a reaction to overcrowding and air pollution created fragmented cities around the world Singapore truck a balance between density and access to light and air. Carefully designed building massing paired with high quality urban space provide cohesive urbanity with interwoven green space[49].

These successes where most of the world failed were made possible through savvy Government developed public housing. In the US public housing is weak in funding, construction quality, and maintenance. Singapore excels at all three. The World Bank's third reason for Singapore's success it quality construction and maintenance. The Housing & Development Act (1960) provided the Housing and Development Board primary control of housing development. Today the country owns 90% of land as compared to 49% in 1965. This has given the state leverage in contractor selection leading to the creation of the "Merit Star Scheme" in which consistently high-quality contractor receive bid preference. Town Councils were introduced in 1989 to "empower local elected representatives and residents to run

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[49] WBG_Cities, "'But What about Singapore?" Lessons from the Best Public Housing Program in the World," World Bank Blogs, accessed May 24, 2019, https://blogs.worldbank.org/sustainablecities/what-about-singapore.

their own estates." Creating ownership ensured quality care of housing. were Lastly the counties Housing and Development Agency (HDB) has strong public and political support leading to robust and consistent funding since the 1960s. Clearly the successful history of public housing in the country fuels further development and maintenance[50]. Governments with poor to horrific track records developing public housing struggle to fund, construct, and maintain projects and thus have turned to private sector subsidies.

Canada provides a good case study of the community group method. Like the United States, Canada supports private builders and lenders in the production of affordable housing but focuses its provisions on community developers rather than corporate. In the 1950s and 1960s the Canadian Government developed large scale public housing projects and while the developments never reached the point of extreme disarray as their US counterparts a new approach was initiated in the 1970s. An amendment was made to the National Housing Act in 1973 creating the national nonprofit housing supply program. Development assistance along with financial subsidies are provided to community groups, church organizations, labor unions, and municipal governments. These community-based organization, not governmental or corporate, are empowered to aid the working class in their communities. These developments have been termed "Social Housing" and today make up about half of

[50] WBG_Cities, "'But What about Singapore?" Lessons from the Best Public Housing Program in the World," World Bank Blogs, accessed May 24, 2019, https://blogs.worldbank.org/sustainablecities/what-about-singapore.

Canada's 550,000 subsidized rental units, the other half represented by corporate private developers[51].

Social Housing projects average 50 units and are scattered across metropolitan areas as well as the suburbs. Until recently the program also allowed socially mixed housing projects. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) made this change in 1987, much to the dismay of community developers or "Third-Sector Builders". While the policy change increases the delivery of affordable units social and economic integration is made more challenging. The Third Sector consists of three groups. Public nonprofits are companies established by local governments. Private nonprofits are community organizations such as church groups, unions, and community organizations. Lastly cooperatives are resident owned and managed subsidized housing. CMHC states " the private market, even if operating efficiently, (is) incapable of providing adequate housing at an affordable cost for every Canadian." This acknowledgement raises the question, why is the US focused primarily on subsidizing private cooperate development of affordable units?

Section 3: Approaches Across Time

Following World War II, the United States entered what would become a continual process of reinventing housing for the working class. The United States Housing Act of 1937 was the nation's first attempt at public housing aimed to

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[51] "Affordable Housing: Lessons from Canada," The American Prospect, accessed May 24, 2019, https://prospect.org/article/affordable-housing-lessons-canada.

improve living conditions during the Great Depression. After WW II the focus of public housing shifted to housing those returning from the war. The housing, while segregated racially, served a variety of class and was regarded as a respectable housing option. In the 1950s and 1960s following Deindustrialization, White Flight, and Red Lining these existing projects housed concentrations of extreme poverty, resulting in the dangerous, vertical ghettoes of Chicago's Cabrini Green, and St. Louis Pruitt-Igoe project among others (prospect)[52]. In the 1970s alternatives to government developed public housing sought to address concentrations of poverty through relaying on the private sector. Thus, Inclusionary zoning was developed. The economic implications of these new strategies on public and private entities lead to today's most prevalent affordable housing strategies, LIHTC and CDCs. Finally, in 1992 HOPE VI established a program redevelop dilapidated existing public housing. Voucher programs for individuals or families, through section 8, have been around since The New Deal and the Great Depression in the 1930s. This program has been rebranded as the Choice Voucher program and has seen some success. More recently this program has evolved into Opportunity Neighborhoods. Understanding the establishment, strengths, and weakness of these programs can provide a view of the direction of affordable housing as it continues to transform.

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[52] "Affordable Housing: Lessons from Canada," The American Prospect, accessed May 24, 2019, https://prospect.org/article/affordable-housing-lessons-canada.

Caption: US Affordable Housing Approaches over time[53]

Section 4: Inclusionary Zoning

In the early 1970s the US began replacing its public housing programs with developer incentives to deliver affordable units. Inclusionary Zoning (IZ) incentivizes or requires the private sector to provide below market rate (BMR) housing[54]. Some incentives include increased density, parking or design waivers, zoning variances, tax abatements, fee waivers, and expedited permitting. Tax abatements and fee waivers

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[53] "Social Explorer." *Social Explorer*, www.socialexplorer.com/.

[54] Benjamin Schneider and CityLab, "The Ultimate Primer on Inclusionary Zoning," CityLab, September 6, 2018, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2018/07/citylab-university-inclusionary-zoning/565181/.

diminish any increased tax base or revenue gained by a jurisdiction as a result of the

development. Reduced state revenue combined with increased demand on public

infrastructure from density bonuses impact public cost[55]. Affordable unit

requirements, often by percentage, have recently become more prevalent, but have

received strong opposition from developers[56]. They pose a key question, how much

affordable product can a jurisdiction require before housing development is not

feasible? Critics claim affordable requirements diminish housing production there by

inflating rent[57]. These questions arise because incentives (if any) often only reduce

not eliminate the economic impact of affordable unit requirements[58]. Incentives alone

cost the public, while affordable unit requirements put the weight on developers.

Incentives can be used to justify imposition of inclusionary housing requirements, but

ultimately IZ costs both the public and the developer[59].

      Inclusionary Zoning requirements varies between states. One reason for this is

because low-income households are defined as households that make under 80% of

area median income (AMI). For example, Baltimore city's AMI of $77,394 is lower

that San Francisco's low-income threshold, which is the highest low-income limit in

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[55] Inclusionary Housing. "Incentives." Inclusionary Housing. Inclusionary Housing, August 31, 2016.
    https://inclusionaryhousing.org/designing-a-policy/land-dedication-incentives/

[56] Benjamin Schneider and CityLab, "The Ultimate Primer on Inclusionary Zoning," CityLab,
September 6, 2018, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2018/07/citylab-university-inclusionary-
zoning/565181/.
[57] Ibid

[58] Inclusionary Housing. "Incentives." Inclusionary Housing. Inclusionary Housing, August 31, 2016.
https://inclusionaryhousing.org/designing-a-policy/land-dedication-incentives/.

[59] Ibid

the Nation at $105,350. No matter the city or its income the affordable housing supply houses less than half of its low-income population. Boston, Massachusetts houses 38.2% of its 121,710 low income households. This is over 10% more than any other major US city[60]. A study of the three cities Inclusionary Housing Laws further highlights the relationships between BMR requirements and developer profits. Once again; how much affordable product can a jurisdiction require before housing development is not feasible? Construction cost paly a roll and vary between cities but not enough to make smaller markets like Baltimore reasonable locations for robust Inclusionary Zoning Laws.

San Francisco has had an inclusionary program since 2002. The city is a frontrunner in this respect as well as the intensity of its requirements. A developer of a new housing project of 10 units or more is subject to one of three options. First to dedicate 19% of the project units to affordable housing. The second option allows developers to build the equivalent of 19% of their project's units off site. Thirdly owners may opt to pay a fee per square foot of construction to the San Francisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development, directed by Kate Hartley. Hartley states that very few projects opt to construct of site. Conversely the department has collected nearly $200,000,000 in fees as of March 2018. Averaging $20,000,000 per year in fees Hartley boasts that 2,000 units have been built in the last 10 years with hundreds more in the way. Through this program and others, the city

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[60] Kelsey Ramírez, "Top 10 Cities Where Low-Income Housing Sees Best Performance," HousingWire.com (HousingWire, July 21, 2017), https://www.housingwire.com/articles/40745-top-10-cities-where-low-income-housing-sees-best-performance.

hopes to provide 30% affordable units each year[61]. At over $120,000 the cities local

median income nearly twice the country's, allowing for a stringent inclusionary

program without crippling housing development. The construction cost area

multiplier for the city is 122, meaning the cost of construction is 1.22 time the US

average. Over time the exorbitant rental rates in the area and eventual resale value

reveal the increased construction cost is nominal fraction of the return profit.

     Boston finds itself near the middle of the market with a $85,000 median

household income. For this reason, the city implements its Inclusionary Development

Policy (IDP) more delicately. Established in 2000 today the program "requires that

market-rate housing developments with ten or more units and in need of zoning relief

support the creation of income restricted housing" Similar the San Francisco this can

be accomplished several ways. Include a percentage of income restricted units, create

income restricted units near the development, and or contribute to the IDP fund. It is

important to note that only If a project needs "zoning relief" is it required to comply.

Additionally, IDP allows a mix of the three compliance options making it easier to

fulfill. Most importantly the percentage of income restricted units is fluid. The city

updates the required percentage every few years to align with the health of the

housing market. Moreover, different areas of the city have different requirement. The

leniency and flexibility of the program as payed dividends. Private developers have

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[61] Philippe Djegal, "In-Depth: What Is San Francisco's Inclusionary Housing Program?,"
KRON (KRON, March 1, 2018), https://www.kron4.com/news/bay-area/in-depth-what-is-san-
franciscos-inclusionary-housing-program/1001343205.

contributed 2,599 income restricted units through their projects and 1,414 units

through IDP funds. In 2019 a feasibility study incorporating housing advocates, not-

profits, private developers, and the general public will provide guidance for the next

iteration of Boston's IDP program[62].

