URBAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: THE EAST BALTIMORE COMMUNITY

by

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of the Requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor in
Architecture

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is the development of a conceptual organizational structure as a basis for action in the physical environment of the East Baltimore Community, Baltimore, Maryland.

In a community environment where family life does not provide a sufficiently lively outlet for the development of intellectual, spiritual, and physical energies, an atmosphere should be created which is conducive to human interaction, contact and communication, and which inspires a constructive learning environment to balance the needs of its citizens. In response to these needs, this thesis concentrates on the internal structure of the community environment and the interaction of its parts rather than its superficial form.

The first part of this work provides a picture of the immediate past and existing social, economic and physical factors of the East Baltimore Community and further, evolves from these factors, a foundation for a concept of urban community organization.

This concept of urban community organization structures a relationship which offers opportunities for human explorative exchange, and creates the interaction necessary for the evolvement of knowledge from the community environment by either formal or informal means, be it structured and directed by others, or unstructured and spontaneously self-discovered.

Thesis Advisor: Professor Chester Lee Sprague
Title: Associate Professor of Architecture
Dear Dean Anderson,

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor in Architecture, I herewith submit my thesis entitled: "Urban Community Organization: The East Baltimore Community."

Sincerely,

Samuel Lamarr Reid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Map/Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Map #1</td>
<td>Baltimore Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Map #2</td>
<td>Baltimore City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Map #3</td>
<td>East Baltimore Study Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Figure A</td>
<td>Population Trends 1790 - 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Figure B</td>
<td>Population Distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Figure C</td>
<td>Proportion of Population Nonwhite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Figure D</td>
<td>Baltimore City-Age Group Changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Figure E</td>
<td>Concentrations of Blight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Figure F</td>
<td>Residential Density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Figure G</td>
<td>Male Unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Figure H</td>
<td>Percent of Females in Labor Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Figure I</td>
<td>Educational Attainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Figure J</td>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Figure K</td>
<td>Transformation of Typical Block Pattern 1800 - 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Figure L</td>
<td>Land Use Pattern for East Baltimore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART 1 - DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Demographic Information</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1-1 Distribution and Density</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1-2 Racial Composition</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1-3 Age Distribution</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Housing Data</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2-1 Housing Blight</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2-2 Nonstandard Household Concentrations</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2-3 Housing Density</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2-4 Household Size</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Economic Characteristics</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3-1 Households With No Automobiles</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3-2 Workers in Low Skill Occupations</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3-3 Male Civilian Labor Force</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3-4 Median Family Income</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Land Use Pattern</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART 2 - EVALUATION</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Issues</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Commitments</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Priorities</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART 3 - PROPOSAL</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral Presentation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Development Concept</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Community Organizational Structure</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2-1 Existing East Baltimore Community Structure</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2-2 Proposed Planning Framework for Baltimore City and its Resultant Effect on the East Baltimore Community</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2-3 Time - Distance Measurement</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART 4 CONCLUSIONS</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The concepts of socialization (the process by which an individual learns the culture of his group) and learning, are related to, in fact often inseparable from the concept of education. Though education is often thought of in terms of schooling (formal education), effective training for the individual's role as both a group member and an autonomous person is a constant process that goes beyond the realm of the actual institutional structure.

The main function of the educative process is to pass down knowledge from generation to generation - a process that is essential to the development of culture. Formal education is designed to be the medium through which knowledge, with its crucial skills and values basic to the survival of the society and its leaders, is imparted to future generations. Inherent in education, and throughout all of man's history, there has been and will be, the necessary stimulus needed for the creative thinking and action which inspires cultural change, cultural change being the key to further innovation.

These general ideas concerning the nature of education are linked by means of communication which constitute the basis for all forms of social interaction, thus enabling the transmission of this cumulative knowledge, and making possible
the existence of empathic understanding among individuals.

