

A black and white photograph of a city skyline. On the left, a tall, ornate skyscraper with a pointed top dominates the view. In the center and right, several other high-rise buildings of varying architectural styles are visible. At the bottom of the frame, a large, low-profile building with a flat roof and a series of arches is situated near a body of water. The sky is clear and light-colored.

# **A Survivor's Guide to Baltimore's Renaissance**

**Baltimore citizens  
discuss their experiences of urban renewal**

**Photographs by Chris Hartlove**

**Text by Grant Kester**

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## Acknowledgments

The authors wish to thank all those who agreed to participate in this project.

The views expressed in the introductory essay are those of the writer.

### **This pamphlet is dedicated to the people of Baltimore**

All photographs of Baltimore residents and the Sam Lowberg interview are by Chris Hartlove

All other interviews, texts, and research are by Grant Kester

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## Introduction

For the people of Baltimore one word, one image instantly evokes the city's rebirth from the ashes of neglect and decay: Harborplace. In few other American cities has the vast and complicated process of urban redevelopment been so clearly embodied in a single structure. And in few other American cities has the idea of an urban "renaissance" been so successfully implanted in the public imagination. In Harborplace the story of Baltimore in the 1970's and 1980's is rewritten as a fairy tale in which heroic political leaders and visionary urbanists unite to transform the "rat infested wharves" of a dying rust-belt city into a "shimmering crystal palace" of tourism and consumption. This particular version of Baltimore's renaissance story has been obsessively repeated in glossy promotional brochures and breathless magazine articles since Harborplace opened over ten years ago.

At the center of the Harborplace mythology is James Wilson Rouse, a native Marylander who began his career as a mortgage banker and in the course of forty

years turned The Rouse Corporation (TRC) into one of the largest real estate companies in the country (\$2 billion assets in 1986). Throughout his career Rouse has had an uncanny ability to anticipate—and profit from—the most significant movements of capital in the post WWII urban economy of the United States. TRC made its initial fortune building shopping malls for America's white middle class, which fled the cities on federally funded highways to live in suburban homes subsidized by FHA (Federal Housing Administration) mortgages. TRC built over three dozen malls in the late '50s and early '60s, including one of the first fully enclosed malls, Harundale, outside of Baltimore in 1958. Rouse's next step was to repudiate the haphazard "sprawl" of suburbia and propose an elaborately planned 'rational city' called Columbia, which was built on farmland between Baltimore and Washington, D.C. in 1964.

In a shift that is characteristic of either the boldness of his vision, or of his unerring instinct for middle class demographics, Rouse began to call for the revitalization of



America's "Center Cities" in the mid-1970's. The "festival marketplace" was to be the vehicle for this process, luring bored suburbanites back downtown, at least long enough to buy some tempura and spend \$5 on a paddle boat ride. His first marketplace, built in Boston's Faneuil Hall in 1975, established the architectural prototype: "a compendium of shops, restaurants, kiosks, pushcarts, music and entertainment..." located on or near a waterfront.<sup>1</sup> Faneuil Hall was followed by Harborplace, built in Rouse's home state in 1980. Harborplace, consisting of two truncated glass arcades plunked down on an expanse of red brick in Baltimore's

Inner Harbor, was by far the most successful of Rouse's festival marketplaces, at least in ideological terms.

The "festival marketplace" became the urban narcotic of the '80s, providing a welcome escape for American cities faced with growing unemployment, declining tax bases, and deteriorating schools, hospitals, transportation systems, and social services. The last time this particular set of elements came together, in the mid-1960's, they resulted in massive urban rioting and hundreds of millions of dollars in property damage. The festival marketplace promised a solution: a waterfront development that would

simultaneously catalyze downtown investment, attract tourist and convention business, provide jobs for dangerously idle inner-city youth, skyrocket the tax base, and generally pave the streets with gold.

Because few developers were willing to risk projects in inner-city areas, city governments offered incentives in the form of land giveaways, zoning easements, tax abatements, maintenance and construction (Baltimore city spent some \$2.7 million for public improvements at Harborplace), and in some cases outright donations of federal and city dollars. Baltimore, under the guidance of Mayor William Donald Schaffer, was particularly successful at funneling federal grant money (usually Urban Development Action Grants and Community Development Block Grants) into luxury hotels and condominiums, and cultural amenities such as bookstores, cafes and theaters.

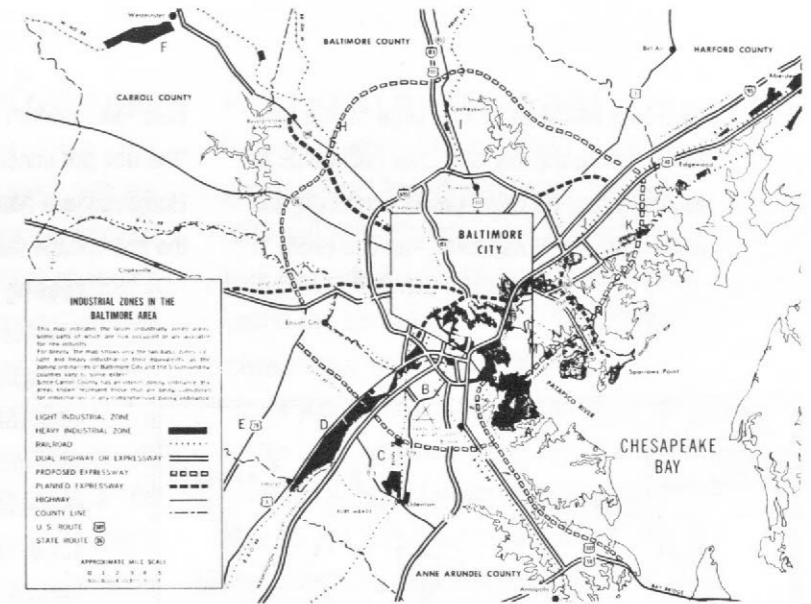
The "block grant" program, developed during the Nixon administration as the primary instrument for channelling federal funds into American cities, was built on the legislative rubble of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Previous urban programs (under the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act) were designed to bypass the potential pork-barrelling of

municipal political machines and involve inner-city residents directly in funding decisions. President Nixon, however, repudiated the principles of "maximum feasible participation" and "community action" and made block grant monies dependent on matching local funds. For financially strapped city governments this meant turning to banks and businesses in the private sector. Thus block grants began to be used not just for public housing and other programs designed to benefit the urban poor, but for projects such as shopping arcades, hotels, and other commercial developments that would turn a profit.

The Schaffer administration grasped the manifold implications of this "public/private" partnership with considerable political acumen. Mayor Schaffer's notorious "shadow government" functioned like a fiscal carburetor to fine tune the mixture of bond issues, city tax funds, and federal grants that fueled the renaissance machine. And Robert Embry, who served as Baltimore's Director of Development during the key years of the renaissance and was also the Department of Housing and Urban Development's director of urban development, oversaw the subtle leveraging of CDBG's and UDAG's for the city's downtown redevelopment. As Marc

Levine points out in his controversial critique of Baltimore's renaissance, between 1975 and 1981 Baltimore spent 34.5% of the \$296 million it received in UDAGs, CDBGs, and special grants on Inner Harbor projects alone.<sup>2</sup>

Since the seed money for these private projects came from public bond issues, city taxes, and federal grants, they had to somehow be linked to the "greater interest" of all the city's residents, not just to the specific benefit of rich property owners and investors. In one of the following interviews, welfare rights activist Annie Chambers recalls Mayor Schaffer's efforts to build support for downtown redevelopment among the city's poor and working class citizens in order to strengthen his appeal for funding in Washington. As Mayor Schaffer commented at the opening of Harborplace, "Harborplace is a beginning that will reflect itself positively in an enhanced quality of life for every Baltimorean."<sup>3</sup> And, in a more concrete version of the same equation,



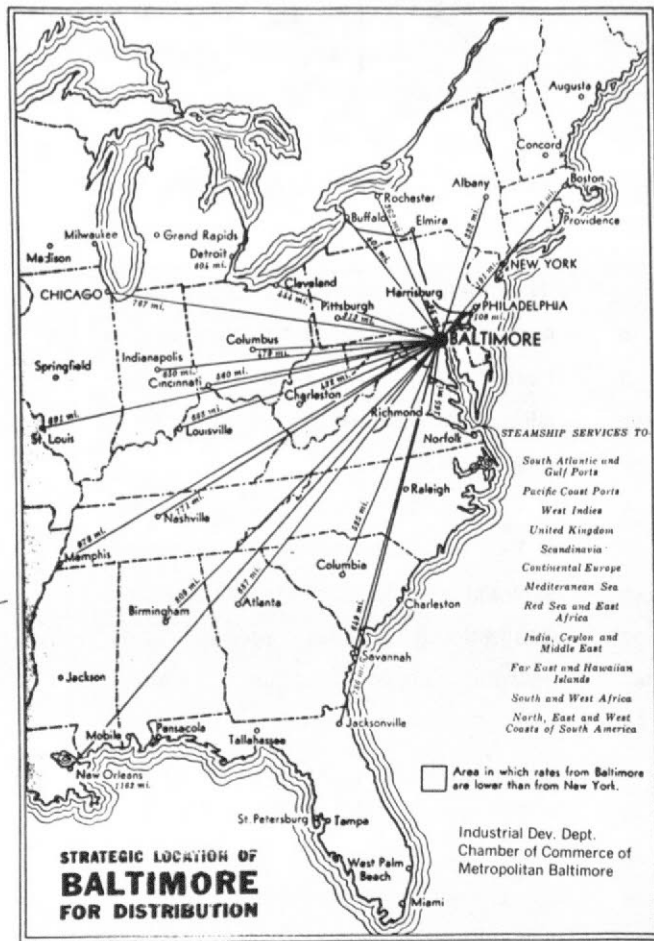
"No convention center: no new money. No new money: no medical center. No hotels: no Inner Harbor, no transit system: no new jobs attracted, no public housing, no future. It's as simple as that."<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, it wasn't as simple as that. In 1986 Baltimore spent \$17 million more in servicing and infrastructure costs downtown (maintaining parking, access roads, pedestrian bridges, sanitation, etc.) than it received in property taxes. The city practically gave The Rouse Corporation the land for Harborplace (at about a dollar a square foot) in exchange for 25% of the net profits, but as late as 1987 Harborplace had yet to show a profit. Baltimore's assessable tax base in

1985 was less than half as large as it was in 1970.<sup>5</sup> While the city bent over backwards to accommodate the development community the unfortunate result has been—as Joe Smith, a

Baltimore Museum of Art security guard says—“the rich got richer and the poor got poorer.” Homelessness has increased exponentially in the last decade (aided in no small part by the soaring housing costs that the development process both encourages and benefits from), public education and health care have deteriorated, and the city has cut back drastically on social services. In 1989, almost ten years after Harborplace’s celebrated opening, the city spent only \$240,000 on homeless shelters, couldn’t afford to buy textbooks for public schools, and closed fire stations, libraries, and recreation centers to save money. Clearly, not all of this city’s residents are experiencing an “enhanced quality of life.”

Despite over a decade of ceaseless promotion the renaissance myth has begun to fray around the edges. Mayor Schaffer is now Governor and James Rouse, in yet another fascinating career twist, is trying to provide housing for the urban poor, many of whom lost their homes due to the



inflated real-estate costs that helped build TRC’s wealth in the first place. But Baltimore’s citizens are still living with the contradictions of the renaissance process. They have some of the finest shopping centers that public dollars can help build, but they can’t afford to buy anything in them. They may be able to find employment, but unless they have advanced degrees or technical training they’ll be facing jobs at Rite Aid or McDonalds with low pay, few benefits, and little chance for advancement. Even those who take full-time jobs at Rite-Aid, like Gail Spence, may still find themselves unable to afford a place to live. At the same time the city’s major private institutions collaborate in the destruction of affordable housing. Sam Lowberg, a retired factory worker, describes Johns Hopkins Hospital as “a huge monster that is eating up East Baltimore.”

The “industrial leftovers” of Sparrows Point, Westinghouse, and Eastco have been converted into the human capital of the service sector. Before working as a security guard Joe Smith was a long time employee of Bethlehem steel. He advises other displaced industrial workers that “the jobs are there... if you’re willing to take a large cut in your wage.” Smith sums up his attitude towards downtown development this

way: “I guess I feel different about it now because of what I earn compared to what I earned before.” According to Levine “Between 1970 and 1984, Baltimore lost 73,000 ‘entry level’ jobs, a decline of 46%; during these same years, the city added 15,000 ‘knowledge intensive’ jobs, an increase of 56%.<sup>6</sup>

A young worker today can no longer go to The Point with the hope of finding a “lifetime” job, or even of saving enough money to start college, as Vernon Turner did 25 years ago in Dundalk. Now Mr. Turner works at a public school in Dundalk, teaching students whose parents may not be able to send them to college. Growing up poor in Baltimore in the 1960’s Lenora Turner, now a successful accountant in Washington, was able to take advantage of job training and education programs for young people. But these programs have been wiped out by the last decade of cuts to Federal and state social services. Some Baltimoreans speak half-jokingly of their “paranoia” that there is a deliberate plan to destroy the black community in this city. Yet, deliberate or not, the decline of industry and the rise in service-sector employment, along with the loss of state and federal support services, have combined to open up an almost unbridgeable

gap between Baltimore's poor and working class and the rich—a division that is increasingly marked along racial lines.

By now, of course, the millions have been made (and in the case of the savings and loans that helped bankroll the downtown construction boom, lost), the offices stand vacant, and most of the developers have moved on to other sites. Ultimately the city government can't be held "responsible" for the social costs of a postindustrial economy, any more than it should be accorded undue credit for the benefits. Rather the question we need to ask now is how city officials went about negotiating this transition: the decisions that were and weren't made; the social programs that were cut in order to prime the development pump; the almost total failure on the part of the Schaffer administration to make any allowance for the city's poor and working class in the calculus of tax breaks and block grants beyond the vague promise that benefits would somehow "trickle down."