Developers claim that Baltimore's housing market is too weak for IZ. Boston

exemplifies the power of clever implementation. Baltimore's Median Household

income is $77,394 as compared to Boston's $85,000. The population is also a shade

smaller at 611,000 compared to Boston's 685,000. Thus, Baltimore city must be

exceptionally resourceful to make IZ viable, but success is within reach. Today the

inclusionary housing program is greatly lacking. The law states;

> *"This subtitle is not intended to impose additional financial burdens on a*
>
> *developer or a residential project. Rather the intent of this subtitle is that the*
>
> *cost offsets and other incentives authorized under it will fully offset any*
>
> *financial impact resulting from the inclusionary requirements imposed."*

Thus, the public must absorb all costs associated with affordable units and developers

are unaffected. Furthermore, if incentives are not available to compensate a developer

the subtitle can be waived entirely. Although task forces have been organized and

recommendations proposed, attempts by the Citizens Planning & Housing

Association (CPHA) to improve the law have been unfruitful. One attempt received

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[62] "Planning." Boston Planning & Development Agency. Accessed May 24, 2019.
http://www.bostonplans.org/planning/planning-initiatives/inclusionary-development-policy-2019-
update.

93 amendments in order to prevent implementation. Today the CPHA is pushing for the conduction of a feasibility study to determine appropriate requirements on developments without stifling the housing market. Studies like the proposed are, in part, responsible for Boston's success. Yet the study is fighting to gain support[63]. Thaden and Wang identified 889 jurisdictions using inclusionary housing programs, thus many areas in the US do not even offer incentives. Baltimore may not be the best practice case study, but steps are being taken, albeit an uphill climb.

A study by Emily Thaden and Ruoniu Wang studies the history of inclusionary housing programs. The study identified 889 jurisdictions 80% of which are located in New Jersey, California, and Massachusetts. Between 1969 and 1975 several laws and court cases in these states worked to terminate and prevent land use regulations that prevented the construction of housing for low-income individuals in certain areas. This led to the first inclusionary housing program in 1971. Since then the number of programs has increased sharply each decade. According to Thaden and Wang, the most common incentives are density bonuses and zoning variances. The study also showed that of the buildings subject to affordable unit requirements the majority comply with 11-15% requirements followed by 6-10%. Lastly the vast majority of the units serve 61% AMI levels or greater and only 1/8 of rental units support the 50%-60% AMI population[64].

[63] "Understanding Inclusionary Housing," Citizens Planning and Housing Association, Inc., May 29, 2018, http://www.cphabaltimore.org/2018/05/understanding-inclusionary -housing/.

[64] "Here's How 1,379 Affordable Housing Programs Stack Up," Next City, accessed May 24, 2019, https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/news-inclusionary-housing-survey-progress-limitations.

Inclusionary Zoning weather required or incentivized relays to heavily on both private development and a healthy housing market. Concerns of public costs such as tax abatements and increase public infrastructure associated with increased density allowances also place limitations on IZ. Since its inception in the 1970s the program facilitated the nation's departure from government developed public housing and encouraged some semblance of mixed income communities. Most noteworthy, much of the affordable units through IZ serve 80% AMI populations leaving much of the low-income population in need of housing.[65] As early as the late 1980s it was apparent that IZ alone could not supply enough quantity or diversity of affordable housing. This brought about the next iterations of affordable housing processes, LIHTC, HOPE VI, and housing vouchers.

Section 5: Low Income Housing Tax Credits:

Inclusionary Zoning process help primarily populations of 60% AMI and above while posing financial costs to both developers and the public. IZ's fee compliance options or "in lieu fees" result in affordable housing deliveries away from the new development, sacrificing mixed income potential. Partially to address these issues Congress enacted Section 42 or Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) in 1986, as part of the Tax Reform Act. LIHTC offers developers and investors tax

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[65] "Here's How 1,379 Affordable Housing Programs Stack Up," Next City, accessed May 24, 2019, https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/news-inclusionary-housing-survey-progress-limitations.

credits in exchange for a percentage of affordable units with their projects. LIHTC can vary between states but typically projects have the option to supply 20% of total units at 50% AMI or 40% of total units at 60% AMI. This addresses mixed income and lower income populations.[66]

How the program economically effects parties involved is a much more complex question. Each year the federal government allocates funds to the program. States' portion of these funds is determined by population among other factors. A state then reviews application from developers seeking tax credits and awards credits to the most qualified projects. Each state defines its own Qualified Application Plan or QAP by which developments are evaluated. Developers submitting applications must determine the quantity of credits it aims to receive based upon the construction cost of the affordable units provided multiplied by either 9% or 4%. 9% Tax Credits are more competitive than 4% Tax Credits. If is a Tax Credit is awarded to a developer, they can either keep the Credits or sell them to an Investor in exchange for equity for the development. The credits, award over a ten-year period, must be worth more than the equity the investor provides in order to incentivize investment by a third party.

In summary a local government awards a developer tax credits in exchange for affordable units and this developer offers investors the tax credits in exchange for equity. Because Tax Credits are provided using Federal Funds local Governments do not face economic costs by incentivizing affordable housing, unlike IZ programs.

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[66] "The Affordable Housing Reader: 1st Edition (Paperback) - Routledge." Edited by J. Rosie Tighe and Elizabeth J Mueller, *Routledge.com*, Routledge, 18 Sept. 2012, www.routledge.com/The-Affordable-Housing-Reader-1st-Edition/Tighe-Mueller/p/book/9780415669382.

Investors receive tax credits at a greater value than the upfront equity invested in a project, and developers receive equity for the project. A developer makes a tradeoff of project operation income as a result of affordable units in exchange for construction equity. Furthermore, a lowered NOI results in a smaller construction loan and ultimately a lower and or less efficient return on investment as a result. A way to compensate for these potential losses is by converting the affordable units to market rate after the 15-year restricted income requirement. LIHTC reduces economic cost to the local governments and potentially developers as compared to IZ while providing investors with tax credits, but plenty of criticism exists around the program.

Critics of LIHTC point out the governments' primary incentive program, allows developers to gentrify affordable units after a given time period, often 15 years. This may compensate private developers but creates a "rolling depletion of private low-rent housing built at public expense." (prospect). Additionally, the limited LIHTC grands and other subsidies are susceptible to political favoritism, benefitting well connected developers (prospect). Post occupancy compliance policy can be overly cumbersome. Most importantly Kirk McClure of the University of Kansas highlights the inefficiency of the program. For example, if a government pays $1,000 over ten years in tax credits the credits are worth $780 today. An investor is willing to pay $590 for these credits today. Thus, as a result of discounting rates, the government is paying as much as $1.32 on the dollar to investors for affordable

housing. The primary challenges with LIHTC include this inefficiency and developer's tradeoffs of upfront equity to investment return.[67]

Section 6: CDCs + Public Private Community Partnerships

The ineffectiveness of government public housing in the 1950's and 1960's inspired Community Development Corporations. The addition of IZ in the 1970s and LIHTC in the 1980s provided these groups with more tools for development. Because both IZ and LIHTC often negatively impact development profits the programs fit more naturally for organization less concerned with the bottom line such as CDCS. These community groups sought to fight the war on poverty while creating community ownership. But these groups often led by community activists, churches, and social service agencies typically lack funding. Thus, trading long term development profits for equity gather through LIHTC made perfect sense for these groups who intended to implement affordable units regardless.

In the 1970s the federal government funded around 100 CDCS and community groups form a few hundred more. In the 1980s these numbers increased by a factor of ten. The rise of the CDCS aligns with Canada's national nonprofit housing supply program, established in 1973, but to a significantly lesser extent. Aside from quantity the main difference between Canada and the US is that the

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[67] "The Affordable Housing Reader: 1st Edition (Paperback) - Routledge." Edited by J. Rosie Tighe and Elizabeth J Mueller, *Routledge.com*, Routledge, 18 Sept. 2012, www.routledge.com/The-Affordable-Housing-Reader-1st-Edition/Tighe-Mueller/p/book/9780415669382.

former provided development support in addition to subsides to nonprofits. Many of the US CDCS lacked development proficiency and were often unprepared organizationally and financially to own and operate a large-scale development. In recent years this has led to public-private-community partnerships, bringing together local governments, businesses leaders, and community activists. While relatively young these projects have proven effective in several cities such as Cleveland, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, New York, and Baltimore[68].

Section 7: HOPEVI

In 1993 the Independent Agencies Appropriations Act established HOPE VI through the Department of Veteran Affairs and Housing and Urban Development (HUD). While LITHC, CDCS, and IZ had been making steady improvements in affordable housing in new construction many existing pre 1970 public housing projects continued to provide extreme substandard living conditions and struggled to maintain and operate their facilities. The HOPE VI was a departure from attempts to rehabilitate housing and instead sought to promote demolition and new construction. New developments are often in the form of mixed income communities, making development feasible for private developers and preventing concentrated poverty to prevail. Equally as important, HOPE VI incorporated measures to address building

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[68] "Affordable Housing: Lessons from Canada," The American Prospect, accessed May 24, 2019, https://prospect.org/article/affordable-housing-lessons-canada.

management and social services.[69] This critical innovation acknowledges that housing alone cannot solve the complex issues of those living in poverty. Individuals and families suffer from greater rates of mental and physical health issues, barriers to employment, substance abuse, and financial management difficulties. On site social services such as case management, job placement, health care, GED training, and childcare programs could support families improve quality of life[70].

HOPE VI supports corporate developers or CDCS in efforts to revitalize public housing sites in one of four ways. The forms of support include; grants for construction or major rehabilitation, demolition, and acquisition of site for offsite construction. The fourth funding option aids community supportive programs, including relocation during demolition[71]. HOPE VI was created with the intention of allowing all existing residents to move back to their communities into the new mixed income housing developments. During construction onsite residents had to be relocated to either other public housing projects or market rate buildings using a housing voucher. One of the greatest criticisms of HOPE VI is that displaced residents rarely move back.

The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study provides data on displaced residents and improved quality of life in five HOPE VI projects. The study conducted in the early 2000s shows that only 16% of displace residents return to the community. Out

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[69] "About HOPE VI - Public and Indian Housing - HUD | HUD.gov / U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)," HUD, accessed May 24, 2019, https://www.hud.gov/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/about.

[70] "The Affordable Housing Reader: 1st Edition (Paperback) - Routledge." Edited by J. Rosie Tighe and Elizabeth J Mueller, *Routledge.com*, Routledge, 18 Sept. 2012, www.routledge.com/The-Affordable-Housing-Reader-1st-Edition/Tighe-Mueller/p/book/9780415669382.

[71] (HUD)

of the 84% that do not return 43% are part of the voucher program, 22% move to other public housing projects, 10% live in private housing, 4% are home owners, and 1 % are homeless or in prison[72]. This statistic threatens one of HOPE VI primary goals, to provide social services on site. Residents that do not move back to the site cannot benefit from these services and thus the Tracking Study shows that while the majority of residents report improved housing, and safety, issues of health and employment continue[73]. As a result, those relocated through the voucher program report a 45% rate of financial hardship, paying rent and utilities[74]. Those designated as "hard-to-house" (those suffering from mental or physical health ailments or substance abuse) are more likely to relocate to public housing. Thus, reaping little to no benefits from HOPE VI and further extubating condition at their new locations[75]. Lastly those moving into new construction, relocated through vouchers, or transferred to public housing typically live in predominantly minority neighborhoods, continuing the pattern of segregation.

