



Baltimore City:

A Prime Opportunity for Infill, Redevelopment, and Revitalization.

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Overview

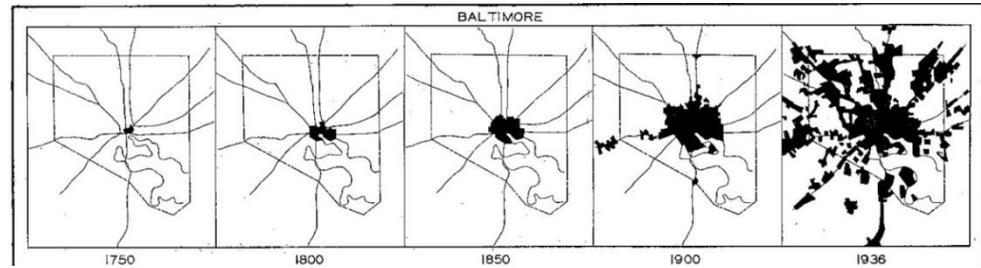
Baltimore is experiencing an extraordinary convergence of opportunities that can enable it to become a stronger, more prosperous city. This is important for the city itself, as well as the region and the state. This report examines those new opportunities against the backdrop of changing population and employment trends as well as recent redevelopment incentives. The time is ripe for city leaders to take advantage of positive developments, including a recent \$1.1 billion investment in city schools, additional resources for transportation improvements, and city leadership advocating for redevelopment and population increases. This report frames how the City of Baltimore is especially ripe for infill, redevelopment and revitalization.

City Geography & Regional Context

Baltimore is the most populous city in the wealthiest state in the nation (median household income).¹ Baltimore houses vital academic, entertainment, historic and cultural assets. It is also the economic engine driving the Baltimore Metropolitan Region, which comprises Baltimore City and the five surrounding counties of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Harford and Howard. Within this multi-county region, Baltimore city accounts for 26% of the payroll employment and 27% of the workers' earnings.²



Baltimore Harbor, 1911 – Edward W. Spofford



1937 State Growth Commission Report

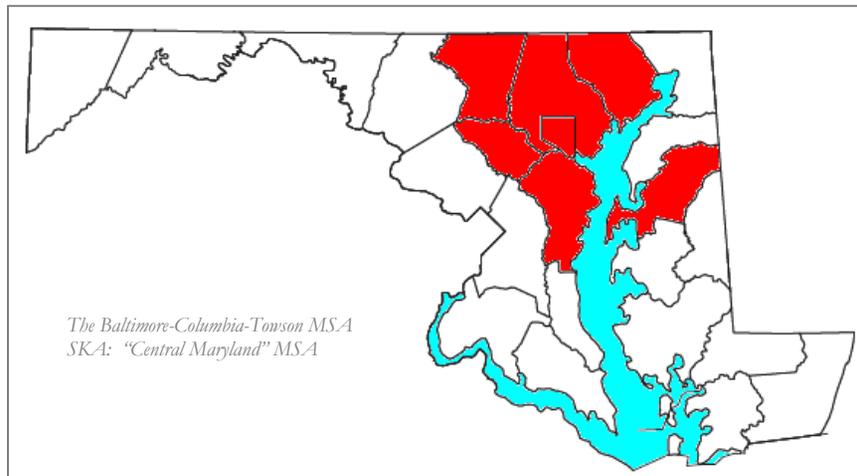
Yet, like most U.S. cities, Baltimore experienced a geographical population shift outward during the 19th and 20th centuries. The city's historical urban growth largely followed axial transit lines and by 1900, the population had a firm footprint within present-day Baltimore County. Despite the nascent expansion, population within the city continued growing to a peak of 950,000 in 1950.³ However the outward migration accelerated in the latter half of the 20th century and the share of Baltimore City's population within the state of Maryland fell from 40.5% (1950) to 10.8% (2010).

