ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: PROTECTING THE NEIGHBORHOOD:

SAFETY THROUGH DESIGN

Corie Baker, Master of Architecture, 2005

Thesis directed by: Professor Guido Francescato

School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation

The built environment can be designed to help protect innocent people from being

victims of crimes. My thesis will investigate how the development of the urban form

influences a community's susceptibility to acts of crime. I acknowledge, however, that

the form of the built environment is only one aspect of crime prevention and will have

limited results if not combined with a greater strategy that addresses the social,

economic and political issues of the area.

My thesis will test the integration of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

(CPTED) principles – access, surveillance, and territorial reinforcement - into the design

process and create a set of guidelines that can be used as a baseline for other

neighborhoods facing these problems. Three different urban conditions – open space,

the commercial realm and the residential realm - in the Baltimore neighborhood of

Upton, have been used as examples of the application of the CPTED principles.

PROTECTING THE NEIGHBORHOOD: SAFETY THROUGH DESIGN

by

Corie Elizabeth Baker

Thesis submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture

2005

Advisory Committee:

Professor Guido Francescato, Chair Professor Alex Chen Dean Garth Rockcastle Professor Brooke Wortham

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my committee for their help and support throughout this process. I would also like to thank the city of Baltimore and those that took the time to speak with me about this project for their time and the invaluable information they provided.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	V
Chapter 1: Introduction to CPTED	1
Development of the Concept	1
Public Safety	2
CPTED Strategies	5
Application	7
Chapter 2: The City	8
Brief History of Baltimore	8
Baltimore Today	10
Crime in Baltimore	13
Perception of Crime in the City	13
Actual Crime in the City	15
Chapter 3: The Neighborhood	18
Upton	20
History of the Neighborhood	20
Current Situation	25
Future Plans	27
Demographics	30
Chapter 4: The Analysis	32
Location	32
Neighborhoods	32
Streets	33
Blocks	34
Public Parks	34
Historic District/Landmarks	35
Transit	36
Bus Routes	36
Crime	37
Chapter 5: The Urban Conditions	39
The Commercial Realm	41
Pennsylvania Avenue	42
The Residential Realm	53
Housing in Upton	54

Argyle Street Housing Block	58
Public Open Space	63
Open Space in Upton	66
William Pinderhughes Elementary School	66
Chapter 6: Case Studies	72
Diggs Town	72
Garland Village	81
Chapter 7: The Strategies and Tactics	86
Commercial Zone	86
Residential Blocks	99
Public Open Space	113
Chapter 8: The Design Interventions	117
The Commercial Realm	117
The Residential Area	122
Public Open Space	126
Chapter 9: The Guidelines	128
Bibliography	175

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Broken Windows	3
Figure 2:	Deteriorating Environment	3
Figure 3:	Trash gathering in public space	3
Figure 4:	Subway Grafitti	4
Figure 5:	Bushes as hiding places	4
Figure 6:	Building projections as hiding places	4
Figure 7:	Undetected access	5
Figure 8:	Transparent Fence	5
Figure 9:	High residential wall	6
Figure 10:	Unobserved alley	6
Figure 11:	Well designed rear of units	6
Figure 12:	Undistinguishable public and private space	7
Figure 13:	Undefined semipublic space	7
Figure 14:	Well defined residential territory	7
Figure 15:	Dock Activity	8
Figure 16:	Oyster Packing Plant	8
Figure 17:	Aerial of Baltimore City	9
Figure 18:	Baltimore Harbor pre-1930s	10
Figure 19:	Baltimore Harbor ca. 1939	10
Figure 20:	Baltimore Inner Harbor, 2000	10
Figure 21:	Baltimore Believe Campaign Poster	12
Figure 22:	Homicides known to Police	15
Figure 23:	Auto Thefts known to Police	15
Figure 24:	Forcible Rapes known to Police	16
Figure 25:	Aggravated Assaults known to Police	16
Figure 26:	Robbery known to Police	16
Figure 27:	Larceny known to Police	16
Figure 28:	Burglaries known to Police	16
Figure 29:	Drug Possession Arrests, Juveniles	17
Figure 30:	Drug Possession Arrests, Adults	17
Figure 31:	Drug Sales/Manufacturing Arrests, Juvenile	17
Figure 32:	Drug Sales/Manufacturing Arrests, Adults	17
Figure 33:	Baltimore west of the Inner Harbor	20
Figure 34:	Neighborhood Map 1860	20
Figure 35:	Current Neighborhood Boundaries - Upton	21
Figure 36:	Celebrating the 15th Amendment	22
Figure 37:	Race riots	22
Figure 38:	Thurgood Marshall	22

Figure 39:	Storefront	23
Figure 40:	Booker T. Washington	23
Figure 41:	Neighborhood Row houses	23
Figure 42:	Douglas Theater	24
Figure 43:	Royal Theater	24
Figure 44:	Billie Holiday Statue	24
Figure 45:	Vacant Neighborhood Housing	26
Figure 46:	Current Pennsylvania Avenue Retail	26
Figure 47:	Percent African American Persons	30
Figure 48:	Median Age	30
Figure 49:	Percent of Persons Under 18	30
Figure 50:	Percent of Persons Over 65	30
Figure 51:	Total Households	31
Figure 52:	Average Household Size	31
Figure 53:	Neighborhood Location	32
Figure 54:	Surrounding Neighborhoods	32
Figure 55:	Madison Park	33
Figure 56:	Street Network	33
Figure 57:	Block Structure	34
Figure 58:	Public Parks	34
Figure 59:	Harlem Park	34
Figure 60:	Marble Hill Historic District	35
Figure 61:	Sharp Street Methodist Church	35
Figure 62:	Baltimore Subway System	36
Figure 63:	Upton Subway Station	36
Figure 64:	Route 7 Bus Route	36
Figure 65:	Crime Map Jan-Feb 2005	37
Figure 66:	Part I Crime Rate	37
Figure 67:	Violent Crime Rate	37
Figure 68:	Juvenile Arrest Rate	37
Figure 69:	Location of test sites	40
Figure 70:	Commercial Zone	42
Figure 71:	The Avenue Market	42
Figure 72:	Pennsylvania Avenue Storefronts	42
Figure 73:	Jazz on the Avenue	43
Figure 74:	Main Street boundaries	43
Figure 75:	Revitalized Main Street, Conway, SC	43
Figure 76:	Pennsylvania Avenue – Current figure/ground	44
Figure 77:	Storefronts on southwest side of Pennsylvania Avenue	44
Figure 78.	Storefronts on northeast side of Pennsylvania Avenue	44

Figure 79:	Current two-way traffic – Pennsylvania Avenue	45
Figure 80:	Existing street section – Pennsylvania Avenue	45
Figure 81:	Surface Parking	46
Figure 82:	Street Parking	46
Figure 83:	Automobile and Pedestrian Conflict	46
Figure 84:	Defensive storefronts	46
Figure 85:	Existing merchants	47
Figure 86:	People waiting for the bus	47
Figure 87:	Street vendor	47
Figure 88:	Edge Discontinuity	48
Figure 89:	Street Trees shown in plan	49
Figure 90:	Street Trees shown in section	49
Figure 91:	Street Benches shown in plan	50
Figure 92:	Street Benches shown in section	50
Figure 93:	Street Lights shown in plan	51
Figure 94:	Street Lights shown in section	51
Figure 95:	Trash can locations shown in plan	52
Figure 96:	Trash can locations shown in section	52
Figure 97:	Row housing on Fremont Avenue	54
Figure 98:	Percent of Housing that is Vacant	54
Figure 99:	Rental Vacancy Rate	54
Figure 100:	Percent of Occupied Housing that is Owner Occupied	55
Figure 101:	Percent of Occupied Housing that is Renter Occupied	55
Figure 102:	People per Square Mile	55
Figure 103:	Total Housing Units	55
Figure 104:	Argyle Street Housing Block - Plan	57
Figure 105:	Typical Housing Block	58
Figure 106:	Existing Block Section	58
Figure 107:	Elevations along southwestern edge of block	58
Figure 108:	Elevations along northeastern edge of block	58
Figure 109:	Fronts and Backs	59
Figure 110:	Backyards vs. Public Open Space	59
Figure 111:	Unmaintained public space	59
Figure 112:	Rear of Housing Units	60
Figure 113:	Vehicular Traffic	60
Figure 114:	Street Parking on residential streets	60
Figure 115:	Pedestrian Movement	61
Figure 116:	Center alleyway	61
Figure 117:	Traditional Front Stoop	61
Figure 118:	People on Front Stoop	62

Figure 119:	Person working on car	62
Figure 120:	Overgrown park trail	64
Figure 121:	Washington Square, NYC	64
Figure 122:	Plaza de la Constitucion	64
Figure 123:	Park on south end of Pennsylvania Avenue	66
Figure 124:	Public Open Space on north end of Pennsylvania Avenue	66
Figure 125:	William Pinderhughes Elementary School Grounds	66
Figure 126:	Figure/ground of Existing School Grounds Site	67
Figure 127:	Section of existing conditions	67
Figure 128:	Elevations along Laurens Street North	67
Figure 129:	Elevations along Winchester Street South	67
Figure 130:	Fence around School grounds	68
Figure 131:	Entry points through fence	68
Figure 132:	Entry point on Laurens Street	68
Figure 133:	Entry to School	68
Figure 134:	Playground Equipment	69
Figure 135:	Location of Playground Equipment	69
Figure 136:	Location of Original Basketball Courts	69
Figure 137:	Open Green Space on Grounds	69
Figure 138:	Location of Existing Trees	70
Figure 139:	Street Lighting	70
Figure 140:	Workmen on property	70
Figure 141:	Surrounding Land Use	71
Figure 142:	No Man's Land	71
Figure 143:	Location of Norfolk, Virginia	72
Figure 144:	Original barrack like structures at Diggs Town	72
Figure 145:	Original Master Plan – Diggs Town	72
Figure 146:	Revised Master Plan – Diggs Town	72
Figure 147:	New front proch	73
Figure 148:	Front porch additions	73
Figure 149:	Children playing outside	73
Figure 150:	Streetscape before redevelopment	74
Figure 151:	Streetscape after redevelopment	74
Figure 152:	The Dwelling Before	75
Figure 153:	The Dwelling After	75
Figure 154:	Private Outdoor Space Before	75
Figure 155:	Private Outdoor Space After	75
Figure 156:	Public Outdoor Space Before	76
Figure 157:	Pubic Outdoor Space After	76
Figure 158:	Block Organization Before	76

Figure 159:	Block Organization After	76
Figure 160:	Parking Before	77
Figure 161:	Parking After	77
Figure 162:	Landscaping Before	77
Figure 163:	Landscaping After	77
Figure 164:	The Streets Before	78
Figure 165:	Street Image Before	78
Figure 166:	The Streets After	78
Figure 167:	Street Image After	78
Figure 168:	Block Size Before	79
Figure 169:	Block Size After	79
Figure 170:	Inglewood Location	81
Figure 171:	Garland Village Neighborhood Location	81
Figure 172:	Hollywood Park	82
Figure 173:	L.A. Gang	82
Figure 174:	Grafitti in Los Angeles	82
Figure 175:	Before Redevelopment	83
Figure 176:	After Redevelopment	83
Figure 177:	Revised Site Plan	83
Figure 178:	Park System	84
Figure 179:	Tree Plantings	84
Figure 180:	Commercial Parking Areas	84
Figure 181:	One way street system	85
Figure 182:	Traffic Calming and Street Parking	85
Figure 183:	Existing Land Use – Pennsylvania Avenue	87
Figure 184:	Example of Existing Conditions	87
Figure 185:	Proposed Land Use – Pennsylvania Avenue	88
Figure 186:	Proposed elevations – Pennsylvania Avenue	88
Figure 187:	Existing Merchants	89
Figure 188:	Proposed Merchants	89
Figure 189:	Existing Traffic Conditions	90
Figure 190:	Proposed Street Conditions – Two-way traffic	91
Figure 191:	Parking Enclave Detail	91
Figure 192:	Crosswalk Detail	91
Figure 193:	Proposed Street Conditions – One-way traffic	92
Figure 194:	Existing Pedestrian Conditions	93
Figure 195:	Proposed Pedestrian Environment – Two-way traffic	94
Figure 196:	Proposed Pedestrian Environment – One-way traffic	94
Figure 197:	Existing Street Lighting	95
Figure 198:	Proposed Street Lighting	95

Figure 199:	Existing Visibility	96
Figure 200:	Proposed Visibility	96
Figure 201:	Proposed Visibility Detail	96
Figure 202:	Proposed Visibility – Tree Canopy	97
Figure 203:	Proposed Visibility – Storefront Lighting	97
Figure 204:	Current conditions - Trash	98
Figure 205:	Well cared for Main Street	98
Figure 206:	Entertainment District	98
Figure 207:	Existing Street Edge – Vacant Lot	100
Figure 208:	Proposed Street Edge – Infill	100
Figure 209:	Existing Front Stoops	100
Figure 210:	Proposed Front Stoops – Planters	100
Figure 211:	Existing Block Section	101
Figure 212:	Existing Block Massing	101
Figure 213:	Proposed Center of the Block – Community Garden	102
Figure 214:	Proposed Center of the Block – Community Garden	102
	Massing	
Figure 215:	Proposed Center of the Block – Large Backyard	103
Figure 216:	Proposed Center of the Block – Large Backyard Massing	103
Figure 217:	Proposed Center of the Block - Garages	104
Figure 218:	Proposed Center of the Block – Garages Massing	104
Figure 219:	Proposed Center of the Block – Housing	105
Figure 220:	Proposed Center of the Block – Housing Massing	105
Figure 221:	Current Entries	106
Figure 222:	Stoop Planters - Elevation	107
Figure 223:	Stoop Planters – Plan	107
Figure 224:	Existing Street Lighting - Section	108
Figure 225:	Existing Street Lighting – Plan	108
Figure 226:	Proposed Street Lighting – Section	108
Figure 227:	Proposed Street Lighting - Plan	109
Figure 228:	Existing Conditions at Rear of Units	109
Figure 229:	Proposed Rear of Units – Direct Access to Outdoors	110
Figure 230:	Proposed Rear of Units – Back Deck	110
Figure 231:	Existing Street Trees – Section	111
Figure 232:	Existing Street Trees - Plan	111
Figure 233:	Proposed Street Trees – Section	111
Figure 234:	Proposed Street Trees - Plan	112
Figure 235:	Window Flower Boxes	112
Figure 236:	Flag pole	112
Figure 237:	Example of Park Seating	113

Figure 238:	Park Amphitheater Example	113
Figure 239:	Proposed Tree Coverage	114
Figure 240:	Alternative Seating	114
Figure 241:	Proposed Street Lighting	114
Figure 242:	Proposed Gateway Lighting	114
Figure 243:	Proposed Low Wall instead of Fence	114
Figure 244:	Active Playground Example	115
Figure 245:	Kids Playing in Fountain	115
Figure 246:	Basketball Courts	115
Figure 247:	Life Size Chess Board	115
Figure 248:	Public versus School Property	116
Figure 249:	Park Gateway	116
Figure 250:	Commercial Realm – Intervention 1 facing East	118
Figure 251:	Commercial Realm – Intervention 1 facing West	119
Figure 252:	Commercial Realm – Intervention 2 facing East	120
Figure 253:	Commercial Realm – Intervention 2 facing West	121
Figure 254:	Existing Vacant Corner Store	122
Figure 255:	Existing Vacant Lot on Argyle Street	122
Figure 256:	Residential Realm – Intervention 1	123
Figure 257:	Residential Realm – Intervention 2	124
Figure 258:	Residential Realm – Intervention 3	125
Figure 259:	Open Space – Intervention 1	126
Figure 260:	Open Space – Intervention 2	127
Figure 261:	Open Space – Intervention 3	127
Figure 262:	Existing Street Hierarchy	142
Figure 263:	Bus Routes	142
Figure 264:	Subway System	142
Figure 265:	Crime Map, First Half 2005	143
Figure 266:	Lighting Types	145
Figure 267:	Lighting Spacing	145
Figure 268:	Seating	145
Figure 269:	Sightlines through Trees	146
Figure 270:	Tree Spacing	146
Figure 271:	Transient Vending Cart Example	147
Figure 272:	Transient Vending Cart Example	147
Figure 273:	Fencing	148
Figure 274:	Gates	148
Figure 275:	Low Fence	149
Figure 276:	Front Yard Planters	149
Figure 277:	Sightline through Trees	151

Figure 278:	Awnings and Overhangs	151
Figure 279:	Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Existing	152
_	Conditions	
Figure 280:	Future Neighborhood Park – Existing Conditions	152
Figure 281:	Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Phase I	153
Figure 282:	Neighborhood Park – Phase I	154
Figure 283:	Primary Street Dimensions	156
Figure 284:	Secondary Street Dimensions	157
Figure 285:	Tertiary Street Dimensions	158
Figure 286:	Infill Before and After	159
Figure 287:	Rowhouse with Backyard	160
Figure 288:	Garage Rowhouse	160
Figure 289:	Apartment over Retail	161
Figure 290:	Apartment Building	161
Figure 291:	Auxiliary Building	161
Figure 292:	Live/Work Units	161
Figure 293:	Land Use Diagram	162
Figure 294:	Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Phase II	163
Figure 295:	Neighborhood Park – Phase II	164
Figure 296:	Awnings and Overhangs	165
Figure 297:	Street Front Glazing	165
Figure 298:	Building Protrusions	166
Figure 299:	Building Setbacks	166
Figure 300:	Street Frontage	167
Figure 301:	Primary Street Daylighting	168
Figure 302:	Secondary Street Daylighting	168
Figure 303:	Tertiary Street Daylighting	168
Figure 304:	Fixed Vending Niche	169
Figure 305:	Fixed Vending Niche	169
Figure 306:	Fixed Vending Niche	169
Figure 307:	Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Phase III	170
Figure 308:	Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Phase III	170
	Plan	
Figure 309:	Neighborhood Park – Phase III	171
Figure 310:	Neighborhood Park – Phase III Plan	172

Chapter 1: Introduction to Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

"The physical environment can be manipulated to produce behavioral effects that will reduce the incidence and fear of crime, therefore improving the quality of life."

(Crowe, 1991:28)

Development of Concept

Although the first publicized study of crime and the environment came out of the University of Chicago in the 1920s, the idea that architects and planners could positively contribute to the reduction of crime came to the forefront in the early 1970s with the publication of Oscar Newman's Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design in 1972 and Dr. C Jeffery's Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) in 1971. Whereas Newman's approach focused soley on the disciplines of physical planning and architectural design, Jeffery's promoted an interdisciplinary approach to crime prevention. Two decades later, in 1991, Timothy Crowe published Crime Prevention through Environmental Design: Applications of Architectural Design and Space Management Concepts, further promoting the importance of an interdisciplinary approach and establishing CPTED guidelines for planners and designers.

Public Safety

CPTED strategies address two equally important public safety issues – actual crime, as well as perception of safety and crime. The fear of crime, whether it actually exists or not, causes withdrawal from the public realm and quickly results in a lack of use of public spaces. Not unexpectedly, fear is highest outdoors and at night, with 40% of Americans stating they are afraid to walk alone in their own neighborhoods at night. (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001) Women, older adults, low income groups and racial and ethnic minorities report the greatest fear of crime, even though, in actuality, young males are more often the victims of crime simply because they spend the most amount of time outdoors. (Einwalter, 2001) Ironically, fear of crime is often only marginally related to actual crime rates and may be the place where design can have the greatest impact.

In order to reduce public perception of crime, it is first important to understand what most frightens people in public places. In "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety," first published in *Atlantic Monthly Magazine* in 1982, James Wilson and George Kelling put forth three hypothesis about the stimuli of public fear. These include the fear of actually being victim to a crime, the fear of disorderly people including drunks, addicts, loiterers and the mentally disturbed, and finally, fear in a community can be driven by disorder and neglect in the



Fig. 1 – Broken Window Theory



Fig. 2 – Deteriorating Environment



Fig. 3 – Broken Window Theory apparent; Trash gathering in public green space

physical environment.

The neglect of the physical environment is the basis for the Broken Window Theory, one of two theories developed to explain why people fear the physical environment. The Broken Window Theory stems from the idea that "one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing." (Wilson, 1982:3) A deteriorating environment indicates that no one has taken ownership and control of the place. These areas are alluring targets for potential criminals and delinquents as they feel they are not being watched in these spaces. "As Norman Glazer has written [in regards to graffiti on the subway], the proliferation of graffiti, even when not obscene, confronts the subway



Fig. 4 – Subway Graffiti (http://www.workingdefinition.com/Thesis/ Web/unitedartistsgraff.jpg)



Fig. 5 – Bushes provide excellent hiding Places (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001)



Fig. 6 – Building projections also act as hiding places for prospective wrong doers. (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001)

rider with the 'inescapable knowledge that the environment he must endure for an hour or more a day is uncontrolled and uncontrollable, and that anyone can invade it to do whatever damage and mischief the mind suggests.'" (Wilson, 1982:4)

As a result of this fear, people avoid one another. Neighbors become strangers and the controls over their environment are weakened.

The Prospect/Refuge Theory, put forth by Jay Appleton in *Experience of Landscape*, suggests that the fear of crime is increased when objects such as landscaping, lighting and walls limit the ability to survey the area and identify strangers who may be hiding.