Therefore, a recognition of the breadth of education and its lifelong process as it relates to the East Baltimore Community, and as it includes participation in the social and economic rejuvenation of its environment, is a primary task for the designer, and a very necessary one. The East Baltimore Community, in its process of continuous evolution, is adjusting previous response patterns to newly experienced and perceived environmental changes. The result of these new experiences should thus be the modification and reorganization of the community inhabitants' perceptions and attitudes, and a re-evaluation of their own self image.
PART 1

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF STUDY AREA

In an attempt to organize a structure for human habitat, the operation of the designer depends primarily on his understanding those forces which exist in his study area, and among these recognizing and giving definition to those that hold meaning for the future. He must note historical patterns which may give light to the changes that have taken place or that seem inevitable, and also recognize that an awareness of these changes is essential in order to become alerted to the various conditions which may evolve; thus requiring that any statistical information gathered be translated into the social, economic, and physical needs of the people.

1.1 - Demographic Information

In 1790, Baltimore was the hub of the nation's population, boasting a total of over 13,500 persons. By 1800, its numbers had nearly doubled, thus marking the beginning of a trend of continuous growth and movement until in 1950, the city experienced its first major decline in population. The steady population growth that did occur was primarily the result of natural increase, but a significant portion resulted

\[1\] See Figure A, p. 7.
POPULATION TRENDS 1790-1960

Figure A
from immigrant and inmigrant movement to an expanding industrial center.

1.1-1 Distribution and Density

The decrease in Baltimore City's population, a trend typical of the nation's large, older central cities, netted about 1,000 persons per year in the decade 1950 to 1960.2 Most of the losses occurred in the older inlying portions of the city where the land area had become almost totally developed. Population increases occurred primarily in outlying tracts of land around the city where new construction was happening. The white population decrease of 113,047 during the decade 1950 to 1960 in the city of Baltimore was counterbalanced within 91 percent by the nonwhite increase of 102,363.3 The East Baltimore Community study area, with its population of 108,546, houses 11.6 percent of the total city population.4

1.1-2 Racial Composition

While the population changes in the city continued to fluctuate over the years to the point of decline in 1950, the racial composition, which will be referred to as the nonwhite population,5 showed a steady increase. The nonwhite population

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4Ibid. Also note Figure B, p. 9.
5"Nonwhite includes Negroes (approx. 99% of total), Indians,
Figure B
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
East Baltimore Community
• 1,000 Persons
increase was primarily in the central inlying portion of the city, that area left vacant by the out-migration of whites to the suburbs. The nonwhite population of Baltimore City is now well over one-third of the total, as compared to 56 percent within the East Baltimore study area. Being within the core of the city and bounded on the south by the inner harbor, the area is a popular settling place for migrants and immigrants seeking residence in a growing urban environment.

1.1-3 Age Distribution

Baltimore City's white population decline through the decade 1950 to 1960 showed decreases in most age groups except in the 10 - 14 years and the aged 60 or older. The nonwhite increase during that same period showed substantial increases in all groups, but most notably in the younger age groups, those who would be enrolling in the elementary and high school grades.

Changes such as these in the demographic structure of the city, with their varying magnitudes, present quite an impact on the physical, economic, and social conditions in the urban area.

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6 See Figure C, p. 11. 7 See Figure D, p. 12.
Figure C
PROPORTION OF POPULATION NON-WHITE
East Baltimore Community
- 5.0 - 24.9
- 25.0 - 49.9
- 50.0 - 74.9
- 75.0 or more
Figure D

BALTIMORE CITY WHITE AND NON-WHITE AGE GROUP CHANGES

- White
- Non-white
1.2 - Housing Data

As soon as the 1950 wave of white out-migration from the central city subsided, there came in its place a steady trickle of low income nonwhite residents, most of them unskilled laborers, who were unable to provide the tax base needed to keep up the already deteriorating inlying city structures. The relative shifting and fluctuation in the population and economy, and the imposition of market restraints had thus resulted in the expansion of ghettos, where the major concentrations of blight in the city existed. These blight conditions grew and were principally the result of abuse, neglect, and obsolescence within neighborhoods where there was a breakdown in physical, social, and economic situations.