Symbols like Harborplace have the reassuring capacity to unite us in a common vision of what the city might become. But if the interviews that follow tell us anything, it is that the economic process that underlies Harborplace has actually worked to fragment,

rather than unite Baltimore's population; to widen the gap between rich and poor, and black and white; and to demolish the stable, working class population that has lived, worked and paid taxes in this city for generations. This objective economic transformation—and not the false utopias of urban planners and real estate developers—is the subject of these interviews.

#### NOTES

1. *Blueprints*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Spring 1988, The National Building Museum, Washington, D.C.
2. Marc V. Levine, "Downtown Development as an Urban Growth Strategy: A Critical Appraisal of the Baltimore Renaissance" *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol.9, No.2, p.108.
3. *Baltimore News American*, February 7, 1980
4. *Baltimore: A Living Renaissance* eds. Nast, Krause, and Monk; Historic Baltimore Society, 1982, p. 246.
5. Jeff Singer, "Civic Policy and Civic Interests: The Differential Consequences of Downtown Development," (unpublished paper) 5/21/90, p.32. Singer's calculations are based on figures from the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics (1990), the Consumer Price Index, and the City of Baltimore "Budget in Brief" for 1970, 1975, 1980, and 1985.
6. Levine, p.114.

## Annie Chambers

### Grandmother and Welfare Rights Activist

About 12 or 14 years ago a lot of money came into the city of Baltimore through federal Community Development Block Grants (CDBG's). A lot of communities were re-districted. Not just the councilmanic districts but also the legislative districts got re-divided in order to take advantage of this money. If there was a big block of working or poor people in one place then that money was to be allocated for schools and programs in that area. What happened is that upper and middle-class people wanted some of that money, and would re-district themselves into that area, which would make them eligible for some of the CDBG money.

That's how we get to Harborplace. If you look at Harborplace you see all these public housing developments surrounding it. CDBG money was never earmarked for specific things, but at that time Mayor Schaffer went

to Washington and presented a package that included a certain number of poor and working-class people in the city. It described how the city had decayed and how he needed money for the renovation of housing. This was about ten years ago. He came to various community organizations for support, such as Welfare Rights, some of which he put together himself just for that purpose, and said, "If I get this money then we can do this, and this, and this, and we can build housing for the poor and help more people become home owners."

A great deal of that money went into the Inner Harbor. Some of it also went into Coldspring New Town. The CDBG money that they put into the Harbor was used by the developers; it doesn't have to be paid back, it's not even a loan—it's federal money given to the state of Maryland. Long before the World Trade Center and all the Inner Harbor development, I remember going to meetings at City Hall and they would lay out what the Inner Harbor would look like, what it would bring into the city, how many people would benefit. I'm sitting here ten years later saying the Harbor has done nothing that I can see for the working people of this city. When it opened it was a smug place. They did TV

interviews with some of the store owners and one of the reporters asked them how they expected working class people to shop there, and the answer was, "Well, it's not for them," and I believe it.

*But wasn't there a lot of talk about encouraging black merchants at Harborplace?*

AC: They say they want black businesses, but right now at Harborplace there are no more than two or three black merchants. The rest are white, and some of them don't even live in the city or the county, or even the state. As far as I can see the only people who have benefitted have been the investors. The hotels that surround Harborplace have horrible working conditions. They use people there for Workfare, which means they get paid nothing. They are supposed to be taught a skill, but they end up as doormen, or in other unskilled positions. The hotel gets free labor, they never actually hire any of these people. They get no skills, no benefits and often no pay—maybe a small check from social services. The hotels live on this.

A regular job at Harborplace is hard to get. The restaurants will hire young people at minimum wage, but no one can live on

that. The people you see cleaning up at Harborplace are often prisoners, or somebody doing community service. Baltimore city really thrives on using people, even kids and teenagers, on community service. Harborplace is supposed to have its own sanitation force, supplied by the city, but now they can have people work for free.

*From what you say it sounds like Harborplace, and the climate of investment and speculation that it has encouraged, has actually made life harder for the city's poor and working class.*

AC: It has made it worse. Right behind Harborplace there is still a white working-class neighborhood. Those people have lived there for years and they own their property. But now their property taxes have gone up so high they can no longer afford their homes. All around the Harborplace area people are being displaced. Two blocks away is a big public housing project, and three blocks away is another one. I've noticed that they are really trying to get in on Playhouse Projects, which is right near Harborplace. Tenants there are slowly being displaced. You know that Harborplace is going to expand. Six years ago I saw a plan

of the area in which there was no public housing at all.

*What was the opening day of Harborplace like? You were involved in a demonstration there, weren't you?*

AC: I'll never forget the day Harborplace opened because I've only been back there once. The day they opened Harborplace at least 4000 people out of the public housing projects protested because they had no hot water. The maintenance men for the city's public housing had gone on strike because they were only making minimum wage. All they asked was for the Mayor to agree to meet with them and negotiate, and the Mayor refused.

At that time I was president of Baltimore's Welfare Rights organization. We went to the Harborplace opening, along with several other groups, to protest. When we got to the harbor they had police wagons ready and they just grabbed people and threw them in. My group was one of the last to get there, and we were the people who really assaulted the police. We came prepared, we knew what was going to happen, we had umbrellas. It was mostly young women and we had to decide whether we were going to let them drag us off to jail, or whether we were going

to fight. These were young working mothers. We decided to go down fighting.

This was on opening day, when they shot off almost a quarter million dollars worth of fireworks, and we hadn't had any hot water in public housing for over a week and the Mayor was refusing to even talk to the maintenance workers. Baltimore city doesn't make a cent off Harborplace and the poor and working class get no benefit whatsoever. But when it was planned and laid out it was presented as though it would.

*Are things in worse shape now for city residents than they were ten years ago?*

AC: Much worse shape! Money is a big part of it, but also if you educate the young people, where are they going to go? I got a kid now with an Associates degree and he can't find a job. They don't have anything to educate them for. They always put up a front about "go to school and get good grades," but there are no jobs. We're the leftovers.

Our parents came from places like Virginia or North Carolina to work in the factories at Sparrow's Point, the docks, the tin mill. Members of my family have worked in all these places. My daddy moved to this city with 23 of his children. By working hard, at Sparrow's Point, he was able to



send ten of us through college. He could do a lot of things that I can't do for my children because the opportunities don't exist anymore.

When I was growing up we didn't know anything about drugs. Even now I don't know what a lot of them are, but my kids do because that is what they learn from their environment. What poor person can buy cocaine and sell it? Who knows how to make crack? One of our boys sat down and explained to me how to make crack. I looked at him and couldn't believe it. This boy doesn't even know how to read, how can he know how to make crack?

I'm 46 and one of my grandchildren, five years old, comes up to me and says, "Grandma, so—and—so got some wacky weed." I didn't know what he was talking about—this is a five year old child. All these things have happened to our children, they are a product of this. And it doesn't stop in the black community, it's in the white community too. All we get in this city is more and more jails; they close down schools and open more jails and prisons. Those are the kinds of changes I see in this city, and I've been here for 33 years. And it's going to get worse.

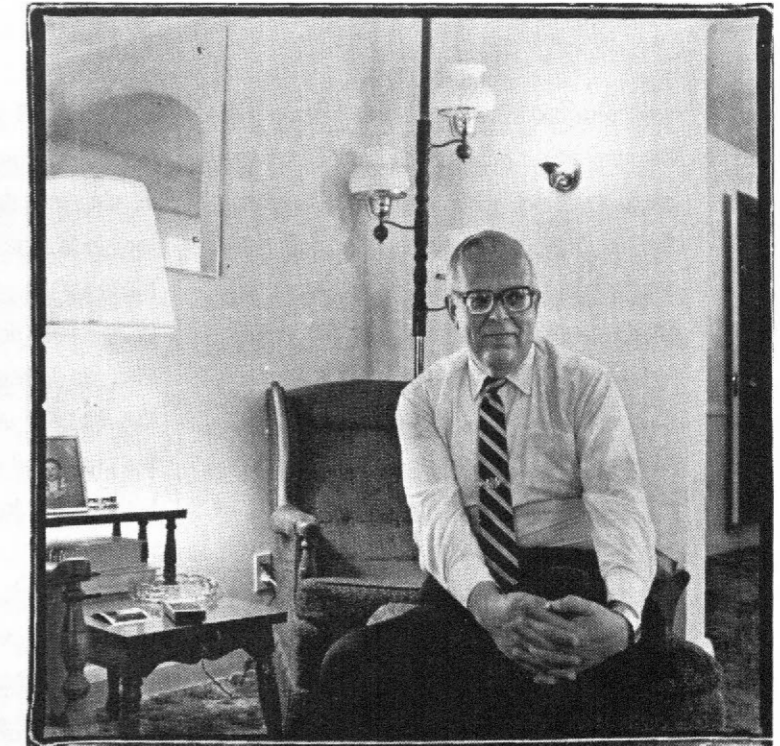
## Joe Smith

**Security Officer,  
Baltimore  
Museum of Art;  
Former Employee,  
Bethlehem Steel**

*When did you start working at Bethlehem Steel?*

JS: October the fifth, 1964. I was 24. My initial experience there was very good. I went in as a salaried worker and our benefits were at least as

good, if not better, than the hourly (union) employees. We never needed the union because if our mill was slack we were always sent over to another mill, instead of being laid off. We had two kinds of raises; we'd get raises at the same time as the union workers, and we'd get merit raises in addition. An hourly man, in most cases, strived to become a salaried man. Once you became salaried your benefits increased, and your wages and everything else. Then it came to a point that the company started to have financial



problems and job cut backs. They laid the salaried personnel off but they couldn't eliminate the jobs of the hourly workers because the union protected them.

*So a lot of people who thought they were going to benefit from working for the company were the first people to lose their jobs when the crunch came?*

JS: This is true. When I first went there most of the people I worked with had long years of service. You always looked forward to retiring. From the day I started I worked with

guys who had 25, 30 or even 40 years with the company. I hoped that someday I might get to that point. When I got up to 15 years I thought, 'Hey, now I'm moving up.' And then, when I had 18 years with the company, they started to eliminate salaried jobs and split up the work that had to be done among the ones that were still there. In the end they laid people off not on the basis of seniority, but on the basis of how important they thought your job was. I heard of one draftsman who was two weeks short of his twenty year retirement, and they told him that his job was eliminated. He had a vacation for that year coming and requested to take his two weeks and then take the layoff, so he could get his retirement. They told him no, that his job was eliminated then, and that was it.

We had our own police force, our own dispensary, and our own fire department. They just did away with the police department, they kept a few for supervision and contracted the rest out to one of the security agencies. They did the same thing with clerical workers, bringing in Kelly Girls or whatever so they didn't have to pay life insurance, pensions, or sick leave. They did away with the whole payroll department and computerized it. I know one person in payroll

who had 28 years in, and his job was eliminated. It may make economic sense but in fairness it doesn't make sense at all. My feeling is that loyalty didn't mean anything there, for the years that you did give service. What it boils down to is that if you're salaried they can do what they want. I know from what I've read that unions have their problems, but the fact is that if you don't have anybody that you can talk to then you have no word in it. As soon as I found out that my job was eliminated I called the Federal Labor Relations Board and told them what had happened, that other employees with less seniority were still working. The only question they ask me was 'are you salaried or hourly?' I said I was salaried and they said there was nothing I could do.

*What did you do after your job was eliminated?*

JS: Well, I had to look for another job. The first place I looked, naturally, was in the field I had been working in. I figured, what else could I do? I was too old to start in a new field but all your steel industries had the same problems. So the next step was to decide what I wanted to do. There are plenty of opportunities to get jobs in offices, but you'd be starting at the bottom, they'd want to pay you minimum wage. I took unemployment for four weeks,

and I made up my mind I wasn't going to do that for six months. The first thing I thought was, what can I do that I can take pride in? So I decided to be a guard. I went to one place and they said, you've got too much education and experience, we'll make you a desk sergeant. I stayed there and was treated well, but I didn't like it because it was turn work. But again, I took it, and I took it at a small wage. I made \$200 a week and I took home less than if I had been collecting unemployment, but I didn't want to do that. So I sent out resumes to the hospitals and the museum. The hospitals said they wanted five years experience as a guard. I got a very nice letter from the BMA chief of security, saying that he didn't have any openings but he would keep my resume. In four months he called and asked me to come for an interview. I did, and I got the job. I'll be here three years on June the 5th.

This job doesn't pay the same, but at least it's a job, the benefits are good. I've seen a lot of stories on talk shows where people with good educations are out of work for X amount of years and they can't get jobs. But the point of it is that they couldn't get a job because they want to make the same amount of money they did before. The jobs are there if you're willing to take a large cut in your wage.

There are several guys working here (at the BMA) whose jobs have been eliminated. One guy had 30 years at a local manufacturer, another had 12 or 13 years at a local plant. All these guys are in their late 40's or 50's. When you get up to that age, what are you going to do? Most of them were thinking of retiring at 62 or 65, and then all of a sudden...

*How do you like working as a security guard?*

JS: Let's put it this way, I hope to be here until I retire. The benefits are very good, and it's a job, you've got to make whatever you can out of it. In my opinion, this job is ideal. You don't make the kind of money you used to make, but then you don't work like you used to either, it's a different kind of work. The biggest problem with this job is boredom. As long as there are plenty of people in the gallery you're being alert, you're going from gallery to gallery, you've got the kids to deal with, and the adults too. But when you only have one or two people in your gallery, that's where the boredom comes in. I don't think this job is for anybody 21 years old. Somebody that young should be looking forward to something with more responsibility. If you stay here 20 years you will most likely still be a guard.

*How do you feel about living in Baltimore? Is the*

city better or worse than it was 20 years ago?

JS: I personally wouldn't want to live anywhere else. I don't think things are any different in any other city. I wouldn't say that it's the city that's different; the world itself is different. I think development is good because it creates jobs and promotes tourism, but I think the stuff (at Harborplace or The Gallery) is overpriced for the average person. I guess I feel different about it now because of what I earn compared to what I earned before. Now you're expected to make minimum wage, or in that range, and take your family shopping or to a ball game and support it. When you're making the big money, like the people in big management, this is fine. But when you're an average person, trying to make a living, I think it's not right that the persons making millions expect you to support it. I've been to Harborplace once in my life. It's always the same problem, the poor people get poorer and the rich people get richer. Maybe that's silly but that is how I feel. I personally think that every person should pay the same tax rate, although they'll never do it.