Fig. 7 – Poor design allows undetected access to residential units (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001)



Fig. 8 – Transparent fence provides access control (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001)

CPTED Strategies

Both Newman and Crowe, as well as others who have written on the subject, set forth crime prevention strategies in their books. Three common themes appear in these works – access control (symbolic barriers), surveillance and territorial reinforcement (stewardship). Though distinct, these strategies provide the best results when applied in combination with each other. (Crowe, 1991)

Access Control

The goal of an access control strategy is to reduce the opportunities for crimes to be committed. Access control strategies can be defined as organized (doormen), mechanical (locks, gates) or natural (spatial definition). (Crowe, 1991) "The primary thrust of an access control strategy is to deny access to a crime target



Fig. 9 – High wall inhibits residents from Watching street activity (Zelinka & Brennan, 2001)



Fig. 10 – There is no opportunity for resident to observe activity in the alley (Zelinka & Brennan, 2001)



Fig. 11- Rear of residential units designed to provide surveillance opportunities on the alley (Zelinka & Brennan, 2001)

and to create a perception of risk in offenders." (Crowe, 2001:30)

Surveillance

The focus of a surveillance strategy is to keep intruders under observation and increase the perception of risk among wrong doers. Similarly to access control strategies, surveillance strategies can be classified as organized (police patrol), mechanical (lighting) and natural (windows). (Crowe, 2001)

Territorial Reinforcement

The form of the built environment can reinforce perceptions of territoriality. Clearly marking the transitions from public to semi-public to semi-private to private, indicates to strangers where they are and are not welcome. In addition, a sense of ownership increases the



Fig. 12 – Public and private space is undistinguished (Zelinka & Brennan, 2001)



Fig. 13 – Undefined semipublic space (Zelinka & Brennan, 2001)



Fig. 14 – Landscaping and low fences help define territory (Zelinka & Brennan, 2001)

stewardship of the area and identifies who is responsible for the maintenance of that space. The use of sidewalks, porches and landscaping features can help define these territories.

Application

This document will set forth a set of strategies and tactics for the physical development of three prototypical urban conditions - the commercial realm, the residential realm and public open space that can be used as overriding principles by various groups in the neighborhood. The form of the built environment, however, is only one facet of crime prevention and will have limited results if not combined with a more comprehensive strategy that addresses the social, economic and political issues of the area.

Chapter 2: The City

"The original 'Home of the Brave' had become the home of the nation's largest population and job loss, and one of America's most violent cities, with neighborhoods riddled with drugs."

(http://www.mainstreet.org/MediaLibrary/NAT-5036%20MSN%20March.pdf)



Fig. 15 – Dock Activity http://www.mdhs.org/library/Z24BaltBus.html



Fig. 16 – Oyster Packing Plant http://www.mdhs.org/library/Z24BaltBus.html

Brief History of Baltimore

Once a thriving urban center based on waterfront industries such ship building, shipping, and the harvesting of oysters, Baltimore, the largest city in the state, has suffered a series of ups and downs since it was established as a town on August 8, 1729. The destruction of the physical environment that took place during the Civil War was rebuilt only to be destroyed again, in 1904, by a fire that demolished downtown the business district. After another rebirth, the city was again devastated in the 1930s by the Great Depression. Once again a prosperous city



Fig. 17 – Aerial Photo of Baltimore City



Fig. 18 – Baltimore Harbor pre-1930s http://www.mdhs.org/library/Z24BaltBus.html



Fig. 19 – Baltimore Harbor ca. 1939 (http://www.mdhs.org/library/Z24Balt.html)



Fig. 20 – Baltimore Inner Harbor, 2000 (http://www.southbaltimore.com/InnerHarbor/ Harborplace/photo2.html)

after World War II, the flight of the white population to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s brought about a devastating population decline causing many neighborhood businesses to close and leaving much of the housing vacant. In addition, the race riots of the late 1960s also played a major role in the destruction Baltimore's historic of many communities.

<u>Baltimore Today</u>

Today, Baltimore, known to many as 'Charm City,' is still a city of neighborhoods surrounding a revitalized waterfront center that has, in the last few decades, put Baltimore on the tourism maps. However, the city is still plagued by a series of "downs" that are affecting the health of the urban environment.

Below are some of the problems facing the city in 2003, according to the Baltimore Believe campaign. (http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/believe/facts.html)

- From 1994 to 1999, Baltimore was the most drug addicted city in America.
 The city is a leader in heroin and cocaine abuse.
- More than 60,000 city residents are addicts of illegal drugs.
- As a result, Baltimore has nearly three times the national rate of AIDS cases.

In addition, according to the 2003 U.S. Census (www.census.gov):

- More than 20% of individuals living in the city live below the poverty level compared to the national average of 12.7%.
- Just over 17% of families are living below the poverty level compared to the national average of 9.8%.
- Over 16% of housing units are vacant compared to the national average of 10.3%.
- Of the 83.6% of housing units that are occupied, only 54.8% are owner occupied compared to the national average of 66.8%.

The Baltimore *Believe* Campaign is one program, developed by Mayor Martin O'Malley, aimed at addressing the issues listed above. Established in 2000, Baltimore *Believe* is a citywide marketing campaign aimed at reducing drug



Fig. 21 – Baltimore Believe Campaign

trafficking, drug violence and drug use in the city. In 2000, the city effectively shut down 10 open air drug markets. Four years later, overall crime has been reduced to a low level not seen since 1970 and violent crimes in Baltimore have experienced the second largest decrease among American cities.

(http://www.mainstreet.org/MediaLibrary/NAT-5036%20MSN%20March.pdf)

Crime in Baltimore

"The vast majority of crimes, violent or not, are the result of drug activity." (http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/believe/facts.html)

Perception of Crime in the City (http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/news/crime/perceptions.html)

In November and December 1999, the Mayor's Office of the City of Baltimore held focus groups with city residents, in order to understand the perceptions and attitudes of the community as they relate to crime and the police force. Of the total 123 participants, 70% were African American, 20% were White, and 10% were other minorities; 60% were women and 40% were men. All age groups were represented. Interestingly, all participants had either been victims of crimes themselves or had friends or family who had been victims of a crime. However, this was not a requirement for participation in the focus groups.

The homicide rate in Baltimore was one of the most obvious causes for concern among residents. The threat is further intensified by the media attention focused on the issue, reiterating that the threat of crime is ever present in the city. There was a consensus that drugs were at the root of the problem and that shootings for control of drug trafficking areas and retaliatory killings were the primary cause of the high murder rate in the city. Unfortunately, residents do not feel safe

speaking out against the drug dealers due to the history of witness intimidation and a fear that they themselves will end up as targets.

There is also a perception among residents that the police are unresponsive to the problem and have lost their desire to fight crime. "In addition to their fears of being identified to drug dealers, several participants said that in order to get police response, they had to over-state the nature of the crime being committed police response at all." (http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/news/ <u>crime/perceptions.html</u>) Many participants recalled instances where police had witnessed a drug deal in progress and still not done anything about it. Of a larger concern seemed to be the inability of the police to eradicate the open air drug markets throughout the city's neighborhoods. The everyday occurrence of the drug trade on neighborhood streets had desensitized some residents to the activity. Even the children of the neighborhood had become well versed in the drug language. The perception that the police were being paid off by drug traffickers has further eroded the resident's faith in their desire to rid the city of crime. Please note, that this focus group was conducted prior to the election of Mayor Martin O'Malley who has been working with the police department to improve relations with the community.

Actual Crime in the City

Often referred to as "The Murder Capital of the Country," Baltimore faces enormous problems related to crime.

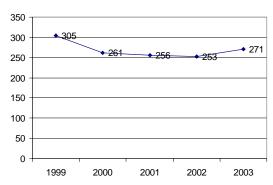
	Comparison		Per 100,000	National per
Crime Type	to Nat. Avg.*	2002 Total	People	100,000 People**
Overall Baltimore	-	55,820	8318.6	4118.8
Crime Index				
Murders	-	253	37.7	5.6
Forcible Rapes	+	178	26.5	33.0
Robberies	-	4714	702.5	145.9
Aggravated Assaults	-	8644	1288.2	310.1
Burglaries	-	8759	1305.3	746.2
Larceny/Thefts	-	26,716	3981.4	2445.8
Vehicle Thefts	-	6556	977.0	432.1
Arsons	-	344	51.3	N/A

Table 1 – Baltimore Crime Data 2002

2002 Federal Bureau of Investigation Crime Reports

(Baltimore.areaconnect.com/crime1.htm)

The following charts were created from statistics found at www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/statistical/md/mdbaltimore.pdf.



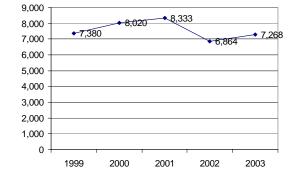
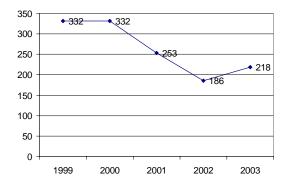


Fig. 22 – Homicides Known to Police

Fig. 23 – Auto Thefts Known to Police

^{* (-)} Worse than National Average; (+) Better than National Average

^{**} Urban environments only



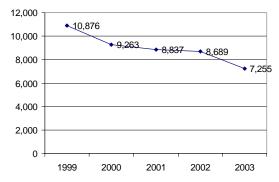
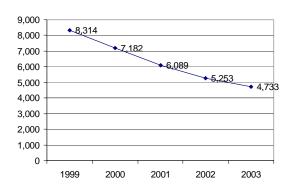


Fig. 24 – Forcible Rapes Known to Police

Fig. 25 – Aggravated Assaults Known to Police



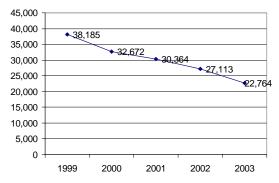


Fig. 26 – Robbery Known to Police

Fig. 27 – Larceny Known to Police

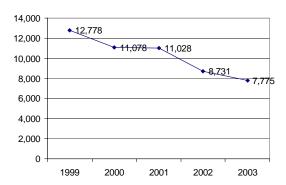
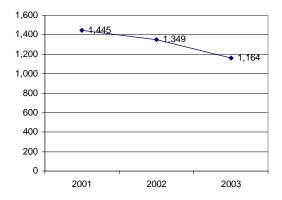


Fig. 28 – Burglaries Known to Police



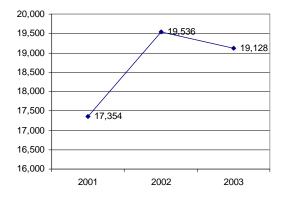
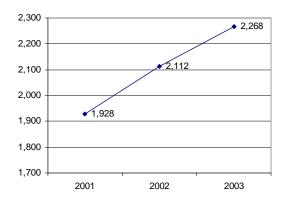


Fig. 29 – Drug Possession Arrests, Juveniles

Fig. 30 – Drug Possession Arrests, Adults



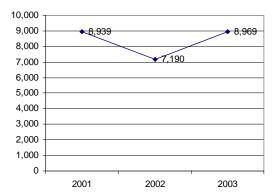


Fig. 31 – Drug Sales/Manufacturing Arrests, Juvenile

Fig. 32 – Drug Sales/Manufacturing Arrests, Adults

Chapter 3: The Neighborhood

"The stability of a neighborhood is challenged by the dynamics occurring within neighborhood boundaries and the pressures placed on neighborhoods by the larger community."

(Zelinka and Brennan, 2001:38)

Prior to World War II, neighborhood design focused more closely on the needs of the residents. A mix of uses and people were carefully integrated into the existing urban fabric. However, beginning in the 1950s, neighborhoods were being mass produced with efficiency and profit in mind, rather than the needs of the people living in the community. In subsequent decades, patterns of urbanization and development have implied it is more important to focus inward and to invest in our private realms, making it common for neighbors on a residential street to be unfamiliar with each other, than the greater good. Additionally, in the past fifty years the development of urban environments has emphasized the physical separation of different land uses and the accessibility of these land uses only by automobile. However, design is only one factor influencing the public health and safety of a neighborhood. Some additional factors that influence the health of a neighborhood include the mix of residents from different socioeconomic groups, quality of construction, maintenance,

infrastructure and the presence of community organizations (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001). In *SafeScape*, Zelinka and Brennan lay out some common public safety issues, including:

- Loitering on street corners and side streets by youth
- Vandalism and graffiti by those residing in neighborhoods, as well as by those from the outside
- Auto and property theft from driveways, front yards, porches and open garages
- Speeding and cut-through traffic that negatively impacts a neighborhood's residential character
- Home invasion robberies, and breaking and entering that occur at random locations and times
- Open drug sales and gang violence that cause residents to be prisoners in their neighborhoods
- Tarnished public perceptions and neighborhood image due to poor property maintenance by some neighbors, and absentee landlords and inadequate code enforcement
- Absence of people that causes withdrawal from the public realm and fortressing within the private realm



Fig. 33 – Baltimore west of the Inner Harbor

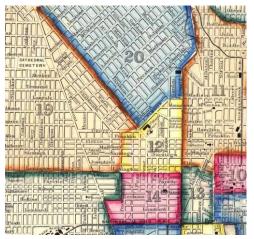


Fig. 34 – Neighborhood Map 1860. The general street grid has remained the same since the 19th century.

(http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/maryland/index.html)

<u>Upton</u>

Upton is a small, historic neighborhood in central Baltimore, just north of the Inner Harbor. Known as a center of African American culture, it has been named the "Harlem of Baltimore."

History of the Neighborhood

The neighborhood was established just prior to the turn of the 20th century, when the African American population in Baltimore began to settle just north of the downtown. During this last decade of the 19th century, the white population began to move north and the African American community moved into the housing on Druid Hill, Argyle, Etting, Fremont, Dolphin and Bloom. Soon, institutions develop began to to support neighborhood, including churches,



Fig. 35 – The current neighborhood boundaries are, clockwise from Dolphin and Pennsylvania, along Pennsylvania, Preston, Druid Hill, Biddle, Argyle, Hoffman, Myrtle, Harlem, Brune, George, Fremont, Bloom, Division, Lafayette, McCulloh, and Dolphin.

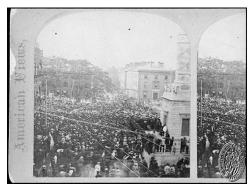


Fig. 36 – Celebrating the 15th Amendment (http://www.mdhs.org/library/)



Fig. 37 –Race Riots similar in Baltimore



Fig. 38 – Thurgood Marshall (http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/122/hill/marshall.htm)

libraries, public schools, a fire station, a police station and a passenger train station. Pennsylvania Avenue became the main commercial district and was the first road to connect the rural areas in the northwest to the city.

However, the upward movement of the African American community brought about violent reaction from the white residents. Mobs vandalized black owned businesses and barred African American families from moving onto certain blocks. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, raised on Division Street, was "once arrested in Upton. A delivery boy for a white merchant, he scuffled with whites neighborhood trolleys." on (www.livebaltimore.com) Discrimination and segregation were prevalent. Retailers



Fig. 39 – Stores like this were established along Pennsylvania Avenue (http://www.mdhs.org/library/)



Fig. 40 – Booker T. Washington (http://www.virginia.edu/history/courses/fall.97/hius323/btw.html)



Fig. 41 -Neighborhood row houses

along Pennsylvania Avenue provided an alternative to the downtown department stores practicing discrimination, although they were typically still owned by white shopkeepers. Eventually, Upton became a center for civil rights action and leaders like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey could often be heard speaking from church pulpits.

Despite the hardships and discrimination policies, there existed a sense of pride and confidence among the residents of Upton.

Living at the top of the hills represented accomplishment and financial success.

This community pride resulted in clean and healthy neighborhood blocks.

Properties were maintained and improved over generations and family members continued to live in the original family



Fig. 42 – Douglas Theater; Later renamed The Royal Theater (http://www.mdhs.org/library/)



Fig. 43 – Royal Theater, 1949 (http://www.mdhs.org/library/)



Fig. 44 – Billie Holiday Statue

household or purchased their own place in the community.

between the World two Wars, Pennsylvania Avenue became famed as an entertainment district, lined with department stores, specialty shops and theaters. In the 1930s and 1940s, the presence of clubs, cabarets and theaters such as the Lincoln Theater, the Regent Theater and the Royal Theater, made Upton the center of jazz in the city, hosting stars such as Eubie Blake, Ethel Waters, Louis Armstrong, Fats Waller, Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald and Earl "Fatha" Hines.

During World War II, defense industry jobs greatly increased Baltimore's, and specifically Upton's, African American population. Homes were divided to create additional housing units for the new residents and the crowds on Pennsylvania Avenue grew to 20,000-25,000 a night. (www.livebaltimore.com) In the 1950s, at the time of desegregation, Pennsylvania Avenue began to decline. Approximately 30% of the African American population moved out of the city due to the legal and financial availability of housing outside the city. The less affluent residents remained in the city and were subjected to substandard housing from absentee landlords and public housing projects. "The concentration of low-income populations was subsequently followed by increases in crime, drugs and poverty levels." (Upton Master Plan, 2004:6) An Urban Renewal attempt in the early 1970s, which was only fifty percent completed, failed to produce any substantial changes in the health of the neighborhood. (Upton Master Plan, 2004)

Current Situation

Over time, the once vibrant African American community "lost the places and people that made it sustainable." (Upton Master Plan, 2004:2) A large percentage of the homes have deteriorated or become vacant. The stores located along the commercial strip do not meet the everyday needs of the residents. "Children play in unsafe places and loiter on street corners because they have nowhere to go." (Upton Master Plan, 2004:2)



Fig. 45 – Vacant housing in neighborhood; Typical of many of the residential blocks



Fig. 46 – Current state of retail shops along Pennsylvania Avenue

Future Plans

"In the future, Upton will reclaim the vestiges of its distinct, African American heritage." Like New Orleans, Harlem, Atlanta and Chicago neighborhoods, it will be the hub of a cultural revitalization where the memory of the greatest entertainers, artists and civic leaders who proudly proclaimed Upton as their neighborhood will be the beacon that draws investment back into the community. In this future, the Upton community will be envied for its fine architecture, and the location of places of cultural expression. Business development, social services and health activities will contribute to the creation of a feeling of well-being and belonging. This vision upholds the value that the Upton community has historically placed in the many faith-based organizations that will continue to promote unity and harmony among its growing, diverse neighbors. The place that Upton will become will be clearly defined by adequate open space, green areas, signage, historic markers, gateways and real estate development initiatives that will return Upton to its place as a prominent City and national neighborhood."

(Upton Master Plan, 2004:3)

In February 2004, the Upton Master Plan Committee published "Renewal, Revitalization, Restoration: A Master Plan for the Upton Community." In this document, the Committee analyzed the current situation of the neighborhood, assessed the neighborhood needs and laid out a prescriptive plan for moving into

the future. The plan addressed the following community priorities:

- The need to build capacity
- The need to provide substance abuse treatment
- The need to provide shelter from life's ravages
- The need to protect the community's children from drugs and violence

The Master Plan primarily addressed the physical environment of the neighborhood; however, social, economic and community renewal are also essential to the revitalization of the area.

One of the primary issues to be addressed by the Master Plan was "the perceptions of and incidents of crime." (Upton Master Plan, 2004:6) Currently the streets are overrun with drug trafficking, the neighborhoods number one social problem. "An abundance of vacant lots and buildings, combined with poorly maintained occupied properties and dimly lit streets, have made the community and easy target for crime and for drug trafficking." (Upton Master Plan, 2004:9) The commercial district along Pennsylvania Avenue, and particularly the Avenue Market, is considered unsafe by area residents. Open space is underutilized due to the perception by residents that it is dangerous.

The Upton Master Plan recommends the implementation of a Safe Neighborhood

Design strategy that includes the three principles of CPTED – access, surveillance and territorial reinforcement.

- Revise the Urban Renewal Plan
- Close unused streets and alleys
- Use development to create a safe environment
- Distinguish between public and private spaces
- Make every block appear safer
- Restrict access to the community
- Supplement natural surveillance
- Organize the community

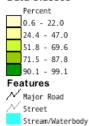
Demographics





Fig. 47 - Percent of African American Persons, U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

Data Classes



Stream/Waterbody

Presence of Children in the Household



Fig. 49 - Percent of Persons Under 18 U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

Data Classes



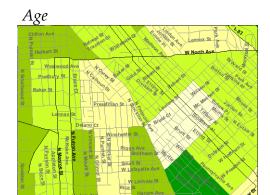


Fig. 48 - Median Age

U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

Data Classes



Presence of Retirees in Household



Fig. 50 - Percent of Person over 65 U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

Data Classes



Households

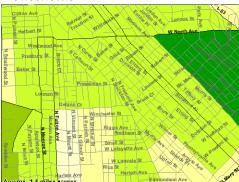
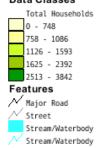


Fig. 51- Total Households U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

Data Classes



Household Size

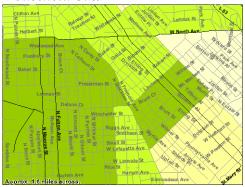


Fig. 52 – Average Household Size U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

Data Classes



Chapter 4: The Analysis



Fig. 53 – Neighborhood Location

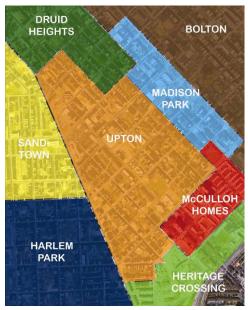


Fig. 54 – Surrounding Neighborhoods

Location

Upton is located in the central part of the city - approximately a fifteen minute walk northwest from the downtown Inner Harbor. Druid Hill Park, one of the largest public parks in the city, is located just north of Upton.

Neighborhoods

Upton is surrounded by six neighborhoods. Sandtown and Harlem Park to the west are also traditional African American communities that experienced decline at the same time as Upton. In Sandtown, the New Song Urban Ministries, well Habitat Humanity, have been using a community based planning program to revitalize a concentrated fifteen block focus area in the neighborhood. To date, their efforts have





Fig. 55 – Madison Park – Day and Night (Baltimore City Paper)



Fig. 56 – Street Network

resulted in the restoration of many of the vacant homes in the area, the reduction in unemployment through a job training increased program and interest education through the development of a new school and arts program. North of Upton is Druid Heights, historically an important African American neighborhood. This neighborhood has been marked by the city as an Urban Renewal area. The conditions in Madison Park, located northeast of Upton, are also being addressed by the city. McCulloh Homes, just south of Upton, is the site of two public housing projects. And finally, Heritage Crossing, also located south of Upton, is a new HOPE VI development.