¹ 2012, U.S. Census Bureau: <https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/statemedian/>

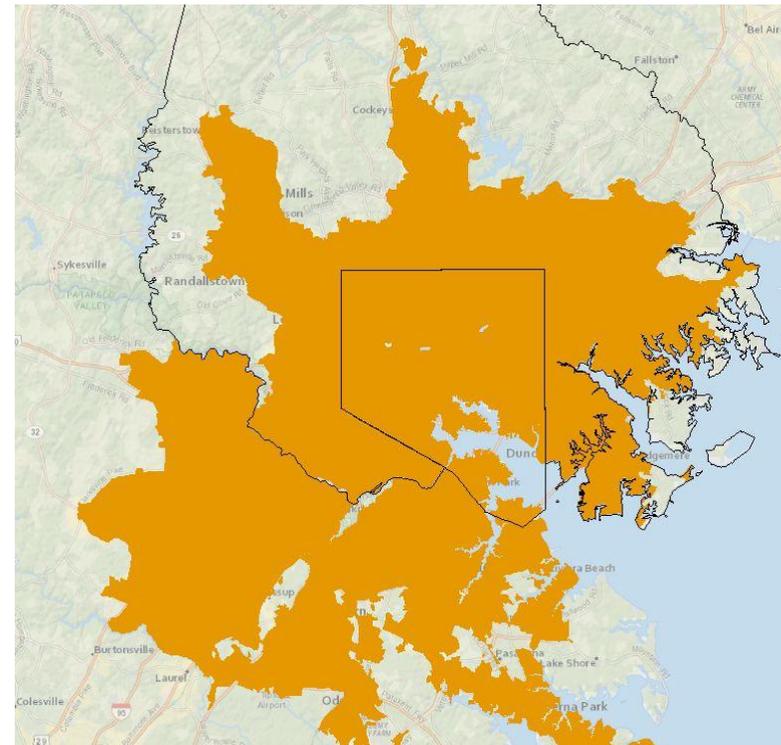
² U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis

³ US Census Bureau <http://www.census.gov/population/cencounts/md190090.txt>

But the city is still unequivocally a driving force for the region. Baltimore’s perimeter boundary area with Baltimore County forms the more densely populated portions of the county, as the city has been an employment anchor for many county residents. The 1997 [Priority Funding Areas Act](#) resulted in targeting growth-related projects and infrastructure across the state. Baltimore County’s priority funding area encompasses the boundary of Baltimore City. 2010 Census figures showed that 59% of Baltimore County commuters work in Baltimore⁴.



The population clusters that hug Baltimore are not just dependent on the city; they have thrived (or at least remained steady) as independent communities. Indeed, between April 2010 and July 2013, the Baltimore-Columbia-Towson Metropolitan Statistical Area (Central Maryland MSA) was the 32nd fastest growing MSA in the U.S. (out of 381). In other words, the Baltimore region was in the top 10% of the fastest growing regions in the country over the past three years. Furthermore, the region has the fourth highest median household income of all MSAs at \$66,970 (2012)⁵.