It is important to note that those moving into the new communities constructed through HOPE VI gain benefits of mixed income, social services, and healthy privately managed buildings. Weather this population is made up of former residents or not the program is making a big difference. The major shortcomings of HOPE VI are a poor return rates, lack social services to those who do not return,

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[72] "The Affordable Housing Reader: 1st Edition (Paperback) - Routledge." Edited by J. Rosie Tighe and Elizabeth J Mueller, *Routledge.com*, Routledge, 18 Sept. 2012, www.routledge.com/The-Affordable-Housing-Reader-1st-Edition/Tighe-Mueller/p/book/9780415669382. Pg 359
[73] Ibid pg364
[74] Ibid
[75] Ibid

financial difficulties by those relocated through the voucher program, and few options

for the hard-to-house.

Section 8: Baltimore Market Analysis
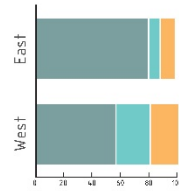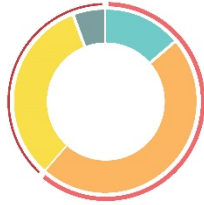
Economics + Demographics
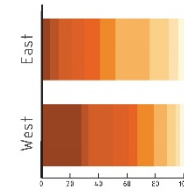Diversity: West vs. East

Population Density/ sqmi

Family vs. Non Family

East Family

East Non Family
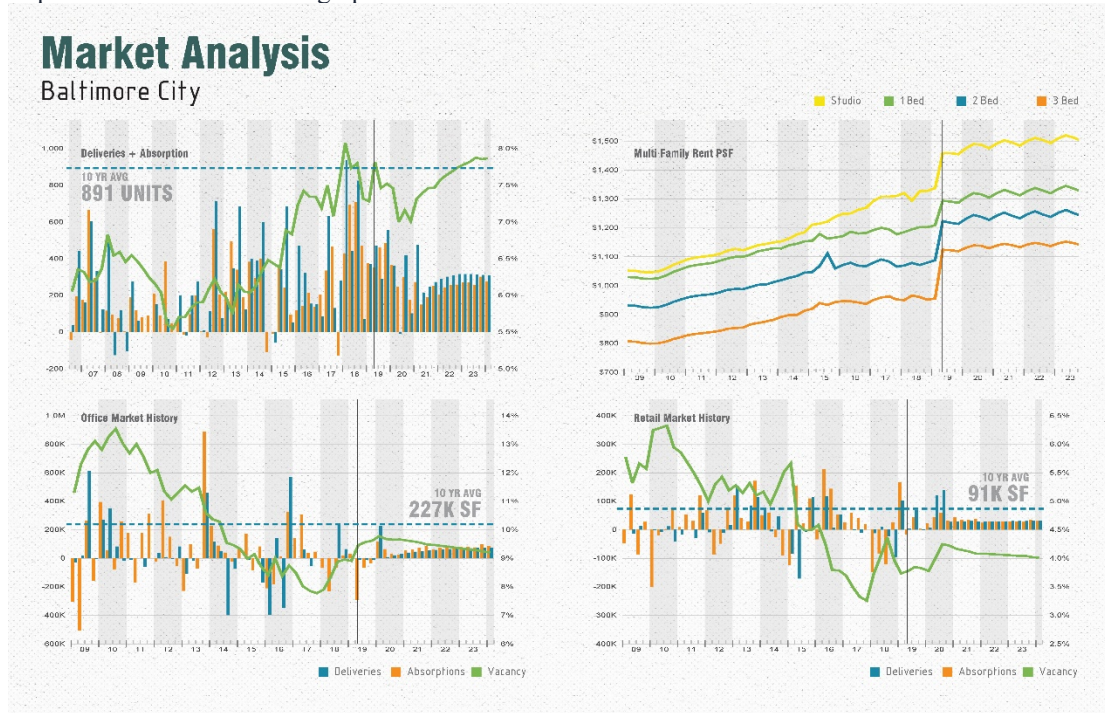
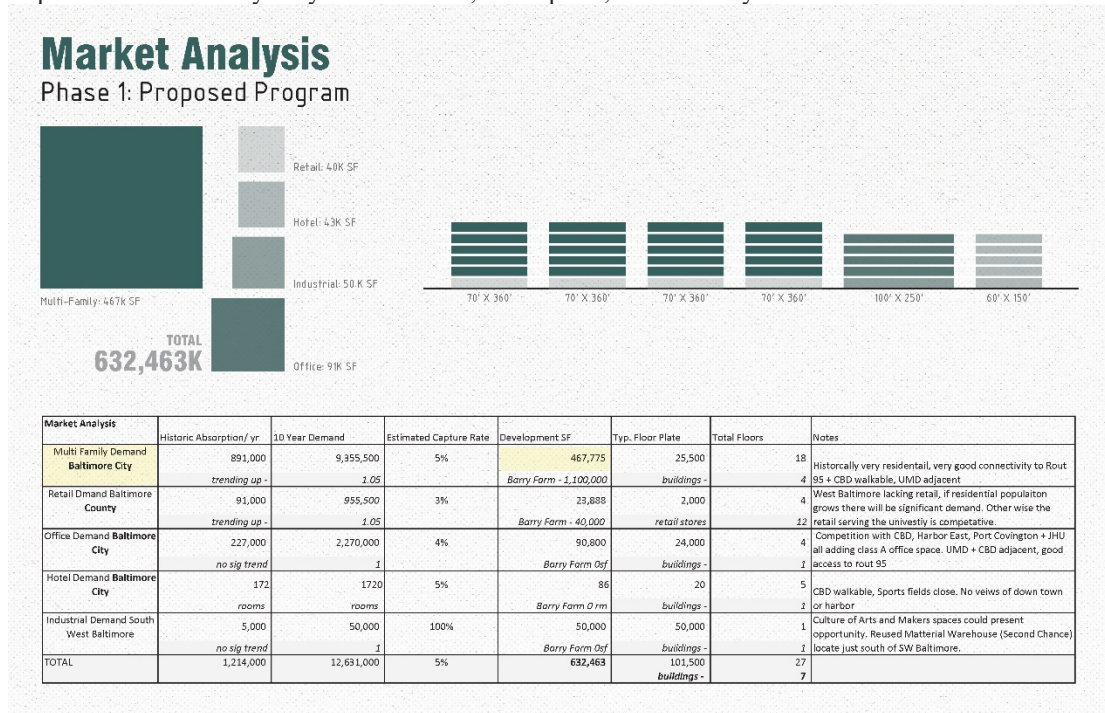West Non-Family

West Family

Housing

Vacant

Own

Rent

Income

200k +
150 –199k
100–149k
75–99k
50–74k
35–49k
25–34k
15–24k
10–15k
Less 10k

Caption: Center West Demographics[76]

Market Analysis
Baltimore City

Deliveries + Absorption
10 YR AVG
891 UNITS

Multi-Family Rent PSF

Studio   1 Bed   2 Bed   3 Bed

Office Market History
10 YR AVG
227K SF

Deliveries   Absorptions   Vacancy

Retail Market History
10 YR AVG
91K SF

Deliveries   Absorptions   Vacancy

Caption: Baltimore City 10-year Deliveries, Absorption, and Vacancy[77]

Market Analysis
Phase 1: Proposed Program

Retail: 40K SF
Hotel: 43K SF
Industrial: 50.K SF
Multi-Family: 467k SF
Office: 91K SF
TOTAL
632,463K

70' X 360'   70' X 360'   70' X 360'   70' X 360'   100' X 250'   60' X 150'

Market Analysis	Historic Absorption/ yr	10 Year Demand	Estimated Capture Rate	Development SF	Typ. Floor Plate	Total Floors	Notes
Multi Family Demand **Baltimore City**	891,000	9,355,500	5%	467,775	25,500	18	Historcally very residentail, very good connectivity to Rout 95 + CBD walkable, UMD adjacent
	trending up -	1.05		Barry Farm - 1,100,000	buildings -	4	
Retail Dmand Baltimore County	91,000	955,500	3%	23,888	2,000	4	West Baltimore lacking retail, if residential populaiton grows there will be significant demand. Other wise the retail serving the univestiy is competative.
	trending up -	1.05		Barry Farm - 40,000	retail stores	12	
Office Demand **Baltimore City**	227,000	2,270,000	4%	90,800	24,000	4	Competition with CBD, Harbor East, Port Covington + JHU all adding class A office space. UMD + CBD adjacent, good access to rout 95
	no sig trend	1		Barry Farm 0sf	buildings -	1	
Hotel Demand **Baltimore City**	172	1720	5%	86	20	5	CBD walkable, Sports fields close. No veiws of down town or harbor
	rooms	rooms		Barry Farm 0 rm	buildings -	1	
Industrial Demand South West Baltimore	5,000	50,000	100%	50,000	50,000	1	Culture of Arts and Makers spaces could present opportunity. Reused Matterial Warehouse (Second Chance) locate just south of SW Baltimore.
	no sig trend	1		Barry Farm 0sf	buildings -	1	
TOTAL	1,214,000	12,631,000	5%	632,463	101,500	27	
					buildings -	7	

[76] "Social Explorer." *Social Explorer*, www.socialexplorer.com/.

[77] "# 1 Commercial Real Estate Information Company." *CoStar*, www.costar.com/.

Caption: Estimated phase one development total square feet and program type

Caption: Choice Neighborhood Initiative Potential

# Chapter 4: Quality of Life

Section 1: Introduction

Quality of life as it pertains to postindustrial American cities can be characterized by swaths of neighborhood disinvestment perpetuating inequity. Undesirable land, lacking connectivity, health, and safety have housed working class communities since industrialization in the late 1800s for one of two reasons. First, undesirable locations are where the working class can afford to live and second, poor

communities are often characterized with open space and lack of political power allowing the implementation of harmful land uses.[78] Since deindustrialization urban decay has been fueled by class exclusive suburbanization, institutional racism, and miss guided economic growth. Disinvestment of entire sectors of US cities creates patters of poor quality of life. These areas are pledge by poor access to quality housing, health/safety, workforce development/ education, commercial development, and erosion of history/culture. Urbanist, planners, and municipalities have studied some version of these five categories and proposed strategies for overcoming each of them.