Why?

JS: Because the rich people wouldn't let them pass the laws.



## Lenora Turner

Accountant at the AFSCME/AFL-CIO Headquarters  
in Washington, D.C. and Baltimore Resident

I've lived in Baltimore all my life, 34 years. I've seen a lot of things change here. This area where we live [Reservoir Hill] started to change about 10 or 15 years ago. It was run-down, then people with money started coming back into the city and buying these houses and making them showplaces again. I moved

to this neighborhood in November of 1984. I stay here mainly because it's close to transportation and it allows my 17 year-old son to get the car-pool to St. Pauls, and I can get to the buses in the morning before I take the train to Washington.

I feel fortunate in a way, because there

are so many single parents who don't have a clean, comfortable, safe place to go. My apartment is small, but we manage here. Basically I can say that I'm really proud of the city I live in, and proud of the changes that have been made. But it just takes a short walk to see the areas where there is still major poverty and where the drug scene is alive and well, but certainly those are not things you can change overnight. You have people who live right next door or right around the corner who are doing very well for themselves, but for the most part these are people who don't have families living with them. These are people who are not discriminated against at their jobs because they're female or black. Although we would like to close our eyes to these injustices, they occur everyday and all the time. For all that is wrong in this city it would give me pleasure to be able to buy a house, or buy a dog, or have a car so I could just take the kids to the beach, or just drive to the market and get groceries. These are things I can't do. But I'm not going to tear myself down about it. I'm not less of a person because I don't have a car or a house.

Law enforcement officials in our city have gotten out of hand so many times

because they're frightened. I think that adding minorities to the police force has helped educate people, so that you don't have this blindness where, "They're all like this... I'm a policeman and I'm supposed to keep them in line." Because just like I'm telling you that we grew up in the middle of what is shooting and drug territory, and we grew up to be decent people, some of the people I grew up with are now selling drugs, or they're prostitutes or whatever, but that doesn't mean that I came out that way. If you go into that neighborhood with the frame of mind that "I'm going to keep all those people under control," then you're talking about me too. And I'm a decent person.

I was fortunate because my mother was strict. If you didn't do the best you could in school you were disciplined physically. My mother raised eight of us after my father left; then passed away, so we had somebody that we could look up to and say, "If our mother could manage with all of us..." She worked two jobs, and not a single one of us was involved in anything illegal, and we were poor. I remember having cardboard in my shoes because my mother couldn't afford to buy me another pair right away, and I was hard on shoes. I

remember getting into fights because kids would make fun of my clothes, because all I had was a jumper and a skirt and two blouses, and those things were washed, and that's what I wore to school everyday. People turn their noses up at that kind of existence now: "I'm not living like that, I want this and this and this..." America has put its people in the frame of mind where they're ashamed to work hard and they're ashamed to do without as they accomplish and work toward significant things.

You have children today that make \$100, \$200 or \$300 a day to tell the people who sell the drugs that the police are coming. If a child can make that kind of money, and they're 12 or 13 years old, why is that child going to work at McDonalds? Why? You see, this country makes everybody believe that what you have materially is what is important, not working hard and living a decent life. It's always, "I want clothes, jewelry, or a Mercedes." If these children are not prepared to have legitimate employment to provide these things for themselves, then they are going to get them the best way they can.

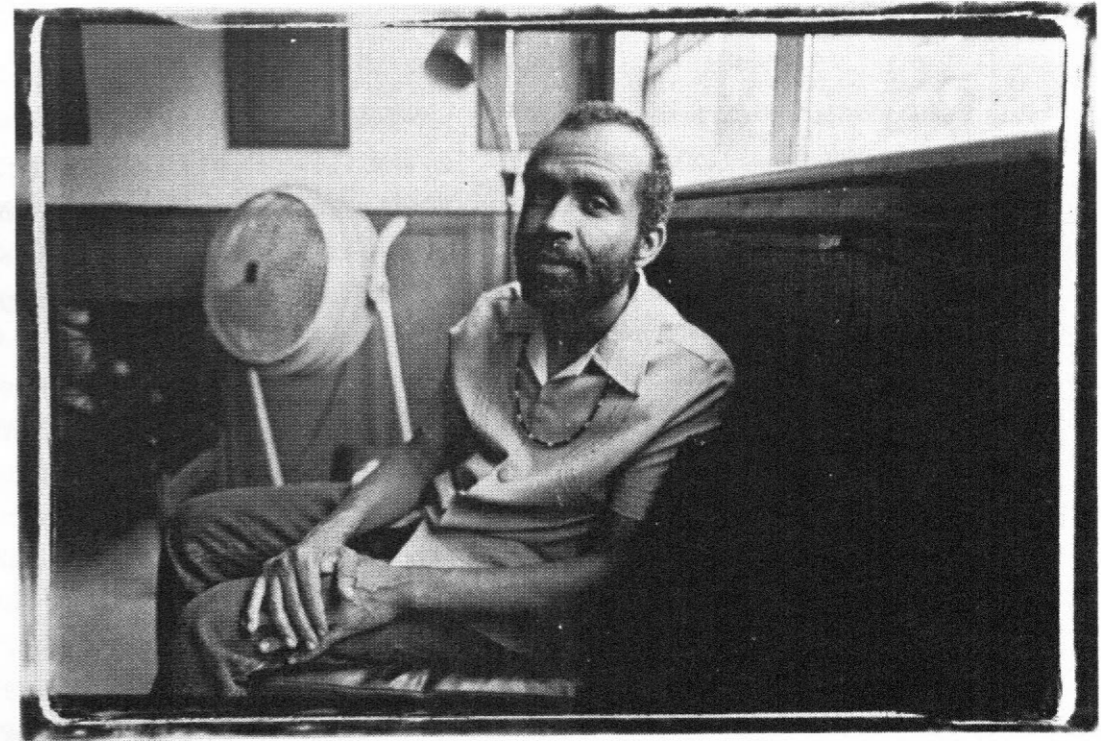
When Reagan came into office the programs that were available to teach people

skills and assist teenagers in developing job skills were eliminated. There's no summer employment program for teenagers anymore. When I was a teenager, summer employment programs were there for the asking, they were federally funded. I was in the Neighborhood Youth Corp. I started working with NYC when I was 13, and I was actually getting paid. It was minimum wage, but it was a way for me to have a little money when school opened up in the fall, to help my mother buy my school clothes. Before that I worked with my mother as a volunteer in a Headstart program at the Francis Murphy Laboratory School which is adjacent to Coppin State College. I didn't mind that I wasn't getting paid. I enjoyed working with the children.

Baltimore's renaissance is something I would like to see succeed. It makes me feel good when people come to me at my job and say, "I want to move to Baltimore." But if people are going to move here Baltimore has got to clean up its act. I'm not talking about what's in the front yard—that's all nice and glittery for the tourists to come and see. I'm talking about what's in the back yard. I'm talking about getting off the bus in the morning to take my 8 year-old

son to my mother's house and seeing needles in the gutter. And my little boy asking me, "Mommy, what's that?" and I have to tell him, "That's a needle, don't touch it, don't get anywhere near it, okay?" He's told me, "Mommy, I saw a man around the corner, he was hiding and he was using one of those needles."

I have never seen as many homeless, down and out, destitute people in my life. And this has only happened in the last 10 years. We have whole families out in the street with no where to go and nothing to do. Something has got to be done about this if America is to continue to be a force to be reckoned with in this world. I remember reading an article about how hypocritical it was for America to go around the world telling other countries how this or that was wrong when in this country civil rights are thrown out the window each and every day. It's something to be ashamed of that this country has children who don't have a home and whole families that have nowhere to go. Most people believe that homeless people don't want to do anything, but there's a whole bunch of homeless people who go to work everyday from the shelters and just can't afford a place to live. It shouldn't be that way.



## Charles Dugger

Teacher at Edmondson West Side Senior High School

You asked how education has changed in the city. If nothing else there's been more emphasis on surface changes, more P.R. things versus substantive things. The class of 1989 only had 48 percent of its students graduate. Yes sir, all those young people failed. But we also failed them. We have 170 repeaters up here right now in the ninth

grade. Something is wrong for that number to be so high when we are *making* young people come to school. When I was at Mergenthaler they had a policy that if a student was late and/or absent six days out of a quarter they were automatically failed, no questions asked. One semester we had over 800 students that failed, just because of

attendance policy, not because of their academic performance. I complained. I called Earl Jones who was the Assistant Superintendent of Community Adult and Vocational Education, I called the media in.

*Why would they put so much emphasis on attendance?*

CD: Well, they claimed that we were not giving them enough preparation for the work world. That is so unfair, sir. Dick Gregory has a good saying, "Instead of teaching people how to make a living, teach people how to live." We are creating a service-oriented society where all we do is teach people how to work for somebody else, to do for someone else, and doing for yourself becomes secondary. Some of us are in total opposition to that. We're interested in teaching people how to do for themselves, how to think.

This is a list of all the young people who are currently out of school for three days because of behavior, lateness, etc. This is very unusual. 54 young people, out of whom 25 are ninth graders. This is the first school I've been in that I've seen this many people on the Disciplinary Restriction (DR) list. They're telling me this system is working because now all these young people

understand the importance of coming to work on time. I don't know sir, I question this. When we see attendance is a problem, and we have so many ninth graders who are repeatedly late, why do we keep coming up with punitive things?

I try to be as effective as I can at the Middle School, but we are losing too many students. I don't see the kind of consistent concern we need in order to turn some of these students around. I've called 40 or 50 homes this year, I've visited four homes this year. I do this because I know it will make a difference, contrary to what people say. I can call a student's home today and get the same positive response from the parents that I got in 1968. It makes it easier to say the parents or the students don't care, but that is just not true.

The black community is perceived as criminalized. If a young black man walks through a neighborhood, right away he must be selling drugs or doing something wrong. The police come out with a gun. As you heard on the news last night, they're talking about making 18 more 'drug free zones', they've already given out 12,000 warnings, and arrested close to 400 people. My goodness, that's a lot of people in less than a month.

The police shot two people the same week they implemented the program. Why am I saying this? Because the schools are the same way. They get on the PA system, "Teachers, please check for ID cards... please check for gold in your class... check your students for gold."

*Why? Because if they're wearing gold they must be dealers?*

CD: No, they just send them home because if nothing else somebody might want to rob them. See, it's just a blanket response to everything. It doesn't have to do with selling drugs necessarily, just that somebody's going to want their ring, there will be a fight or a shooting. It's all negative. Not that they choose to dress a certain way, no, it's going to be a problem, "What's in that bag miss? No, take that bag out of here."

At Mergenthaler you got DR for a bag. You couldn't be at your locker other than before and after school; you were sent home three days for that. It gets preposterous. It really doesn't make sense. Everything is a put out, that's what I'm saying. How can I make you think I care about you when all I ever say is, "Where's your ID card, son? Let me write you up. . . Isn't that suede that you have on? Come on, isn't that leather?" Hey,

this room is cold!

*You can't wear suede or leather?*

CD: Oh yeah. Suede, leather, fur—you have to go home, you've violated the dress code. Sweat suits, Russells, right? You've violated the dress code. At Mergenthaler it was a big deal. Do your sweat pants have pockets or not? If they had pockets they were pants and okay. And some teachers spent a lot of time walking around trying to find students that were inappropriately dressed in order to get them sent home. I'd bump heads with them: "Why do you spend so much time trying to get students sent home?" I don't understand it. Like I'm saying to you sir, the bottom line again and again, is to call the home, make contact. These children didn't drop out of the sky. They are the creations of parents who care, they still care.

*So what does a Baltimore city public school education really equip a student for?*

CD: Well, you're supposed to be an effective member of society, having been through the socialization process. If we only have half of them graduate they aren't going to be equipped for anything, they're going to be turned off to everything. I personally think it's all happening the way the people in control want it to happen. Let's take the Greater

Baltimore Committee, they have a lot to say—I think too much too say.

*What is the Greater Baltimore Committee?*

CD: It is a group of business people that has told the city that Baltimore's public schools are producing too many poorly educated high school graduates who can't function in the work world. This is where the lateness policy comes from. If you ask most Baltimore city public school students during the last 15 years if they've had geography, they've never had it. Many students come out of high school now with what they call "Applied Math III." Many students don't even get Algebra anymore.

*Why is that?*

CD: Well, they're watering down education sir. They're claiming that the young people can't handle it. I don't know. I believe it's intentional and systematic. It's going to sound like paranoia, but as an African-American I believe its genocidal. It conveniently produces frustrated people who wind up being mis-educated and unemployed. Then we have the drug thing, which is the only way to make any money. People lose their self-esteem in the school system. School gives some of our young people, both black and white, the only

structure they're ever going to have in their lives. And now we're so bent on putting them out and being mean to them, how are they going to be productive and sensible?

They come out with very little in the way of a quality education. We have one foreign language teacher for 1500 students. Many of the students leave the school and have no foreign language experience. Physical education stops at the 10th grade. It should not stop. It should be continued through the 12th grade, that would stop a lot of fights. These are things that were different before the drug problem got as bad as it is. There was art in school, there was music in school, there were more extra-curricular activities. Art stops in the 10th grade. They'll tell you that this is because this is a trade school, but if you talk to any number of school teachers in Baltimore you'll be surprised at how watered down education is.

*What trades do students study at Edmondson?*

CD: They have cosmetology, they have auto mechanics, electronics, nursing, baking, carpentry, barbering, food service, masonry, warehousing. But you aren't given the chance to really develop. We don't know these young people's true potential because we have

judged them from the surface. They were lacking in attire, or they had too much jewelry. Their ID wasn't visible at a given point in time. They were at their locker when they weren't supposed to be.