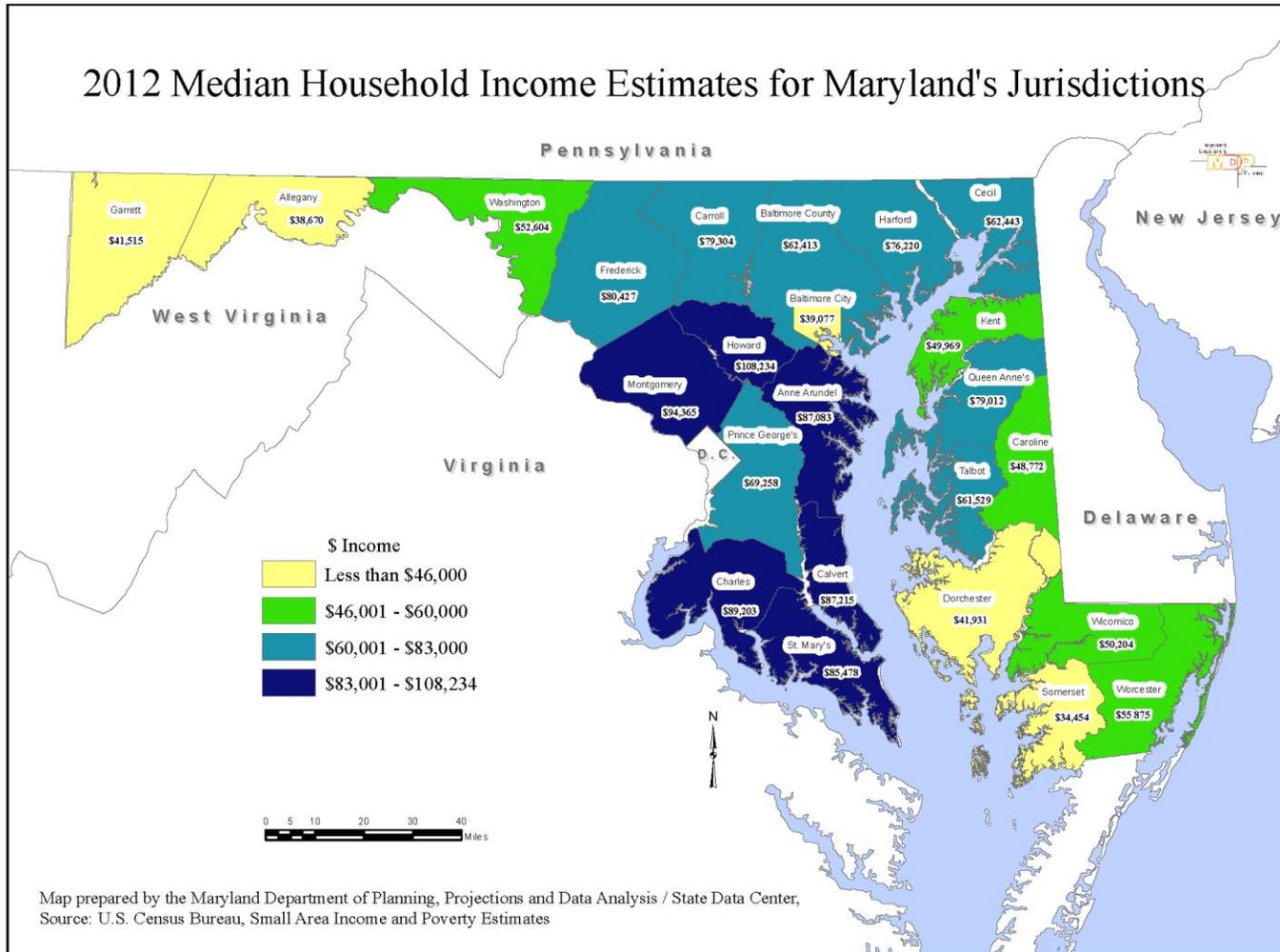
Priority Funding Areas In & Around Baltimore City

While Baltimore sits in the middle of this growing and relatively wealthy area, it remains distinct from its neighboring jurisdictions regarding (1) household income and (2) taxation. Baltimore is a perpetual outlier in the otherwise prosperous Central Maryland MSA, and