Streets

Primary access to the neighborhood is



Fig. 57 – Block Structure

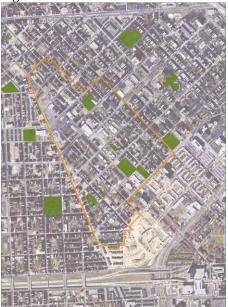


Fig. 58 – Public Parks



from North Avenue to the north, Edmonson Avenue to the south and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard to the southeast. The neighborhood itself developed around a regular street grid with a few exceptions.

Blocks

The typical block size in Upton is 200 feet by 365 feet. On the western edge of the neighborhood, at Fremont Avenue, two grids collide and the blocks become larger and irregular.

Public Parks

The three major public parks in the neighborhood Booker T. are the Washington Middle School grounds, Marshall Recreation Field and the park Fig. 59 - Harlem Park (http://www.mdhs.org adjacent to Islam Way. Harlem Park is

34



Fig. 60 - Marble Hill Historic District

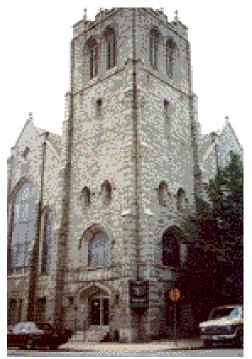


Fig. 61 - Sharp Street Methodist Church

located southwest of the Upton and Druid
Hill Park is north of the neighborhood.

Historic District/Landmarks

In 1985, the 400 block of Mosher and 1500 blocks of Druid Hill and McCulloh were designated as historic and architectural preservation blocks. The neighborhood landmarks reflect the traditions of the African American culture in Baltimore and include the religious institutions that play an integral part in the social, economic and political culture of the community. The Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal Church, one of the neighborhoods four designated landmarks, is the city's oldest church built by and for African Americans. The other three landmarks include the Bethel AME Church, Booker T. Washington Middle School and Douglas Memorial Church.



Fig. 62 - Baltimore Subway System



Fig. 63 – Upton Subway Station on the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Laurens



Fig. 64 – Number 7 bus route (www.mtamaryland.com)

Other historical buildings of interest include the Henry Highland Garrett Park, the former community center, the Casino Club, the Harriet Beecher Stowe House, the Henry Hobson Richardson Moorish properties, the William Fitzgerald House and the Upton School.

Transit

The Upton subway station is located at the corner of Laurens and Pennsylvania Avenue. The Baltimore subway system consists of one line running north-south through the city from Owings Mills to Johns Hopkins Hospital.

Bus routes

The number 7 bus runs directly through the neighborhood, down Pennsylvania Avenue.



Fig. 65 – Crime Map Jan-Feb 2005

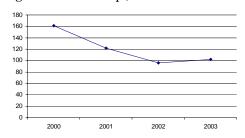


Fig. 66 – Part I Crime Rate per 100 People BNIA, 2003

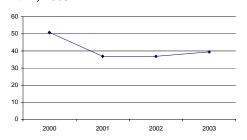


Fig. 67 – Violent Crime Rate per 100 People BNIA, 2003

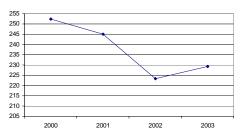


Fig. 68 – Juvenile Arrest Rate per 100 People BNIA, 2003

Crime

Pennsylvania Avenue is known as "the place to get drugs." (Colonel Gutberlet, BCPD, 2005) The straight connection to downtown from the northwest, and the ease at quickly getting in and out of the area, have made this street particularly vulnerable drug trafficking. particular, the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Laurens Avenue, at the subway provides additional stop, difficulty as it is the property of the state, not the city, and therefore the city police have no authority in the station. Dealers often run into the station to avoid being arrested. For this reason, this corner has been designated one of the Mayor's Corners. Street corners across the city, known to have open air drug markets operating on them, have been identified as "Mayor's Corners," and have been given particular attention by the police. As previously mentioned, the majority of crime stems from the drug activity. Additionally, the neighborhood is victim to one or two murders each year. (Colonel Gutberlet, BCPD, 2005)

Chapter 5: The Urban Conditions

"It is futile to try to evade the issue of unsafe city streets by attempting to make some other features of a locality.....safe instead..... The streets must not only defend the city against predatory strangers, they must protect the many, many peaceable and well-meaning strangers who use them insuring their safety too as they pass through.

Moreover, no normal person can spend his life in some artificial haven, and this includes children. Everyone must use the streets."

(Jacobs, 1961)

In the statement above, Jane Jacobs emphasizes the significance of the street to our daily lives and therefore highlights the importance of keeping the street safe. However, the conditions of the streetscape and the issues to be addressed vary with land use, traffic patterns, location within the neighborhood and other physical characteristics. Three prototypical urban conditions - the commercial realm, the residential realm and public open space - and their streetscapes, will be used here to develop a set of strategies and tactics for designing a safe physical environment. Three prototypical sites, in the Baltimore neighborhood of Upton, have been used here to illustrate the principles established in this document.



Fig. 69 – Location of three prototypical sites within the neighborhood

Historically, downtowns and main streets served as the heart of a community. These areas helped to create a sense of identity and a sense of community for the neighborhood. They contributed to the neighborhood's economic viability and its overall public safety. However, after WWII the shift to suburbanization and the development of shopping malls, office parks and single use developments resulted in half a century of abandonment and deterioration of neighborhood downtowns. Instead, the landscape is covered with large internally oriented, single use buildings close to freeway interchanges. (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001)

A resurrection of the neighborhood downtown is a necessary component to reestablishing the strength and sense of community in the neighborhood. "Downtowns are important for two reasons, including its purpose of providing residents with the goods, services, activities, and/or amenities they seek and to greatly affect the quality of life in the neighborhood and the larger community by serving as a barometer of vitality and identity." (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001:106) Four key factors – relative congestion, order, cleanliness and visibility influence the perception of safety in a downtown area. (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001)



Fig. 70 – Commercial Zone



Fig. 71 – The Avenue Market



Fig. 72 – Pennsylvania Avenue Storefronts

Pennsylvania Avenue

The center of commercial activity in Upton is located along Pennsylvania Avenue.

Once a bustling and vibrant commercial strip, it is now the center of drug activity, prostitution and other criminal acts.

Excluding the Avenue Market, there is currently 102,000 sq. ft. of ground floor retail space across 51 storefronts. (Upton Master Plan, 2004) However, the vacancy rate of 14% (14,600 square feet in 13 spaces) far exceeds a healthy vacancy rate of 8%. (Upton Master Plan, 2004) Among community members, Pennsylvania Avenue is considered "marginal and unattractive" and is not meeting their everyday needs. (Upton Master Plan, 2004: 6) The Avenue Market, has space for 28 merchants, but is approximately 30%



Fig. 73 – Jazz on the Avenue (http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp? id=9603)



Fig. 74 – Federal Main Street Program Site (http://conference.mainstreet.org/library/ 2005_BaltMS_PennsylvaniaAvenue.pdf)



Fig. 75 – Revitalized Main Street in Conway, SC (http://www.conwaymainstreet.com)

empty. In addition, the drug trafficking around the market creates the perception that the area is unsafe and therefore slows down sales volumes of the vendors inside. (Upton Master Plan, 2004) However, Jazz on the Avenue, a free weekly concert series on Friday nights, is a first attempt to bring a part of the cultural history back to neighborhood. The Pennsylvania the Avenue Redevelopment Collaborative (PARC) was formed to rejuvenate the commercial corridor. As well, "Baltimore Main Streets (part of the Federal Main Street Program) has helped create new businesses in seven economic centers city: Belair Edison, across Monument Street, Federal Hill, Hamden, Pennsylvania Washington Avenue, Blvd/Pigtown and Waverly." (http://www.ci. baltimore.md.us/news/press/020319.html)

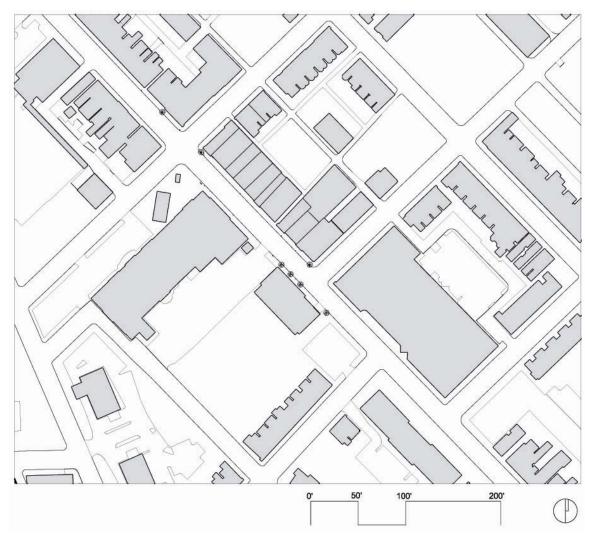


Fig. 76 – Currently, Pennsylvania Avenue lacks definition. Street trees and lighting are sporadic and the street edge is broken on many occasions. This is further detailed in subsequent diagrams.



Fig. 77 – Existing buildings along the southwest side of Pennsylvania Avenue



Fig. 78 – Existing buildings along the northeastern side of Pennsylvania Avenue

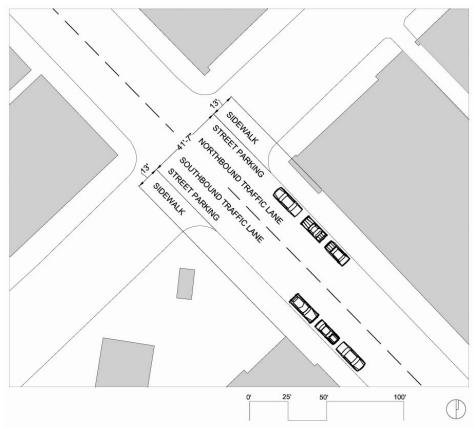


Fig. 79 – Two way traffic runs along Pennsylvania Avenue with metered street parking along either side. However, when cars are not parked along the side of the street, the street is perceived to be much wider, therefore encouraging faster traffic. Narrow, 13' wide sidewalks are located on either side of the street. "High volumes of speeding traffic make for a poor pedestrian environment." (Upton Master Plan, 2004)

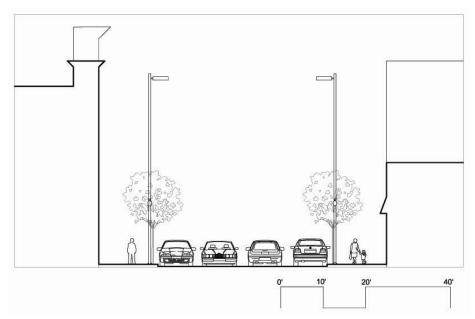


Fig. 80 – Existing Pennsylvania Avenue Street Section.



Fig. 81 – Surface Parking



Fig. 82 – Street Parking



Fig. 83 – Cars and people conflict on the road



Fig. 84 – Bars on storefronts

Parking

Street parking does exist along
Pennsylvania Avenue, however the
numerous surface parking lots around the
Avenue Market and in the middle of
blocks are easy places for criminals to hide
and not be seen from the street.

Storefronts

Many of the stores have taken a defensive approach to the street and have mounted bars and caging in their windows. Windows above the stores have been boarded up or are non-existent, creating a sense of oppressiveness and reducing the ability to survey the street.

Merchants



Fig. 85 – Existing merchants along one block of Pennsylvania Avenue



Fig. 86 – People waiting for the bus



Fig. 87 - Vendor

Activities

The presence of people along the street can be felt at all hours of the day. Some people are walking to their destinations, while others wait for the bus. Young children, teenage boys and elders are gathered along the street in small groups - some loitering, some talking, some listening to music. A few people are vending out of cardboard boxes.

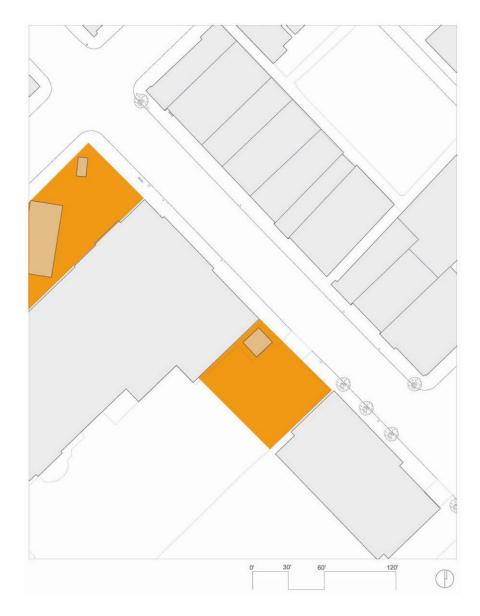


Fig. 88 – Edge Discontinuity; At the northwestern corner, the subway station plaza breaks the street edge and in the middle of the block the edge is broken by an entry to the market parking lot.

Street Trees



Fig. 89 – Street trees are sporadic and do not currently play a role in bringing life to the street.

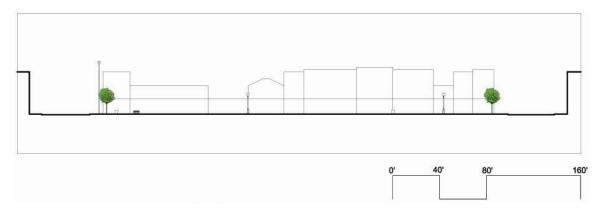


Fig. 90 – Northeastern street edge showing existing trees.

Seating Areas



Fig. 91 – Two benches at the top of the block provide the only seating on the entire block.

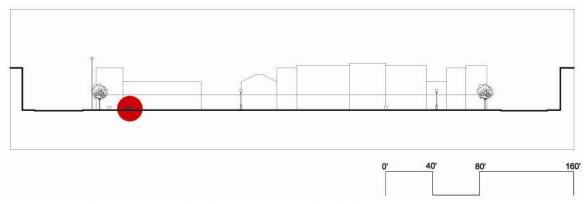


Fig. 92 – Northeastern street edge showing existing bench location.

Street Lights



Fig. 93 – Street lights are not located at regular intervals.

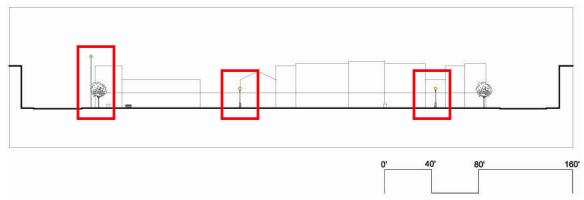
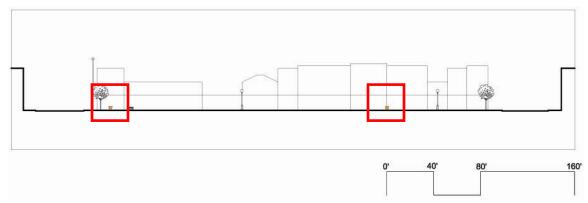


Fig. 94 – Northeastern street edge showing location of existing street lighting. Two types of lights are present – a tall post for vehicular traffic and smaller lanterns for pedestrians.

Trash Cans



Fig. 95 – Existing Trash Can Locations



 $Fig.\ 96-Northeastern\ Street\ Edge\ showing\ location\ of\ existing\ trash\ cans.$

The Residential Realm

"Ask people where they live, and they will give you their home address or the name of their neighborhood. Most people think of themselves as living in the place where they reside, that is, the geographic area in which they have their home."

(Brower, 1996:1)

A large portion of a person's life is spent in the home. It's where we eat, where we sleep, where we raise a family and where we entertain friends. Therefore, the home becomes a way of identifying oneself as emphasized by the quote above. One of the most important factors for a resident to feel safe in their home is a sense of territoriality. According in Richard Gardiner (Designing for Safe Neighborhoods), "territoriality involves three conditions: 1) the resident feels a sense of proprietary interest and responsibility over areas beyond his/her front door, a responsibility shared by his/her neighbors, 2) the resident perceives when this territory is potentially threatened by the intrusion of strangers and is willing to act on that perception, and 3) a potential offender perceives that he is intruding on the domain of others, will be notified if he intrudes and, therefore, is more likely to be deterred from criminal behavior." (Gardiner, 1978:19)



Fig. 97 – Row Housing on Fremont Ave.

Housing in Upton

The housing stock in Upton consists primarily of two, three, and four story rowhouses with three to five bedrooms each. They were carefully detailed and many of the original cornices remain today. However, at the turn of the 21st century, the majority of the housing stock has fallen into disrepair.





Fig. 98 - Percent of Housing that is Vacant U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

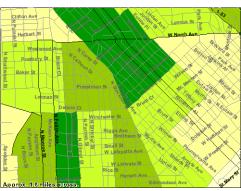
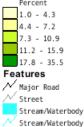


Fig. 99 - Rental Vacancy Rate U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

Data Classes



Data Classes Percent



Homeownership



Fig. 100 - Percent of Occupied Housing Units that are Owner Occupied



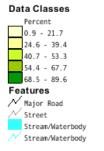




Fig. 101 - Percent of Occupied Housing Units that are Renter Occupied U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)



Density



Fig. 102 - People per Square Mile U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)

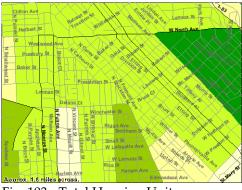
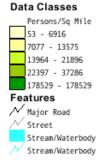
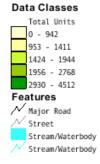


Fig. 103 - Total Housing Units U.S. Census 2000 (www.census.gov)





One of the most difficult issues to address is the vacancy rate in the neighborhood. One vacant house can lead to a downward spiral in the neighborhood based on the Broken Window theory previously mentioned. Vacant houses also often become havens for drug addicts and other criminals. The city, non-profit groups and developers have all been working to bring people back into the city and reduce the vacancy rates. As examples, there are two such grassroots instances in which strides have been made to reoccupy existing units.

The first example is in the neighborhood of Sandtown-Winchester, directly west of Upton. New Song Urban Ministries and Habitat for Humanity have established a 15 block focus area in which the predominately vacant, existing housing stock is being refurbished for current neighborhood residents. Although, the work is slow, they have been very successful in providing ownership opportunities for people already living in the community. These people already have ties to the neighborhood and understand the importance of reinvesting in it.

The other example took place in Otterbein, a small neighborhood located between the Inner Harbor and the stadiums, in the mid-1970s. In 1975, 110

dwelling units were sold through a lottery for one-dollar. The response was overwhelming and brought an influx of people into the neighborhood. The community was reborn. Today, the neighborhood is a thriving mid to upper class community and a great example of urban renewal.

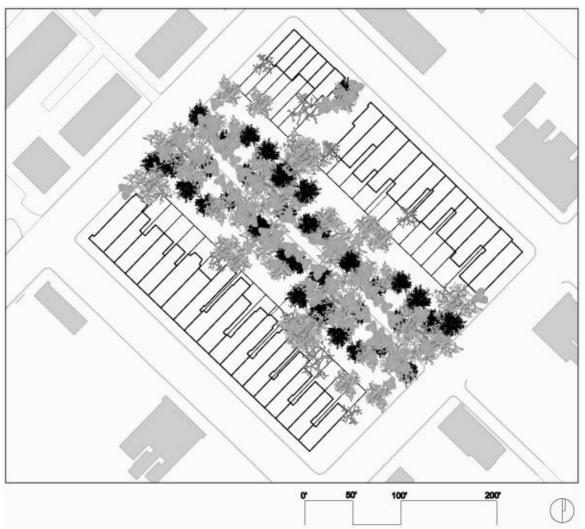


Fig. 104 – Argyle Street housing block in Upton. Plan showing the existing conditions of the residential block and the overgrowth behind the units.



Fig. 105 – Typical Housing Block

Argyle Street Housing Block

The typical housing block consists of rowhouses along the northeast and southwest edges of the block, surrounding either green open space or resident parking in the center of the block

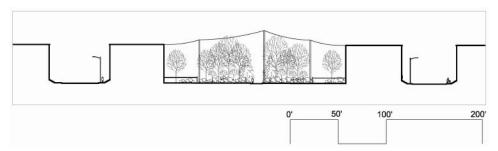


Fig. 106 – Existing Block Section. Center of block is overgrown and unmaintained.



Fig. 107 – Southwestern edge of residential block.



Fig. 108 – Northeastern edge of residential block.



Fig. 109 – Fronts and Backs



Fig. 110 – Backyards and Undifferentiated Open Space



Fig. 111 – Unmaintained public space in center of block

Fronts and Backs

The front of the unit faces onto the city street and the back faces the interior of the block.

Public vs. Private

Directly behind the housing units is a small backyard for each unit separated by a chain link fence. The middle of the block is undifferentiated and therefore "belongs" to no one. Because no one "owns" the open space in the middle of the block, it has fallen into disrepair and lacks surveillance by residents. It is an ideal location for criminals to go undetected.



Fig. 112 – Rear of Housing Units



Fig. 113 – Vehicular Traffic



Fig. 114 – Street Parking in front of housing

Rear of the Buildings

Eyes on the alley are just as important as eyes on the street. The rear of these row houses are deteriorating and do not convey the impression that the center of the block is being observed.

Vehicular Traffic

High speed traffic surrounds the block.

There is no street hierarchy. Street widths are 40 feet or all streets.

Parking

In most cases, residents park along the street. However, some blocks have parking in the center of the block as opposed to open space.