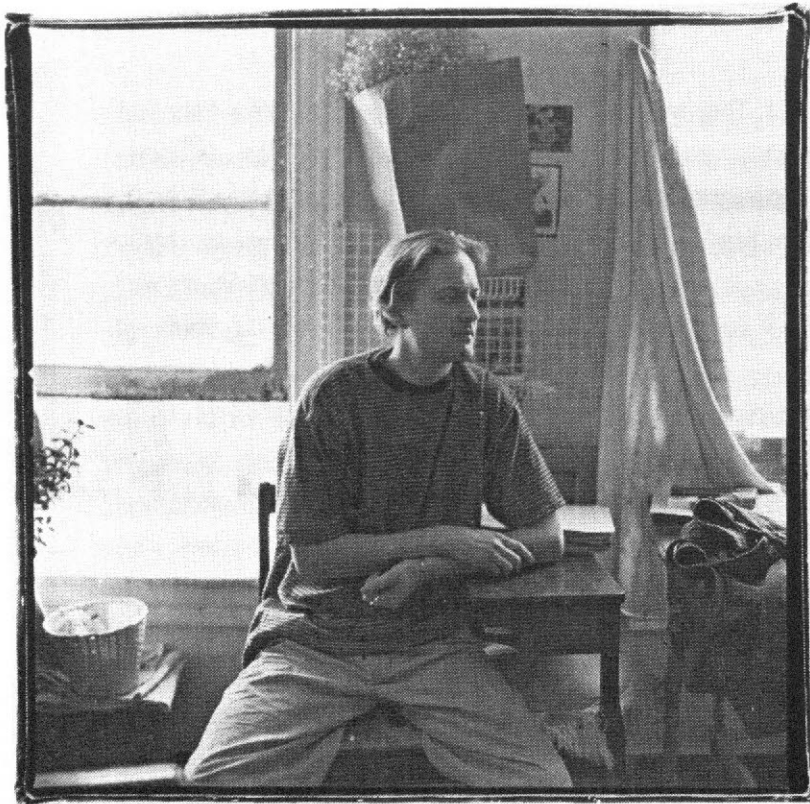
*And that's all it takes to get kicked out of school?*

CD: Very possibly, yes sir. And it's not unique to this school, it was the same way at Mergenthaler. This is becoming the standard policy: to put young people out of school. The media has done such a thorough job of making young people seem like they're really monsters, murderers, thieves, when they are really our future. It's like this saying I have up here on the wall: "A school is a building with four walls and a tomorrow inside." This is our future we're dealing with. We're going to have a lot of angry, bitter, and ill-equipped young people, and it's our fault. It's like Charles Dickens, who talked about how the industrial revolution had destroyed families and how the children became the scapegoats for the ills of society. We're doing the same thing, we say, "Oh, look at these children today, what's wrong with them?" The question is, "What's wrong with the adults?"

It's the same way with the renaissance. All of a sudden they unveil this thing called

Harborplace around the same time that Schaffer's popularity was flagging. Conveniently in 1983—right when Schaffer was running against a young, black candidate for Mayor named Billy Murphy—he changed the name of Harbor City Boulevard to Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard and planted all those new trees. It's a lot of hype and surface.

At one point Schaffer was planning to cut trash collection back to one day a week. It's a whole lot to do to get an alley cleaned up in Baltimore, but it wasn't a whole lot to do to get a stadium built, or a light railway system coming through Howard Street. But what do you need it for, when we don't have any real mass transit in the city? They *made* people ride the subway. They re-routed buses so that people had to take the subway to get around. You're not supposed to complain because its bringing in new tax money, but why are all these people homeless? Why are all these mentally ill people being put on the streets? Somebody's not doing what they're supposed to be doing.



## Scotty Stevenson

Activist

*Harborplace is frequently equated with the city of Baltimore, that is, what works to the best interests of Inner Harbor development is assumed to be compatible with the best interests of Baltimore itself. Looking back now, several years after Harborplace opened, what changes have taken place in Baltimore? How much has Harborplace, and its "ripple effect," improved the quality of life for the residents of this city?*

SS: I guess a good way to start is with the question of serving the interests of Baltimore. That assumes that Baltimore is one cohesive,

unified group of people. But any objective look at the city shows you that this is not the case. You have an extremely impoverished population that used to earn its livelihood through industry and manufacturing, which have died away, and a much more affluent professional class that has moved in from the suburbs. Does a mall like Harborplace really serve this first section of Baltimore, which I would say is the majority? How could it? Service jobs average about \$5,000 a year. What is the average hourly wage of some lucky kid who gets a job at Harborplace?

As far as any "trickle down" goes, I guess you'd have to look at housing when Harborplace started. How many public housing units did they have and what was the waiting list at that time? In this city there are about 18,200 public housing units and there are 40,000 people on the waiting list to get into public housing. The city is currently (1989) working on 1979 active applications. If you filled out an application for an affordable place to live around the time they broke ground for Harborplace your file has just now come to the top. They only house about 100 people a month, so it's just not working.

Most of the public housing stock is not the kind of high-rise project you usually

associate with public housing; it consists of small duplexes, scattered around. They are usually about 40 or 50 years old and in need of renovation. They'll move people out of one to be renovated and into another, so that no one on the list of applications actually benefitted, but it appears statistically that someone did. You've got 40,000 people who need housing and 100 people being shoved around in units each month.

The money that went into Harborplace brings low-paying, unskilled service jobs, not enough to support a family. I know that there is an incredible turn-over rate at Harborplace. I have friends that work there and the purges of waitresses, waiters, deli people, and even managers, is constant. Even the higher positions aren't secure.

The rehabilitation of Baltimore was a developer's dream and a lot of people got extremely wealthy, but wealth inevitably produces greater poverty. Anyone can look around the city at basic survival issues—food, shelter, health care, etc.—and see that they are critical in Baltimore. Housing is a real problem in Baltimore if you're a poor, working person. Since 1973 low income white families have lost 32% of their spending power, and for black families it's 35%. At the same time



housing costs have tripled. As housing gets more expensive, and people earn less money, homelessness becomes less of a mystery. That's one way to judge how a city is really functioning, whether it's housing its people, or educating its kids.

Education in this city is a nightmare. Do you judge a city based on the quality of its shopping or of its school system? Whose interests are being served? There are kids who are being educated, but at the same time there are a tremendous number who are not. There are neighborhoods being built up, but also many that are not. Homelessness is here. There is a 20% increase every winter; we're talking about 10,000 homeless in the city now. Boarded up, vacant, rotting houses are increasing in this city, the same way that homelessness is. The Neighborhood Progress Administration says there are 5,400 vacant houses in Baltimore; we think there are 12,000; another study says 10,000. The numbers are increasing. Does Harborplace make that go away? People out there who are involved in a struggle to survive don't even see Harborplace anymore, it's not part of their lives.

Harborplaces need to exist, but Harborplace won't be here 20 years from now if the city's housing problem isn't solved. Mount Claire

Junction is beginning to give the first signs of overdevelopment in Baltimore. They're not getting the leases signed, especially by the nicer stores. All the nice clothing stores and boutiques looked around the South Baltimore area and said "Are you kidding? Whose going to come here and buy our goods?" They don't believe people will "spill over" from Harborplace, because people don't go to Harborplace to "spill over."

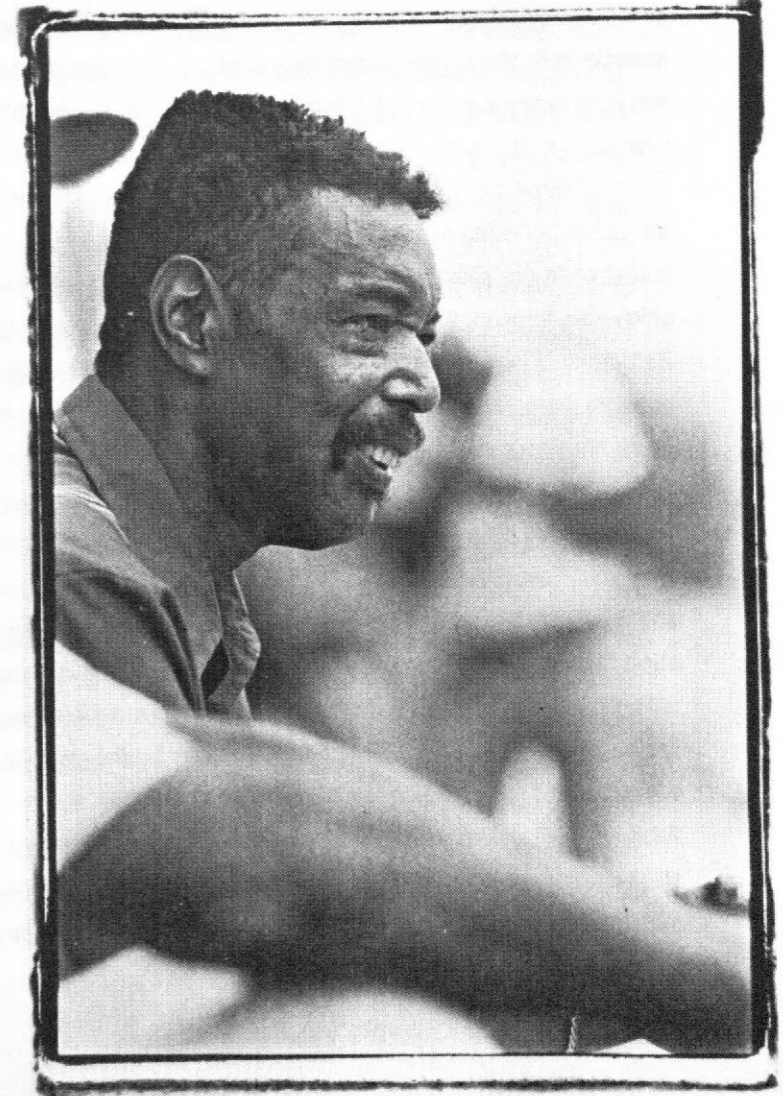
Mount Claire Junction is in a very poor neighborhood and the housing inspectors are starting to be very stringent in their code enforcement. The house I live in received a notice of code violations. If they aren't fixed by Monday it's a \$500 a day fine. People are being hit with these all around the area. Is this an effort to purge the area, in order to get businesses to sign leases? Who's going to win? Where will the poor be moved and who will replace them? It's not against the law to freeze to death, but it is against the law to sleep in an abandoned building that is part of some developer's red-lining plot to run down a neighborhood so it can be redeveloped and the developer can make a lot of money and move on to another area. I think Harborplace is a highbrow way of doing that. It's a scam; it may be a 20-year scam, but it's a scam, a fraud on the taxpayers.

## Truxon Sykes

Organizer for the Northeast Community Organization  
and Founding Member of the Baltimore Homeless Union

*Baltimore's renaissance seems to involve wealthier people moving back into the city. What has happened to the poor and working-class people who were living here already?*

TS: They're doubling and tripling up in houses; people are renting from their friends and relatives, this type of thing. You have a lot of homeless people in the communities. When I was homeless, several years ago, I wouldn't go downtown. I'd go from house to house and sleep in a chair, or stay in a friend's house. If I felt like I was wearing out my welcome I'd find a vacant



car or crawl into an empty building or something like that. But I never went downtown; I never saw a soup line or anything like that. You just stay in the community until you get yourself together. There's a lot of that going on. The city and the development community are planning on selling all the high-rise apartment buildings for the poor downtown, but they're not going to renovate them, they're going to tear them down and build expensive housing. Cherry Hill will eventually go. They want that area.

I've lived here 45 years and I can remember not being able to go into a store downtown to buy something. I remember not being able to use a bathroom in downtown Baltimore, I remember when the lunch counters were segregated, and it's not like these are vague memories. I remember in 1959, my brother came home from the Air Force. He and I decided we were going to walk from East Baltimore to West Baltimore and visit all his friends. It was the first time I'd seen him in four years, and he kept his uniform on because he wanted people to see him in it.

We went to this restaurant on North Avenue and Gay Street and we ordered two steak dinners—and a steak at anytime was a treat for me—and the guy said we could

wrap them up and take them out, but we couldn't eat them there. I wanted to break out the windows in the place but my brother restrained me; I was 16 years old. Now, I remember those days in Baltimore. My mother would go out into the white families' houses and scrub floors. One little girl would bring her school books home, and this little girl was supposed to be two grades behind us, but her books were way in advance of my school books. So by the time you graduated from black public schools in Baltimore you had the equivalent of a ninth grade education. You didn't have twelve years of education.

I didn't graduate because I was bored. We didn't get Algebra until 10th grade. If you didn't have any support system for reading at home you never really learned how to read. I could read because my mother was an avid reader. As far as math goes, I spent most of my lifetime not knowing my times tables. All these things make it hard for you when you go out into the job market. In the case of my brother, he was a Teletype operator in the Air Force, and he applied to the Baltimore City Police force to be a Teletype operator, but blacks didn't have those jobs. So he knocked around as a janitor and all these other crazy

things. He got into alcoholism and stayed there until he was almost thirty years old. He finally got a job at an office down at Sparrow's Point.

*What kind of effect are drugs having on neighborhoods like Pen-Lucy?*

TS: Although its bad here, the pushers and the criminal element don't really bother anyone except themselves. If you stay away from them you don't have any problems. Most people just go on with their lives. The drugs are up there on Old York Road, not down further in the community. Quite naturally, when the killing starts people really get alarmed. We had a long period of time when these guys were blowing each other away, fighting over drug territory up there. To a certain extent I don't have a lot of love for the cop on the street, but these guys are out there facing this thing head on—people with Uzis and magnums. We experience lockups here every day, so you can't say the police aren't doing their job. But somewhere between them getting locked up and getting sentenced, that's where the problem is.

You have your hard-core pushers out there, but I know of people selling pot to pay their rent. We had a couple here about two

years ago in their late '60s, who were selling pot to pay their rent. You know they're not dealers. They go to find people in the community that smoke and only deal with these people. The way the economic situation is here we have people doing a lot of stuff to stay in the community. We've got people who have lived here twenty years, with kids who have been raised up and left home and are renting in the area, and for one reason or the other they want to stay here. These are the people that are being pushed out.