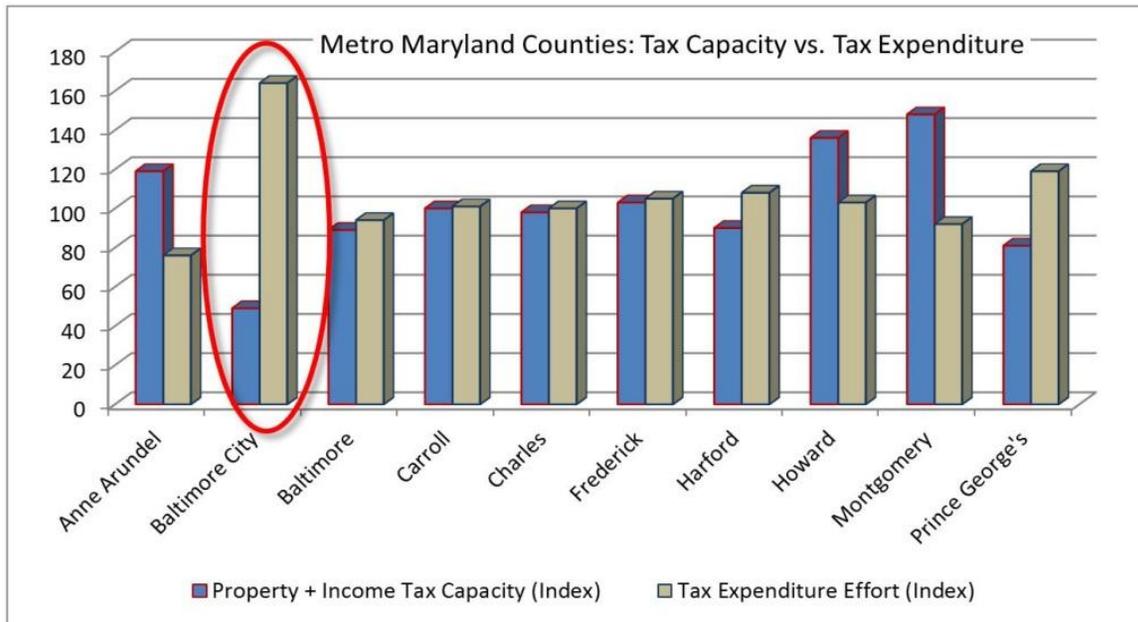
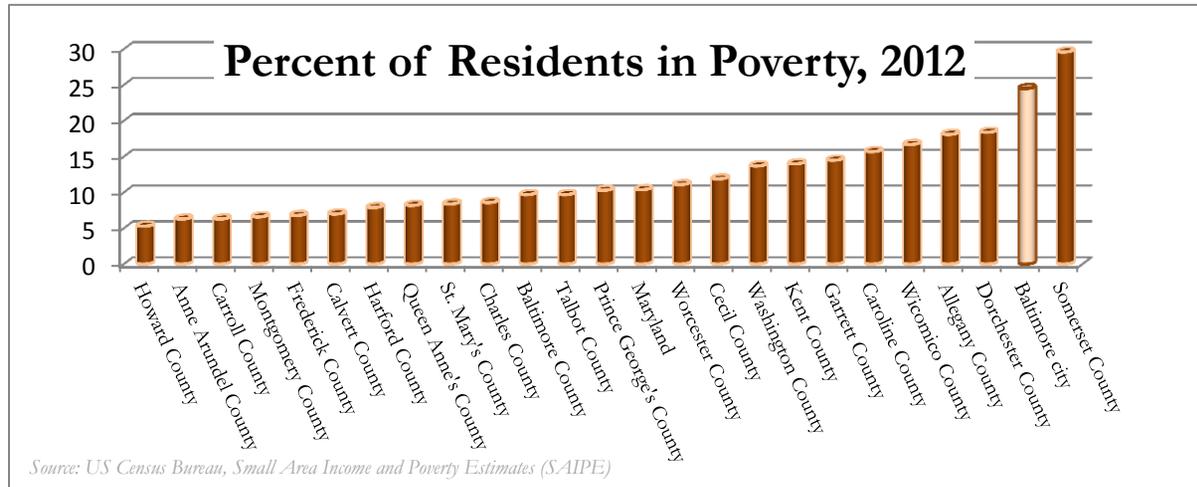
⁴ 2010 American Community Survey, US Census Bureau

⁵ <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk>, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/acsbr12-02.pdf>

indeed within the entire state. In 2012, Baltimore residents earned a median income that was, at *minimum*, \$23,000 less than any of its neighbors. The city's median income was less than half of adjacent Anne Arundel or Howard counties and neighbors. The city's median income was less than half of adjacent Anne Arundel or Howard counties and the second lowest median household income in Maryland.