Fig. 115 – Pedestrian Movement



Fig. 116 – Alleyway in center of block



Fig. 117 – Traditional "front stoop" is under celebrated

Pedestrian Movement

A narrow sidewalk surrounds the perimeter of the block. An additional pedestrian path (and emergency vehicle path) cuts through the center of the block.

Front Stoop

Many of the row houses have the remains of a traditional front stoop. However, due to the vacancy rate and lack of maintenance, they are only a shell of their former selves and certainly do not encourage the bringing together of the community. In addition, a comfortable outdoor environment on the street side, that is part of the semi public realm, leave encourages residents the to enclosure of their homes and watch over the street.



Fig. 118 – Adults and children on the front stoop



Fig. 119 – Person working on his car

Activities

Because the majority of the units are vacant there is very little activity on the block. A few people can be seen sitting on their front stoops. Others use the space to work on their cars. As it exists right now there are no positive programmed functions taking place in the center of the block and therefore does not get used by the type of user that would protect the space. The space attracts only abnormal users conducting illicit activities.

Public Open Space

"A good place provides a range of things to do ("uses and activities"); is easy to get to and connected to the surrounding community ("access"); is safe, clean, and attractive ("comfort and image"); and, perhaps, most important, is a place to meet other people ("sociability")." (www.pps.org)

Throughout history, parks and other public open spaces have played an important role in the life of the city. Landscape historian J.B. Jackson and architect/writer Galen Cranz describe a time in history when the park was viewed as an opportunity to escape the "noisy, dirty day-to-day world in search of nature," where nature represented the prospect of both recreational and social activities. Over time, public open spaces that focused on recreational and social aspects were replaced with the picturesque parks of the 19th century. These parks focused on quiet activities and, therefore, discouraged interactions among users. "In his book A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time, J.B. Jackson describes the loss of community in America and its impact on parks. As people spend more and more time at work, at indoor health spas, and at malls, he writes, they also share less time and fewer activities with their fellow residents and neighbors -- resulting in the loss of a sense of community." (www.pps.org) This breakdown of community often results in unsafe activities being allowed to occur in public spaces and further lack of use by the community because of the perception the space is



Fig. 120 – Overgrown park trail makes it difficult to see where you are going and to be seen once you are on the trail. (www.pps.org)



Fig. 121 – Washington Square, NYC Street performers bring life to the space and bring people together. (www.pps.org)



Fig. 122 - Plaza de la Constitucion (Zocalo) A variety of seating options provide places for people to gather throughout the space. (www.pps.org)

unsafe. Additionally, there are physical characteristics that enhance the perception that the space is a high-risk environment. These include poor lighting, confusing layout, physical isolation, poor visibility, no access to help, areas of concealment, poor maintenance, vandalism, and the presence of "undesirables."

In *The Social Life of Small Urban Space*,
William Whyte observes public open
spaces in urban environments in order to
better understand what makes some of
these spaces successful while others are
not. In general, his observations led to the
conclusion that the most successful spaces
are those that are social places. More
specifically some of his key observations
include:

People tend to sit, talk and gather in

the main flow of traffic.

- People tend to position themselves next to objects such as flagpoles and statues.
- "People tend to sit most where there are places to sit." (Whyte, 1980:28)
- People seek suntraps which includes access to the sun and lack of wind and drafts.
- Trees should be directly related to sitting areas.
- "Food attracts people, who attract more people." (Whyte, 1980:52)
- The street and the sidewalk are an important part of the space.
- Triangulation described as "the process by which some external stimulus provides a linkage between people and prompts strangers to talk to each other as though they were not" (Whyte, 1980:94) makes it easier for people to socialize and meet.

In addition, it is not only important to consider the needs of the needs of the residents and the direct users of the space, but also those that pass he space on a regular or not so regular basis. "Passersby are users of [the park], too. About half will turn and look in. Of these, about half will turn and look in. Of these, about half will smile. I haven't calculated a smile index, but this vicarious, secondary enjoyment is extremely important – the sight of the park, the knowledge that it is there, becomes part of the image we have of a much wider area." (Whyte, 1980:57)



Fig. 123 – Fenced in park space on southeast end of Pennsylvania Avenue



Fig. 124 – Public Open Space located betweer Fremont and Pennsylvania Avenues



Fig. 125 – William Pinderhughes Elementary School Grounds

Open Space in Upton

The majority of public open space in Upton is paved and includes streets, sidewalks and parking lots, rather than gathering spaces created for programmed activities. Seventy-eight percent of the 188 acres of open space in the neighborhood is paved. (Upton Master Plan, 2004) The few parks in the neighborhood are not well maintained. The spaces contain little play equipment, little seating and dim lighting. Because of the lack of upkeep and the perception that they are unsafe, they are not well used.

William Pinderhughes Elementary School Grounds

The grounds of the elementary school on Fremont Avenue serve as one of the major public green spaces in the neighborhood.

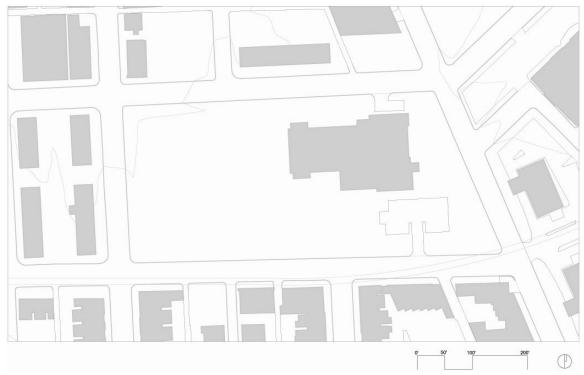


Fig. 126 – Figure/ground of the existing site.



Fig. 127- Section of existing conditions looking east



Fig. 128 – Laurens Street North across from school and green space.



Fig. 129 – Winchester Street South across from school and green space.



Fig. 130 – Fence around school and grounds



Fig. 131 – Entry points through fence



Fig. 132 – Entry point on Laurens Street



Fig. 133 – Entry to School

Boundaries

The school and its outdoor property are bounded by two-way traffic on all sides – Laurens Street to the north, Fremont Avenue to the east, Winchester to the south and Cary Street to the west. In addition to the street boundary, the grounds of the school are completely fenced in. However, it remains unlocked to avoid incidents of trespassing that would inevitably occur if it were locked. Therefore, the grounds are considered a public space.

Entry

The space has various entry points along
Laurens and Winchester Streets and one
central entry on Cary Street. The entry to
the school is along Fremont Avenue
although there is no entry through the



Fig. 134 – Playground Equipment



Fig. 135 - Location of playground equipment



Fig. 136 – Location of original basketball courts and other hardscape activities



Fig. 137 – Open green space on grounds

fence at that point.

Programmed Activities

"In the old days, they [the City] used to put basketball hoops in the schoolyards so kids would gather and have something to do. Nowadays, they take the hoops out to prevent anything bad from happening." (http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/news/crime/ perceptions.html) On the school grounds of William Pinderhughes Elementary School the only remaining programmed activity equipment playground. is the The basketball hoops have been removed and the open green space is not designed as playing fields or for any other particular purpose.



Fig. 138 – Location of existing trees. There are no trees located west of the building.



Fig. 139 – Street lighting is geared to the automobile and not the pedestrian.



Fig. 140 – Workmen are the only people in the space on a weekday afternoon.

Seating

There is currently no seating available in the space.

Trees

There is very limited tree coverage on the grounds of the school and none west of the school building.

Lighting

Street lighting for automobiles is located at the four corners of the space. No pedestrian scale lighting exists.

Activity

Observations revealed very little use of the space besides the children of the school who use the playground at recess. Aside from some workmen and a few people who use the space as a cut through from



Fig. 141 – Surrounding Land Use



Fig. 142 – No Man's Land

the subway, the place was empty.

Surrounding Land Use

The open space is surrounded on three sides by row houses, with two commercial establishments interspersed. Across Fremont Avenue to the east is the Avenue Market which stretches between Fremont Avenue and Pennsylvania Avenue.

Crime

The school grounds have had problems with vandalism, drug trafficking and prostitution in the past. The original playground had many hiding places and was often used by prostitutes and their clients, as well as drug dealers. A group of teenagers burned the first playground to the ground and set the second one on fire as well.

Chapter 6 – Case Studies



Fig. 143 – Norfolk Location



Fig. 144 – Original Barrack-like Structures Bothwell Case Study



Fig. 145 - Master Plan Before



Fig. 146 - Master Plan After

Diggs Town

Diggs Town, located in Norfolk, Virginia, was developed in the 1950s on a 30-acre site inside the city. It was the third largest public housing project in the city at its peak with 428 units and 1,389 residents, more than half of which were children. The original project consisted of two-story, industrial style buildings built on superblocks.

Diggs Town faced many of the issues that public housing projects of this time were faced with. Because of the way that the buildings looked and the lack of integration into the rest of the community, there was a stigma attached with living there. This stigma resulted in a lack of concern for the maintenance and upkeep



Fig. 147 – Front porch brings residents outsid Bothwell Case Study



Fig. 148 – Front Porch Addition (Zelinka and Brennan)



Fig. 149 – Children outside playing after redevelopment (Zelinka and Brennan)

of the property. In addition, the distinction between public and private spaces was blurred furthering the lack of territoriality of the outdoor spaces. Street patterns did not allow access to the inner parts of the complex, making street parking inconvenient and preventing surveillance by residents.

By the late 20th century Diggs Town was deteriorating. Crime, predominantly drug dealing and prostitution, was rampant. Criminals were fond of places farthest from the public streets and closest to the edges of the buildings. These were most difficult for the police to see and the easiest to escape from.

In the early 1990s, UDA and CMSS, in collaboration with the Norfolk



Fig. 150 – Before Redevelopment (Zelinka and Brennan)



Fig. 151 – After Redevelopment (Zelinka and Brennan)

Redevelopment and Housing Authority, use the Traditional Neighborhood Design (TND) approach to recommend improvements the Diggs Town to community. These recommendations included the use of additional streets and walkways to divide the project into block sizes compatible with the surrounding delineated public community, clearly space from private space, fences to provide safe areas for children to play, functional floor plans and access control. The new construction was completed in 1994.

H H H

Fig. 152 – The Dwelling Before Bothwell Case Study



Fig. 153 – The Dwelling After Bothwell Case Study



Fig. 154 – Private Outdoor Space Before Bothwell Case Study



Fig. 155 – Private Outdoor Space After Bothwell Case Study

Components of the Renovation

The Dwelling

Before: Institutional two-story buildings

After: The addition of a front porch with a pitched roof helps define a resident's personal outdoor space. More residents outside equates to more eyes and ears on the street.

The Lot – Private Outdoor Space

Before: An unclear distinction between public and private outdoor spaces existed.

After: Low metal fences were installed to help define front yards and a combination of tall and low fences were used to define



Fig. 156 - Public Outdoor Space Before



Fig. 157 - Public Outdoor Space After

backyards. Fences make it more difficult for people to cut across the lawns.

The Lot – Public Outdoor Space

Before: Public outdoor spaces are undefined and not visible from the street.

After: Community gardens and play areas are located in the rear of the buildings but are still visible from the street.



Fig. 158 - Block Organization Before



Fig. 159 – Block Organization After

The Block Organization

Before: The block is made up of over 20 residential buildings and undefined outdoor space.

After: One each block, approximately four residential buildings are grouped around a

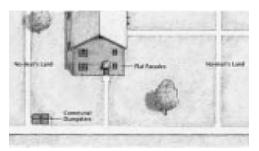


Fig. 160 – Parking Before Bothwell Case Study

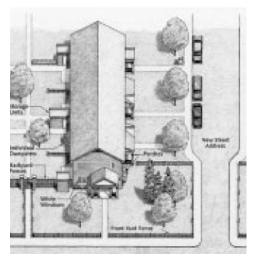


Fig. 161 – Parking After Bothwell Case Study



Fig. 162 - Landscaping Before



Fig. 163 – Landscaping After

communal backyard. Each group is called a village.

Parking

Before: Parking is located far from the individual units.

After: Parking is located in front of each unit.

Landscaping

Before: Landscaping is random and not used to define spaces.

After: Trees are used purposefully to define spaces and create sense of neighborhood.



Fig. 164 – The Streets Before



Fig. 165 – Street Image Before Bothwell Case Study



Fig. 166 – The Streets After



Fig. 167 – Street Image After Bothwell Case Study

The Street

Before: Streets surrounded the perimeter of the project with housing located off of pedestrian paths.

After: Streets cut through community allowing for better access and giving each house a street address. Streets are edged with trees, sidewalks and curbs, fencing, gating and landscaping.



Fig. 168 – Block Size Before



Fig. 169 – Block Size After

The Neighborhood

Before: The original housing project was built on superblocks.

After: By using cut through streets, the blocks now more closely resemble those of the neighboring community.

In the first year after the new construction was completed, the violent crime rate in Diggs Town dropped more than 17%. Robberies, murders and aggravated assaults were cut in half between 1993 and 1994. (The Virginian-Pilot, October 15, 1995, Jon Frank) Police calls have gone from 25-30 per day to 2-3 per week. At first, the new streets actually made it easier for the drug dealers to operate as a drive through business. A police officer

moved into one of the units and subsequently the drug dealers have moved elsewhere. With the renovations complete, the community has a renewed sense of pride and now feel their homes are worth fighting for.

Several factors have contributed to the success of Diggs Town. The non-stop presence of construction workers during the time the renovations were being made, disrupted the street life and helped provide eyes and ears on the street. The involvement of the community members helped identify the real issues the community was facing. The breakdown of the community into front yards and back yards destroyed the blocks of common ground and helped bring people outside. In addition, the new traffic pattern eliminated dead ends and cul-de-sacs, adding through streets that cut into no man's land that had been home to the drug dealers.

Calabass Highlands Olenview Tappanga State Topanga Brentwood Height Las Flores Riviera Westwood Village View Park East Los Angeles Commerce Florence Marina Del Rey Marina De

Fig. 170 – Inglewood Location



Fig. 171 – Neighborhood Location

Garland Village

Inglewood, California

Garland Village, previously known as Darby-Dixon or "The Bottoms," sits on a 56-acre site located directly under the flight path of Los Angeles International Airport. Over 900 apartment units, mostly owned by absentee landlords, occupy 40 acres of the site. The remaining 16 acres commercial contains ventures along Century Avenue. Prior to the renovation, the only valuable commercial establishment in the complex was a market. The remaining storefronts contained a scattering of marginal and abandoned buildings. Hollywood Park, a local race track is located across Century Avenue from the commercial buildings. The original development contained no



Fig. 172 – Hollywood Park (http://www.hollywoodpark.com/)



Fig. 173 – L.A. Gang (http://www.knowgangs.com/gang_resources/18th/18th_001.htm)



Fig. 174 – Example of Graffiti in Los Angeles (http://www.graffiti.org/la/seone2.jpg)

outdoor recreation space. Three public schools, an elementary school, a middle school and a high school, are located across from the residential units in the neighborhood.

Crime and the fear of crime caused the neighborhood to deteriorate. Businesses were suffering because people were afraid to visit the half empty buildings. Gangs dominated the neighborhood and graffiti was a constant problem. The cities first attempt to fix the problem, in the early 1980s, included rezoning the area as industrial. The hope was that this would encourage a developer to purchase the land and redevelop it. The strategy did not work. The neighborhood still had the highest crime area in the city, with 20 gang related murders in the last 12 years,



Fig. 175 – Before Redevelopment (http://www.planningcenter.com/ourclients/force-frames.html?/ourclients/garland.html)



Fig. 176 – After Redevelopment (http://www.planningcenter.com/ourclients/force-frames.html?/ourclients/garland.html)



Fig. 177 - Revised Site Plan

beginning in 1989. (Zelinka and Brennan)

A new strategy was developed with the purpose of "revitalizing the neighborhood according to its strongest market potential and restoring it as a crime free, livable neighborhood." (Zelinka and Brennan)

The plan includes replacing 286 residential units with an expanded commercial area, separating commercial and residential vehicular traffic, rehabilitation of the existing residential units, creation of outdoor recreation space, and increased law enforcement presence.

CPTED Applications

Surveillance

Expanding public "eyes" by adding
 a central park and several pocket



Fig. 178 – Park System



Fig. 179 – Tree Plantings



Fig. 180 – Commercial Parking Areas

parks

- Designing a coordinated landscape to improve visibility
- Managing parking areas and setbacks to provide enhanced security
- Requiring extensive windows in new commercial shops

Access

- Providing carefully landscaped and lighted, vehicle-free pedestrian paths between residential and commercial areas
- Establishing a comprehensive, oneway, loop-street system to facilitate surveillance of residential traffic
- Converting to special street sections
 with on-street parking and speedreducing features



Fig. 181 – One Way Street System

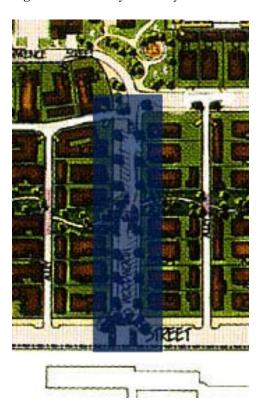


Fig. 182 – Traffic Calming and Street Parking

 Adding high security fencing and lighting to the commercial areas

Territorial Reinforcement

- Centering the neighborhood around a new community center
- Providing territorial identification through new signage

(Zelinka and Brennan, 2001)

Chapter 7: Strategies and Tactics

The aspects of community planning that CPTED can address include the "creation of space, its use and safety, locations of land uses, positions of buildings and other structures, interior and exterior design details such as color, lighting, entrances and exits, and landscaping, as well as the users of space and when and how they use it."

(National Crime Prevention Council, 1997:2)

In order to develop a set of crime prevention strategies and tactics for the development of the physical environment, the following questions need to be addressed:

- What conditions do people need to feel safe and be safe?
- What conditions do people seek and/or avoid when they want to carry out
 a crime or other acts that violate a sense of public safety?
- How can the built environment discourage counterproductive behavior while optimizing public safety and positive activity?

Commercial Zone

The two most important things in a downtown area are people and activity. All design recommendations should address these two interactions.

Strategy: Promote a mixed use environment to achieve appropriate 24 hour activity.

As previously mentioned, people feel safer on the street when there are other people on the street with them. One factor in achieving constant street activity throughout the day, is to provide a mix of land uses along the street.

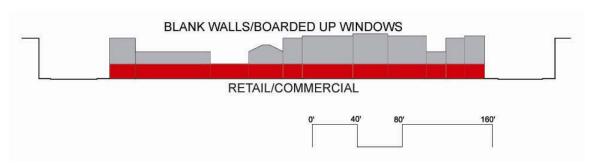


Fig. 183 – Existing conditions. Many of the buildings are two or three stories, yet only the ground floor is occupied. Periodically, even the ground floor is boarded up.



Fig. 184 – Existing Conditions

Tactics

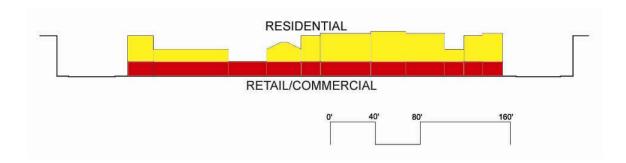


Fig. 185 – Proposed Conditions. Retail and commercial establishments that serve the needs of the local residents are located along the street. Residential units are located above on the second and third floors. Variety is important both in the types of commercial establishments located on the ground floor and the residential units above. One of the goals of the mixed use strategy is also to encourage a mix of people.

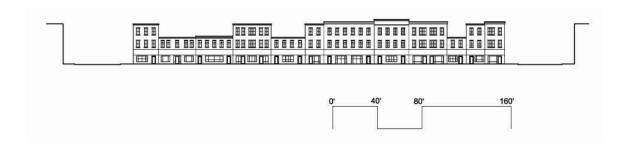


Fig. 186 – Proposed streetscape includes opportunities for many people to watch and participate in street activity.

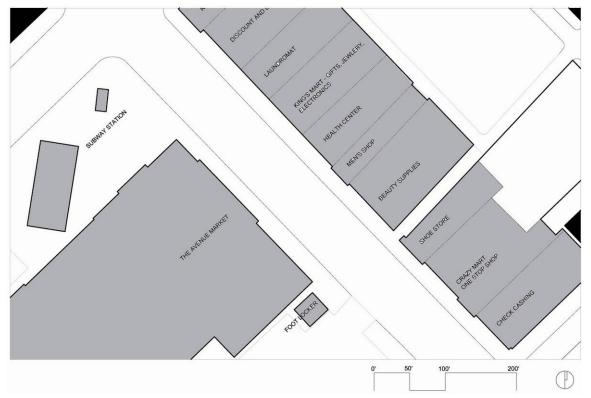


Fig. 187 – Existing Shops do not serve the needs of the neighborhood residents, nor are they diverse enough to promote activity at various times of the day.



 $Fig.\ 188-Proposed\ types\ of\ commercial\ establishments\ that\ would\ be\ used\ at\ different\ times\ of\ the\ day\ and\ provide\ needed\ services\ to\ residents.$

Strategy: Control the speed of traffic through the main street area.

Pennsylvania Avenue, one of the primary connections between the northwest and the heart of the city's downtown area, is a well traveled street. Motorists tend to travel much faster than the posted speed limit of 30 miles per hour, eliminating any connection to the area. Slowing the speed of traffic will allow motorists to add additional eyes on the street, as well as reduce the risk of conflict with pedestrian traffic.