1.2-1 Housing Blight

The East Baltimore Community study area lies in the area of the city where the major concentrations of blight can be seen. Of the housing units in this area, 40 percent are dilapidated, 16.7 percent are lacking essential plumbing, and 28.3 percent are in a general state of deterioration. These figures would seem to indicate that about 85 percent of the average dwelling unit is in some measure of disrepair.8 In addition, Baltimore's housing stock, particularly that portion available to middle and lower income families, is being

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depleted at an alarming rate. In the ten years between 1965 extending through 1974, it is projected that Baltimore will lose an estimated 22,000 dwelling units to public works projects already scheduled, and an additional 5600 units because of private enterprise or accidental loss.⁹ New housing is very urgently needed to augment the fast dwindling city-wide supply that would be available to moderate and lower income groups.¹⁰

1.2-2 Non-Standard Household Concentrations

In 1960, of approximately 300,000 housing units, over half were the single family attached dwelling units, although there had been a definite shift towards the development of single family detached dwellings at the turn of the twentieth century. This shifting of structural types in household dwelling units was due primarily to the changing composition of the average family which occupies these structures. The development of practically all the remaining vacant residential land in the city, combined with the changing densities and composition of the population, resulted in a rise in single person families and families headed by only a male or female. The new structural type developed and popularized to house these various combinations was the high rise apartment.

¹⁰See Figure E, p. 15.
Figure E
CONCENTRATIONS OF BLIGHT CONDITIONS
Baltimore City

- Major concentrations
- Minor Concentrations
- Non-residential areas
1.2-3 Housing Density Per Unit Acre

Although these new units were being built throughout the city, the area of highest residential density managed to remain in the center city, with housing units numbering between 35 and 60 per net residential acre. The residential density in the East Baltimore study area is even higher, with from 39 to 76 units per net residential acre, the average being 49.5 units as compared to only 18.9 for the entire city. 

1.2-4 Household Size

In addition to being an area of higher dwelling unit density, with more rapid deterioration than elsewhere, the East Baltimore study area also has a greater median household size, both in the nonwhite group (3.4 persons) and the actual community area (3.2 persons), as compared to a low in the city of 2.9 persons.

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11 See Figure F, p. 17.
13 Ibid.
Figure F
RESIDENTIAL DENSITY
East Baltimore Community
Number of Housing Units per Acre of Net Residential Land

20.0 - 39.9
40.0 - 59.9
60.0 or more
1.3 - Economic Characteristics

As the household situation worsened in the city, with fewer and fewer suitable units available to house the rapid growth of families, the economic situation failed to adjust to meet the income and occupational needs of the area. One contributing factor was a loss in Baltimore City of 7 percent of the labor force, this being due to none other than suburban migration. There was an overall decrease in employment of all job categories, with the exception of professional and related services, and public administrative positions. The heaviest decline was in nondurable goods manufacturing, transportation services, communications and other public utilities, and wholesale and retail trade.

1.3-1 Households With No Automobiles

As these job categories moved with their related industries to the suburbs, they took with them their easy accessibility by means of public transit. Those household workers, service workers, and laborers who could fill those jobs were mostly nonwhite, and they lived in the inlying areas of the city, like the East Baltimore study area, where 65 percent of the households had no automobile. They were thus very limited in their choice of places of employment, that is, to those jobs that could easily be reached by public transit.

Commuting back and forth to the suburbs daily by any other means was economically impractical.

1.3-2 Workers In Low Skill Occupations

Of those persons in the East Baltimore Community who reported their occupations in the 1960 census, 40 percent were craftsmen and operatives, 37 percent were laborers and service workers, and the remaining 23 percent either professionals, technicians and managers, or clerical and sales workers.

1.3-3 Male Civilian Labor Unemployed

There was a slight decrease in the rate of male unemployment in the city in 1960, but only as a result of the changes in age composition which led to a decline in the proportion of total male residents who are in the labor force.

Unemployment in the city in 1960 was 6.5 percent

15, with the inlying portions of the city where most of the unskilled persons lived registering a rate of 9.3 percent. The East Baltimore study area had an alarming rate of 11.1 percent.

16 Surprisingly, the number of females in the labor force was very high, partially due to a change in their age composition, but more notably because a large proportion of

Figure G

MALE UNEMPLOYMENT
East Baltimore Community
Percent of Male Civilian Labor Force Unemployed

- 5.0 - 9.9
- 10.0 or more
nonwhites have a higher percentage of employed females, women who are heads of households and who have families to support. 17

1.3-4 Median Family Income

Figure I, on page 22 gives an indication of the educational attainment of persons living in the study area. Note that the majority of the people living in the study area have only an eight grade education or less. This is an important factor in accounting for the high rate of unemployment, and the inability of local residents to get better paying jobs. This would also substantiate the picture of low median family incomes in the area.