With such a diminished income base, Baltimore is unable to recoup income tax revenue on par with other Central Maryland counties. Of course, the corollary to a low median household income is a high level of poverty and Baltimore has the second highest percentage of residents living in poverty in the state and highest absolute total of any Maryland jurisdiction. In fact, all of the counties within the Central Maryland MSA have less than half the rate of poverty as Baltimore (in most instances, it is less than a third the rate). This exceedingly high rate of poverty places an additional burden on the city to provide social services to its population, unlike neighboring Central Maryland jurisdictions that experience much less demand for such social services.



The combination of low median household income and high rates of poverty highlights the difference between what the city wants to provide in services and amenities (e.g., employment centers, social services, cultural centers, roads, entertainment venues) for its residents and the region and what it is able to fund through income tax from its residents.

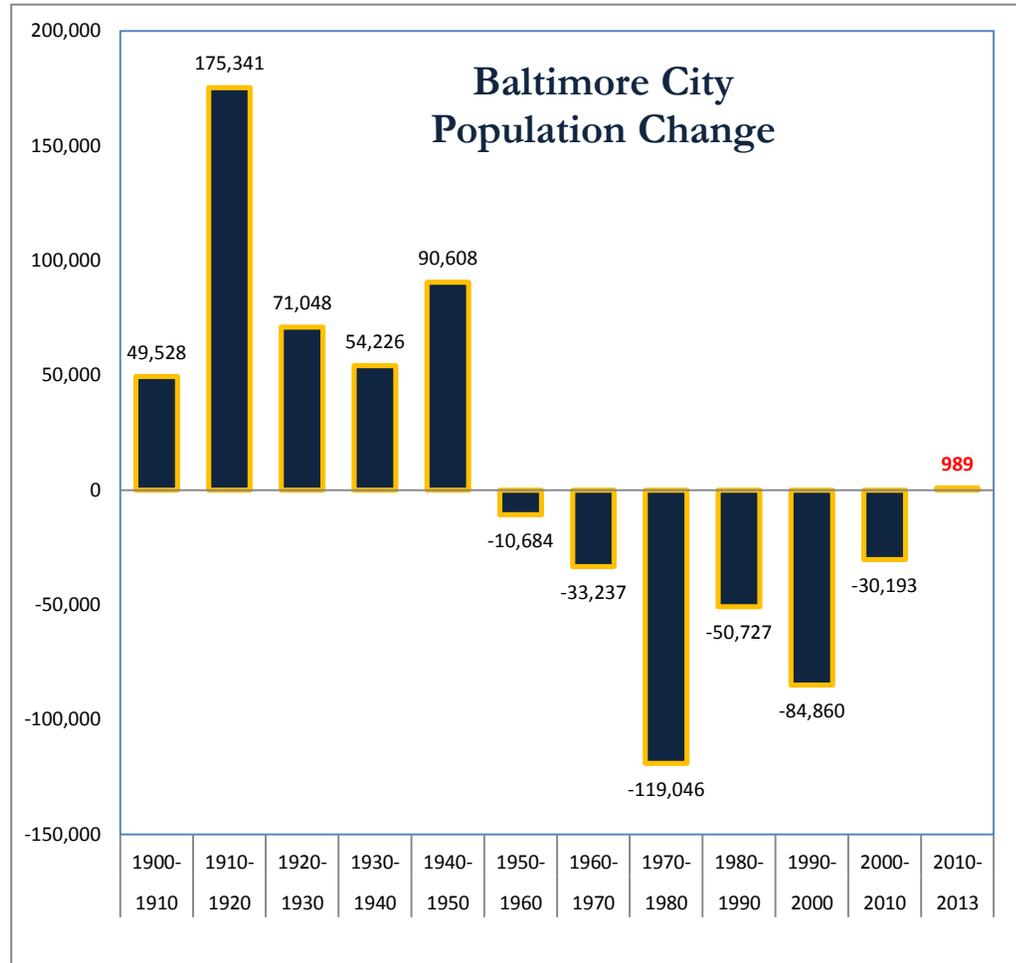
That gap between services and revenue underscores the importance of strategic reinvestment within Baltimore. Thankfully, there are population trends, opportunities, and initiatives in place to indicate that Baltimore can do just that.