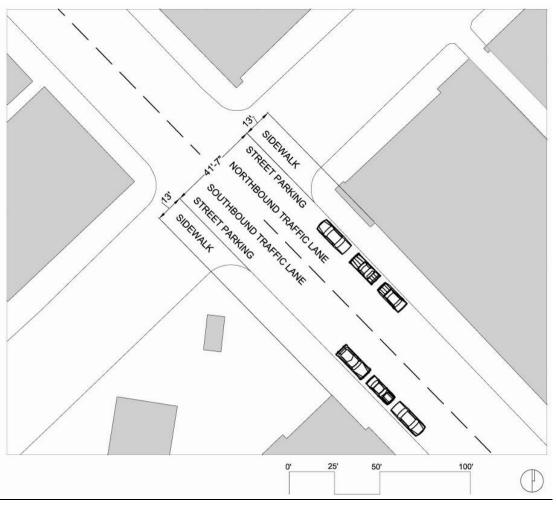


Fig. 189 – Existing street conditions consist of one lane of traffic in each direction with street parking on either side of the street. However, when cars are not parked on the sides of the street, the street feels much wider than intended. Pedestrians can only cross at intersections.

Tactics

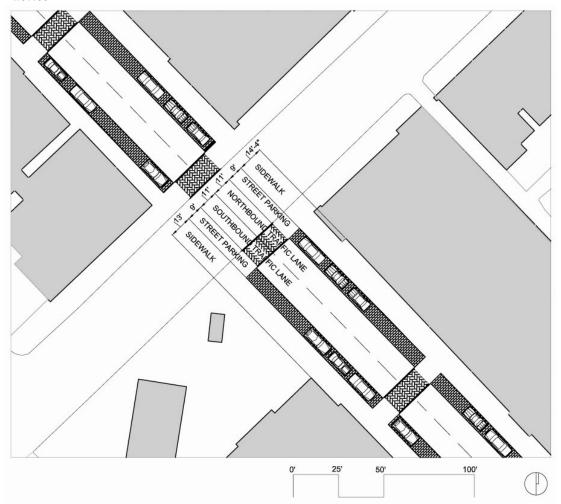


Fig. 190 – Proposed street conditions – Option 1. Parking is carved out of sidewalks in enclaves, as opposed to using a lane of the street. Special paving is used to differentiate the street from the parking areas. The sidewalk areas protruding between parking enclaves can signify additional pedestrian crosswalks, again using a paving pattern to indicate use. In addition, the designated parking areas can serve as a buffer between automobiles and pedestrians.

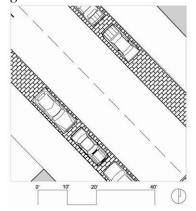


Fig. 191 – Parking enclaves differentiating paving

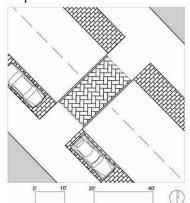


Fig. 192 – Opportunity for additional crosswalks

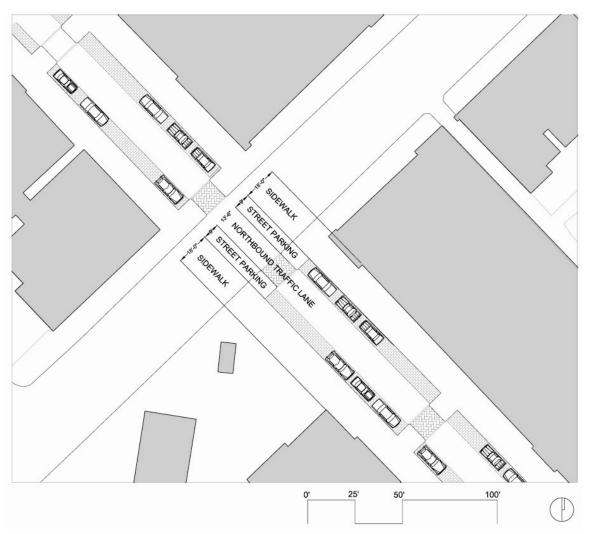


Fig. 193 – Proposed street conditions – Option 2. By reducing the traffic to one lane in one direction, two benefits are obtained – sidewalks can be widened to accommodate more seating and other related activities and traffic is restricted to one way in and one way out which has proven to be a successful tactic in crime reduction.

Strategy: Create comfortable environments for pedestrians to encourage people to "use" the street.

By providing good lighting, places to rest, and shading, more people will feel comfortable on the street, placing more eyes on the street.

Tactics

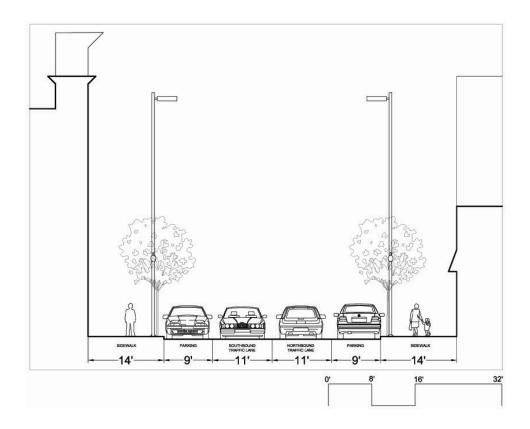


Fig. 194 – Existing Pedestrian Conditions.

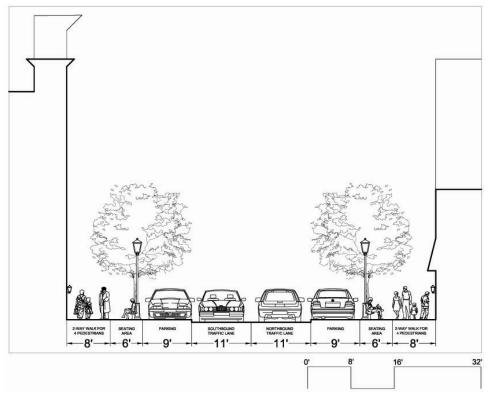


Fig. 195 – Proposed Pedestrian Environment – Option 1.

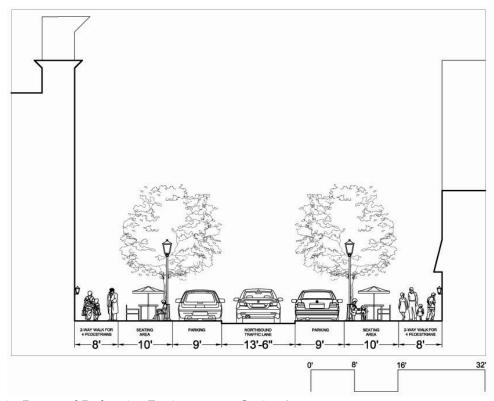


Fig. 196 – Proposed Pedestrian Environment – Option 2.

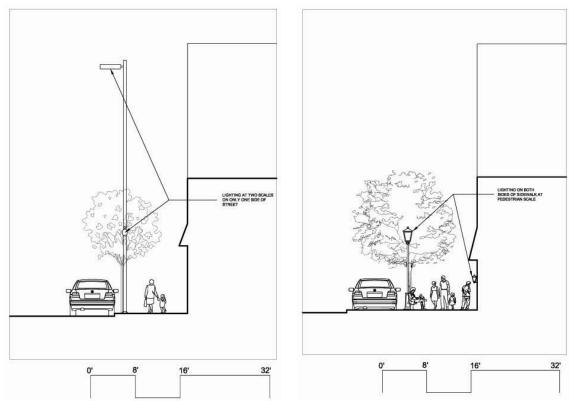


Fig. 197 – Existing Street Lighting

Fig. 198 – Proposed Street Lighting

Strategy: Ensure visibility from the street to all entrances and other public spaces.

As most police officers patrol the area in their patrol cars, it is important that they be able to see storefronts and entrances from the street. This transparency will also allow store clerks to be able to watch what is going on the street.

Tactics:

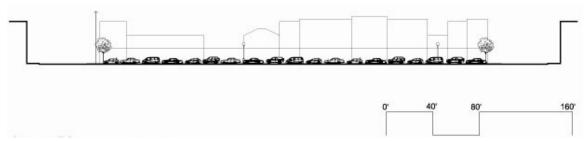


Fig. 199 – Currently vehicles can park along the entire length of the block, making it very difficult to see the storefronts from the street.



Fig. 200 – Parking enclaves, like those mentioned above, provide openings at regular intervals along the block.



Fig. 201 – A closer look at the improvement in visibility.

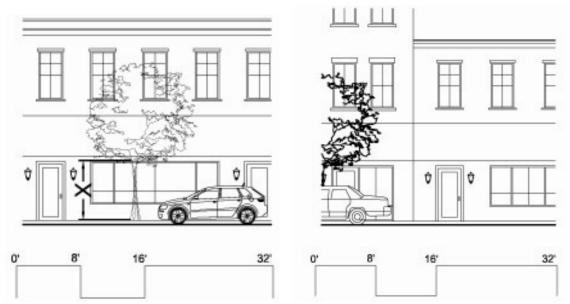


Fig. 202 – Tree canopies must be high enough to allow visibility underneath.

Fig. 203 – Every storefront should have lights near the entry.

Strategy: Encourage stewardship of the space.

An orderly, clean and well maintained area increases the perception of safety and, therefore, encourages more people to use the spaces. Stewardship of the space requires users of the space to take pride in their environment, and as a result, keep it clean and well maintained. This begins by providing users with a physical environment that they can be proud of.

Tactics:



Fig. 204 – Current conditions are uncared for with trash everywhere.



Fig. 205 – Well cared for main street area



Fig. 206 – Well cared for main street area encourages lots of activity

Residential Blocks

Two of the biggest challenges facing the urban residential block are the high rate

of vacancy, and the unmaintained and unsurveyed center of the block. Although,

the vacancy rate cannot necessarily be directly influenced by the physical

environment, improvements in the physical environment may encourage others

to reinvest and recommit to the neighborhood by relocating there.

Strategies:

Clearly delineate public from private spaces.

By clearly marking the transition from public to semi private to private, a

stranger can distinguish where he/she is welcome and/or unwelcome and

residents can better identify who belongs in which spaces. In addition, the

delineation of public spaces from private spaces identifies ownership and, as a

result, identifies who is responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of the space.

Tactics:

The Street

On the street, it is important to mark where the public sidewalk ends and the

semi private threshold of the residential unit begins.

99

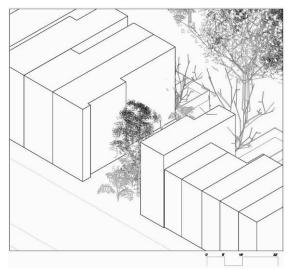


Fig. 207 – The existing street edge has three vacant lots

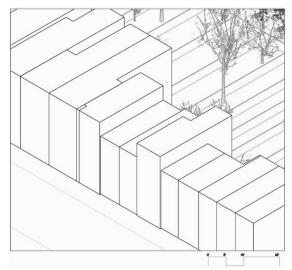


Fig. 208 – Infilling the three vacant lots with housing creates a strong street edge and prevents the backyard private realm from bleeding out onto the public sidewalk



Fig. 209 – Space between front stoops is undefined.



Fig. 210 – Planters connect stoops and mark space as owned.

The Center of the Block

The primary goal for the center of the block is to establish ownership and provide positive reasons for people to be occupying the space.

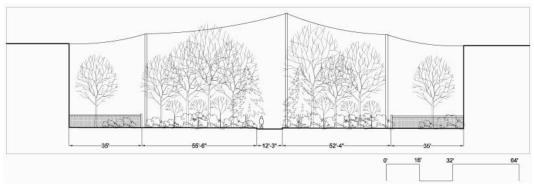


Fig. 211 – Directly behind each rowhouse is a 35 foot long private back yard enclosed with a chain link fence. One the other side of the fence is a sort of "no man's land." The center of the block does not "belong" to anyone and is therefore not maintained by anyone. It is filled with overgrown vegetation and there is no programming back there to encourage positive activity. A small alleyway for emergency vehicles, made of broken bricks, runs down the center of the block.

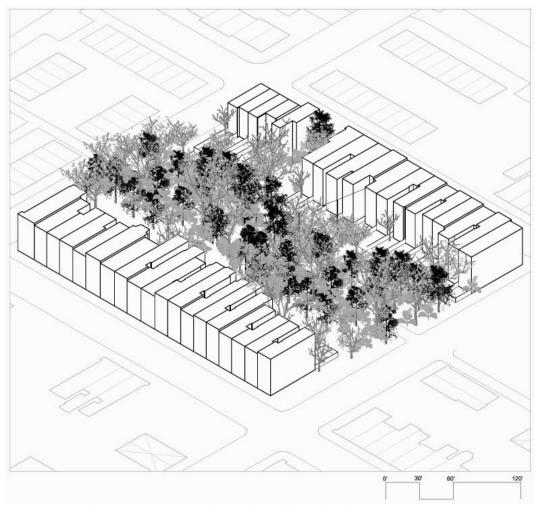


Fig. 212 – Axon showing existing conditions detailed in the above section.

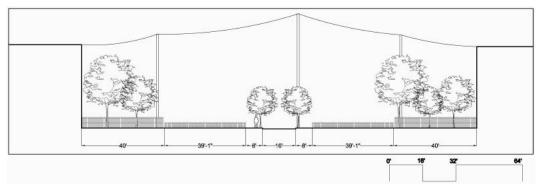


Fig. 213 – One option is to preserve a semi public space at the center of the block – a space that collectively belongs to the residents of the houses on the block, but not the community as a whole. By creating a community garden behind the backyards, a defined space is provided for residents to interact and get to know one another. In addition, a line is drawn as to where strangers are no longer welcome. The maintenance of the space would be a collective responsibility.

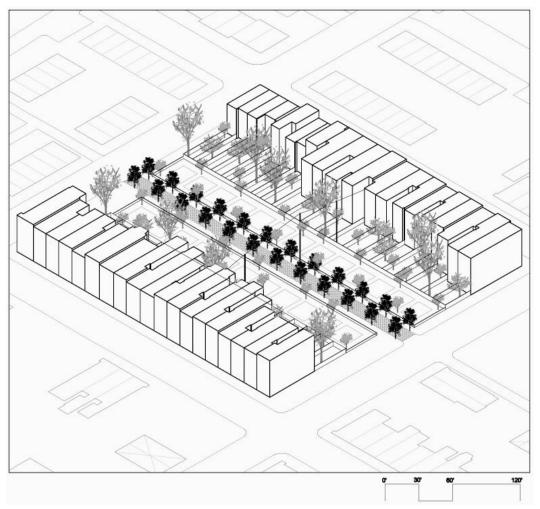


Fig. 214 – Axon showing possibilities of community garden arrangement.

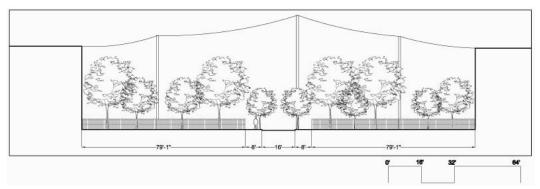


Fig. 215 – A second option for the center of the block would be to give the property over to the existing residential units to enlarge their current backyard. This would clearly delineate who owns what piece of land.

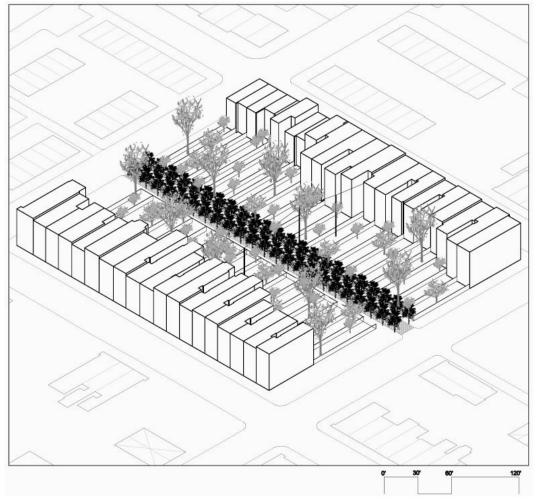


Fig. 216 – Axon showing possibilities of extending the current backyards of the residential units.

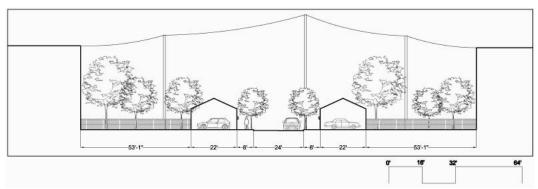


Fig. 217 – Another alternative is to turn the property over to the existing units for the construction of auxiliary buildings, such as garages. This again clearly marks who owns the space and provides a reason for people to be in the space. These buildings are low enough to still allow visibility from the main unit into the alley from upper floors.

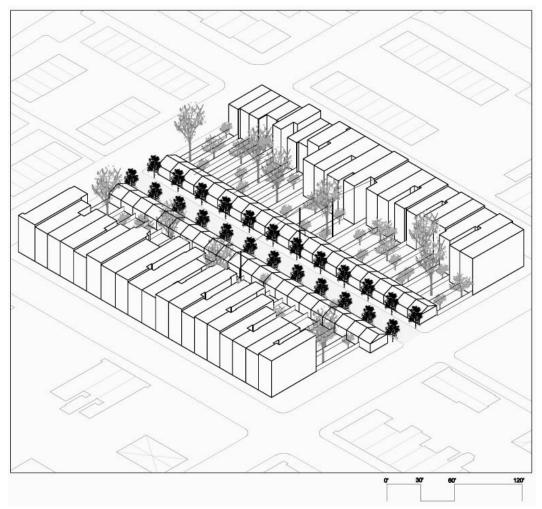


Fig. 218 – Axon showing alley condition with auxiliary units in the rear of the main units.

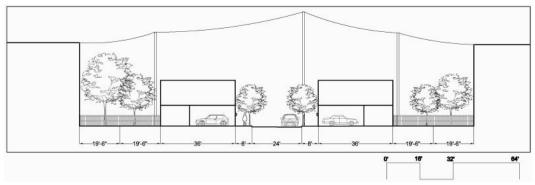


Fig. 219 – Another opportunity to provide a reason for people to occupy the center of the block is to provide housing along the alley. This could be in the form of two story rowhouses or granny flats above garages. The space between the street units and the alley units would be divided to provide backyards for both units.

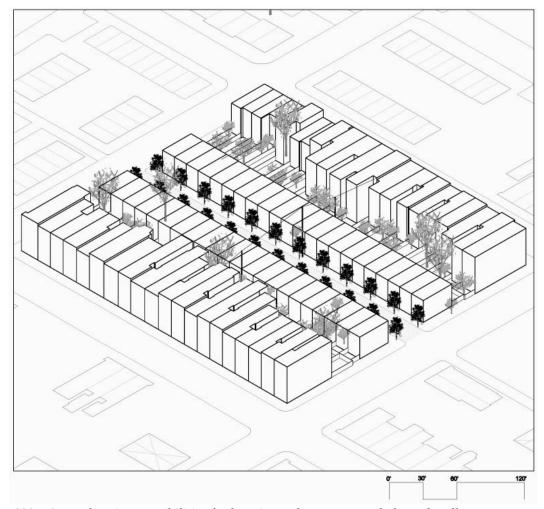


Fig. 220 – Axon showing possibilities for housing to be constructed along the alley.

Strategies: Provide opportunities for residents to survey both the street and the rear of the units.

This includes opportunities for residents to gather outside, as well as survey both sides of their unit from inside. In addition, strangers should perceive they are being watched even when no one is home.

Tactics:

The Street



Fig. 221 – Currently, the only opportunity for residents to gather outside the front of their homes is on a small, concrete front stoop that is uninviting and uncomfortable.



Fig. 222 – Creating small planters between the existing stoops not only makes the area more welcoming, but provides additional seating. The planters should be between 18" and 36" tall to be at a comfortable height for people to sit on.

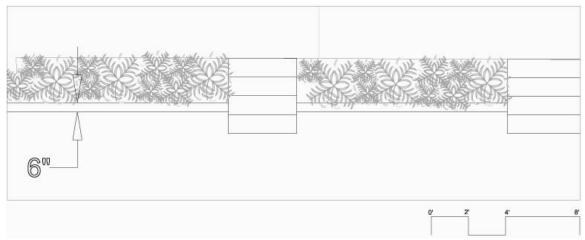


Fig. 223 – The edge of the planter should be approximately 6'' wide – a comfortable width for temporary seating, but not for sleeping.

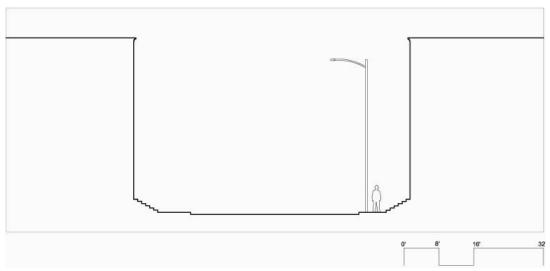


Fig. 224 – Only one type of street lighting currently exists on this residential block. No lighting exists on the residential units themselves.

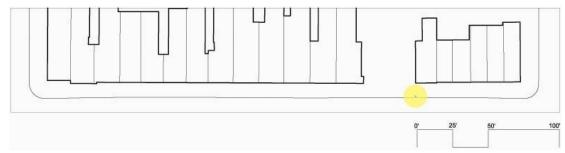


Fig. 225 – Location of existing street light along the Argyle Street side of the prototypical block being examined.

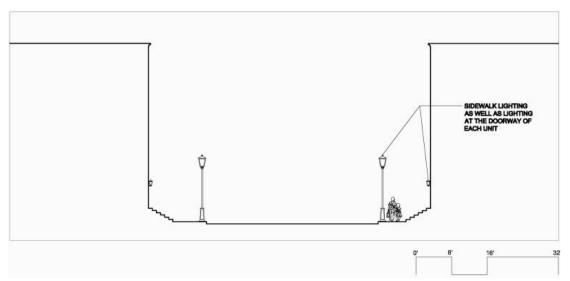


Fig. 226 – Adding more lights along the sidewalk and at the doorways of the residential units will make it easier for residents to observe activity on the street at night and make it more difficult for strangers to hide in the shadows.