For over fifty years horrid conditions of US inner cities have been at the forefront of the countries' social agenda. As cities turn the corner from decay to revitalization it is imperative to keep the following in mind. The "war against poverty" is not against poverty but substandard quality of life. (Characterized by poor access to quality housing, health/safety, workforce development/education, commercial development, and the erosion of history/culture.) More importantly these characteristics are the symptoms of disinvested communities and not the cause of poor quality of life. This chapter will review how to address these symptoms but more importantly address their cause.

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[78] Lisa Benton-Short, and John R. Short. *Cities and Nature*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013. pg 36
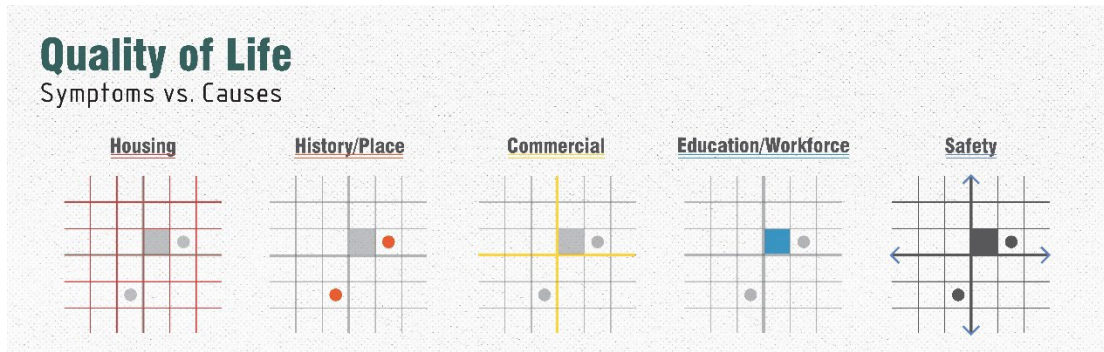
Caption: Quality of Life study areas

Section 2: Access to Quality Housing

The Problem: Access to quality housing is a growing problem in the United States. The supply of low- and moderate-income housing lags exorbitantly behind the demand. The cities with the best ratio of affordable housing units to low-income residents have a ratio of below 0.50. Boston Massachusetts' ratio of .386 represents the best ratio among major cities. [79] Since World War II the US has subsidies homeownership, beginning in suburbs. Today low subsidies support urban condo ownership. Both programs aid the middle class build equity, while the working class may rent their entire lives building no equity. The private sector does not build affordable housing because there is not enough profit.[80] Aging and dilapidated cheap housing stock causes health issues, both physical and mental. The lack of access to quality housing forces the poor and powerless into these conditions where health and

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[79] "" *HousingWire*, www.housingwire.com/.

[80] Brandon, Josh, and Jim Silver. *Poor Housing: a Silent Crisis*. Fernwood Publishing, 2015. Pg1

stress worsen, education suffers, and violence is prevalent.[81] There is also a great

need for intermediate housing. This population cannot afford to buy a home or condo,

but do not receive subsidies. The growing gap between those in the market rate rental

sector and those qualified for affordable subsidized housing implies a growth in

demand for intermediate housing.[82] Lastly Inclusionary Zoning, LIHTC, HOPEVI,

and Choice Vouchers benefit predominantly 60% to 80% AMI leaving the "hard to

house" with little to no housing access.

 Benefits of Housing: Affordable housing benefits individuals, increases local

spending, creates employment, increase local government revenue, and improves a

cities' ability to attract skilled workers.[83] Welfare economists analyze the economic

implications of policy, and studies have shown that subsidies have a positive

economic impact. The cost associated with health, homelessness, and crime outweigh

the cost of subsidized housing. This is in part due to the relationship between housing

and education, health, and crime.[84] Studies have shown that improved housing can

marginally improve educational achievement, significantly improve the rate of

criminal records among adolescent males and improve some aspects of health.[85] The

cost and complexity associated with crime, health, and homelessness have been

shown to outweigh cost of affordable housing.[86]

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[81] Ibid pg2

[82] Sarah Monk, and Christine M. E. Whitehead. *Making Housing More Affordable: the Role of Intermediate Tenures*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. pg13

[83] Brandon, Josh, and Jim Silver. *Poor Housing: a Silent Crisis*. Fernwood Publishing, 2015. pg 178
[84] Ibid. pg180-182
[85] Ibid pg187
[86] Ibid pg3

Strategies: The strategies to improve access to quality housing are quite numerous. As outlined in chapter 3 an array of government programs provides subsidized housing each with their pros and cons. Ultimately, they can be categorized into private sector incentives to provide affordable units (IZ and LITHC) , public housing redevelopment (HOPEVI), and voucher programs (Choice Housing) and have provided affordable housing across the country. Broadly speaking, these programs are limited in the amount of affordable housing they can provide, their mixed income implementation, assistance of the "hard to house", equity building, and acknowledgment of intermediate housing demand. Programs such as deed restricted homes, limited or zero equity cooperatives, and community land trusts break the mold of rental affordable housing to provide the low and intermediate-income households with equity.[87] The potential in the intermediate housing market is growing and untapped.[88] CDCs formed by church groups or community activists in conjunction with local governments address the "hard to house" at a greater rate than private developers. When in or adjacent to improving areas HOPEVI redevelopment of failed or inadequate public housing has made great strides in mixed income implementation. The production of adequate quantity of affordable housing will take all the strategies listed and more. Recently the affordable housing crisis has significantly impacted the middle class in some cities, making the situation increasingly dire. Policies and practices have come a long way over the past century. While recent iterations have

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[87] Sarah Monk, and Christine M. E. Whitehead. *Making Housing More Affordable: the Role of Intermediate Tenures*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. pg1

[88] Ibid pg13

been increasingly successful the rate of production must increase drastically to adequately address access to quality housing in US cities.

Section 3: Health and Safety

The Problem: Coupled to the vast innovation and opportunity afforded by industrialization is environmental degradation and subsequent negative effects on human health.[89] Well before the peak of industrialization cities around the world became plagued by polluted water and air. In 1854 the cause of a cholera outbreak in London was directly connected to water pollution. Over 100 years later the encapsulation of London in smog from coal burning in the winter lead to the 1956 Clean Air Act.[90] A decade later 90 deaths were attributed to air pollution in New York, algae blooms overtook the Potomac river in DC, and Lake Erie became devoid of life. The US finally took significant action in 1969 though the National Environmental Policy Act which established the EPA.[91] This century of extreme environmental disregard in urban centers disproportionately impacted low-income immigrants and minorities. Forced to live in substandard housing closest to health hazards the lack of health and safety became synonymous with the working class. This intense association became a justification for discriminatory practices throughout the 1900s.[92] Environmental policy along with workers' rights sought to

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[89] Lisa Benton-Short, and John R. Short. *Cities and Nature.* Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013. pg 31
[90] Ibid pg38
[91] Ibid pg39
[92] Ibid pg 36

correct the marginalization of minorities and immigrants, but in part incentivized the automation and outsourcing of industrial jobs. This coupled with the suburban subsidies for already privileged social classes sparked rapid urban decline.[93]

Through deindustrialization, suburbanization, and racial discrimination US cities became increasingly old, poor, African American, and politically powerless.[94] While during the industrial revolution the working class was often forced into areas with existing poor living conditions, deindustrialization saw once healthy urban communities become most susceptible to new harmful land uses. In the 1990s the largest concentrations of waste facilities and other uses producing toxic emissions were constructed in urban African American neighborhoods leading to low birth rates, cancer clusters, and other health issues. The lack of political power and available formally industrial sites produced a discriminatory effect, but discriminatory intent could not be proven.[95] These phenomena also contributed to where urban renewal infrastructure was implemented, further damaging inner city communities. Urban renewal invested in the development of the service economy in center cities and highway systems to access them, exclusively serving the suburban commuter middle class. The already suffering inner city population saw effectively no investment in their communities. Lack of investment perpetuates lack of access to food, healthcare, and quality housing. Additionally, disinvested communities also

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[93] Morley, Robert, et al. "The Death of American Manufacturing." *TheTrumpet.com*,
        www.thetrumpet.com/2061-the-death-of-american-manufacturing.

[94]Lisa Benton-Short, and John R. Short. *Cities and Nature*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013.
pg215
[95] Ibid

report feeling of indifference and hopelessness. Mental health contributes to lifestyles of smoking, over-eating, and lack of exercise.[96] Physical health and mental health compound one another resulting in exorbitant disparity in life expectancy.[97]

Crime also poses significant threat to quality of life and stems from many of the same factors that create diminished health, namely the absence of community investment. The lack of investment, again caused by the loss of industrial jobs, class exclusive suburbanization, and intuitional discrimination, produces two key social constructs which breed a culture of crime, physical decay and social apathy. Physical decay refers to both physical structures and the spaces they create, but both produce snow balling ultimately eroding safety. Known as the Broken Window Theory this concept claims that disinvestment decays buildings and infrastructure and once surroundings are visibly poorly taken care of (windows are broken) than there is less incentive for individuals to take care of their communities ultimately escalating from petty crime to violent crime. [98] A good analogy is the first article of dirty laundry to end of on a bedroom floor leads to a messy room and eventually a messy lifestyle, but in the case of cities the initiation was not a personal choice but a sentence. This theory is based on the deterioration of structure but also has spatial implications.

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[96] Brandon, Josh, and Jim Silver. *Poor Housing: a Silent Crisis*. Fernwood Publishing, 2015. pg3

[97] "Large Life Expectancy Gaps in U.S. Cities Linked to Racial & Ethnic Segregation by Neighborhood." *NYU Langone News*, nyulangone.org/news/large-life-expectancy-gaps-us-cities-linked-racial-ethnic-segregation-neighborhood.

[98] Vedantam, Shankar, et al. "How A Theory Of Crime And Policing Was Born, And Went Terribly Wrong." *NPR*, NPR, 1 Nov. 2016, www.npr.org/2016/11/01/500104506/broken-windows-policing-and-the-origins-of-stop-and-frisk-and-how-it-went-wrong.

Where the urban fabric decays such as vacant lots, overgrown public space, and poorly maintained streets quality of life also decays threatening safety. Areas with poor sightlines or vacancy as well as streets lacking scale and rhythm negatively affect safety in terms of both crime and pedestrian-vehicular safety.[99]

Physical decay is readily visible but social apathy is more difficult to discern. Crime rate can increase when a community or individual feels a lack of investment or importance because society disregards their wellbeing and home, and their family support system cannot adequately support them for issues of physical, mental, or financial health. Criminologists highlight that an individuals' perception of social apathy or invisibility may inspire action to create credibility, power, or to feel visible. One way this manifest is through criminal activity. "If people don't feel a part of (society) they will burn it down to feel its warmth." [100]

Strategies: Physical and mental health issues are produced by concentrations of poverty, lack of political power, and little to no investment creating poor access to resources. The antonyms of these causes, diversity, empowerment, and investment can address the causes of poor health in neighborhoods directly. Social services such providing case management for those experiencing homelessness, recovering form addiction, employment assistance, health care, health education, and food access can mitigate the effects of abysmal health in neighborhoods, but do not resolve issues at

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[99] Gehl, Jan. *Cities for People*. Island Press, 2010.