The median family income for whites with family sizes of 3.5 persons was (1959) $6390, while for nonwhites with an average family size of 4.4 persons was $4123. Only 12.9 percent of whites had incomes less than $3000 whereas 31.8 percent of nonwhites had incomes in that same wage bracket. 18 In the study area, the median family income was $3748 for an average family size of 3.2 persons. 19

17See Figure H, p. 23.
Figure I

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
Median years of school completed by persons 25 years or older

Less than 8 years of school  8 years of school

East Baltimore Community
Figure H

PERCENT OF FEMALES IN
LABOR FORCE - Females 14 years or older
East Baltimore Community

20.0 - 34.9  
35.0 - 49.9
Figure J
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME
East Baltimore Community

- Under $4,000
- $4,000 - $5,999
1.4- **Land Use Patterns**

The first land expansion beyond the early settlements along the flat land of the inner harbor of Baltimore City set the basic pattern for its future land and street development. The development concept for residential land use in Baltimore was initiated in 1818 by the surveyor Thomas Poppleton. His design concept was to provide ample open space in both the front and rear of row houses. Therefore, an average city block, about 300 feet square could be constructed so as to allow approximately 200 feet between the houses in the rear and about 100 feet between houses across the street.\(^{20}\)

This was the ideological concept as it was first set forth, and for a time, its provisions were adequate. As has been stated however, Baltimore's population was steadily growing, so that soon, resubdivision of the land was needed to accommodate the growing population. Structural crowding of the land was the net result.

\(^{20}\)See Figure K, p. 26.
TRANSFORMATION OF TYPICAL BLOCK IN BALTIMORE

Figure K
Figure L
Land Use Pattern - East Baltimore

- Residential
- Commercial
- Light Industry
PART 2

EVALUATIONS

The previous section provided a general description of the immediate past and existing social, economic and physical factors of Baltimore City and their corresponding relationships to the East Baltimore Community. Very often increasing city and community needs gave rise to certain urban environmental problems. This section evaluates the various problems affecting the East Baltimore Community, and discusses those which will be considered as the foundation in a proposal for a conceptual community organizational structure.

Like many deteriorated urban residential areas, East Baltimore barely qualifies as a community. In the past it has lacked an overriding sense of purpose, and the underlying altruism that comes from self-respect. The residents' inability to cope with the overwhelming problems of a poor environment is evidenced by their overall lack of response to the changes that occur within that environment. Much of the community's vitality is dissipated in the constant internal power struggles that discourage the cohesive action necessary for profitable communal interaction.

2.1 - Issues\(^1\)

Early in 1969, groups of citizens, parents, teachers,

students, educators, businessmen, architects, planners, economists, sociologists, health officials, and politicians participated in an intensive problem study, seeking various ways to chart a new course for the East Baltimore Community. The result brought many new forces to bear upon a common problem, produced specific recommendations for the learning environment of the community, and established more effective lines of communication between the people involved. In addition to open lines of communication being opened, issues were raised and set forth for the East Baltimoreans to deal with and react to. They were as follows:

- development of an educational system with educational facilities for the total community.
- economic and manpower development
- housing development
- development of personal and community health services
- development of political awareness
- transportation development
- development of recreation and park facilities
- development and maintenance of communications facilities

2.2 - Commitments²

Through physical design and organizational structure

²Ibid. p. xxxi.
I would endeavor, through this developmental study, to produce the kind of functional environment that would lead the East Baltimore area's populace towards a program of effective interaction through which these issues can be resolved.

As a result of the interaction that comes from regular contact and open communication, the new Paul Laurence Dunbar High School in East Baltimore becomes not just an educational facility, but an educational system that in its totality inspires the constructive learning environment that helps to balance the needs of its citizens.

2.3 - Priorities

I seek to provide for the East Baltimore Community urban pedestrian places where each persons' experiences are both rich and rewarding, and where everyone in the community can profit from the supportive facilities provided.