Population Trends

Baltimore initially lost residents beginning in the 1950s as the population dispersed and moved from the city core. Additional efforts to attract and incentivize infill and redevelopment are needed.

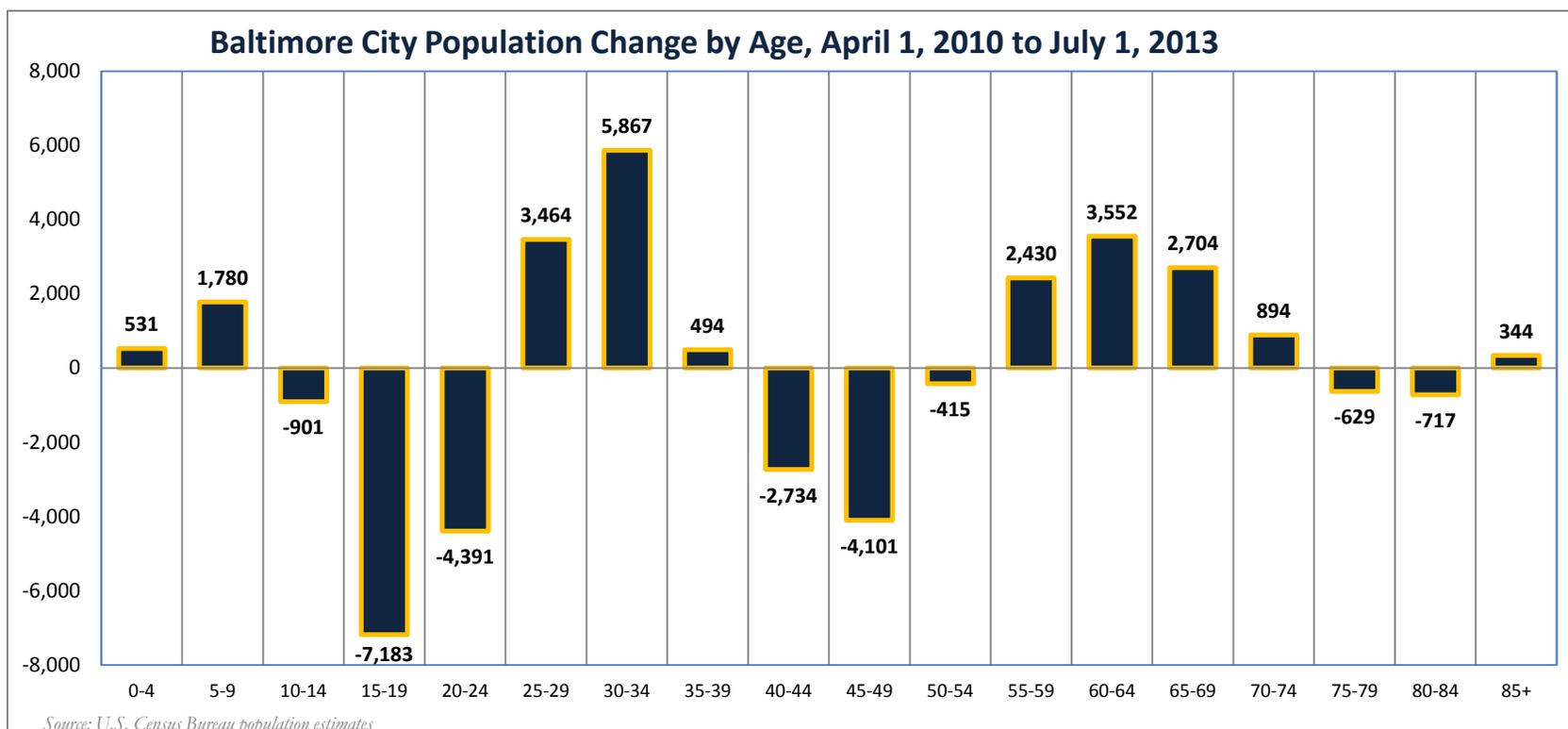
For the first time in over 60 years, Baltimore increased its population in 2011. This is particularly striking given the fact that Baltimore had *lost* population every previous decade since 1950. Although the gains from 2010 through 2013 have been modest, they indicate population stability following decades of repeated decline.