[100] *YouTube*, YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=uWNTMmktoCQ.

their source. Diversity, empowerment, and investment will be discussed later in this chapter.

Section 4: Education and Workforce

"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" – Nelson Mandela. Three meanings are embedded in this quote; education is an individual's greatest resource for success in life, educated individuals should use their skills to educate others, and the educated groups should implement their knowledge to change the world for the better. This quote also underscores how the cycle of poverty is perpetuated through the lack of access to education. Where educational attainment is low individuals struggle to succeed, educate others, and improve conditions. Of the few who do succeed many escape neighborhoods of adversity with their families, a missed opportunity to dilute concentrated poverty. These neighborhoods of poor educational attainment were created through the same combination of factors surrounding deindustrialization. While Brown vs. Board of Education legally desegregated schools in 1954 the practices of class exclusive suburbanization, redlining, blockbusting, and urban renewal severely limited its effectiveness by creating socio economic divisions. Economic disparity has played a significant role in the cycle of poverty. Tax base funded public schools create huge disparities in quality of education when there are great disparities of income. This creates a key paradox in the US education system. Those living in poverty cannot afford to live in jurisdiction with good public schools, but if a local school improves

than so does the cost of living displacing the working class. Cities have implemented

programs such as charter schools or choice programs provide access to quality

education in areas of concentrated poverty. The paradox in education is strongest

when there is a lack of economic diversity in neighborhoods thus mixed income

community is the key tool to combat low educational attainment.

A critical component to education as it relates to work force development lays

in shifting pedagogical philosophies of mainstream teaching practices. As the stock of

school buildings built in the middle of the 1900s reach a point of significant

renovation or redevelopment an opportunity has presented itself to shift learning

spaces to better serve students today. For centuries schools have focused almost

exclusively on empirical knowledge learned through listening or reading. This

practice has persisted despite an understanding that a percentage of the population

does not learn this way. There several modes of learning including experiential, and

projected base learning.[101] The second major concern with traditional practices is the

focus on information gathering. While this is valuable skill such as problem solving,

communication, and collaboration are underrepresented. These are the exact skills

most useful today as empirical information is always an internet search away if not

already automated into software. In short, the modes of learning native to US schools

do not serve all students and the pedagogical goals do not align with marketable

skills. Conversely alternative modes of learning address 21st century skills. New or

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[101] Nair, Prakash. *The Language of School Design: Design Patterns for 21st Century Schools.*
    DesignShare, 2013.

renovated schools attempt to address these concerns through the design of a variety of learning spaces conducive to a diversity of modes of learning. Unfortunately, disadvantaged communities have little access to funding for new spaces, designers with expertise to deliver appropriate spaces, or teaching and leadership staff capable of implementing innovative learning and teaching practices. Thus, educational advancement has been limited to wealthy public schools and private schools.

Education and skills training are imperative for adults and children alike. In areas of low educational attainment many middle-aged citizens lack marketable skills perpetuating unemployment and substandard incomes. In addition, job opportunities for the working class have been depleted in through deindustrialization and the rise of the internet age. Many workforce training programs focus on tradesman or construction training as well as health care support staff train. Historically the working class found opportunities in support service for the middle and upper class but in economically segregated cities working class residents are forced to travel long distances for employment. Mixed income communities could provide this population with access to jobs in restaurants, retail shops, office support, and entertainment facilities.

Correcting the US education system's tax-based funding process, teaching process, and pedagogical goals is far from low hanging fruit. Access to educational attainment, skills training, and local jobs is equally complex. But all these problems stem from concentrated poverty. While social services such as charter schools and job placement have an impact, mixed income communities address the cause of issues of education disparity and job access. It is important to note that even with a mix of

incomes present the impact of formal education alone is limited and social services will still play an important role. Moreover, social infrastructure such as libraries, museums, and other public spaces are imperative to the cultivation of a community's human potential. These spaces serve as locations for socialization, education, innovation, workforce training, and community autonomy. Similar to the causes of crime, disinvestment or perceived social apathy contributes to poor educational attainment, Social infrastructure can empower diverse and homogenous communities alike. "education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" Social infrastructure provides spaces for communities to educate themselves, others, and implement what they've learned.

Section 5: Conclusion

Housing, education, and safety are symptoms of poor quality of life. Once they exist, they perpetuate poor conditions. Concentrations of poverty have been pointed to as root causes of these symptoms, but starved economics are also a symptom of weak living conditions. It is imperative to note poverty does not equal poor quality of life. Instead environmental injustice produces weak living conditions. Before deindustrialization this manifested itself in unhealthy living conditions where the poor could afford to reside. Today poor connectivity and access to amenities is the prevailing condition for environmental injustice. These neighborhoods, typically those effected by redlining, block busting, and urban renewal, represent isolated areas of affordability for working class communities. This causes concentrated poverty,

lacking education, safety, housing, and so on. When addressing these neighborhoods both symptoms and causes must be considered to provide relief. [102]
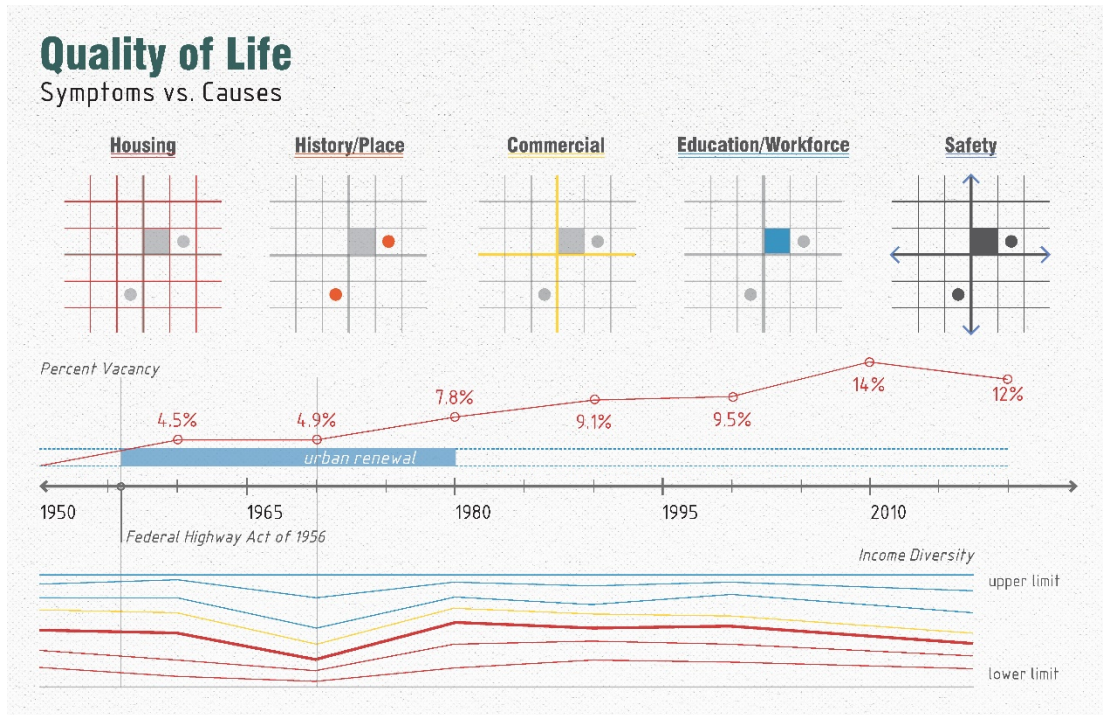
Caption: Disconnection of Urban Renewal relationship to vacancy and income diversity[103]

Chapter 5: Theory

Section 1: Introduction

Theories of architecture and urbanism are known to reflect the cultural values of a group of people at a point in time. These values are often derived from reactions
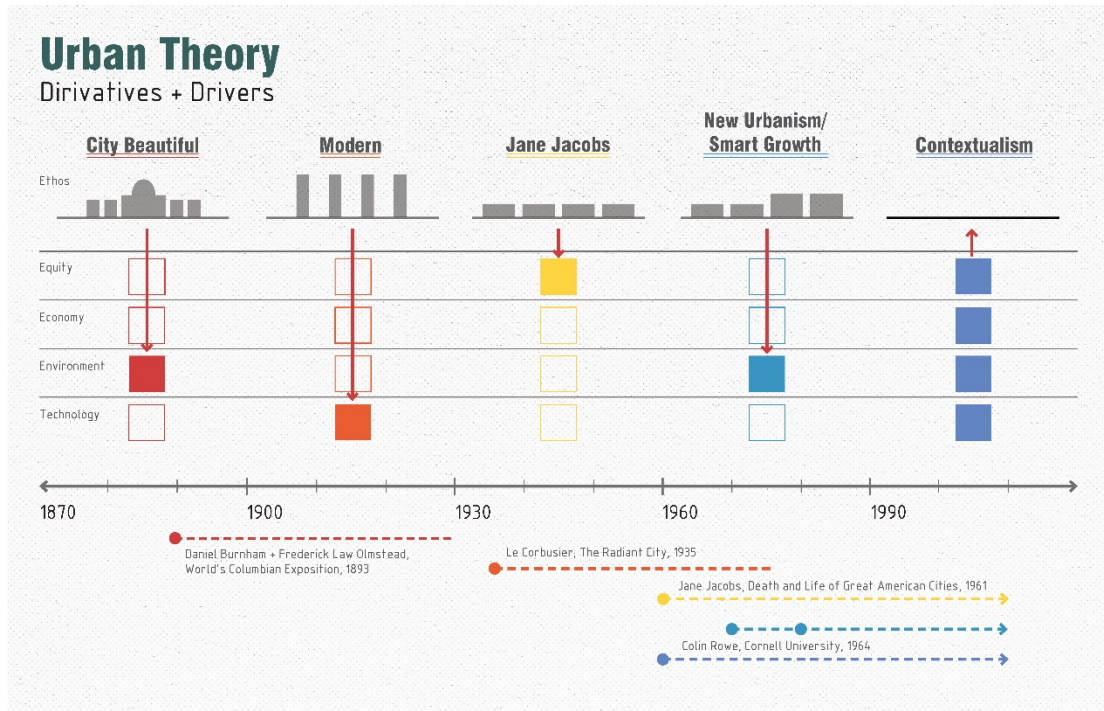
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[102] Brandon, Josh, and Jim Silver. *Poor Housing: a Silent Crisis.* Fernwood Publishing, 2015.
[103] Social explorer

to forces surrounding the current society. These forces include the environment, equity, economy, and technology. The ethos of a place and time can be derived from the relationships to these forces. For example, modern urbanist' relationship to rapid advancement in technology and dangerous urban environmental air quality sparked structures in open space accessed by cars. Ultimately the lack of human scale produced a disconnected inhumane ethos.