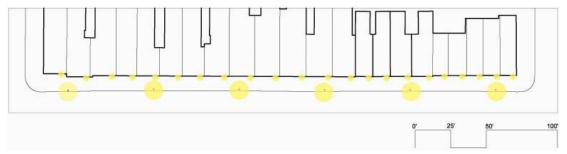


Fig. 227 – Additional lighting should be provided at regular intervals along the street edge.

The Center of the Block



Fig. 228 – Existing conditions at the rear of the units does not encourage residents to gather outside nor does it create a sense of "being watched" if you are in the center of the block.

An orderly system of openings, as well as connections to the outdoors, are important in allowing residents to watch over the outdoor spaces and in creating the sense of being watched when you are in these spaces. Direct access to the backyard through a door in the rear of the unit may create additional security problems if not accompanied by a fence surrounding the yard.





Fig. 229 – Direct access to the backyard from the rear of the unit.

Fig. 230 – Decks on an upper level allow residents to better survey the area.

Strategies: Promote an environment of pride and community.

Some of the primary influences from the physical environment, on pride and sense of community, cannot necessarily be controlled by the design of the environment. For example, stewardship and maintenance must come from the residents themselves. However, a few additions to the streetscape, like the flower boxes mentioned above, flag poles and the addition of street trees can help spark pride in residents and encourage them take care their environment.

Tactics:

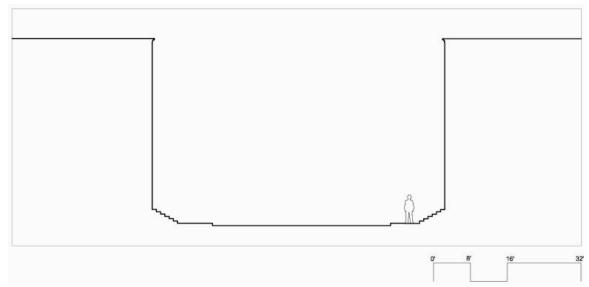


Fig. 231 – There are currently no street trees along Argyle Street.

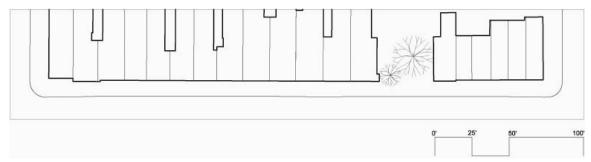


Fig. 232 – The only trees along Argyle Street occupy the vacant lots.

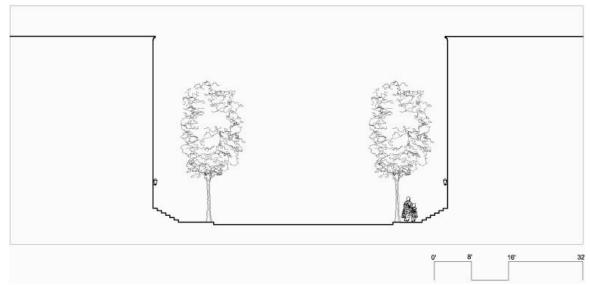


Fig. 233 – Street trees help provide a sense of community.

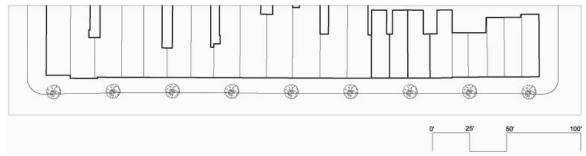


Fig. 234 – Location of street trees at regular intervals along the sidewalk.



Fig. 235 – Window Box adds life to the unit



Fig. 236 – Flag poles allow personalization and give individual character to the place

Public Open Space

In *Planning, Designing and Maintaining Safer Parks*, developed by the Toronto Parks and Recreation, a set of guidelines for designing safer parks is set forth. These include legibility and clarity, surveillance opportunities, lighting, sightlines, access, maintenance, signage, diversity, telephones, programming, and pride. (www.pps.org) In general, the more people that use the space the safer it will be.

Strategy: Provide comfortable places for people to sit and gather.

Tactics:



Fig. 237 – Stationery table and chairs prevent theft and vandalism while still providing a place for people to sit. (http://www.gocolumbiamo.com/ParksandRec/Parks/Flat_Branch/flatbranchphotos.html)



Fig. 238 – Amphitheater provides a place for people to gather and listen to performances. (www.umf.maine.edu/vtour/amphitheater _lo.php)



Fig. 239 - Trees around seating areas provide shade and a sense of enclosure.

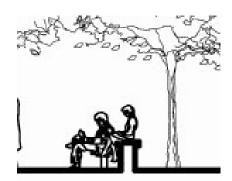


Fig. 240 – Traditional seating in addition to impromptu seating.

Strategy: Ensure sightlines and that those in the space can see the street and be seen from the street.

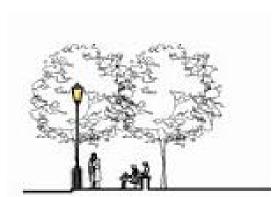


Fig. 241 – Street lighting aides in night surveillance.

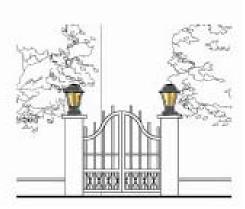


Fig. 242 – Lights along exterior wall and at entrances help sightlines.

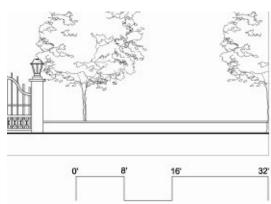


Fig. 243 – The low wall should be tall enough to be comfortable to sit on, but low enough to prevent people from hiding behind it.

Strategy: Provide programmed activities for a variety of age groups.

Tactics:



Fig. 244 – The most important aspect of a playground is that it is transparent allowing parents to keep an eye on their children and preventing others from hiding in the spaces. (www.pps.org)



Fig. 245 – When water is included in a public space, the public is often blocked from accessing it. The most enticing thing about water is the look and feel of it, therefore if a water feature is included, access should be provided. (www.pps.org)



Fig. 246 – Basketball courts and other sport's courts and fields provide entertainment for community members of all ages. http://www.townsville.qld.gov.au/services/commdevt/images/Basketball.jpg



Fig. 247 – Outdoor games, life size or table size, encourage people to spend time in the space.

www.waterventures.com/ prods/143A.html

Strategy: Enhance the public nature of the space to promote pride among the community and encourage ownership and maintenance of the space.

Tactics:

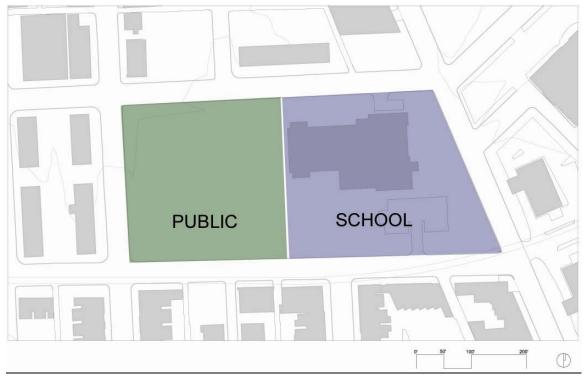


Fig. 248 – A clear delineation of what is public versus what belongs to the school may help in making the community feel a larger sense of ownership of the space.

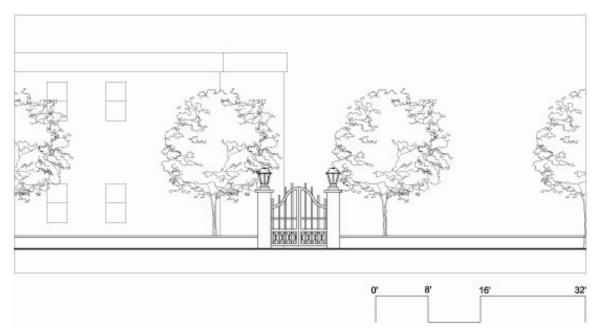


Fig. 249 – The creation of a gateway, or threshold, on the western edge of the space, facing the residential neighborhood, will create a stronger connection to the community.

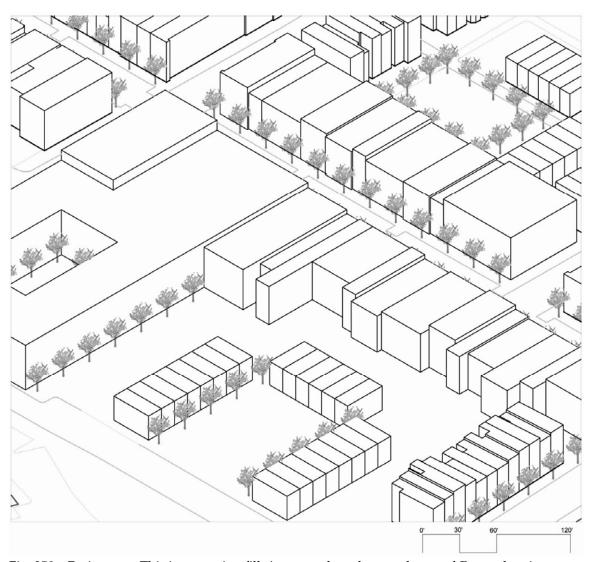
Chapter 8: Design Intervention

The Commercial Realm

The Upton Master Plan (2004) sets forth some guidelines for the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue. These include:

- The creation of gateways at the northern and southern ends of the street to create a destination feel.
- Redevelop vacant and marginal properties in order to retain existing businesses and attract new uses.
- Make Pennsylvania Avenue a destination by creating historic and entertainment venues in addition to shopping venues.
- Promote the Avenue Market as the food anchor for the neighborhood.

The following interventions assume ground level retail establishments with residential units on the upper floors. The proposed land use mentioned above in Strategies and Tactics is carried through here with The Avenue Market and the YMCA as the primary anchors.



 $Fig.\ 250-Facing\ east.\ This\ intervention\ fills\ in\ vacant\ lots\ along\ and\ around\ Pennsylvania\ Avenue\ making\ a\ strong\ edge\ along\ the\ street.$

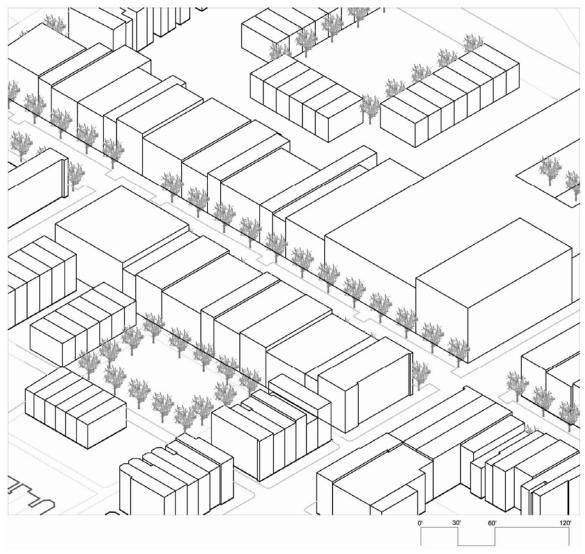


Fig. 251 – Intervention 1 facing west.

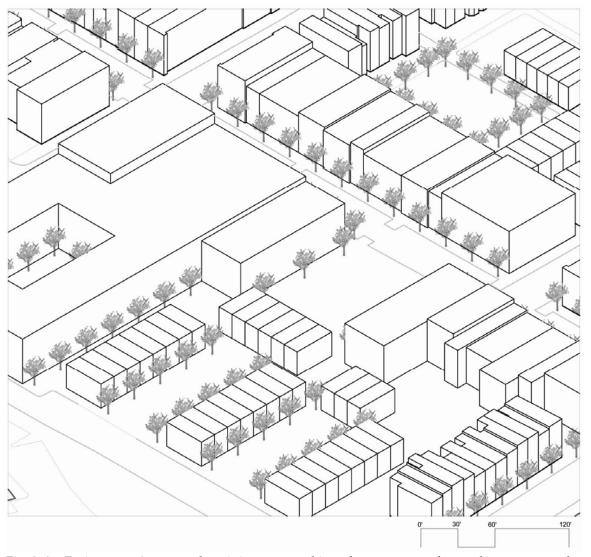


Fig. 252 – Facing east. An open plaza is incorporated into the streetscape for outdoor events and concerts.

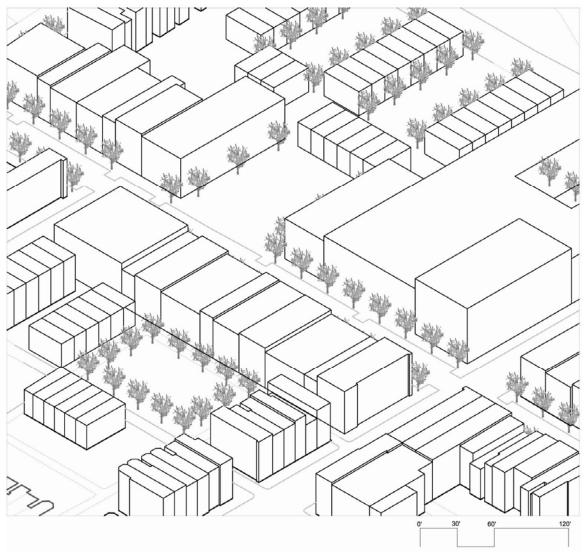


Fig. 253 – Intervention 2 facing west.

The Residential Areas

The recommendations from the Upton Master Plan (2004) for residential areas include:

- Restore corner stores as retail or commercial spaces with apartments above.
- Corner lots could be used for development of institutional spaces.
- Provide a mix of housing from low-income to market-rate.
- Reexamine the rear facades of the existing residential units.
- Maintain two-way traffic around residential blocks.

The easiest way to provide a positive reason for people to be in the alley in the center of the block is to put housing there. The three design interventions below include alley housing, the reintroduction of a retail store on the corner of Argyle and Lafayette and the elimination of vacant lots.



Fig. 254 – Existing vacant corner store



Fig. 255 – Existing vacant lot on Argyle Street

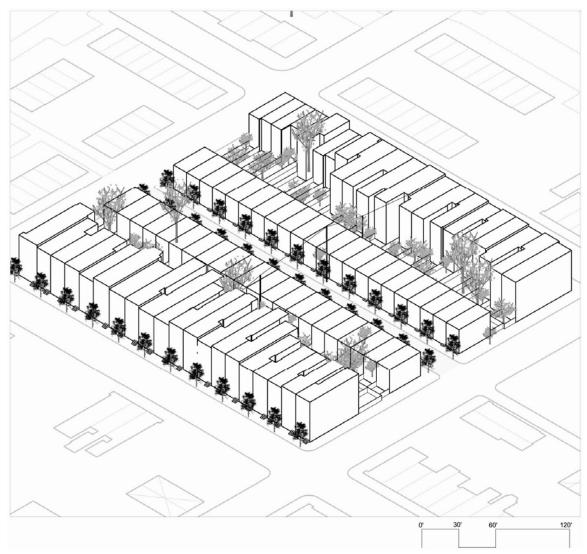


Fig. 256 – The majority of housing on a typical block in Upton includes three story row housing with approximately three to five bedrooms. This intervention includes the addition of one and two bedroom granny flats over garages along the alley.

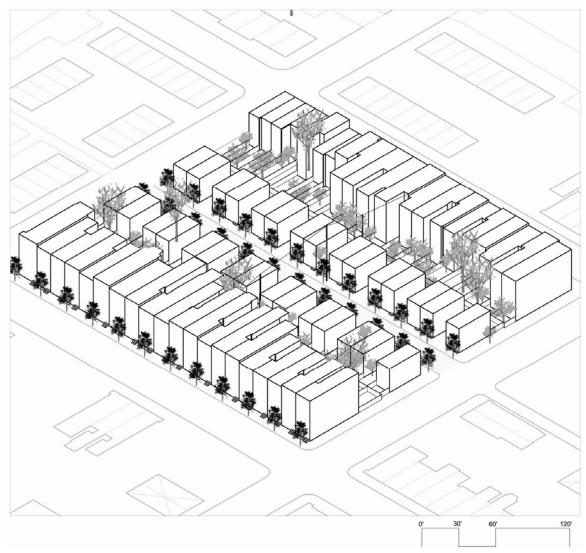


Fig. 257 – This intervention addresses the advantage of adding porosity through the alley units. The alley units are duplex units with side yards on either side of each unit. This porosity allows the street units to survey the alley as well, providing more "eyes on the alley."

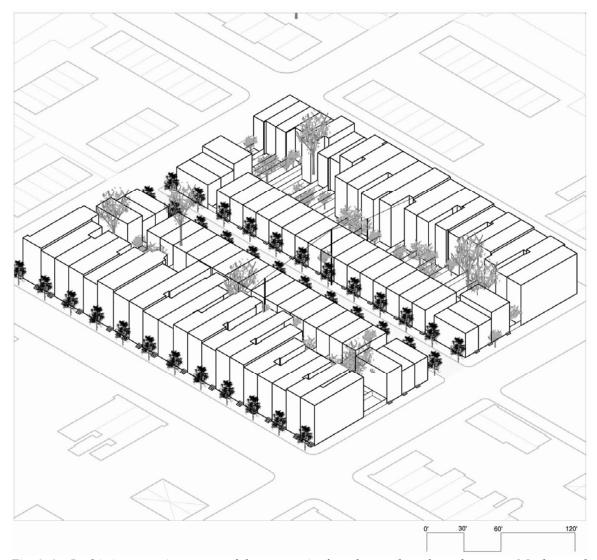


Fig. 258 – In this intervention, some of the new units face the north and south streets, Mosher and Lafayette.

Public Open Space

The goals spelled out in the Upton Master Plan (2004) for the open space in the neighborhood include:

- Create open spaces that serve as community focal points and gathering spaces.
- Program activities to encourage community interaction.
- Create visual and contextual links to the neighborhood.
- Efforts should be made to improve existing spaces rather than create new ones.

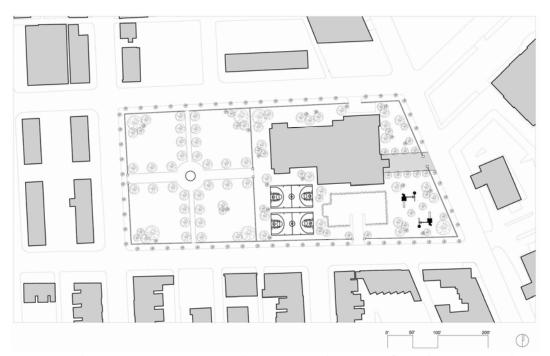


Fig. 259 – This intervention separates the recreational activities from the more social open space. Seating would be scattered throughout the space with a fountain at the center.

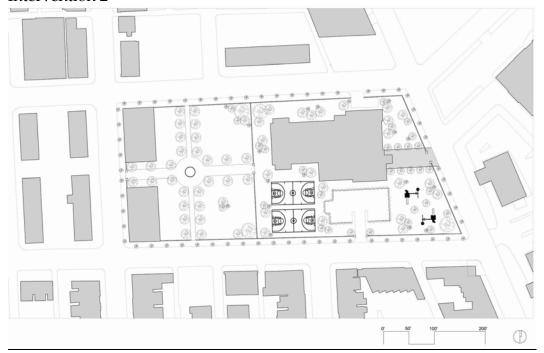


Fig. 260 – The addition of buildings on the west side clearly defines the edge and provides the opportunity to have food options as well as other retail establishments along the park edge.



Fig. 261 – With buildings on the both the eastern and western edges the park is no longer a "no man's land," with the many opportunities for positive activities to be taking place.

Chapter 9: The Guidelines

The Intent of the Guidelines

This manual is intended to serve as a resource for architects, planners, community groups, law enforcement and all others involved in the process of community design. It resulted from an investigation of the influence of urban form on a community's susceptibility to acts of crime and perceptions of safety and sets forth a set of possible design interventions a community may choose to implement when battling perceptions of safety and crime in their neighborhood. A strategy for implementing these components over time is also presented in order to allow communities to prioritize their needs based on the resources available at any given time. Additionally, this manual focuses primarily on the public realm and the design possibilities that exist from building face to building face.

The Limitations of the Guidelines

It is important to keep in mind that the built environment is only one aspect of improving not only issues of safety, but also overall conditions, in a neighborhood. As a result, limited improvement will be seen unless simultaneously combined with a broader strategy that addresses the social,

economic and political issues that a community may also be facing. It is also important to note that these strategies can not be implemented in a vacuum and need the support of the governmental institutions, the local community associations, the designers and planners and the current, as well as future residents.

Working in an Existing Neighborhood

Many urban revitalization projects used to begin with the demolition of an existing community and the temporary displacement of the residents that were living there (i.e. the razing of high rise housing projects.) This provided designers and planners with a blank slate to work with when creating a new, viable and safe community. However, many neighborhoods in need of help are somewhat in tact and cannot be completely demolished in favor of a new start. Working in an existing community provides unique challenges including a sensitivity to the existing community that will live there during the transition, and an understanding that existing fabric and structures need to be integrated into new recommendations

<u>Crime Prevention and the Built Environment</u>

Although the first publicized study of crime and the environment came out of the University of Chicago in the 1920s, the idea that architects and planners could positively contribute to the reduction of crime came to the forefront in the early 1970s with the publication of Oscar Newman's Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design in 1972 and Dr. C. Jeffrey's Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) in 1971. Two decades later, in 1991, Timothy Crowe published Crime Prevention through Environmental Design: Applications of Architectural Design and Space Management Concepts, further promoting the importance of an interdisciplinary approach and establishing CPTED guidelines for planners and designers.

Oscar Newman

Newman's work in the 1970s focused primarily on rectifying the problems that resulted from the 1950s and 1960s strategy of housing low income groups in high rise projects. However the strategies that evolved from his work can be applied to other situations where crime is problematic as well. Additionally, Newman focused solely on the disciplines of physical planning and architectural design and did not specifically address the role of other institutions and disciplines in the process.