The census says that from \$8,000 to \$14,000 a year is the average income in this neighborhood. The Neighborhood Housing Service came in here and started renovating houses. Renovated houses start at \$35,000 and they go up to \$80,000. They can buy a house and throw some paint and plaster on it and sell it for \$35,000, a house that might have gone for only \$20,000 five years ago. So the landlords quite naturally start upping their rents. The rents around here, which used to average about \$200 a month for a house are now \$390 to \$450, and there's no real code enforcement to make these slum lords fix them up. Many of the renters are single-parent mothers on

social services; they end up doing anything they can to stay in the area, selling their food stamps or whatever.

*Do you feel that the drug dealing is contained in Pen-Lucy?*

TS: It wouldn't be tolerated over York Road in Roland Park. The powers that be would put so much pressure on the street officers that they would throw constitutional rights out the window and take these guys around the corner and beat their brains out. It's known among the dealers that you don't go across Greenmount Avenue and stay over there, because if you get caught, you will do *time*. If you break into my house and get caught, you might do six months. If you break into a house in Roland Park and get caught, you are going to do time, and they know that, so they stay away. If they go and stand on the corner, they know they're going to do some time. If they get caught up here with a gun, or 10 or 20 packs of cocaine in their pocket, they get bail, and they're back on the street again.

A major dealer up here was just busted two days ago—he's back on the street. \$100,000 bail and he's back on the street, and that's bail on top of bail. He's out on probation, but he's back on the street. And

the little killers get out, they let them back out. Now all of these things are just to keep the community off balance so that the speculators can make all the money they want to. The community is being raped. They can leave a house vacant if they don't want to be bothered with fixing it up for a tenant. The only time they put a tenant in there is if the house has been targeted by junkies, and the junkies start to do some destruction to their property.

*In general, would you say that people in Baltimore are better or worse off than they were 15 years ago?*

TS: It all depends on what group your talking about. The newer people coming in that can acquire good jobs, I guess it's better for them. But the people that have been the basis for taxes in this city for the last 30 or 35 years are the people that are being trashed. That's basically what has happened, they're being trashed. I know that during the mid-'60s to the late '70s, when jobs were plentiful, almost every one I knew had two jobs. The money was there, the jobs were there, and nobody had any qualms about paying taxes or spending money to bolster the economy. Right now people are employed in low-paying jobs, and they cannot even get by with two

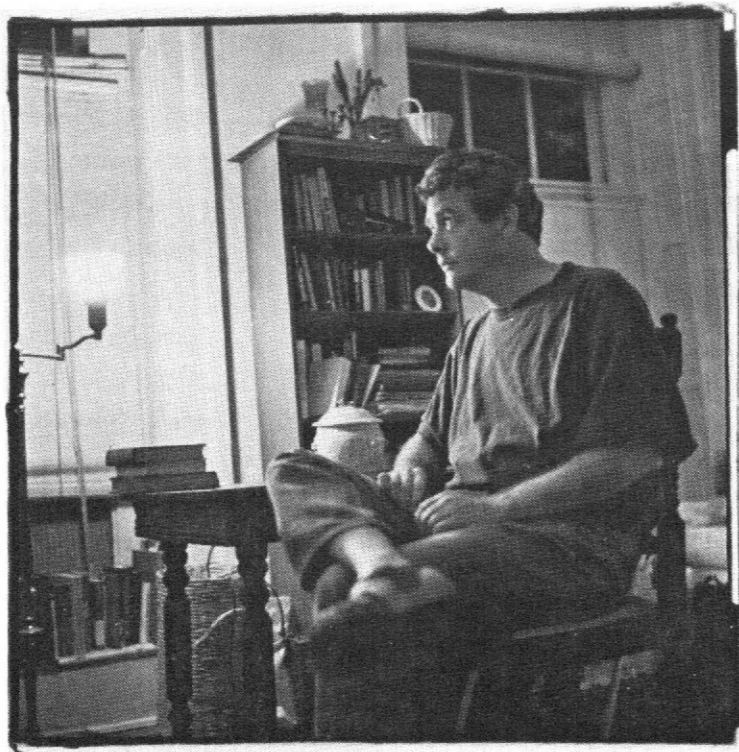
people working in a family. That's what's happening, people can't afford to live. So they bring in tenants or relatives, or take on extra jobs. We've got a lot of people doing Amway and all these entrepreneur things. Everybody has a gimmick, trying to make that extra buck to make ends meet.

*So all the money that has come into the city through real-estate development hasn't "trickled down?"*

TS: No. As far as social services go, Baltimore City gives less than the county, almost \$100 less per person. Men in the county can stay on social services for a year; men in the city only get two checks. The idea is to make the county more appealing, to get people to leave the city. They thought if they opened up the county there would be a mass exodus. This shows you how far detached the government is from people, not thinking that these people would have a sense of neighborhood and community. Even if you're born in a garbage can and you live there most of your life, you have a sense that it is home.

## Joe Kearns

Former  
General Manager,  
Gianni's  
Restaurant  
at Harborplace



In September of 1984 I was hired as a maitre d' by Gianni's of Harborplace. Since there wasn't an opening at that time they offered me a position as a waiter. I waited tables there until the early spring of 1985, at which time I was made a manager. In June I was made General Manager. The previous owner had gone bankrupt and the restaurant had been taken over by the Rouse Corporation. The restaurant had been for sale for about a year and a couple of people from the Baltimore area had made offers for

it and were turned down. It's a very ambitious project. The people who own it now are on the New York Stock Exchange, they're a big New York operation. They own Mama Leone's and about 90 other restaurants. You've got to have very deep pockets to get involved in the second largest restaurant in Harborplace. That particular location in Harborplace has a very topsy-turvy track record. The first place to open there was called the Black Pearl. I understand that it did fairly well its first year

but that something happened and they went out of business. Then the guy who owned Gianni's, as well as a number of other restaurant concerns in New York, came in with a great deal of fanfare. He didn't pay his rent and it got so out of hand that Rouse just kicked him out and he left town owing a lot of people a lot of money. There was a Chapter 11 filed and the property was taken in trust by Rouse.

*From your experience what kind of jobs are available at Harborplace? What kind of turnover is there?*

JK: To a certain extent Harborplace is like a concession on the Boardwalk, where you might have a staff of 15 or 20 waiters in the summer that might go down to 6 in the winter. They do maybe three times the amount of business in the summer. Phillips is the one place that probably doesn't suffer a great loss of business in the winter because of their reputation as a Baltimore landmark. I don't see how anybody could have suggested, given the layout of Harborplace, that it would ever require any other kind of employees than security guards, clean-up people, and food service workers. I'm sure the median age is 20 years old, if that. While it doesn't employ

thousands of people, like Bethlehem Steel, anybody worth his salt should be able to make \$100 a day as a waiter down there in the summer. Phillips is very youth oriented, Gianni's was predominantly young people. Given the whole year at Gianni's the median age was early 20's and not usually someone supporting a family; it was more likely someone saving for college, or buying a new car.

*Did you have a sense of some extra responsibility at the restaurant as representatives of Harborplace?*

JK: Well, I think most waiters like to take some pride in their work. I do know of one instance in which the General Manager of Harborplace was severely reprimanded one weekend when the Mayor came through on a stroll and found an overflowing trash can. Probably the largest single staff there is the sanitation and maintenance crew. The Rouse Company was very conscientious in the field of public relations. Shop owners could get fined several hundred dollars for opening even a half hour late on a given day; they would be given a memorandum if they had a dirty window. Rouse is real serious about that kind of stuff. It's not a very laissez faire rental operation, and they

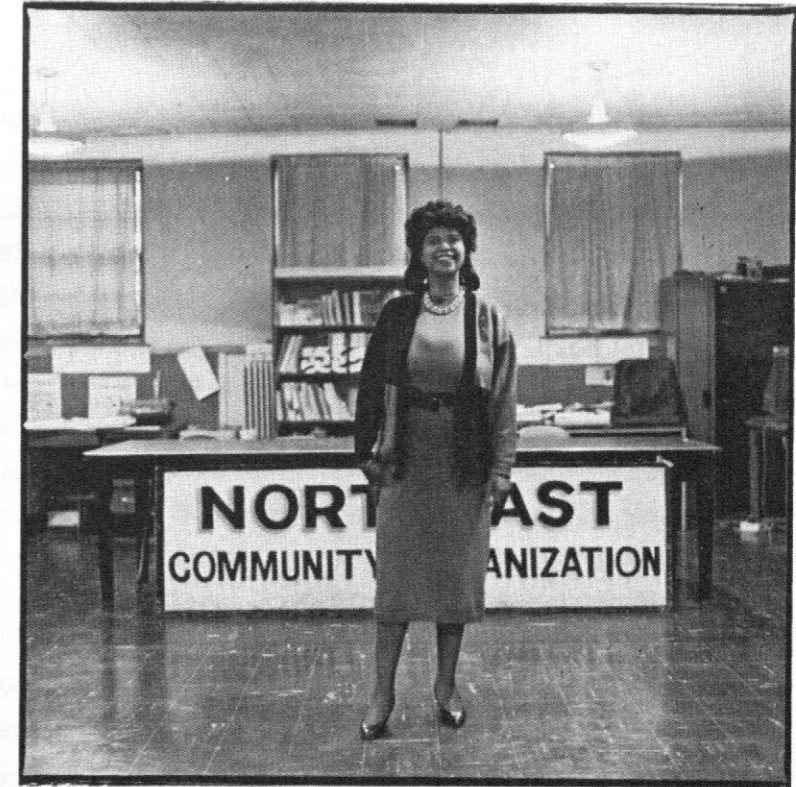
don't make any bones about throwing people out either. In some cases it may have been because the individual shop wasn't making enough money. Rouse gets a percentage of the sales and they tell renters in their lease how much money a particular space should generate.

One thing I realized as a General Manager at Gianni's is that you can't be totally dependent on the tourist trade because come late fall and winter the rent doesn't go down and there is no tourist trade to speak of. There's a lot of ballyhoo about all the big conventions we get here in Baltimore, but you can go a whole month when there aren't any. And going to Harborplace on a cold day in January is like going to the dark side of the moon. The restaurants used to make a real effort to encourage the local Baltimore dining-out crowd. We had a very successful Sunday Brunch there that attracted a lot of local people. The last winter I was there we actually broke even, which is a pretty significant thing to say in a location like that. Our rent alone was \$20,000 a month, and that's a lot of spaghetti to sell, even at inflated prices.

I think in the long run it was a gross

exaggeration for anyone to think Harborplace was going to bring in a tremendous number of jobs in itself, or significantly affect the income of vast segments of the Baltimore population. But it has provided a nucleus for further growth. Unfortunately a lot of it is the same kind of service-oriented work. I tend to feel that it's better than nothing. I'm not nervous. I don't have any money in the bank, but I know I can go down to Harbour Court tomorrow and get a job as a waiter making \$100 a day. Of course I'm a professional and I've done it all my life.

I can't imagine someone paying one million dollars to live at Harbour Court. If it appeals to tourists and convention groups, and if more companies are encouraged to move in it's good. I think steel plants have gone the way of horse-drawn carriages. Maybe if they could earmark all the retail taxes out of Harborplace for the educational system to prepare the kids going through Baltimore schools to find a niche in the new economic system it would help. It would be good if they could attach something to Harborplace that would benefit the city in the long run, rather than just making people like Phillip's and The Rouse Corporation wealthy.



## Gail Spence

**Clerk at Rite Aid Drugstore and Part Time Organizer with the NorthEast Community Organization**

I was on the Section 8 [public housing] list for nine years. When I signed up I was pregnant, and they told me it would take two weeks. Every time I went down there or called they told me they had no funds. I had my baby, I lived four different places, and I

was continually calling the public housing people. I had to go down to the Housing Authority every six months and update my application. So finally we did what everyone else does: we contacted a city official who was a friend of a friend, who found out that

HUD blocked my application because I had demonstrated in front of the HUD offices for six weeks. About a month later they sent me a letter inviting me to live in Lafayette Projects [a high-rise project off M.L.K., Jr. Boulevard], and I said, "No way," I've never lived in that atmosphere.

For the past several years I paid \$250 a month in rent. The house had no insulation, so I wound up paying over \$100 a month for gas and electric. The gas and electric bills got backed up, and then [it was] turned off a couple of times. Finally I decided I was not going to be cold for another winter, and I had to pay \$200 a month for back gas and electric bills and another \$150 a month for the current bill. So I ended up paying over \$350 a month for gas and electric bills, when I was making about \$4.30 an hour at my job. This was last March. I was living right down here off York road. It just went back and forth: one month I paid my rent, and one month I paid my gas and electric. The landlord got tired of it and I got evicted.

*Since being evicted you haven't been living in a shelter, but in someone's home?*

GS: Yes. I lived on my own since I was 16, and by myself for the last ten years, and the hardest thing in the world is to live under

somebody else's roof. Because in reality you are an opinion away from being homeless. If you do or say something they don't like, you're gone. So it's like walking on eggshells. I've talked to some people at the shelters who say they're tired of the shelters, it makes no sense. If you're homeless for six months you could end up in six different shelters, because you can only stay 30 days at any one shelter. When I got evicted my frame of mind was such that I wasn't thinking about my personal belongings. The man that moved my stuff stole my TV; they took about half of my belongings and I never got them back. When you go to the warehouse to get your things back, you have to pay about \$55 to get them out. If you've just been evicted where are you going to get this money? And it is increased everyday; after 30 days they auction it off.

*Did you have the same job when you were evicted that you have now?*

GS: No, the job I had before I was evicted was in Hunt Valley, but I had transportation problems so I had to give it up. It was at Noxell Corporation. I worked out there about six months, but I had a real problem getting back and forth, paying \$15 or \$20 just to go to work for a day. About a month after I got evicted I started working part-time at Rite Aid.

And I've been working at Northeast Community Organization (NECO) about a month, working 30 hours a week, plus another 30 hours at Rite Aid.