Alternatively, relationships to environment, equity, economy, and technology can be derive from existing ethos. Sometimes a positive reaction to ethos, such as the commitment to the "American Dream" of the suburban lifestyle perpetuated a relationship of apathy to the environment and equity. Other times a negative response to existing ethos. For example, the rejection of the medieval lifestyle in favor of a rebirth of classicism in the renaissance sought to emulate Roman priority on societal intellectual advancement and technological innovation. In other words, the shift in rejection of existing ethos created a positive relationship to technology. Weather ethos derives or is a derivative of relationships to environment, equity, economy, and technology it plays an integral role in quality of life. This is exemplified by modern urbanism's and suburbanization's severe damage to quality of life and the renaissance production of some of history's greatest ingenuities having positive impacts on quality of life from their inception through today. The study of how the four forces and ethos have been utilized in the past may shed light on the processes by which they should be utilized today. Simply, an evaluation and determination of approach to urban design processes.

Urban Theory
Dirivatives + Drivers

City Beautiful   Modern   Jane Jacobs   New Urbanism/ Smart Growth   Contextualism

Ethos

Equity

Economy

Environment

Technology

1870   1900   1930   1960   1990

Daniel Burnham + Frederick Law Olmstead,
World's Columbian Exposition, 1893

Le Corbusier; The Radiant City, 1935

Jane Jacobs, Death and Life of Great American Cities, 1961

Colin Rowe, Cornell University, 1964

Caption: US urban theory across time, derivatives vs. drivers

Section 2: City Beautiful Movement

In the late 1800s and early 1900s the growing job opportunity of industrial city center created a rapid rise in population leading to conditions featuring poor safety, pollution, and congestion. Pre-dating the car cities were forced to seek inward solutions. These social and environmental forces caused Daniel Burnham and Frederick Law Olmstead to develop the City Beautiful Movement. The movement focused on wide avenues, high quality landscaped space, and a Beaux-Arts notion of beauty and monument. It was believed that natural beauty and grandeur would give the poor a greater sense of responsibility and entice the wealthy to work and shop in city centers. This urban theory would be implanted in many US cities in the early 20th

century including Washington DC, San Francisco, and Chicago. The primary drivers of the movement were social and environmental, but it was also ethos driven as the character of Beaux-Arts European spaces were give great value and responsivity.[104]

Section 3: Modern Urbanism

Modern urban theory was developed throughout an extraordinarily difficult time in history. Aside from the World Wars the US and many other countries faced a huge economic downturn in the Great Depression, and increasingly polluted urban environments. Simultaneously rapid technological advancement also provided cause for drastic change in urban theory. Here we see forces of economy, environment, technology, and societal recovery from the horrors of the World Wars converging. These factors may have played a role in the openness to a drastic departure from urban form. The need for jobs and housing sponsored the reinvention of housing from dense and small scale to sprawling and increasingly large single-family homes or towers. Highway construction was also used to stimulate the economy and make the new sprawling urban and suburban configuration possible. The new configuration was also inspired by access to green space, light, and air. Commodities increasingly sparse in cities where pre environmental regulation factories polluted the air and

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[104] Blumberg, Naomi, and Ida Yalzadeh. "City Beautiful Movement." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 4 Jan. 2019, www.britannica.com/topic/City-Beautiful-movement.

water to dangerous levels. Possibly most importantly the modernist surrender to technology inspired designs completely reliant on car transportation. Le Corbusier, a leader in the movement, preached of utopian cities in which one would drive a car from building to building equip with direct access to elevator entries. Robert Moses, a New York public official in mid-20th century, sought to construct highway systems through the heart of Manhattan. Le Corbusier's and Moses' car dominated propositions would make sprawling urban and suburban configurations possible, but dehumanized cities.[105] A lack of socialization and walkability was exchanged for access to green space, light, and air.[106] More importantly the surrender to the car made social economic homogenous communities possible and eventually prevalent. In short modern urbanism derived from reactions to economy, environment, and technology disregarded and crippled equity. Moreover, dysconnectivity and inhumane scales produce communities devoid of ethos.

Section 4: Garden Cities, New Towns, Suburbs

Garden cities, new towns, and suburbs were each inspired by similar forces as Corbusian modern urbanism, each promising their own version of utopia based upon

[105] Merin, Gili. "AD Classics: Ville Radieuse / Le Corbusier." *ArchDaily*, ArchDaily, 11 Aug. 2013, www.archdaily.com/411878/ad-classics-ville-radieuse-le-corbusier.

[106] Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Random House, 1961.

the reinvention of city and town configuration. Each abandoned the historic urban center in favor of less dense more natural landscapes. Ebenizer Howard first established the Garden City in the UK in 1898. Aggregating districts of 32,000 people per 6,000 acers connected by greenbelts Howard's Garden Cities would provide UK with the solution to London's congestion and pollution. His ideas were later used in the US starting in 1935 through the New Deal established towns of Greenbelt Maryland among others. Suburbia stood on the shoulders of the garden city after World War II, again made possible by the growing highway system allowing access to CBD jobs. While suburbia relayed on established cities New Towns sought to create self-sufficient towns to escape congested urbanism post WWII. New Towns relayed on a primary place of employment along typically a factory along a railroad and situated diverse housing and community space around it. While the success and failures of each approach vary widely, they provide examples of environmental driven theory, but also an ethos driven theory. The inhabitants of each typology bought into the promise of utopian living.

Section 5: Jane Jacobs

What the proponents of Modern urbanism, suburbanization, Garden Cities, and New Towns deprioritize activist and author, Jane Jacobs reemphasized through her life work, namely the value of historic urban configuration and socialization. The Modern and suburban perspective was reinforced by Eisenhower's federal highway act of 1956, allowing the separations of places of employment and homes. Jane

Jacobs saw the destructive nature of community removal for highways form a community preservation perspective but also from a quality of lifestyle perspective. The inner-city communities of Greenwich Village, New York represented small blocks, corner stores, and retail streets build for socialization. Living and working in and around the community provide lively streets during all times of day. In contrast a highway system outside of the human scale provide little to no natural surveillance leading to a lack of safety. Jacobs also agued that old buildings are critical to a community because along with the inevitable new construction provide a diversity of rents for homes and businesses. This is a key failure of homogenous suburbs.

Garden Cities and New Towns vision of utopia also rejects the historic qualities Jacobs advocates for. While these new movements account for social spaces, multiple housing types, and to some degree proximity of housing and workspaces they miss some key qualities of traditional urbanism. Garden Cities at 32,000 residents per 6,000 acres provides density at 5 people per acre. This density is at or below suburban density. New Towns are typically organized tightly, but where all residents serve the same factory or means of employment there is no diversity of retail uses. A single community center is no match for the vibrancy of traditional urban retail streets. Jacobs points to the value of both density and diversity for socialization and lively streets throughout the day. Jane Jacobs principles can be summed up through, the use of density, mixed uses, old buildings, and short blocks to promote social interaction, diversity, and safety. These principals are driven by equity and a historic ethos.

Jacobs specifically critics "Orthodox modernists" for designing cities in the way they think it works and not how it actually works. Le Corbusier's infallible prose lacks imperial evidence. This statement could also be said of the advocates of Suburbanization, Garden Cities, and New Towns. In 1955 Jane Jacobs challenged Robert Moses' proposal for a highway through the heart of Manhattan. While Jacobs fought for the preservation of traditional urban characteristics Moses preached about the salvation of cities through the destruction of existing features. He believed that a city without car dominated transportation would not survive. This notion was supported by the federal highway act of 1956, but this act was supported by powerful automobile companies such as GM and AAA. Suburbanization and Modern Urbanism may have been driven by a desire to decongest cities and technological opportunity, but there was also a clear economic driver as well. Jacobs fought economic and technological forces and ultimately preserved equity and historic ethos in New York. Unfortunately, this was not the case for many communities disrupted by highways across the country.

Section 6: New Urbanism and Smart Growth

New Urbanism and Smart Growth are an example of environmental driven approach to urban design. Their respective theories are also a rejection of the ethos of suburbia in favor of increased density. While similar New Urbanism and Smart Growth are distinctly different.

New Urbanism intends to prevent urban sprawl, the separation of income and race, and the loss of agriculture and wilderness through the creation of dense communities diverse in use and population. New Urbanism seeks to conserve, restore, and preserve the "built legacy" of cities as well as create pedestrian accessibility. In order to achieve these goals, urban place should be "framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrates local history, climate, ecology, and building practice." New Urbanists recognize that physical solutions cannot solve all problems cities face, but that the problems cannot be solved without physical improvement. The goal of New Urbanism is to discover the relationship between the art of building and the making of community.

New Urbanism can be broken down into three scales: regional, neighborhood, and the block. The regional scale can be defined by boundaries derived from water and topography. New Urbanism supports farmland, encourages infill development, and respects history. A spectrum of public and private uses support the regional economy. Affordable housing as well as job opportunity must be well distributed in order to avoid concentrations of poverty. Lastly, a variety of transit alternatives must exist.

The neighborhood scale includes districts and corridors. This scale encourages citizens to take ownership of areas in terms of maintenance and improvement. Neighborhoods should be compact, pedestrian friendly, and mixed use to minimize reliance on the automobile. A range of housing types and price levels should be included in order to ensure a diversity of age, race, and income in a community.

Transit corridors can be seen as an opportunity to organize, structure, and revitalize urban centers, but should not divide or displace communities.

Neighborhoods should have an appropriate building density, with civic and institutional centers embedded into their fabric. Children should be able to walk to school and parks. Village greens, and ball fields, should be well distributed.
On the scale of blocks, streets, and buildings, New Urbanism encourages dense and diverse communities though the promotion of safety and security. Attractive streets and squares, along with architecture and landscape that evoke local climate, topography, history, and building practice also contribute strongly. Civic buildings must be given a hierarchy in location to reinforce community identity. All buildings must have strong indoor environmental quality in terms of view to the outdoors and ventilation as well as energy efficiency. Historic buildings, and landscapes must be preserved and restored. At the scale of blocks, streets, and buildings a strong sense of place or community can be created. At all three scales, New Urbanism intends to ensure social strength in a community as well as environmental and economic improvement though cleanliness, efficient transit, well designed building operations, and strong local retail corridors. These planning strategies address the three categories of sustainability simultaneously in many ways[107].