3Ibid.
"In the face of socio-cultural eruptions, what does planning mean? How does it help? What can still be designed that is not obsolete by the time it is produced? How can one foresee a future?"

Heinz Van Foerster
(Professor of Biophysics and Electrical Engineering, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois)

We seem to have lost our way within our older urban communities, meeting crisis after crisis, trying to manage conflicts and confrontations, and generally scarcely able to stay alive. The problems of the urban community are remarkably endless, complex, and constantly changing. But, nevertheless, there appear to be two suitable means to bring forth a structure for its resolution. The first is to "introduce new parts; the other is to rearrange existing parts in a new way."¹ The priority at this time in the urban community environment is perhaps not the creation of new parts so much as it should be the rearrangement of the existing, already functioning, but conflicting parts.

¹Serge Chermayeff and Alexander Tzonis.
3.1 - Development Concept

To begin a process of community rejuvenation, the East Baltimore Community must first be viewed as a total system in which individuals can be guided to a better understanding of themselves, their problems and needs, and their relationships to others, as well as to their physical environment. The community is therefore strengthened through socialization of the individual, by organizing and adjusting the community institutions (schools, agencies, health facilities), and by emphasizing those forces which are considered to be positive expressions of the community. If considered as an undivisive whole, East Baltimore could serve its own needs in a unique character, reflecting the life of its inhabitants.

Internally, each community environment has its own individual structure of roads, streets, and pedestrian routes to serve its different needs. Such movement patterns not only allow passage from one place to another, but also distinguish the area. The pedestrian movement systems generate social interaction, for the street has always been a place where one could watch and participate in urban life. In this proposed development concept, social functions of the pedestrian street are encouraged in new ways and with greater importance. A central spine is developed to act as a mixing place for all public activities and functions (schools, public agencies, hospitals, etc.), while the various intersecting
lines form a sort of public living room extending from the spine, as well as being access to it. It is in this way that the East Baltimore Community is evolved into a cohesive internal structure which can be expanded in all directions. The pedestrian connections and places of activity are its unifying element.

3.2 - Community Organizational Structure

What elements in the urban community environment are subject to structuring and to what extent?

First, it must be understood that there are in fact only a limited number of elements in the urban community environment which can be structured by means of design and also that these elements are primarily within the public domain (publicly owned). "The pattern of publicly owned land and buildings - predominantly street rights-of-way, institutional structures and parks - has been historically the most permanent feature of any community environment."¹ The permanence of street rights-of-way already is reinforced by various public utilities (sewer and water lines) that follow them. Publicly owned rights-of-way represent an immense reserve of precious, socially useful spaces which must be protected from private exploitation. Unequivocally, they are in the

community realm and demand responsible protection of public interest and should be used as instruments for shaping and articulating the public domain. This domain can accommodate the essential means of human contact and social interaction without disturbing already established and functioning elements of the community.

3.2-1 Existing East Baltimore Community Structure

The structure of most urban American communities is dominated by a prevailing use of gridiron layouts, and the East Baltimore Community structure is no exception to this rule. As useful as this design structure was in the early days, today it is considered a mixed blessing for architectural design and urban planning. Extensive use of the grid has placed certain limits on the variations possible in design, but these limits are the facts which must be reckoned with and in fact, which may work if governed with ample latitude.

The gridiron structure of East Baltimore basically remains as drawn in 1818 by the surveyor Thomas Poppleton and later by the landscape architect, Frederick L. Olmstead. Despite small adjustments over time, such as a new vehicular expressway (a part of the new Baltimore 3-A expressway system) along the community's periphery, and various superblock developments (such as the Gay Street I Housing Projects), the original structure today is well in tact. It is into this design
structure that a succession of public and private developments have been plugged.

East Baltimore's gridiron structure can be considered useful where flows of movement are shifting and broadly distributed. It seems to be clear and easy to follow, as well as being suited to networks serving complex areas at large scales, such as the Johns Hopkins Medical Center located in the center of the community. But, nonetheless, this design structure can be criticized for its visual monotony, its disregard of topography, its vulnerability to vehicular traffic, and for its lack of differentiation between heavily travelled and lightly travelled routes, which prevent specialized design and the economical use of space.