*What is it like to work at Rite Aid?*

GS: I like working at Rite Aid; we have the right people there. I like the actual work: waiting on customers, stocking inventory, ordering merchandise. I like the work but the pay you cannot live on. Rite Aid pays minimum wage, \$3.35 an hour.

*What kind of benefits do you get?*

GS: None. No health insurance, nothing at all. I make about \$184 biweekly at Rite Aid, or \$368 a month for a 30-hour week.

*After you are there for a year what kind of raise could you expect?*

GS: A quarter (laughs). They have another position, which is a "key person." When you get that job you have responsibility for the store keys, the safe, all money, the drug area, and that's a fifty-cent raise, or \$3.85. I had planned to take a test for that job but it would have involved more school and it didn't seem worth it for 50 cents. You open and close the store, stay from 9 A.M. until 9 P.M. When the manager is not there you are the manager, but you still get no benefits. I know the assistant manager only makes \$5 an hour. I

don't know how much the manager makes.

*Is there a lot of turnover?*

GS: Yes, a lot. Mostly students work there, a lot of students from Morgan State work over there. If you're trying to maintain a family, forget it.

*Do you have children?*

GS: I have a daughter, who is nine.

*How far did you go in school?*

GS: I haven't been to school beyond high school, but I plan to go back, if only just on the weekend. I want to do exactly what I'm doing now at NECO, organizing and management. I like trying to find solutions. It's really pitiful to see what's going on, and I guess it concerns me because it touched me personally.

*You were born and raised in Baltimore. Do you feel that people here are better off because of the city's 'renaissance'?*

GS: I think people are worse off. The cost of living has risen, but your income has not gone up, so you have to meet the higher cost with the same amount of money that you've always had. A lot of people are not benefitting. In particular, young, single, working mothers who do not want to be on welfare. And there's a lot of them who do not want to be on welfare but have no idea how

to get off.

*Are there a lot of young, single, working mothers in Baltimore?*

GS: Oh yes, a lot of them.

*Would you say they make up a good percentage of the homeless?*

GS: Yes.

*Who are the people who are benefitting?*

GS: Those who already had money. I think they're trying to cut out the middle class, period. Those who were once comfortable are not comfortable any longer. So I think before long we'll just have the rich and the poor. I think there is so much exploitation of homeless people now that they [homeless people] think everyone is out to make something for themselves, and they're going to be pushed aside. I think that's why they don't do anything, because they think they're just going to be used for headlines or publicity, and then they'll just be discarded. They showed some homeless people walking down the street on TV last night and ask them, "How long have you been out here?" "What are you going to do tonight?" And that was it. They turned off their cameras and went to their nice warm homes, while these people are trying to find a safe, warm gutter, or some place with some steam coming out.



## Sam Lowberg

Retired, Former Employee of Morgan Millwork

I came to Maryland in 1939, a single guy living it up, working at anything I could get. That was the Depression, you did anything. Then I went in the army, and when I came out I moved around Baltimore. I did anything I could get cause I had daughters; I couldn't be choosy. Of course the people who didn't go into the service already had the jobs, so I was scratching to take whatever I could get. I did that for three

years and then I hit it pretty good with the railroad. It broke my heart when I lost that job. They sold out. See, that was a little short line, it run from here to York, Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, the tracks are still there. I used to ride the trains up through there, shovelling iron. Of course I was a young man, just come out of the service, but I loved that job. When I got that job I thought, "My god, I got a lifetime job!"

Repairing trains, working on the tracks, putting new wheels on the cars, we did everything. At that time they had steam engines. It was a privately owned railroad, one of the few at the time. As a matter of fact, they were making money during the Depression when those big railroads weren't making any. Then I worked at Morgan Millwork for the next 40 years, right down there at Howard and North Avenue. We made windows and doors, anything for the home. If you wanted a new window or door made a special way, we'd send it to you. That was privately owned too. That guy is a multi-millionaire. Cheap? He was rough.

That neighborhood was nice then. Goucher College was up there where that old Red Cross building used to be, on 23rd and Saint Paul Street. Oh god, yeah. All those houses up there on Saint Paul, between North Avenue and 25th Street, on Maryland and on Charles, they were all dormitories. It went to hell in the 60's, OK? During the Vietnam protest and the integration, the shooting of Martin Luther King, Jr. You see I always considered Baltimore to be what they call a poor man's town, a working man's town, and up until the last twenty years that's the way it was. It was integration that changed all that. It changed the schools, it changed the work place, it changed everything.

The riots were terrible. That ruined the city. And anybody that tells you differently, they don't know what the hell they're talking about. It was the shooting of King that started it. The integration business had been banging around ever since 1962, giving them their rights and all that. And then it culminated with King getting shot. They threw bricks through the window, threw firebombs, breaking into joints, busting into businesses. That's why you see all these slums around Baltimore, the riots did that.

And you know where it started? Right up at Greenmount and North Avenue, that's where it started. That neighborhood was rough then, but not like it is today. In other words, as far as I'm concerned, to put it real bluntly, the whole city is nothing but a ghetto. In my opinion it's a ghetto, compared to what it was before 1962. You take Charles Street right now all the way over to Greenmount and Barclay Street and Guilford. Good old Poly used to be the best engineering school in the country. All them houses were nice people, families, people living there all their life, born and raised in them damn houses. Then they started integrating them, and one thing after another, it just kept going down and down. In my neighborhood, when I left there five years ago, there were four or five decent white families that lived there, and that

was awful poor percentages. The whole place is a ghetto. Oh, hey, I'm telling you something, I sit here and think. See, I listen to talk shows, OK? It gets me all upset sometime, but I like to know what the hell is going on. There's nothing I can do about it, but I like to see how people think, what they say.

*What do you think about the revitalization of Baltimore?*

SL: You know what I think of Harborplace? Where's all this money coming from? That's what I want to know. They keep selling them condominiums for half a million dollars, \$300,000, where's it at? Huh? Did you see that they had a big auction a couple of weeks ago down at Scarlett Place? Who the hell wants to live down there? You can't come out of there at night and walk down the street without getting your brains beat out. Would you spend a half million dollars to live down there? I'm saying, I don't see that kind of money around Baltimore. Like I say, it's beautiful down there, but that Harbor isn't built for me. I can't go down there and spend money, I don't have no money to spend. I never could afford it. It's not for the poor man, it's for the tourists. But hell, you don't have tourists year round.

This city was always like this; the Polish people stayed together, the Catholic people

stayed together, the Greeks stayed together. That's the way they wanted it. There was nothing wrong with it. It was no discrimination or that junk, it was just the way people wanted it. Well, now it's all shot to hell. They're squeezing Highlandtown out. I'm sure you're familiar with what Johns Hopkins wanted to do to this park, the big one right up here at Beach Avenue. Of course Schaffer was in on the underground in this. Anyway, they got together and they pulled it, you see all them big buildings going up down there. Hopkins tried to compromise with the people up there, they wanted to extend 36th Street right straight up through the park, so they wouldn't have to go around to get to their main buildings. This is what I honestly feel, my interpretation; Beach Avenue all the way down to about 30th Street, that is all going to be Johns Hopkins property. Hopkins is running out of room over there. Christ, they got everything they can get, they got Calvert Street, they took over North Charles General Hospital on Charles Street. All these houses from here down, they're ready to come down, there's nothing to them. But these houses here, some people lived in them all their life. Born and raised in them houses, and they're kept up nice. But when it comes to million dollar demolitions, well, what the hell do they care?



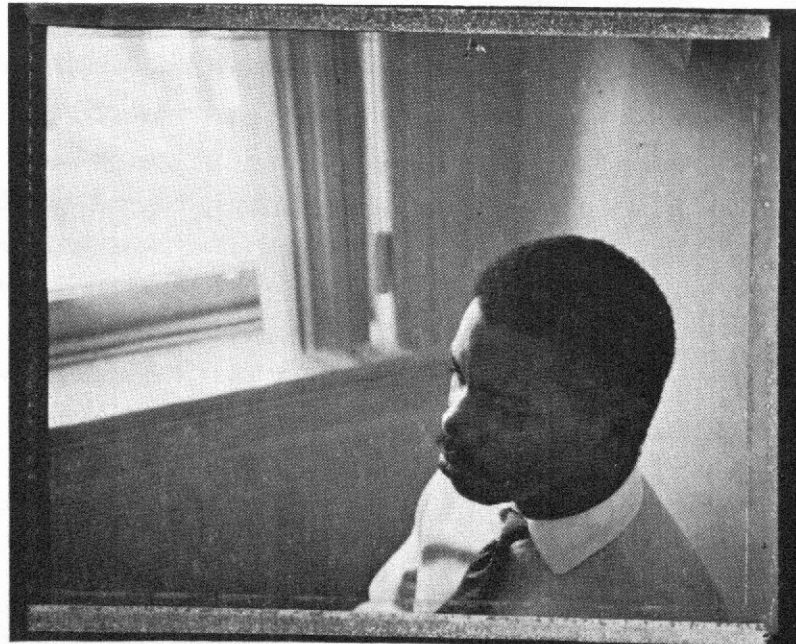
## William Green

Works at Sarah's House,  
Activist with Three Generations of Struggle

WB: Three Generations of Struggle came together because we were trying to figure out what was happening with housing in Baltimore, and why all these houses were boarded up. They tried to say that we were a conspiracy. If there ever was a conspiracy with Three Generations of Struggle it was when three ladies and a man sat down to decide that we were going to find out what was going on with housing in the city of Baltimore, and try to do something about it. If they want to call that a conspiracy, then yeah, we were guilty of conspiracy.

We kept running across this phrase 'Greater Housing Opportunities,' and I said 'what the hell is that?' I kept trying to

research it and nobody would talk to me about it, so I looked up the Housing Act of 1974 and there it was. It was in legalese and I wanted to know what the real significance of it was. That's what led us to the Philadelphia regional Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) office. I met some organizers up there who were fighting the same thing (gentrification). They were really



## William Brayboy

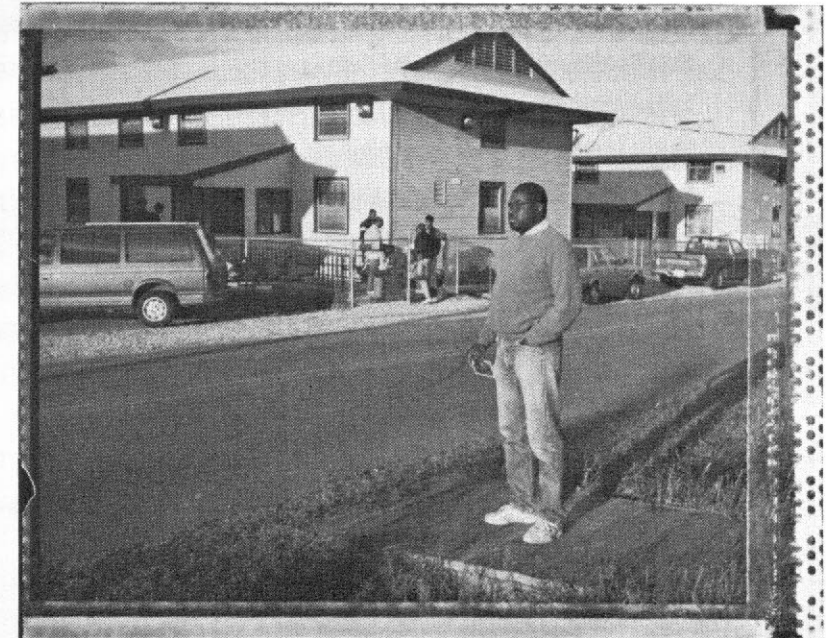
Works at Health Care for the Homeless,  
Activist with Three Generations of Struggle

upset about it, and we started putting the pieces together.

At the opening of Harborplace there was some fallout from some of our organizing activities against the HUD mobility programs and Section 8 housing programs. The federal government was mandated to provide housing outside the cities for the poor. The Section 8 program and Community Development Block Grants (CDBG's) became the vehicles for their so-called mobility policy. Our argument with the government was that the Section 8 program was based on Anthony Downs' ideas for ghetto *dispersal* from the Kerner Commission Report (The President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders of

1967). CDBG's went for Inner Harbor development, Ridgely's Delight, Butcher's Hill, etc. We said, 'wait a minute,' at least some of this money should go to public housing.

The day before Harbor Place opened we headed for the Hyatt Regency because we had been told that Mayor Schaffer was having a CDBG meeting there, although this turned out to be a false lead. We had selected a



small group of representatives to go to that meeting because not one cent had been set aside for public housing out of the Area Housing Opportunity Program (AHOP), or the CDBG program. It so happened that at the same time the city's contract with the public housing maintenance people ran out and they went on strike for a raise. The public housing projects had no hot water, garbage piling up, repairs, etc. So we began to mobilize public housing residents over the lack of services.

WG: We went to talk to the public housing officials from Baltimore city about the conditions in the projects the day before Harborplace opened and they wouldn't listen to us. So we came up to the Harbor Place opening with 15 or 20 people, and other people from HUD housing developments chanting 'we want hot water.' Then they arrested us. They had busloads of police ready for us. There were about 100,000 people there, it was nationally televised. My mother saw it on TV in Newport News, Virginia. I called her and said, 'Hey baby, how are you doing?' And she said, 'Don't baby me, how did you get in jail?' I said, 'You taught me to do what I've got to do.'

There are two Baltimores. The city puts \$30 million into economic business

development, while the homeless people sleep in Harbor Place doorways, Charles Center doorways, and the doorways of the Housing Authority right down there on Baltimore street.

WB: In Baltimore they're not building any new public housing, they're just knocking down walls in existing public housing to squeeze in more families, they're cutting back services in low income neighborhoods and letting them die off. The result is that more people are doubling and tripling up in existing housing or becoming homeless and staying in shelters. They're not renewing the one and two year Section 8 certificates, which means you can't stay in public housing and these people become homeless. They're also trying to pass the Rental Assistance Program off as public housing, which it's not, and there are no additional funds allocated for RAP programs for the next fiscal year. Baltimore is unique; they use it as a test city for various HUD programs. But what they do with those neighborhood 'test sites' is another thing.