Newman promoted three key strategies in his work - Territoriality, Natural Surveillance and Image/Milieu. Territoriality addresses the need to extend the boundaries of the private zone into the public zone to encourage a sense of ownership of the space. By creating a transparency between the inside and the outside, and allowing for surveillance of the public realm, those that belong will feel protected and those that don't will feel watched.

Timothy Crowe

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) differs from

Newman's approach in that it actively promotes an interdisciplinary approach to crime prevention, involving designers, planners, government officials, law enforcement officials and the community itself. The strategies that result, however, are similar to the ones that Newman identifies. The three primary CPTED strategies include Access Control, Surveillance and Territorial Reinforcement. By denying access to targets, keeping intruders under constant observation and clearly marking the public from the private zones, CPTED aims to improve the safety of communities facing problems with crime.

Perception of Crime versus Actual Crime

Crime prevention strategies address two equally important public safety issues - actual crime and perception of crime. The fear of crime, whether the crime actually is present or not, nonetheless causes withdrawal from the public realm and quickly results in a lack of use of public spaces. Not unexpectedly, fear is highest outdoors and at night. Approximately 40% of Americans report being afraid to walk alone in their own neighborhoods at night. (Zelinka and Brennan, 2001) Women, older adults, low income groups and racial and ethnic minorities report the greatest fear of crime, even though, in actuality, young males are more often the victims of crime simply because they spend the most amount of time outdoors. (Einwalter, 2001) Ironically, fear of crime is often only marginally related to actual crime rates.

What Causes Public Fear

In "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety," first published in Atlantic Monthly Magazine in 1982, James Wilson and George Kelling put forth three hypothesis about the stimuli of public fear. Public fear can be driven by the fear of actually being a victim of crime, the fear of disorderly people and the fear of disorder and neglect in the physical environment. The neglect of the physical environment is the basis for the Broken Window Theory and stems from the idea

that "one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing." (Wilson, 1982:3) A deteriorating environment indicates that no one has taken ownership and control of the space. These areas are alluring targets for potential criminals and delinquents as they feel they are not being watched in these spaces.

In addition, the Prospect/Refuge Theory, put forth by Jay Appleton in Experience of Landscape, suggests that the fear of crime is increased when objects such as landscaping, lighting and walls limit the ability to survey the area and identify strangers who may be hiding.

The Importance of Community

In The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Jane Jacobs observes how community interaction and the ability of residents to recognize their neighbors, can help protect a neighborhood. Strangers are easily identified and residents feel empowered to question their purpose for being in the neighborhood. When neighbors are strangers, people avoid one another and controls over the environment are weakened.

Design Considerations

What conditions do people need to feel safe and be safe? What conditions do people seek and/or avoid when they want to carry out a crime or other acts that violate a sense of public safety? How can the built environment discourage counterproductive behavior while optimizing public safety and positive activity?

Design Strategies

With these questions in mind the following five strategies have been identified as key to reducing crime and increasing safety in a community. These strategies include Surveillance, Territoriality, Positive Pedestrian Environment, Diversity and Community Stewardship.

Surveillance

Surveillance strategies ensure that sightlines between inside and outside, and throughout the public realm, remain unobstructed. These strategies address lighting, overhangs and awnings, building protrusions, tree canopies, transparency, and uses near building edges both inside and out.

Territoriality

The ability to clearly distinguish public from private not only allows strangers to be more easily identified, but also defines a realm of space that one is responsible for. These strategies will help the designer identify methods of marking boundaries.

Pedestrian Environment

The old adage "safety in numbers" is the backbone of this strategy. By creating an active pedestrian environment with comfortable places to sit, shade, active uses along the street, protection from vehicular traffic and the opportunity for interaction with others, more people will use the street creating a safer environment for all.

Diversity

Key to the revitalization of a deteriorating neighborhood is the integration of people with a variety of backgrounds, family make-ups, incomes, and education. Diversity also includes incorporating a mix of land uses vertically as well as horizontally along the street and providing a variety of dwelling types to meet the needs of the newly diversified population.

Community Stewardship

Although not technically a design strategy, the importance of community involvement and ownership in the process and solution should not be underestimated.

Implementation Considerations

As previously mentioned, creating a safe environment from an existing neighborhood offers different challenges then creating a safe neighborhood from scratch. Implementation strategies must consider when financial resources will be available, when human capital resources will be available and how much of a disruption will this process be to the lives of the people currently living in the neighborhood.

<u>Implementation Strategies</u>

The implementation of the five design strategies can be categorized into three phases. The duration of each phase is dependent on the investment and support of the community at large. Phase I addresses the short term, while Phase II and Phase III begin to look at the long term future of the neighborhood. Please note, also, that these phases are meant to build on one another, not replace each other.

For example, Phase II continues to implement and improve on the strategies of Phase I while adding new considerations to the mix.

Phase I

Phase I is about making the greatest impact with the least amount of investment. Although many of the Phase I strategies may seem minute, they can have a large impact on a person's perception of safety. These strategies will signal to the community that change is coming and encourage them to take an active role in the results.

Phase II

The focus of Phase II is to build on the successes of Phase I. Phase II continues to improve on the existing infrastructure, while identifying key focal points for new construction. Phase II also begins to focus on diversifying the neighborhood, both socially and physically.

Phase III

The goal of Phase III is to establish the neighborhood as a safe community in its own right. The successes of Phase I and Phase II should encourage further investment and diversity in the neighborhood. It is important to note that Phase

III is not intended to be an end result. As factors in community safety will continue to change over time, it is important that Phase III, or whatever is to come next, continue to address these issues as they change.

<u>Test Area – Baltimore Neighborhood of Upton</u>

The Baltimore neighborhood of Upton is used throughout this manual to represent the changes possible with the implementation of these strategies. Upton is a small, historic neighborhood in central Baltimore, just north of the Inner Harbor. Known as a center of African American culture, it is often referred to as the "Harlem of Baltimore."

History of the Neighborhood

Upton was established just prior to the turn of the 20th century, when the African American population in Baltimore began to settle just north of the downtown. Soon, institutions began to develop to support the neighborhood, including churches, libraries, schools, and transportation. Retailers along Pennsylvania Avenue provided an alternative to the downtown department stores practicing discrimination. Eventually Upton became a center for civil rights action and leaders like Booker T. Washington, W.E. B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey could often be heard speaking from church pulpits.

In between the two World Wars, Pennsylvania Avenue became famed as an entertainment district, lined with department stores, specialty shops and theaters. In the 1930s and 40s, the presence of clubs, cabarets and theaters made Upton the center of jazz in the city, hosting stars such as Eubie Blake, Ethel Waters, Louis Armstrong, Fats Waller, Billie Holiday, and Ella Fitzgerald.

In the 1950s, at the time of desegregation, Pennsylvania Avenue began to decline. The African American community moved out of the city due to the legal and financial availability of housing outside of the city. The less affluent residents remained in the city and were subjected to substandard housing from absentee landlords and public housing projects.

Current Situation

With the population loss and the destruction of many of the entertainment venues, the once vibrant African American community could no longer sustain itself. "An abundance of vacant lots and buildings, combined with poorly maintained occupied properties and dimly lit streets, have made the community an easy target for crime and for drug trafficking." (Upton Master Plan, 2004:9) The commercial district along Pennsylvania Avenue, and particularly the

Avenue Market, are considered unsafe by area residents. Open space is underutilized due to the perception by residents that it is dangerous.

The People of the Neighborhood

Understanding the social, economic and political issues facing the community is as important as understanding the physical environment in which they live.

The Household/Family

"At risk" households include households headed by an elderly individual, female-headed households, households with three or more children under the age of 18, households headed by an individual who is a member of a minority group and households with at least one member who is disabled. In Upton, 20% of households are run by a householder 65 years or older, 36% of households have a female head of household, 35% of households have children under the age of 18, 98% of the population is African American and 30% of the population is disabled. In addition, only 10% of family households consist of a married couple with over 50% of family heads of households never having been married. In addition, 56% of children under the age of 18 are being raised by grandparents.

Education

Almost half of all current residents have received a high school diploma or higher.

Employment

Based on a mean travel time to work of 37.7 minutes, it could be assumed that there are not enough jobs in the neighborhood. As transportation is often an issue this may make it difficult for some residents to find jobs they can access. Additionally, more than half of neighborhood residents are not in the labor force. Of the 46% in the labor force, 25% are currently unemployed.

Income and Poverty Status

In 1999, 45% of families, 52% of families with female heads of house and 48% of individuals, were living in poverty. The median household income in the neighborhood is \$13,051.

Influence of Faith

"From its earliest days, Upton's religious institutions were centers of social, political and economic justice." (Upton Master Plan, 2004:4) More than 30 faith based organizations are present in the neighborhood. Many already run social

programs for the neighborhood including community centers and senior programs. Unfortunately, a large percentage of congregants do not live in the area and therefore are not vested in its progress.

(Source: U.S. Census, 2000)

Movement Systems

Understanding how people move through the neighborhood is important to understanding where they are most vulnerable. Approximately three quarters of residents do not own a car, therefore public transportation and pedestrian paths are essential.

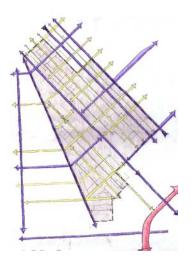


Fig. 262 - Existing Street Hierarchy



Fig. 263 – Bus Routes



Fig. 264 – Subway Map

The Housing Stock

The majority of the housing stock in Upton consists of three and four story rowhouses, most of which have fallen into disrepair. There are a few housing projects and high rise apartment buildings in the neighborhood as well.

Concentration of Crime

As in most Baltimore neighborhoods, in Upton the majority of crime stems from the drug trade. The subway station at Pennsylvania Avenue and Laurens Street is one of the cities most notorious drug corners. In addition, the unmaintained center of many of the residential blocks provides additional challenges for law enforcement.

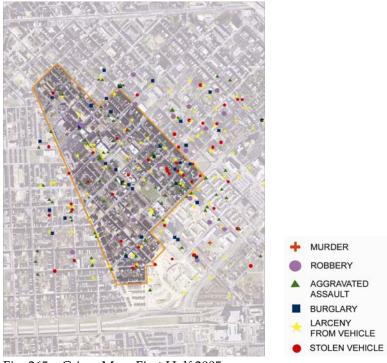


Fig. 265 - Crime Map, First Half 2005

Phase I: Signaling Change

Make the Greatest Impact with the Least Amount of Investment

The goal of Phase I is to signal the beginning of change to the community, establish trust and provide hope for a safer, more livable community in the future. Most of the components of the Phase I strategy require minimal financial investment, but have the potential to make a significant impact on the perceptions of safety in the neighborhood. Additionally, in a Phase I strategy, the improvements to the public realm would need the financial backing of the city or community association.

<u>Improvements to the Pedestrian Environment</u>

Some simple improvements to the pedestrian environment can increase the perception of safety and encourage more people to use the street.

Lighting

A lighting strategy should include street lighting, pedestrian oriented lighting, and entry lighting. Lights should not be obstructed by trees, awnings or overhangs. The spacing of street lights is dependent on a variety of factors

including street width and budget, however the goal is to have the light throw of each lamp meet the next one. The average estimated light throw used in the diagram below is a 30 feet diameter. It is important to incorporate lights that illuminate the vertical surface (metal halide lights) and lights that illuminate the horizontal surface (sodium lamps) on the street. By illuminating the vertical surface a pedestrian is able to see the face and hands of a person approaching them from a greater distance.

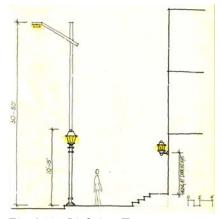


Fig. 266 – Lighting Types

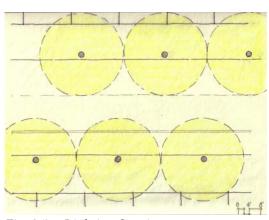


Fig. 267 – Lighting Spacing

Seating

Seating along primary and secondary streets and in public open spaces provides places of rest and allows people to stay outdoors longer. It also

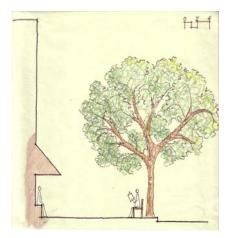


Fig. 268 – Pedestrian Seating

provides a place for various other activities to take place outdoors including reading, watching and interaction with others. Benches can be broken up with intermediate arm rests to avoid people sleeping on them.

Trees

Street trees provide shade for the pedestrian and make the environment more comfortable during all seasons. Trees should be carefully spaced to avoid blocking sightlines or lighting maintaining a clear line of sight between three feet and eight feet from the ground.

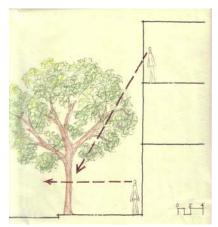


Fig. 269 – Sightlines through Trees

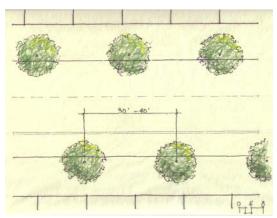


Fig. 270 – Tree spacing along street

Transient Vending

Street vendors and performers bring life to the street that may otherwise not be present. They also serve as an active set of eyes on the street and increase

surveillance substantially. In Phase I, the establishment of street festivals and flea markets is important to introducing these vendors to the neighborhood.

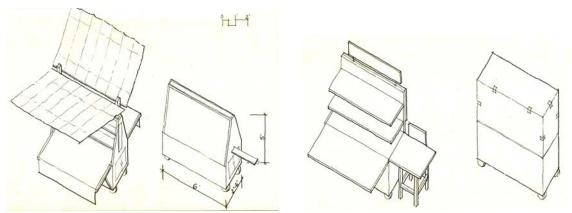


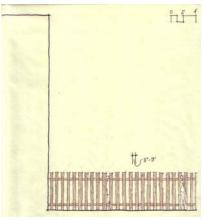
Fig. 271 and Fig. 272 – Transient Vending Cart Example

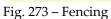
<u>Clearly Mark Public from Private – Establish Territory</u>

Gates, fences, rails, low walls, planters and vegetation can easily be used to delineate public spaces from semi public, semi private and private spaces. In Phase I, these components should be used to protect existing spaces such as backyards, school grounds, community parks and deter people from entering spaces like alleys, and vacant lots.

Fences

Fences are one option for marking the private realm, including spaces such as backyards and school grounds. Fences should remain semi transparent to preserve surveillance opportunities.





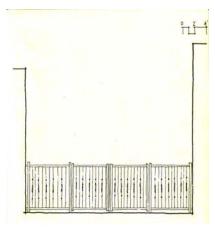


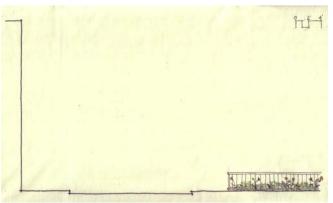
Fig. 274 - Gates

Gates

Gates are used to allow spaces to be public during part of the day and private during other times. Again, gates should remain semi transparent to preserve surveillance opportunities.

Low walls, rails, and vegetation

Low walls, rails and vegetation are used to define semi public and semi private spaces. They provide a clearly defined boundary and signal a transition from the public realm to a space more exclusionary.



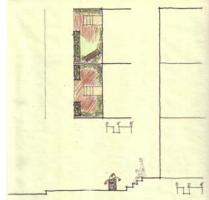


Fig. 275 - Low Fence

Fig. 276 – Front Yard Planters

Planters

Planters are one option for defining semi private spaces such as front yards. They clearly define the boundary of the space while remaining inviting to those that are given permission to enter.

<u>Increase Eyes on the Street and other Opportunities for Surveillance</u>

The fear of being watched can act as a large deterrent to criminal behavior by those who typically participate in those acts. In addition, the security of being watched makes others feel safer on the street. Therefore, increasing even the perception that a space is being monitored can have a beneficial impact. Phase I should focus on bringing more people to the community to increase the potential "eyes on the street," as well as removing any impediments to clear sightlines.

Address Vacant Housing Structures

Vacant properties stimulate the Broken Window Theory, mentioned previously. They act as a sign that no one cares what happens to the property and, as a result, they become prime spots for criminal activity. The rehabilitation of these properties can serve several functions. It will eliminate some of the places in which criminal acts take place. It will bring new people to the community, increasing the population of the neighborhood. And, by increasing the population, there will automatically be more people watching the street and engaging in the community.

Impediments to Clear Lines of Sight

Street furniture, trees, awnings, overhangs and transit stops can often block essential sightlines based on their placement or the materials they are made of. Street furniture should be constructed to preserve a sense of transparency. Tree species should be selected based on their density in order to allow sightlines through trees from the windows of upper floors. Awnings and overhangs should not protrude into the public right of way if they block the view of storefronts.

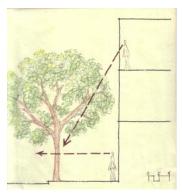


Fig. 277 – Sightlines Through Trees

Fig. 278 – Sightlines past Awnings and Overhangs

Community Participation

It is essential to not underestimate the importance of involving the community in the process. This will help ensure ownership in the new community and provide them with the opportunity to make it their own. This will further encourage stewardship of the new neighborhood.

<u>Upton – Existing Conditions</u>

Pennsylvania Avenue

The center of commercial activity in Upton is located along Pennsylvania Avenue. Once a bustling and vibrant commercial strip, it is now the center of drug activity, prostitution and other criminal acts. With more than 14% of the retail storefront currently vacant, Pennsylvania Avenue is considered marginal and unattractive by the neighborhood residents. The Avenue Market itself is more than 30% vacant. In addition, Pennsylvania Avenue lacks seating, sufficient

lighting and sufficient street trees to provide shade. Traffic travels at high speeds and vehicles often conflict with pedestrians.

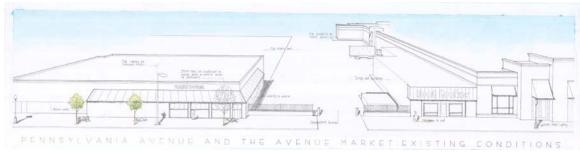


Fig. 279 – Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Existing Conditions

Neighborhood Park

The majority of public open space in Upton is paved and includes streets, sidewalks and parking lots, rather than gathering spaces created for programmed activities. Seventy-eight percent of the 188 acres of open space in the neighborhood is paved. (Upton Master Plan, 2004) The few parks in the neighborhood are not well maintained. The spaces contain little play equipment, little seating and dim lighting. The two largest parks are on the grounds of two public schools and territorial issues arise. In addition, the parks lack a diversity of land use surrounding them. Because of the lack of upkeep and the perception that they are unsafe, they are not well used.



Fig. 280 – Future Neighborhood Park – Existing Conditions

Phase I – Upton

Pennsylvania Avenue

Phase I improvements to Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market include the addition of consistently spaced pedestrian oriented lighting, lush street trees for shade, a gate to limit access to the market service area and a fence to define the territory and limit access to the undeveloped area behind the retail. In addition, benches provide places of rest along the street.

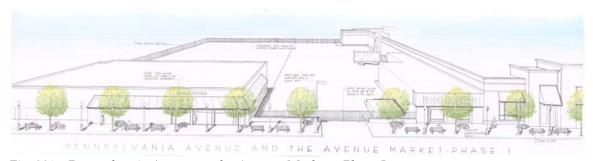


Fig. 281 - Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market - Phase I

Neighborhood Park

Phase I improvements to the future neighborhood park include the addition of consistent pedestrian oriented lighting and street trees, the demolition of the vacant and dilapidated rowhouses at the center of the block, the rehabilitation of rowhouses at the edge of the block, the creation of open space for recreation, lighting at the center of the block, and the creation of plazas as places to encourage gathering.



Fig. 282 - Neighborhood Park - Phase I

Phase II: Build on Success

Invest in the Future of the Neighborhood

The goal of Phase II is to make a larger investment in the community's safety and revitalization and continue to build on the successes of Phase I. Phase II strategies require a more dramatic intervention to the existing conditions and begin to establish clear pedestrian and vehicular paths as well as neighborhood focal points that serve as safe havens for pedestrian activity. In addition, these focal points will continue to bring new people to the neighborhood adding to the much needed diversity.

Reconfiguring Streets to Make a Safer Pedestrian Environment

Since the automobile became widely available at the turn of the 20th century, there has been a struggle for territory between the pedestrian and the automobile. Over time, in many urban areas, the automobile won and we are left

trying to repair the damage done to our pedestrian environments. Phase II sets up strategies for establishing a street hierarchy, identifying what types of activities take place along the different types of streets and establishing territory for both the pedestrian and the automobile.

Primary Streets

Primary streets are typically connector streets and carry the highest volume of both pedestrian and vehicular traffic. In urban areas, primary streets also tend to be public transit routes. Two-way traffic is essential along primary streets for maximum "eyes on the street" and parking lanes should be provided along both sides of the street. Pedestrians should be sheltered from moving vehicular traffic by defined parking lanes between traffic lanes and the sidewalk and a zone at the edge of the sidewalk that contains trees, lights, trashcans, etc. The sidewalk dimension should provide room for street vending and performing, outdoor eating areas, seating areas for groups and/or individuals, transit stops, trees, lights, and trash cans as well as easy, unobstructed movement of pedestrians. Primary streets also tend to have the most amount of land use diversity.