Smart Growth seeks to maintain cities and towns through "building urban, suburban, and rural communities with housing and transit choices near jobs, shops, and schools." Goals involve, supporting the local economy, promoting beauty, safety, affordability, and access to schools, transportation, and jobs. Smart Growth can

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[107] (Charter)

support housing, business, the job market, the economy, transportation, the environment, human health, and community revitalization.

The goal of Smart Growth in terms of housing is to create walkable, transit oriented, and vegetated neighborhoods energized by public space. Strategies include stabilizing home prices to avoid foreclosure, creating more housing options to promote diversity, and reducing overall housing and transportation cost.

The economy benefits from Smart Growth though a strengthening of transit, connecting workers and customers to employers and businesses. The operations and maintenance of transit systems can also create thousands of jobs. These jobs are both green and blue-collar jobs providing opportunities to community members without college degrees. Smart Growth also advocates reclamation of existing infrastructure, saving land, habitats, materials, and budget. Affordable and attractive places to live and work attract and retain talented workers.

Smart Growth strategies for transportation include more than simply providing greater transportation options and improved access for all. Streets are also designed to be safer, pedestrian friendly, and bike friendly. As with buildings, strategies also favor the maintenance of existing infrastructure rather than the construction of new highways. When compared to new highway construction, this strategy decreases the use of materials and land while increasing job opportunities.

The environment can also be improved though Smart Growth. Infill development of buildings and roads protect natural habitats. Improved public transportation reduces car miles and improves air quality. Minimizing greenhouse gas emissions also improves water quality because clouds carrying water contain less

pollutants. Minimizing pavement per home built, and new road and building construction reduces runoff. [108]

Strategies also address social equity issues. Improved air and water quality provide a healthier community. Safer streets and public space encourage the public to live a more active lifestyle by walking and biking, and raises real estate prices. Smart Growth also stands for environmental justice, fighting against the placement of harmful factories in low-income areas. Thirdly, strategies encourage revitalization over sprawl. The disinvested inner cities of many great American cities hold great economic potential. Smart Growth encourages the repairing of existing infrastructure, and the reuse of developed land, "raising sur-rounding property values, creating community amenities, bringing in local tax revenues, attracting residents and businesses, and strengthening regional economies." In these efforts, community engagement is very valuable in order to determine, "what services they need, what areas need help, and what they (community members) can do to help." [109]

It is quite evident that many of these strategies look to capitalize on overlapping goals between the three categories of sustainability. The most prevalent example is improved public transportation, supporting the economy though providing jobs, but also improving the environment and human health by minimizing carbon emissions. Whether the initial intended goal of the strategy was to improve the

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[108] "Smart Growth America." *Smart Growth America*, smartgrowthamerica.org/.

[109] Ibid

economy or the environment, the strategy contains inherent effects that aid all three categories to some extent[110].

Smart Growth and New Urbanism seem very similar, but the strategies are fundamentally different. The agenda of New Urbanism was outlined in the charter of the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU), founded in 1993. The CNU was founded by a coalition of architects, planners, and environmental advocates. Supporters of the movement ague that physical change is a prerequisite for urban economic, social, and ecological change. The ideas behind New Urbanism stem from a variety of theories such as the traditional neighbor-hood concepts of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, the pedestrian pockets of Kelbaugh, the transit-oriented designs of Peter Calthorpe and Shelly Poticha, the Garden cities movement, and regionalism of Leis Mumford among others[111].

In contrast Smart Growth originates from the work of environmentalists and policy planners rather than architects and physical planners. The movement began in the mid-90s when the American Planning Association launched the project. By 1997 the Growing Smart Legislative Guidebook was produced, and several policies and acts were passed to encourage compact growth, mixed land use, transit-oriented development and so on. An example in Maryland is the 1997 Smart Growth and Neighborhood Conservation Act, which encouraged Brownfield Redevelopment, and

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[110] "Smart Growth America." *Smart Growth America*, smartgrowthamerica.org/.

[111] Ibid

living close to work. While aiming to archive very similar goals New Urbanism

focuses on physical strategies and Smart Growth is centered on policy[112].

Architects must reclaim influence of
where and what gets built
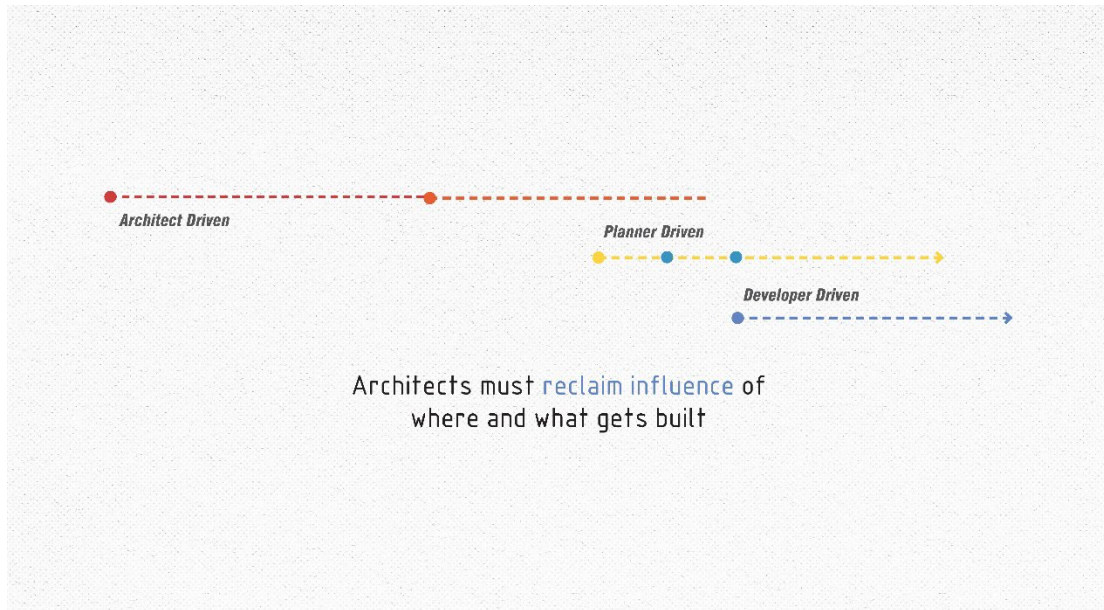
Chapter 6: Design Approach

Section 1: Introduction

Opened in 1982 Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard aimed to increase

accessibly for suburban commuters into Baltimore city. A seemingly intentional

byproduct is the physical barrier it creates between Southwest Baltimore and the heart

of the city. The six lanes of traffic, 20-foot median, and 60 to over 100-foot setbacks

create a non-pedestrian friendly void. This disconnection disincentivizes investment

in the Southwest community. As a result, racial segregation has extended into

disparities in vacancy, educational attainment, commercial spending, health, and

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[112] (International)

safety. These are symptoms of inequity, to address them their cause must be addressed, namely physical separation. Starkly undesirable locations fuel patters of isolated households living in poverty. This being said, improved access and connectivity increase the likelihood of displacement of working-class households and existing culture. While implementing pedestrian friendly augmentations to MLK Jr. Blvd. is imperative to increasing investment and quality of life in the area, ensuring economic and social inclusion is equally or more important.

Section 2: Connectivity

Improving connectivity across the over one-mile long highway involves a variety of strategies varying based on their location. Despite the strategy deployed the basic concept of addressing key intersection across the Boulevard in the East –West direction remains constant. These intersections are connected North-South by a landscaped trail.

The northern most and southern most extents of MLK Jr. Blvd. employ a strategy where mixed use midrise massing provide a threshold at intersections while a two-foot elevated trail with a vegetated trellis connects the intersections. The vehicular right of way is thinned by 20 feet by removing the median which currently acts as an occasional left turn lane. The proposed configuration has six lanes. During rush hours the direction of heavier traffic flow has three lanes open, the opposite direction has two, and the middle lane acts as the left turn lane. Thinning out the pavement provides the space necessary for a four-story rowhome typology to exist behind the trellis system along the trail. This typology has the option to be a live/work unit on the ground floor and extend along the trail overtime.

At the center of the length of the boulevard a transformative opportunity presents itself. With largely vacant land to the West and one- or two-story service buildings to the East huge potential for increased density exists. Most importantly the southbound lanes can be shifted to the West with freeing up a 120-foot-wide area for landscaped public space. This new park space, branded as SOWEBO (Southwest Baltimore) Commons provides a community anchor for recreation, education, and entertainment. Partnering with anchor institutions UMB, MICA, and the Peabody Institute the space will be activated with a combination of formal and informal programing, including play space, a music venue, Barbeque area, art spaces, and casual dining options. These modest adjustments to the street transform it from a divider to a connector and sponsor continued development along cross streets of each neighborhood it touches.

Section 3: Diversity

As stated previously, it is critical to maintain affordability on these cross streets especially once the community is well connected to downtown Baltimore. Three housing typologies are proposed to ensure affordability permanently. Today most affordable housing is constructed using tax credits or other government incentives which require a ten to fifteen-year minimum compliance period. The following three typologies employ strategies to secure affordability in the long run. First Multifamily buildings have a mix of market rate units and high efficiency units. Reduced rental rates can be achieved simply through less square footage. Second town homes utilize basement and top floor units to provide reduced rental rates. Lastly using the den

typology allows potential tenants to rent a two bed one den unit or opt to use the unit as an efficient and affordable three bedroom.

Additionally, diversity of street type, land use, scale, and housing typology should be increased in communities with almost exclusively one street type, residential land use, and town home typology, all at a similar scale.

Section 4: Culture

Not only maintaining culture but enhancing it in the mists of significant change should be a priority. Recalling the economics of Southwest Baltimore in the early 1900s, the working class not only found employment at the B&O railroad station, but also in furniture making and iron working for middle- and upper-class households. The propose plan emphasizes local businesses, live work units, training and celebration of music, art and science, and an overall ethos rooted in local human potential. Lastly the public facing SOWEBO Commons is balanced with a local Community Center located within the neighborhood allowing for cultural expressions at an even more specific context.