You've got Park Heights right here, it's one of the largest urban renewal strategy areas in the country. You've got the second largest concentration of welfare recipients in the state living in Park Heights. They established 'enterprise zones' there. They call it Park Circle Industrial Park. They're building

Park Sausages up there, and all this stuff that is a trade off for losing Memorial Stadium. I really feel bad for the people that live near the stadium; you've got generations of homeowners up there, and they're going to be in for a big culture shock. This nice, stable neighborhood is going to become unstable.

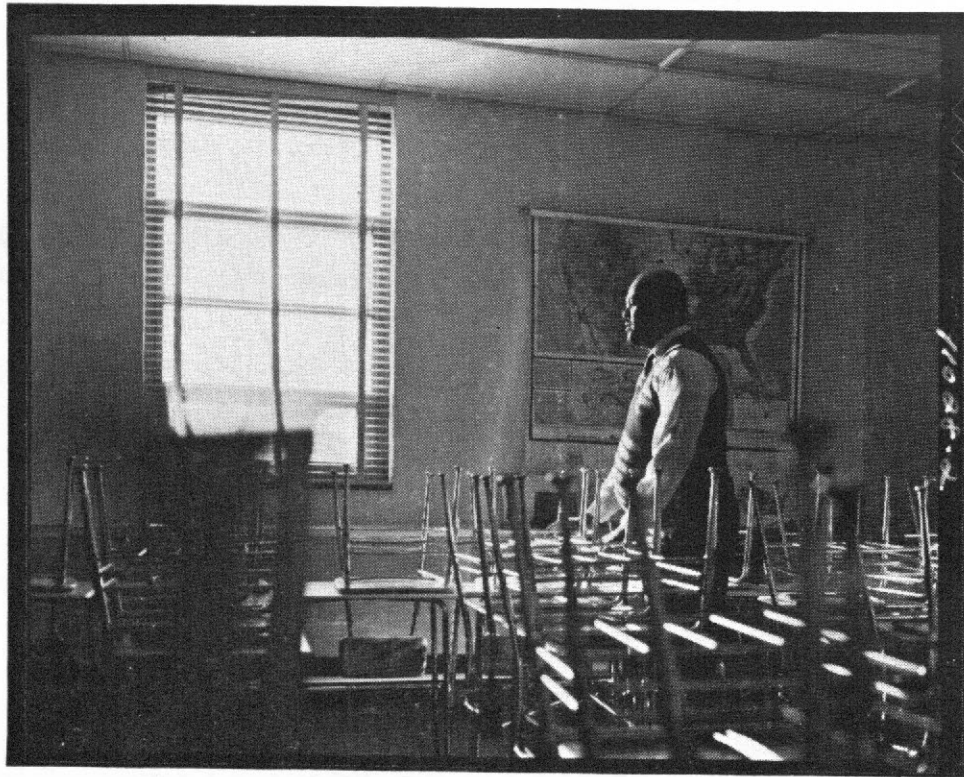
They're not renewing contracts at the Flag Projects, the high-rise behind Harbor Place. Those people can't stay there, no way, that's some of the most expensive real estate in Maryland. When Memorial Stadium gets knocked down they're going to move those people into new public housing up there. They'll move economically depressed people into a stable neighborhood and say 'we're going to create economic integration'—they use that line a lot.

What's going to happen is these people in Charles Village near the stadium are going to want to move when all these low income people come in. The city wants them to move back downtown. They'll say, 'you don't want to stay here, but you can't afford to move out into God's Green Acres (the suburbs of Baltimore County), so look what we have for you down here, move back to the Harbor where the projects were, we'll give you a second mortgage! They're going to tear down the high-rise projects, but some of that low-

rise public housing is solid brick, they'll just renovate them and call them condominiums.

Johns Hopkins Hospital, and the Hopkins Endowment, is a huge monster that's just eating up the neighborhoods in East Baltimore. Institutions such as Hopkins Hospital and the University of Maryland Hospital buy up residential properties and the property value and ground rent become so absurdly inflated that the individual homeowner in that neighborhood can't afford to stay there. You'll have ten houses in a block and Hopkins will buy houses on the ends and in the middle, and then squeeze people out.

The University of Maryland does the same thing. These are the 'beachheads' for gentrification. That's the kind of military language you find in the HUD program guides. The AHOP program said the future of the city had to be based on mobility. The only way to avoid urban riots, like in the '60s, was to disperse the inner-city population and take away their economic and political power. Why should information on housing programs be classified? What are these crazy people up to? America is headed for the same thing they have over in Germany, people having fights over housing, people getting killed. This country is headed for that very, very fast.



## Vernon Turner

### Social Studies Teacher at Dundalk Middle School

If you look at the ancestry of a lot of the people here in Dundalk you'll find their grandparents came from North and South Carolina, West Virginia and Virginia. Most came up here to work at Sparrow's Point. My father, my uncle and my brother all worked down at The Point. They'd say "If you have any problems getting a summer job you let us know and we'll talk to somebody down

there." People in the neighborhood would say "Hire him, he wants to go to college." There was no problem at all getting a summer job, or even a permanent job down there. That's how I worked my way through college. Sparrow's Point basically paid for my education. I had no grants of any kind, nothing, I just worked there during the summers.

They would hire 4,000 to 5,000 college kids down there doing labor jobs when the other men went on vacation. Things were bustling because they needed so much steel for the Vietnam War. You just saved your money. Some guys would stay down there and work while they were going to school, they'd try to work things out for you. Some stayed permanently, especially when they were offered a higher position. This entire community used to react to pay raises down at The Point. If they received a major pay raise the stores here would raise prices, if there was a layoff the prices would come down. The Point used to rule Dundalk.

Then, in the late '70s, we started to hear that something was wrong down there. During the '80s more and more people were laid off and we began to lose kids here at the school. The kids that remained seemed to have problems with money. "I can't afford this. . . I can't go on this trip because my parents are laid off. . ." You no longer heard kids in the classroom saying "I'm going to work down at The Point." You used to hear that all the time. It was the place where a kid in Dundalk could say "OK, if I don't do well in school I will go down to Sparrow's Point and get a job at a good salary." Those days are over, they've been over for at least ten years.

When I was living in the area Sparrow's

Point had 38,000 people working for it. Now it's down to something like 6,000. You saw a number of people leave the area. We thought some of them were leaving because they were making so much money that they could move to bigger houses. But it started to get worse in the mid-'80s, when we were hit with the closing of Western Electric. Lots of kids left then because Western Electric gave many families the option of following their jobs to Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, or wherever. I lost a number of kids, some really great students, and we noticed that the class sizes were beginning to get smaller.

When I came here out of college in 1971 the schools were just busting, there were approximately 1200 kids in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades in this school and it was overcrowded. The classes were huge. It was not uncommon to have 40 kids in a class, with sections going from "A" all the way down to "O." There were nine teachers in my Social Studies department alone. Now the population is 450 and if we don't keep our enrollment numbers up we could possibly close, or at the least lose more teachers. On this floor we have a total of seven classrooms and only four are really utilized. From the time I came in with nine people the Social Studies department now has only three and a half teachers. Everything is small now, we're

basically open because our location is so visible. We are in the center of Dundalk, that has a lot to do with it. Believe me, politics has played a part in our staying open. Plus the fact that they spent so much money to renovate the school in 1976.

*What's left for the kids now who graduate from High School in Dundalk?*

VT: Leaving Dundalk. You almost have to leave, or you better find some sort of service job in the area, working in a department store or whatever.

*What kind of impact have these economic changes had on the students themselves?*

VT: You see a lot of broken families, a whole lot. We have a lot of single parent families. Our kids have a lot more problems than they used to with nutrition and hygiene. You have lots of kids with both parents working. It's very common in this neighborhood to have kids go home after school and there's no parent there because they're working double shifts. They usually work behind a desk, but not for high pay, often for the phone company, or some store or agency that provides a service. I don't think we keep too many kids whose parents make lots of money. Generally they move out to Harford County or Howard County like everyone else.

Dundalk grew because of WWII;

Sparrow's Point really exploded because of WWII. The whole community, especially the black area, really grew. Turner's, where I come from, was largely built as housing for black workers during the war. Since Dundalk itself was segregated they built Day Village, Lyons Homes, and a place called Sollers Homes to accommodate all the black workers coming to work in the factories.

When I was a kid we were bussed from Turner's all the way down to a black school in Sparrow's Point, right past the white schools in Dundalk. All the black kids in Sparrow's Point and Edgemere were bussed up here to Siler's Point because there wasn't a black high school down there, and we were bussed down there because there wasn't a black grade school up here. We never had new books, our books were always rejects from the white schools. All our equipment was used. What gave us a good education was dedicated teachers, most of whom lived in the community. When I was a kid I had to catch three buses to go to the Druid Hill YMCA to learn how to swim. When the Y opened here I made a point of joining, and I felt hostility. I was stared at a lot. Dundalk has changed, but the people who make the decisions in Dundalk are still white, and Turner's is still the area where the black kids live.

## Appendix

# Reading List

This is a selective bibliography for those interested in doing further research and reading on urban redevelopment in Baltimore city. Most of the books and articles listed can be found at, or obtained through, the Enoch Pratt Free Library. The "Maryland Room" in the Main branch in downtown Baltimore has a very useful clippings file on the city's history. The periodicals section on the ground floor of the Main branch has back issues of the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Evening Sun*, and the *Baltimore News American* on microfilm.

## On Baltimore

### BOOKS

Sherry Olson, *Baltimore* (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976.) Although dated this study includes excellent statistical information from the 1960's and 1970's, and remains one of the best urban geography treatments of the city.

*Baltimore: A Living Renaissance*, edited by Lenora Heilig Nast, Laurence N. Krause, and R.C. Monk, (Baltimore: Historic Baltimore Society, Inc., 1982). This book includes useful essays on the formation of the Greater Baltimore Committee and Charles Center-Inner Harbor Mangement, Inc. and on the early "neighborhood revitalization" movement.

Bill Harvey, *The People is Grass: A History of Hampden-Woodberry, 1802-1945* (Baltimore: Della Press, 1988).

### ARTICLES, REPORTS, ETC.

#### General:

*Gentrification, Displacement, and Neighborhood Revitalization*, edited by John Palen and Bruce London, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984). This book includes an essay by Michele LeFaivre on gentrification in the Reservoir Hill neighborhood of Baltimore.

*From Bystander to Leader: Challenging Higher Education to Join in Building Baltimore's Economic Future*, Executive Summary, October, 1988, prepared for the Greater Baltimore Committee by the Center for Economic Competitiveness, Menlo Park, CA. "From Bystander to Leader" offers the GBC's blueprint for Baltimore's educational future and is available in the Maryland Room of the main (downtown) branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. It is interesting to read in relation to the Diane Granat article/advertisement, "Is Baltimore-Washington the Next Silicon Valley?," published in *Baltimore Magazine*, April 1987, pp.S3-S22.

James Wilson Rouse, *No Slums in Ten Years: A Workable Program for Urban Renewal*. A Report to The Commissioners of the District of Columbia by James W. Rouse and Nathaniel S. Keith, January 1955. This revealing document, written when James Rouse was a young mortgage banker, presents his plan for the elimination of the "vast stretches of filth, congestion, and disorder" of Washington, DC's "slums." It contains, in embryonic form, one of Rouse's favorite urban renewal mechanisms, the "public-private partnership" in which city agencies use powers of eminent domain to relocate poor inner city residents and provide low cost land to private developers. At the center of this process is a "Redevelopment Land Agency," a "pace setting, trail blazing, profit venture with broad business support and a community gleam in its eye."

Marc V. Levine, "Downtown Redevelopment as an Urban Growth Strategy: A Critical Appraisal of the Baltimore Renaissance," *The Journal of Urban Affairs*, Volume 9, Number 2, 1987. This article, which provides a thoughtful critique of the renaissance process based on economic and employment statistics, was greeted with extreme hostility by the city's political and business elite. Levine's forthcoming book, *The Entrepreneurial City: Urban Redevelopment in Baltimore 1950-1990* promises to be the most comprehensive treatment of Baltimore's renaissance to date. Also see: Marc V. Levine, "Going Upscale Downtown. Malls as development strategy: Weighing the costs and the benefits," *Baltimore Sun*, Sunday, September 6, 1987, Section D.

Jeff Singer, "Civic Policy and Civic Interests: The Differential Consequences of Downtown Development" 5/21/90 (unpublished). This paper, by Jeff Singer of Health Care for the Homeless, details the use of tax and development policies in the city of Baltimore to support downtown development at the expense of social services.

#### Finances:

Eric Garland, "Downtown's High-stakes Showdown," *Baltimore Magazine*, June, 1984, pp.64-111. Worthwhile for the "Who's Buying, Who's Selling, and Who's Making Million's Downtown" chart on p.66-67.

Rebecca Reynolds, "King of Charles Street (By courting government aid and fancy retail shops, Bill Struever has established a new reign over the city)," *Warfield's* October, 1986, p.58-67. Reynolds details Struever's "intricate financing scheme" for Charles Street redevelopment, including the use of a \$600,000 CDBG.

Douglas Watson, "U.S. Aid is part of hotel plan: City board agrees to seek \$10 million for Hyatt financing" *Baltimore Sun*, December 8, 1977. This, and the following article, describe the use of block grant funding to attract the Hyatt hotel chain to downtown Baltimore.

James Gutman, "Hyatt sparks debate over use of public funds," *Baltimore Sun*, December 11, 1977.

Edward Lyell Gunts, "The Gold Coast heads East," *Baltimore Magazine*, May 1983, p.67-113. Gunts describes the movement of the redevelopment process to Fells Point and Canton.

For details on the financing of Harborplace see: Nancy Kercheval, "The Rousing of Baltimore," *Warfield's*, September, 1986, pp.58-67. and: Gurney Breckenfeld, "The Rouse Show goes National," *Fortune*, July 27, 1981, pp.49-54.

For the terms of the original city contract with the Rouse Corporation see: Robert Douglas, "City signs 75-year Harborplace Agreement," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, December 28, 1978.