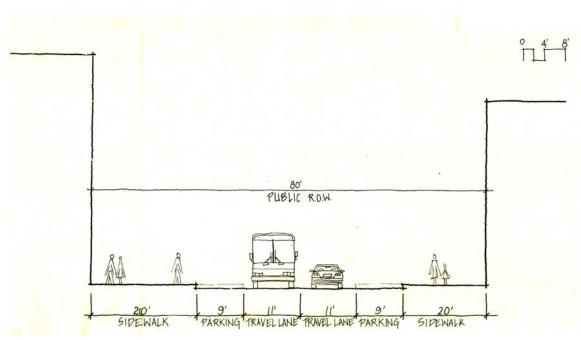


Fig. 283 - Primary Street Dimensions

Secondary Streets

Secondary streets connect primary streets and tend to be mostly residential, with the occasional commercial, institutional and/or civic use. Two-way traffic is also recommended along secondary streets for maximum surveillance, although, only one lane of parking is required and, therefore, the street dimension is slightly narrower than primary streets. Sidewalks along secondary streets will also be more narrow, as they do not need to accommodate the same types of activities as primary streets. Secondary street sidewalk activities include pedestrian movement, interaction with residents in their front yards and the occasional group gathering in front of a church or school. Secondary streets may also be

appropriate places for neighborhood parks as vehicular traffic volumes are reduced enough to make it safe to cross the street, yet there is enough activity to maintain active surveillance of the space.

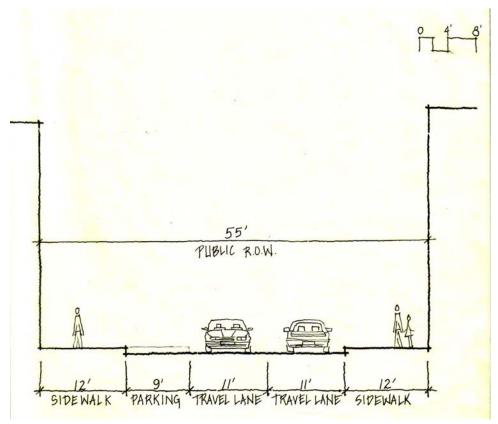


Fig. 284 – Secondary Street Dimensions

Tertiary Streets

Tertiary streets are often alleyways and may primarily be used for service and parking. However, in order to increase surveillance of the street, it is recommended to incorporate land uses such as live/work units, auxiliary buildings and smaller rowhouse units. Tertiary streets are typically one way and may include one parking lane if the street has some active land uses along it.

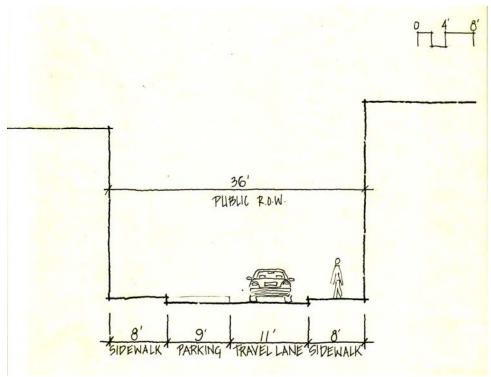


Fig. 285 – Tertiary Street Dimensions

Establish an Infill Strategy to Eliminate Ambiguous Properties

Vacant properties in a deteriorated neighborhood are problematic for several reasons. First and foremost, they are typically unmaintained and unobserved and become "safe" places to commit crimes. In addition, their boundaries are often unmarked, allowing anyone to feel comfortable crossing into them. And finally, when boundaries are marked it is often with temporary, yet solid, walls that prevent an observer from watching the activities taking place beyond the fence if the boundary has been breeched. In Phase II, the goal of the infill strategy is to first mark boundaries with temporary, transparent walls or fences and then begin to build more permanent structures on these sites. New structures and new

uses will bring more people to these sites. This will puts more people on the street and more people watching the activities of the street.

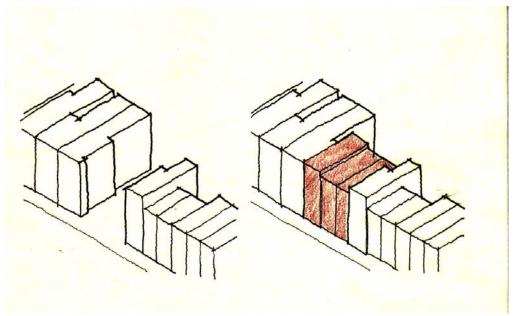


Fig. 286 - Infill Before and After

Begin to Diversify

As properties are infilled and rehabbed it is important to consider their uses and mix. A vibrant community requires diversity in people, diversity in dwelling mix, diversity in land use and even diversity in architectural interventions.

People

Many of the urban social problems we have faced over time can be blamed on the singular grouping of similar individuals - segregation of African Americans, high rise projects that housed the poor, etc. A viable community supports a variety of people, from different backgrounds, ages, races, ethnicities, income levels and education levels, and celebrates their differences.

Dwelling Mix

In order to accommodate a diversity of people, a variety of dwelling types must be offered. Things to consider when developing a mix include life stage, age, income, proximity to services and proximity to transportation. For example, units with backyards are more important to families with children whereas a young, professional couple might prefer a rowhouse with a garage rather than deal with yard maintenance. In addition, housing for the elderly should be located near services and transportation.

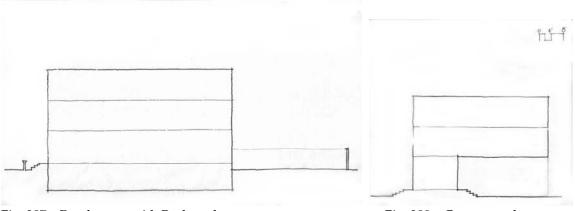
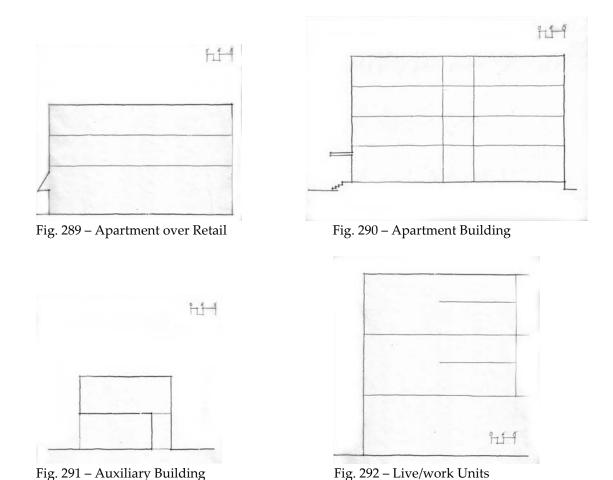


Fig. 287 – Rowhouses with Backyards

Fig. 288 – Garage rowhouses



Land Use

Land use diversity is a key factor in establishing an active community with people using the street at various times throughout the day. Diversity should be considered both vertically and horizontally along the street. In Phase II, the land use strategy includes diversifying the existing retail and other commercial spaces to provide needed services for the residents of the neighborhood.

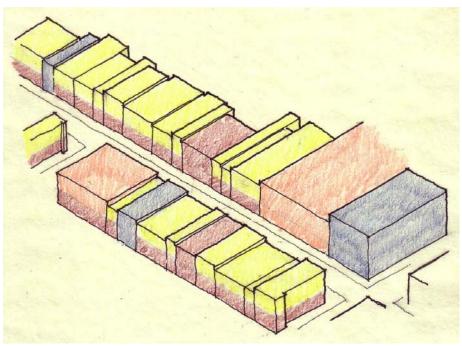


Fig. 293 – Land Use Diagram

Establish Neighborhood Focal Points

Neighborhood focal points provide a physical place for positive growth to begin. A neighborhood may already have a set of focal points that simply require renovation, and the application of the above strategies, to become safe havens for pedestrian activity and physical growth. These may include churches, schools, parks and historic structures/ districts. However, it is also appropriate to create these spaces with the purpose of becoming a launching point for the further growth of the neighborhood. These may include cultural institutions, plazas and parks and retail destinations.

Phase II – Upton

Pennsylvania Avenue

Phase II improvements to Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market include the establishment of a neighborhood focal point with new mixed use buildings south of the market bringing diversity to the area, the insertion of a vehicular street between the market and the new construction to increase eyes on the street for the new retail, a screen of trees to mark territory or market service area and the addition of new residential further south of the site.



Fig. 294 – Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Phase II

Neighborhood Park

Phase II improvements to the neighborhood park include addition interior park lighting, play areas for children, an open field for recreation, recreation courts, covered bleachers, picnic pavilions, and a porous hardscape area for festival and the like.



Fig. 295 - Neighborhood Park - Phase II

Phase III: Standing on your Own

Establish a safe community in its own right

The goal of Phase III is to establish a community that can stand on its own - whose physical environment supports the safety of its residents while they perform their daily activities and whose residents feel empowered to protect their right to live in a safe and secure environment. By Phase III, investment in the neighborhood should have proven worthwhile and larger projects can now be addressed, including the removal and/or renovation of structures that are not supporting the objectives above and influx of new construction that will bring new residents, new services, new jobs and new institutions to the community.

Renovation of Existing Structures

The primary issues to address when considering renovation of an existing structure are land use diversity (as addressed in Phase II), sightlines between

inside and outside and building protrusions and setbacks that can act as hiding places.

Sightlines

There are several options for increasing surveillance opportunities in existing buildings, including the removal or adjustment of overhangs and awnings, increasing the amount of glazing and encouraging active functions at the street, both inside and outside. It is important to ensure a clear sightline between three feet and eight feet from the ground.

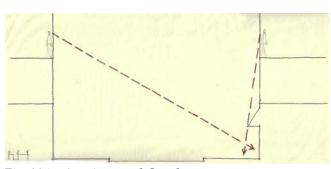


Fig. 296 – Awnings and Overhangs

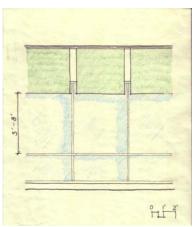
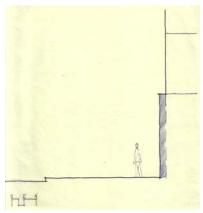


Fig. 297 – Street Front Glazing

Building Protrusions and Setbacks

Deep building protrusions and setbacks can serve as ideal hiding places for someone attempting to commit a crime. In addition, according to the Prospect/Refuge Theory, they also increase the fear of crime among pedestrians

since they are unable to see into the space until they have arrived at it. Solid protrusions and setbacks should be no deeper than the depth of a person. Protrusions and setbacks may be deeper as long as transparency is preserved allowing the pedestrian to see to the other side. These spaces should also always be well lit.



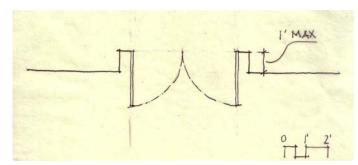


Fig. 298 – Building Protrusions

Fig. 299 – Building Setbacks

Construction of New Structures

New construction offers the unique opportunity to start with a clean slate. All of the strategies listed in this manual can be integrated to achieve the best results possible. In addition, new construction should consider street frontage (fronts and backs), daylight and flexibility.

Street Frontage

Building fronts should always face primary and secondary streets to increase activity and surveillance along these streets. For similar reasons, where possible, some tertiary streets should also receive building fronts.

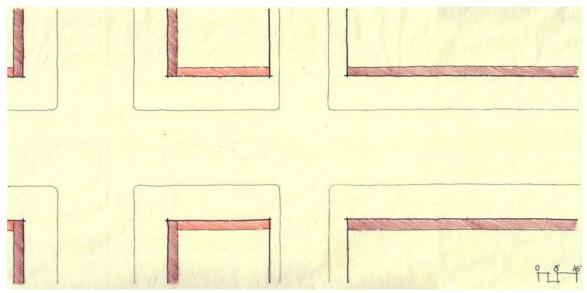


Fig. 300 – Active Street Frontage on Primary and Secondary Streets

Daylight

Although lack of sun does not necessarily mean that a space will not be used, access to the sun should be protected whenever possible.

(Whyte, 1980)

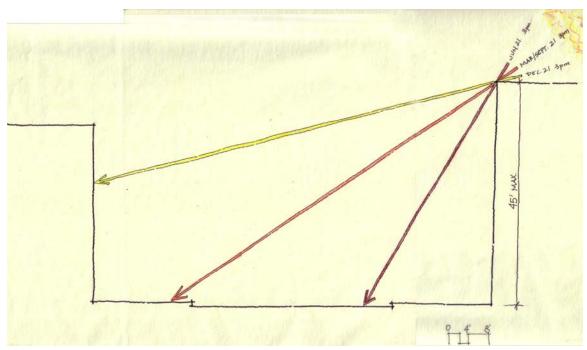


Fig. 301 – Primary Street Daylighting Diagram

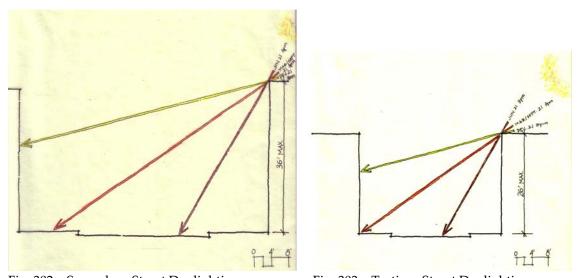


Fig. 302 – Secondary Street Daylighting

Fig. 303 – Tertiary Street Daylighting

Flexibility

Flexibility allows the community to make the space their own after all the designers, planners and construction workers are gone. Open space has the flexibility to be used for recreation, performances, markets and as a gathering

place. The street can be used for transportation, relaxation, eating, shopping and working. Even building facades can have enough layers to allow for a variety of uses including displays, the selling of goods, the distribution of information and performing.

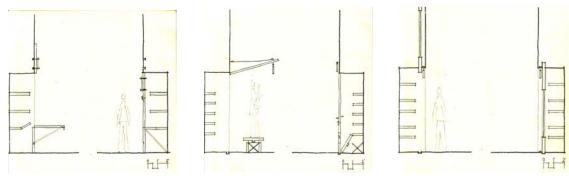


Fig. 304, 305 and 306 - Fixed Vending Niches

Phase III – Upton

Pennsylvania Avenue

The most substantial improvement to Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market in Phase III is the demolition of the existing market and the addition of a new mixed use building in its place with a market at the street level and live/work units above. In addition, Jazz on the Avenue furthers the notion that this site has the potential to be a neighborhood focal point and brings a piece of the neighborhood's history back to the community. The flexible plaza space can be used for performances, vendors, an outdoor market or other events, The street

between the mixed use buildings and the market has been removed in favor of a pedestrian pathway that unifies the pedestrian environment. This example represents one possibility for a neighborhood when these guidelines are followed. Phase III is not, however, an end state. As communities continue to change so should the physical environment.



Fig. 307 – Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Phase III

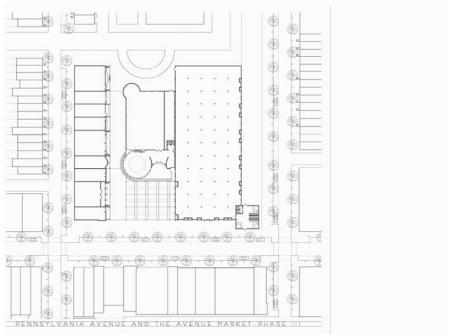


Fig. 308 – Pennsylvania Avenue at the Avenue Market – Phase III Plan

Neighborhood Park

The most significant improvements in Phase III to the neighborhood park include the renovation of existing surrounding structures and the addition of new buildings to bring a mix of uses and a diversity of dwelling types to the neighborhood. This diversity will increase activity on this site and put more "eyes on the street." A community center anchors the park on the northeast corner and will house recreation equipment. Institutional buildings, such as daycare centers, and commercial buildings, such as the corner store are integrated in with the residential units.

Again, this example represents only one possibility for a neighborhood when these guidelines are followed. However, it is not intended to be a final recommendation as communities continue to change and therefore so should the physical environment.

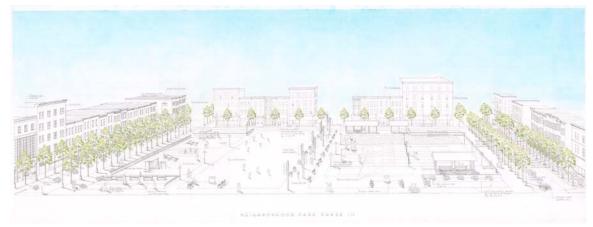


Fig. 309 - Neighborhood Park - Phase III

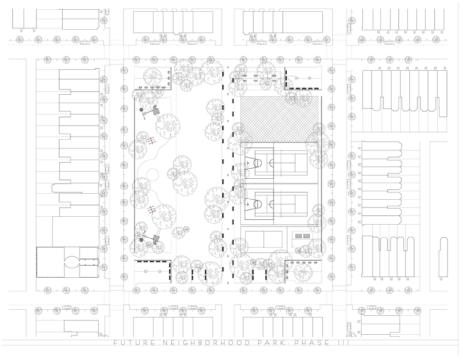


Fig. 310 – Neighborhood Park – Phase III Plan

<u>Summary</u>

Phase I – Signal Change

Pedestrian Environment

Lighting

Seating

Trees

Street Vending

Territoriality

Fences
Gates
Low walls, rails and vegetation
Planters
Surveillance
Vacancy
Sightlines
Community Participation
Phase II – Build on Success
Pedestrian Environment
Movement Systems
Surveillance
Infill Strategy
Diversification

People
Dwelling Mix
Land Use
Community
Development of neighborhood focal points
Phase III – Stand on your Own
Surveillance
Sightlines
Building Protrusions and Setbacks
Pedestrian Environment
Daylight
Diversification
Land Use
Flexibility

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- <u>Alabama Maps</u>. 2005. http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/maryland/>.
- Anderson, James, et al. <u>Resident Safety: Research and Recommendations for Longview Place Anti-Crime Program</u>. N.p.: Housing Research and Development Program, 1981.
- Appleton, Jay. Experience of Landscape. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1996.
- <u>Area Connect</u>. 2005. http://baltimore.areaconnect.com/crime1.htm.
- <u>Baltimore-The Inner Harbor</u>. 1999. Beaches and Towns Network, LLC. http://www.southbaltimore.com.
- <u>Baltimore City Paper Online</u>. 2005. Baltimore City Paper. http://www.citypaper.com>.
- <u>Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance</u>. http://www.bnia.net>.
- Bothwell, Stephanie, Raymond Gindroz, and Robert Lang. <u>Restoring Community</u>

 <u>Through Traditional Neighborhood Design: A Case Study of Diggs Town</u>

 <u>Public Housing</u>. Vol. 9. Washington, DC: The Fannie Mae Foundation,
 1998.
- Brennan, Dean, and Al Zelinka. <u>SafeScape: Creating Safer, More Livable</u>
 <u>Communities Through Planning and Design</u>. Chicago: Planners P, 2001.
- Brower, Sidney. <u>Design in Familiar Places</u>. New York: Praeger, 1988.
- Brower, Sidney. <u>Good Neighborhoods: A Study of In-Town and Suburban</u>
 <u>Residential Environments</u>. Westport: Praeger, 1996.
- Cameron, Mark. Neighborhood Design Center. Personal interview. 1 Feb. 2005.
- <u>Center for History and New Media</u>. 1996. http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/122/hill/marshall.htm.
- <u>City of Baltimore</u>. 2005. City of Baltimore. http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us.

- Coles, Tarita. Baltimore City Planning Office. Personal interview. 23 Mar. 2005.
- <u>Conway Main Street USA: A Strategy for Success.</u> http://www.conwaymainstreet.com.
- Crowe, Timothy D. <u>Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design</u>. Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1991.
- <u>Designing Safer Communities: A Crime Prevention through Environmental</u>

 <u>Design Handbook.</u> Washington, DC: National Crime Prevention Council,
 1997.
- Einwalter, Dawn. <u>Review and Critique of Defensible Space and CPTED</u>. N.p.: LDA, 2001.
- Gardiner, Richard A. <u>Design for Safe Neighborhoods</u>. Washington, DC: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1978.
- Gutberlet, Joseph. Baltimore City Police Department. Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2005.
- Jacobs, Jane. <u>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</u>. New York: Random House, Inc., 1961.
- Kelling, George, and James Wilson. "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety." <u>Atlantic Monthly</u> 1982: n. pag.
- <u>Live Baltimore</u>. Live Baltimore Home Center, Inc. http://www.livebaltimore.com>.
- <u>Main Street: Revitalizing your Commercial District</u>. 2004. National Trust of Historic Preservation. http://www.mainstreet.org>.
- <u>Maryland Historical Society</u>. 2005. Maryland Historical Society. http://www.mdhs.org.
- McLaughlin, Francis. <u>A Guide to Developing Alley Greens</u>. N.p.: Patterson Park Community Development Corp., 2004.

- Mrs. Better-Davis. William Pinderhughes Elementary School. Personal interview. 21 Mar. 2005.
- Newman, Oscar. <u>Architectural Design for Crime Prevention</u>. Washington, DC: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1971.
- Newman, Oscar. <u>Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design</u>. New York: MacMillon Company, 1973.
- Office of the National Drug Control Policy. 2005. Executive Office of the President of the United States. http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov>.
- Olson, Sherry H. <u>Baltimore: The Building of an American City</u>. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1997.
- <u>Project for Public Spaces</u>. 2005. http://www.pps.org>.
- Prosada-Rao, Patty. Sandtown Habitat for Humanity. Personal interview. 22 Feb. 2005.
- <u>University of Virginia History Department Courses</u>. 2005. University of Virginia. http://www.virginia.edu/history/courses/fall.97/.
- Upton Master Plan Committee, . <u>Renewal, Revitalization and Restoration: A</u>

 <u>Master Plan for the Upton Community</u>. Baltimore: AB Associates, 2004.
- <u>U.S. Census Bureau</u>. U.S. Department of Commerce. http://www.census.gov>.

Von Hoffman, Alexander. <u>House by House, Block by Block</u>. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003.

Whyte, William H. The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces. N.p.: n.p., n.d.

Wilson, Phoebe W. "A Day in the Life of a Neighborhood Place." <u>Everyday Urbanism</u>. Comp. John Chase, Margaret Crawford, and John Kaliski. N.p.: Monacelli, 1999. 120-135.