Section 5: Implementation

The master plan includes four phases, at five years each, the introduction of a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) System, and the redevelopment of a public housing development. The phasing will focus on key intersections and ripple outward from these connections with an emphasis on the SOWEBO Commons center piece. The BRT system uses the under-utilized Rout 40 and Fremont Street to bring buses form the West and connect into existing bus lanes just East of MLK Jr. Boulevard. These

existing lanes continue through the heart of the city and into East Baltimore. The existing public housing, The Poe Homes, are the city's oldest occupied public housing units. The successor to HOPE VI, Choice Neighborhood (CNI), will be used to help finance redevelopment. Unlike HOPE VI, CNI aims to go beyond housing placing emphasis on education, infrastructure, public space, and retail. Receiving this grant will provide $30 million for implementation and $12 million for planning. Some of these funds will be used in phase one to implement SOWEBO Commons as the anchor for the development and community.

Section 6: Conclusion

Today Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard acts as a socio-economic divider, a constant force perpetuating the harms of antiquated urban theory and institutional racism. Now is a critical point in history, as population moves back into cities, to end decades of neglect. Southwest Baltimore has the location, urban fabric, and human potential to be one of Baltimore's brightest communities. Improving connectivity will help tap into this potential, while mixed income typologies mitigate displacement and celebrate existing culture. A vision for a well-connected, diverse, and equitable Southwest Baltimore can and should come to fruition.

CONNECTION

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. BLVD
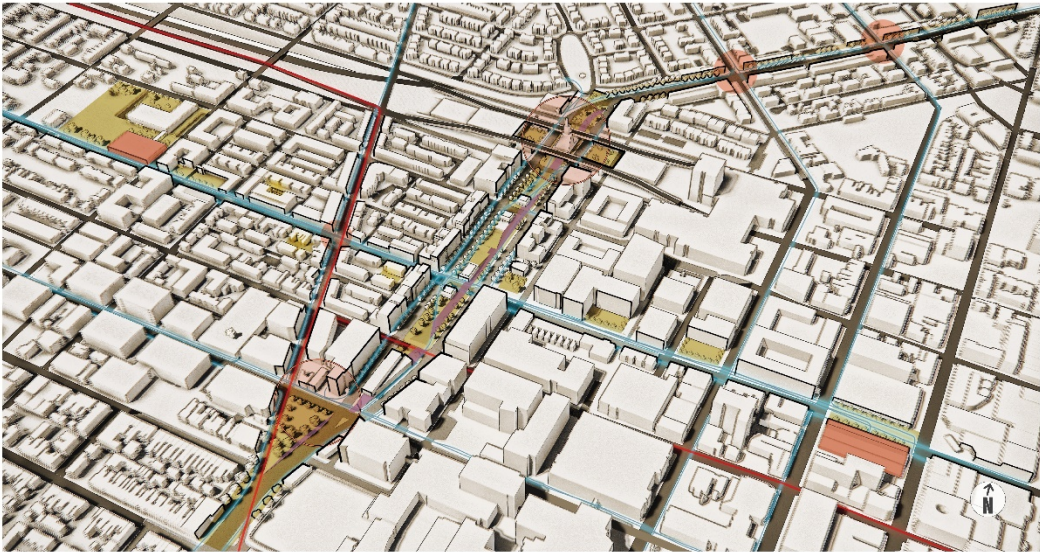
Master Plan Bird's Eye View
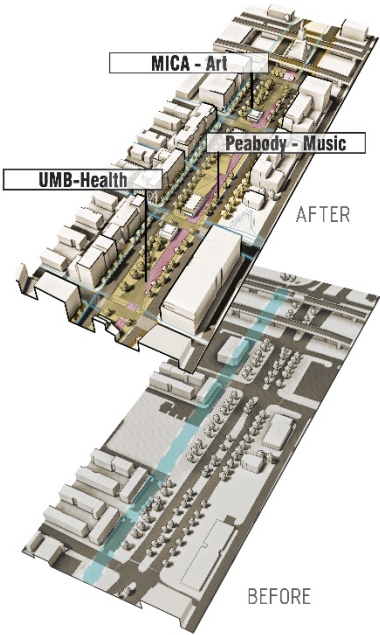
MLK Jr. Blvd. Before and After

SOWEBO COMMONS
ARTS AND SCIENCE PUBLIC SPACE
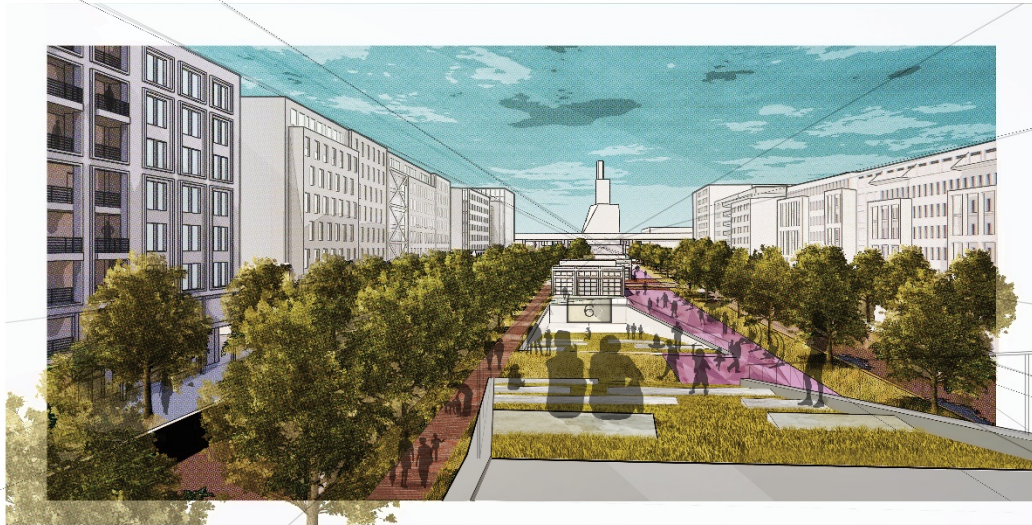
SOWEBO Commons – Amphitheater
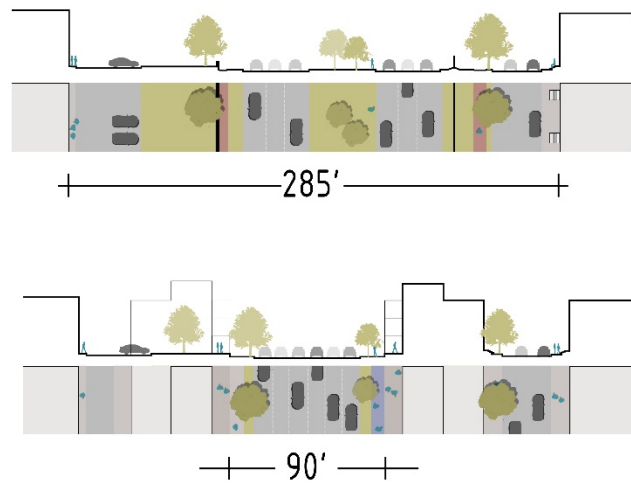
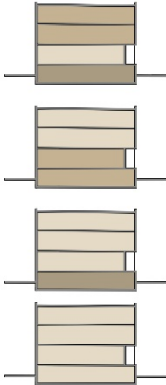Typical Condition – Before and After

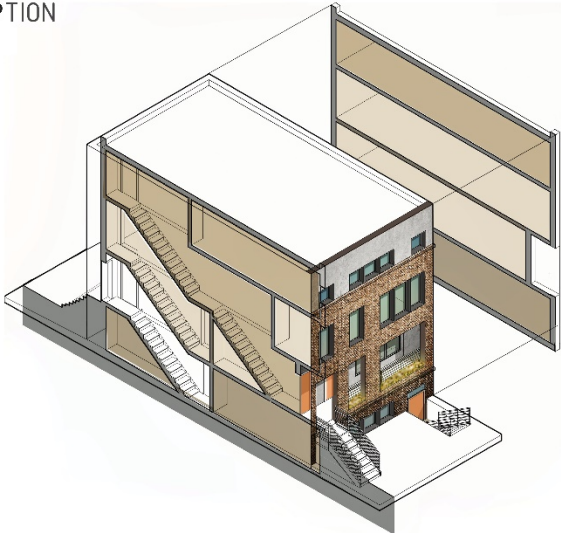# MULTI-FAMILY
UNIT DIVERSITY
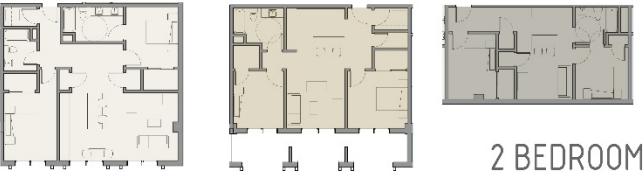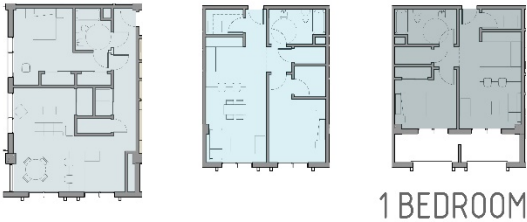
1 BEDROOM
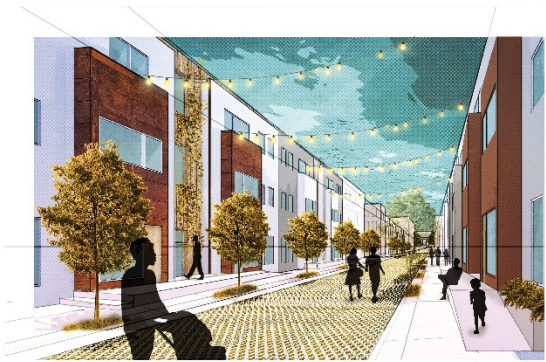
2 BEDROOM

Multifamily Unit Diversity

ROWHOUSE
LOCATION OPTION

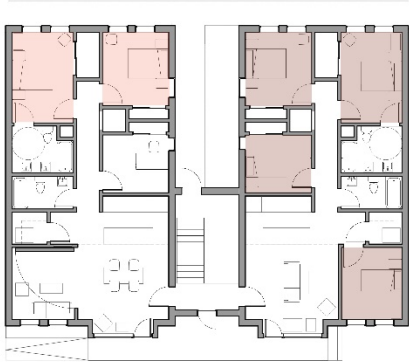Affordable ■   Market Rate ■   Luxury ■

Row Home Typology

WALKUP
BEDROOM FLEX

2 bedroom 1 den   ▮   4 bedroom   ▮

25'

Den Typology

PHASING

1000'

N↑

Master Plan and Phasing

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