For details on the original Charles Center financing package see: Peter Marudas, "McKeldin Pledges steps on Huge Inner Harbor Development," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, Sept 22, 1964.

#### Protests and Dissenting Opinions:

Editorial, "Rouse, Schaffer should thank job-hungry blacks" *Baltimore News American*, November 26, 1978.

Letter to the editor from Brendan Walsh of Viva House, "Harborplace and the Poor: Ripoff or Boon?" *Baltimore Sun*, October 21, 1978.

Charles V. Flowers, "Blacks' Harborplace role queried" *Baltimore Sun*, December 22, 1978.

Michael Anft, "The Locals and the Gentry: Fells Point and South Baltimore Then and Now," *Baltimore City Paper*, June 19, 1987.

Michael Anft, "Development and Defiance: Four Neighborhoods Caught in the Middle," *Baltimore City Paper*, Dec. 18, 1987, pp.12-16.

Clinton Macsherry, "Harbor Sights; As Harborplace turns 10, some merchants grouse about Rouse," *Baltimore City Paper*, March 9, 1990, pp.8-10.

For a (brief) report of the opening day demonstration at Harborplace mentioned in the Annie Chambers interview see: Bruce Olds, "Emotions are mixed at opening," *Baltimore News American*, July 3, 1980.

The following two articles describe a demonstration staged at a Baltimore city council meeting to protest the city's acceptance of the Department of Housing and Urban Development's "Area Housing Opportunity Program," (AHOP) which many activists saw as part of a deliberate strategy to displace urban blacks from potentially valuable downtown property (also see

Yolanda Ward's "Spatial Deconcentration Report" cited in this bibliography):

Michael Schultz, "City Council meeting disrupted by foes of rent subsidizing" *Baltimore Sun*, July 1, 1980.

and: John Schidlovsky, "Protests sparks angry Council talk about violence" *Baltimore Evening Sun*, July 1, 1980.

For more on "AHOP" protests see:

Trace Gibson, "HUD Program called attempt to remove Blacks from inner cities," *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 18, 1980 and: Denise L. Stinson, "NOACA is stormed by group opposing HUD housing plan," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland), Friday, March 21, 1980.

### Shadow Government

In April of 1980 the *Baltimore Sun* ran a controversial series of eight investigative articles by C. Fraser Smith on Mayor Schaffer's "Shadow Government":

- 1) Sunday, April 13, 1980, "Two trustees and a \$100 million 'bank' skirt the restrictions of city government."
- 2) Monday, April 14, 1980, "Baltimore's trustees play high finance on a tightrope; gambles sometimes lose."
- 3) Tuesday, April 15, 1980, "An orderly system for supervision of the bond funds" (discussion of a city deal with developer Henry Knott.)
- 4) Wednesday, April 16, 1980, "Financial bailouts are a city service, but taxpayers foot the bill eventually."
- 5) Thursday, April 17, 1980, Antonio Pietila, "City made any building eligible for aid via bonds."
- 6) Friday, April 18, 1980, "Is Jolly the city's 'resident contractor'? \$27 million in loans raises the question."
- 7) Saturday, April 19, 1980, "City-made quasi-public corporations produce new category of public official."
- 8) Sunday, April 20, 1980, "As shadow government grows stronger, its accountability to the public lessens."

## Block Grants and Welfare Policy

Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1971). See chapter 9, "Great Society and Relief: Federal Intervention," pp.248-284.

Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). See chapter 5, "The Welfare Rights Movement," pp.264-362.

Anthony Downs, *Opening up the Suburbs: An Urban Strategy for America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973). Downs was one of the main proponents of the strategy of "spatial deconcentration."

*Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment*, edited by Susan S. Fainstein, Norman I. Fainstein, Richard Child Hill, Dennis R. Judd, and Michael Peter Smith, (New York: Longman, 1986). See the essays, "Economic Change, National Policy, and the System of Cities," (pp.1-26.) and "New Haven: The Limits of the Local State," (pp.27-74) for a critical discussion of the CDBG program.

R. Allen Hays, *The Federal Government and Urban Housing: Ideology and Change in Public Policy*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985).

John H. Mollenkopf, *The Contested City*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Kathryn P. Nelson, *Gentrification and Distressed Cities: An Assessment of Trends in Intrametropolitan Migration*, (Madison, WS: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, DC: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968). In particular see the "Futures of the Cities" section, pp.389-408., which was authored by Anthony Downs.

*The Poverty Establishment*, Pamela Roby, editor, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

Yolanda Ward, "The Spatial Deconcentration Report," in *World War III, Illustrated*, #6 (1986), (176 E. 3rd Street, NY, NY 10009), p.18-29.

*Welfare Mothers Speak Out*, the Milwaukee County Welfare Rights Organization, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972).

## Urban Political Economy

Manual Castells, *The City and the Grassroots*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

*Race, Poverty, and the Urban Underclass*, edited by Clement Cottingham, (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982). Especially see William W. Goldsmith, "Poverty and Profit in Urban Growth and Decline" (pp.35-60.)

Martha Derthick, *New Towns In-Town: Why a Federal Program Failed*, (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1972).

Daniel R. Fusfeld and Timothy Bates, *The Political Economy of the Urban Ghetto* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984). Especially see chapter 8, "The Changing Economic Base of Metropolitan Areas."

Dennis E. Gale, *Neighborhood Revitalization and the Postindustrial City*, (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1986).

*The Manipulated City*, S. Gale and E. Moore, editors, (Chicago: Maaroufa Press, 1975). This collection includes an essay on suburban growth and urban decay in Baltimore by David Harvey.

David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

Ira Katznelson, *City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States*, (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

Manning Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America: Problems in Race, Political Economy and Society*, (Boston: South End Press, 1983).

*The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics*, Michael Peter Smith and Joe R. Feagin, editors, (New York: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1987).

*Gentrification of the City*, edited by Neil Smith and Peter Williams, (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986).

*Marxism and the Metropolis: New Perspectives in Urban Political Economy*, edited by William K. Tabb and Larry Sawers, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). See John H. Mollenkopf's essay, "The Postwar Politics of Urban Development," pp.117-152.

# Directory

The following is a partial list of organizations in the city working with housing, homelessness, and the social costs of the redevelopment process.

## **Action for the Homeless, Inc.**

2539 St. Paul Street  
Baltimore, MD 21218  
(301) 467-3800

Action for the Homeless acts as the central source of information, the central rallying point for fund raising and public education activity, and the central pressure point for advocacy on behalf of the homeless.

## **American Friends Service Committee**

Middle Atlantic Region  
4806 York Road  
Baltimore, MD 21212  
(301) 323-7200

The American Friends Service Committee is an independent Quaker organization, founded in 1917, to provide conscientious objectors with an opportunity to aid civilian victims during World War I. Today, through its international headquarters in Philadelphia, nine regional offices in the United States, and program operations in 30 countries overseas, it carries on programs of service, development, peace, and justice.

## **Baltimore Greens**

PO Box 25106  
Baltimore, MD 21219  
(301) 528-1853

Affiliated with the international Green party, the Baltimore Green's aims include social justice, democracy, peace, and ecology.

## **Christophers Place**

(301) 576-0066  
709 E. Eager Street  
Baltimore, MD. 21202

Christophers Place was established in 1984 as a day drop-in center for homeless men. It is open from 9-4, 365 days per year, and provides a residential program for 32 men.

## **Health Care for the Homeless**

232 N. Liberty Street  
Baltimore, MD. 21218  
(301) 837-5533  
(301) 837-0029

The mission of Health Care for the Homeless is to provide and coordinate health care and related services to enable homeless people in the state of Maryland to achieve or maintain a level of health that allows them the greatest self-sufficiency possible, and to remove health-related obstacles which prevent them from resolving their homelessness. Through leadership, education, and cooperative action with others, Health Care for the Homeless seeks to increase public awareness of the relationship between homelessness and health and to encourage the development of programs and policies to improve the health of homeless people.

HCH has medical, mental health, and social work components all of which provide

services at a central clinic in downtown Baltimore (232 N. Liberty Street), as well as in shelters, soup kitchens, and on the streets. Additionally, HCH programs operate in Frederick, Montgomery, Baltimore, and Howard Counties. Beyond the provision of services to homeless persons, HCH educates community groups and policy makers in order to change the conditions that produce and perpetuate homelessness.

## **The Health Care Workers Union Local 1199E-DC of the Service Employees International Union**

1820 North Calvert Street  
Baltimore, MD 21202  
(410) 547-8300

1199E of the Service Employees International Union is a labor organization that represents health care workers in the greater Baltimore and Washington metropolitan area. In Maryland we represent service and maintenance workers at Johns Hopkins, Liberty Medical Center (where we also represent LPN's and technicians), Sinai Hospital, Greater Baltimore Medical Center, and Maryland General Hospital. We also represent 28 nursing homes in Maryland. As a progressive organization we are involved in struggles around a national health care system, civil rights, tax and legal reform, and related issues.

## **House of Ruth**

2201 Argonne Drive  
Baltimore, MD 21218  
(301) 889-0840

The House of Ruth-Baltimore, was founded in May, 1977 by a coalition of women's

organizations, religious groups, and elected officials to provide a safe haven for the victims of domestic violence and their children. In November, 1977 we opened Baltimore's first crisis shelter for these victims. The House received its first public funds in 1978 from the Department of Human Resources. In 1981 the House developed a Housing Counseling Program as a H.U.D. funded national demonstration project.

Over the years, the House has continued to expand in anticipation and response to the needs of domestic violence victims and their families. Since 1984, we have provided legal representation to battered women through our Domestic Violence Legal Clinic. Since our inception we have lobbied for legislation to provide legal protection to battered women. In addition, we have provided prevention education in Baltimore City secondary schools for the past four years. Initiated in 1979, the House of Ruth Batters' Program expanded its voluntary treatment of batterers to include a court-ordered program in 1983.

In 1985, a capital campaign was launched to renovate a facility large enough to consolidate all of our programs and to serve thousands of additional families each year. In November of 1987 the House of Ruth opened the doors of its Montebello facility after successfully raising the 1.2 million dollars needed for renovations. Today the House of Ruth is recognized as Maryland's most comprehensive domestic violence center and has a staff of 35 individuals. Our voluntary leadership consists of a 25-member board of directors and an advisory committee.



**Jobs with Peace**

100 S. Washington Street  
Baltimore, MD. 21231  
(301) 342-7404

Runaway military spending is robbing our city of jobs, housing, health care and education—the very things that make a city work. The Baltimore Jobs with Peace Campaign has, through ballot box initiatives, required the city to publish the economic facts on the cost of militarism and to establish a development commission that will find ways to bring the money home. 60% of the city's voters have supported Jobs with Peace initiatives, but we've still got a long way to go.

**Maryland Citizen Action Coalition**

(301) 235-5588  
2300 N. Charles Street  
Baltimore, MD 21218

Maryland Citizen Action Coalition is an alliance of community, labor, senior, environmental, and civil rights organizations—a coalition that can stand up to the special interests and work for positive changes that benefit the average Marylander. MCAC's work includes organizing, lobbying, research, public outreach, and election organizing around issues such as affordable health care, rising utility bills, toxic pollution, and insurance reform.

**Representative Kweisi Mfume**

7th District, Maryland  
3000 Druid Park Drive  
Baltimore, MD 21215  
(301) 367-1900

Congressman Mfume is a member of the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development and has consistently been

supportive of legislation designed to help low income housing residents in the city.

**My Sister's Place**

(301) 727-3523  
123 W. Mulberry  
Baltimore, MD. 21201

My Sister's Place is a day drop in center for women and families. We serve approximately 60 women per day, 365 days per year.

**Northeast Community Organization (NECO)**

4499 Loch Raven Boulevard  
Baltimore, MD 21218  
(301) 433-7400

NECO is a coalition of neighborhood associations, churches, PTA's, business groups, unions, and other local bodies dedicated to defending and improving northeast Baltimore.

**Our Daily Bread**

(301) 539-2744  
411 Cathedral Street  
Baltimore, MD 21201

Our Daily Bread is a lunchroom that serves meals daily, 365 days per year. We serve breakfast on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and a hot lunch daily. We average about 75 people for breakfast and between 600 and 700 for lunch. Our Daily Bread is ten years old and is a program of Associated Catholic Charities.

**People's Homesteading Group, Inc.**

410 East North Avenue  
Baltimore, MD 21202  
(301) 889-0071

A membership organization of poor people who together achieve home ownership by rehabilitating vacant and abandoned houses into decent, affordable homes using self-help, low cost techniques, and the aid of volunteers.

**Street Voice Cultural Outreach Program**

PO Box 22962  
Baltimore, MD 21203  
(301) 243-3921

Street Voice publishes *Street Voice: A Voice By and For the Street Corner and Addict Community*, a free monthly publication that acts as "an outreach tool for education and survival," with information on AZT, HIV treatment, Methadone programs, "the media and addiction," and other news and information regarding addict's rights and issues. Street Voice operates an outreach center at 2531 St. Paul with readings, screenings, and meetings.

**Viva House**

Baltimore Catholic Worker  
26 South Mount Street  
Baltimore, MD 21223  
(301) 233-0488

Viva House is a Catholic Worker House of Hospitality and Resistance. The house opened in 1968. Currently Viva House serves an evening meal three days each week and operates a food pantry for its neighbors in Southwest Baltimore. An average of 140 people are served at each meal and more than 100 families are provided a three-day supply of food each month. We distribute 125 bags of food per month through our food pantry and serve 170 dinners each week.

**Women's Housing Coalition, Inc.**

119 East 25th Street  
Baltimore, MD 21218  
(301) 235-5782

Founded in 1979, the Women's Housing Coalition is a nonprofit housing provider, advocacy and outreach/education organization that exists to meet the transitional and permanent housing needs of homeless and at-risk women. Through the combined efforts of its dedicated and caring staff, board of directors, advisory board, and volunteers, the WHC works to provide affordable housing, foster independence, and improve women's lives. The WHC operates The Calverton, a Single Room Occupancy dwelling at 119 E. 25th Street with 13 units, manages three transitional residences for women, and offers counseling, placement, and support services.