However, it must be noted that these criticisms are not inherent in the design structure itself, but in the particular use. Heavy or through traffic could be directed on to certain lines of the gridiron structure, and monotony could be avoided by the variation of the building and landscape patterns. A system of pedestrian movement enhancing and complimenting the basic design structure could be developed. Likewise, it must also be said that the fundamental advantage of East Baltimore's gridiron design structure is in its general sense of direction, its sequence of lines, and its consistency of interconnections. Equally important, the structure has the definite advantages of simplicity, convenient access, good orientation features, and suitability for complex movement systems.
The existing East Baltimore community structure must be accepted with all its advantages and disadvantages. A change in the organizational principle of emphasizing the needs of automobiles rather than the definitive needs of its inhabitants is greatly needed. "People driving motor cars don't form a society in any sense. They are frustrated from doing so because the main ways in which we form our society, by speech and language and social relations with one another ...are withheld from motorists...2

Thus the concept of developing people orientated routes and spaces by a rearrangement of the existing community design structure, so as to create a basis for action and revitalization in terms of the human interaction necessary for the evolvement of knowledge from the community environment is the primary objective.


In 1967 a team of highway, traffic, and safety engineers, architects, urban designers, sociologists, economists and others began work on an Interstate Highway System through Baltimore City. The team, officially designated as the Urban Design Concept Associates, was a result of increasing public

concern toward the design of highways and their effect upon urban environments. It was also "a recognition that transport, as the prime generator of urban form and growth, must be designed with a comprehensive concern for all social, economic, visual and engineering factors that influence the total urban environment."³

This new concept involved the simultaneous design and building of a freeway together with the city that surrounds it. New construction could not cut a barrier through communities, or ruin the city's historical or natural heritage. Instead, it must serve to link both sides of its surroundings, build new homes, parks, schools, and other facilities which would be displaced by the freeway and above all become a positive force in the total urban development of the city.

The results of the Urban Design Concepts Associates proposal is illustrated on page 38. The aim of the proposal is to provide improved accessibility to a large part of the city, and also considered from a comprehensive viewpoint, to provide new facilities for commercial and community activities, open up new areas for industrial development, further develop the city's recreation program and offer a catalyst for the construction of new community housing and educational

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³Project Description - The Urban Design Concept Associates.
facilities. In terms of environmental and social programs, this proposal would provide an opportunity for both public agency and private initiative to strengthen the total community economically, socially, and physically.

The resultant effect of the proposed Interstate Highway System on the East Baltimore Community is very significant; an illustration of the resulting transportation plan is found on page 40. The reduction of truck and central business district through traffic is greatly minimized, offering an opportunity for development of a cohesive internal structure for the East Baltimore Community, utilizing the existing rights-of-way and other public domains. Other community development opportunities are also realizable in the proposal, such as: improving the quality of historic, commercial, and residential areas; insuring the area's viability as a living community by careful construction of new facilities; opening up the waterfront for leisure and recreational use; and a harmonious land use mix through sensitive design of the highway.

The overall effect of these opportunities offers the possibility of creating a very humanistic organizational structure for the evolving needs of the East Baltimore Community.

3.2-3 Time - Distance Measurement

The effectiveness of social interaction in a pedestrian
oriented community structure is primarily dependent upon the relative constancy of the time-distance measure established between lines and points of interconnection. The proposed community structure is based upon a six minute maximum walking distance between lines and a ten minute maximum walking distance to the central spine. This uniform measurement allows for ease of direct contact to any pedestrian or pedestrian aided route.
CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has attempted to deal with the complexities of the urban community, understanding that it is a vibrant place which has many kinetic processes, with intricate ramifications and varied consequences.

The work was greatly simplified to concentrate upon the essentials of the community environment, trying not to ignore too many of the realities of the issues. In this way only basic organizational thoughts could be presented, and in a way which would not give premise form to that which is still unpredictable. As Aldous Huxley stated in the Brave New World Revisited, "the whole truth about almost any important subject is incompatible with brevity."

The commitment of this thesis to a social purpose and a conceptual organizational structure to achieve it has not allowed for the development of a definitive solution, realizable in a given time span. But, it does put forth an image of a possible organizational structure aimed toward human interaction, contact and communication.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