In a report published in September 2014, the *Center for Community Progress* reports that Baltimore carried a higher proportion of the state's share of college-educated millennials (ages 25-34)⁶. In fact, Baltimore increased its share of college-educated millennials by more than two and half times the state's rate from 2000 to 2012. Furthermore, among 10 other "legacy cities" (defined as historically industrial cities that have lost at least 25% of their peak population), Baltimore is on par with Philadelphia and above every other legacy city save Pittsburgh and St. Louis in attracting their state's share of growth among college-educated millennials (ages 25-34). And while Baltimore remains under-represented within the state of Maryland among college-educated 35-44 year olds, the city did increase its share of this cohort at nearly twice the state's rate and greater than six of the ten legacy studies examined. Thus, there are indications that the city is changing its demographic trajectory.



⁶ Who's Moving to the Cities, Who Isn't: Comparing American Cities (Center for Community Progress): <http://www.communityprogress.net/who-s-moving-to-the-cities-who-isn-t-comparing-american-cities-pages-460.php>

Two age cohorts in particular have created an uptick in Baltimore City’s population: Millennials (ages 25-34) and Baby Boomers (ages 55-67). In fact, as the chart below shows, the millennial population aged 30-34 represented the largest single cohort increase during this period.

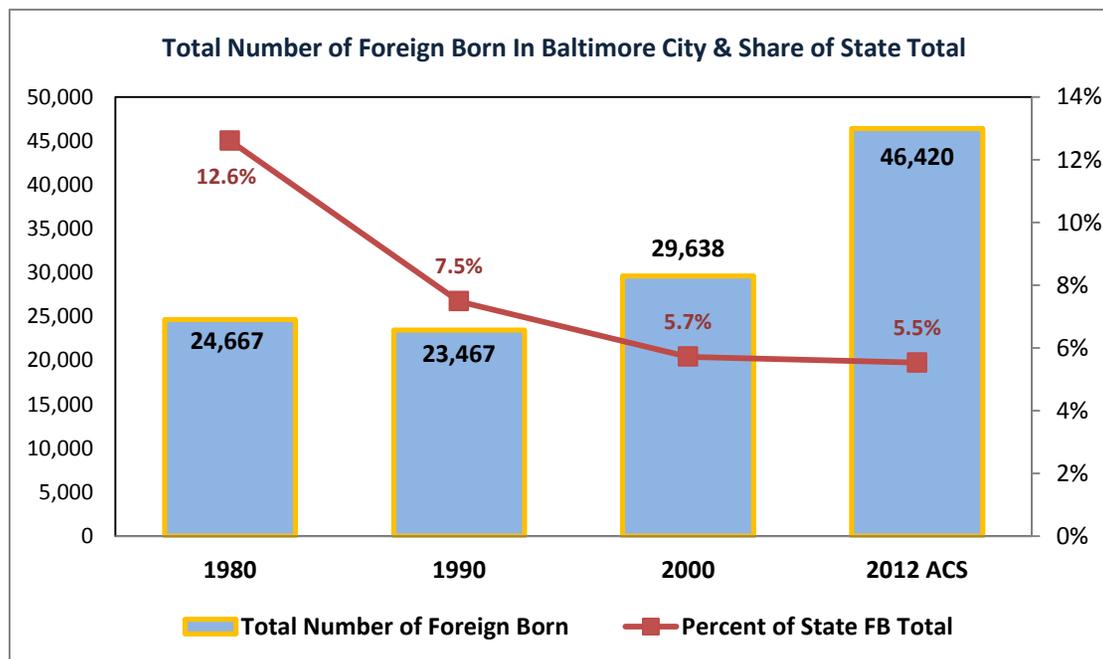


The cohort with the largest decline is aged 15-19, or high schoolers. Correspondingly, age cohorts of 40-44 and 45-49 also show deep declines, and these cohorts represent parental ages. This indicates a decline in families with children entering high school. To retain families, city leaders might consider school revitalization. If the city invests a large sum of money in public school infrastructure, this could stem the tide of exiting parents seeking alternate schooling in surrounding areas. In fact, there is a \$1.1 billion dollar investment underway in Baltimore. But let us first examine some other shifts regarding housing, employment and commuting.

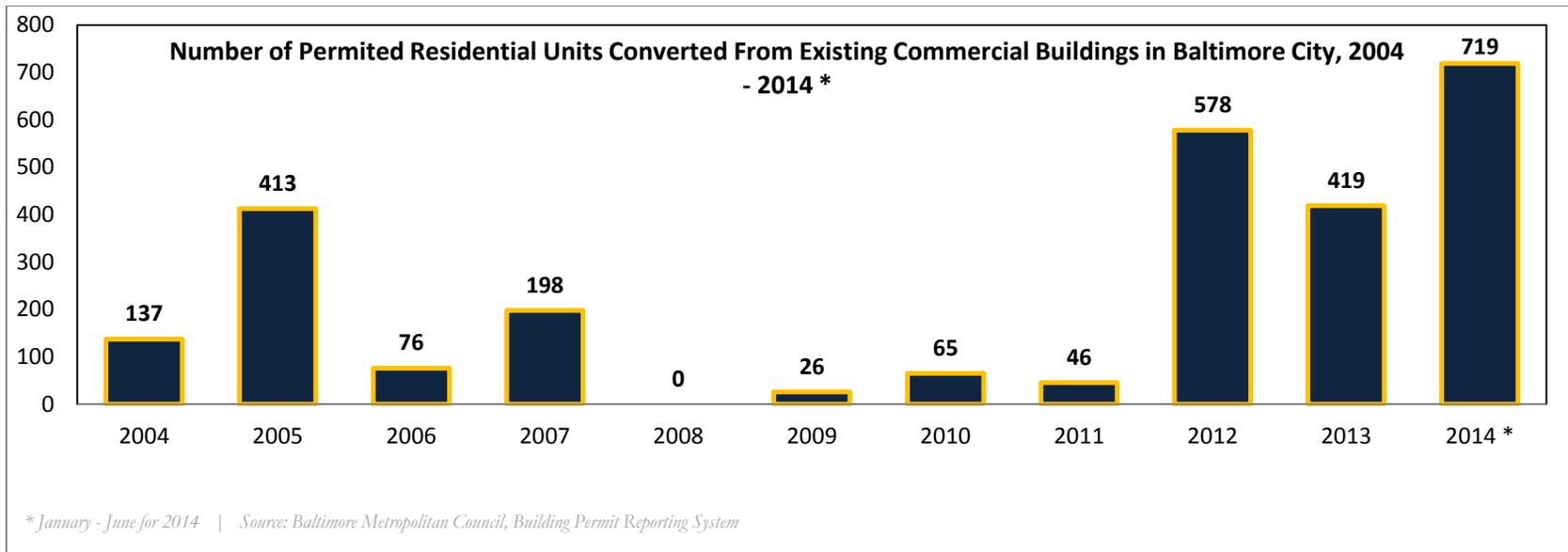
Shifts in Housing

These population changes are occurring in the midst of a fundamental shift in Maryland’s population since the Great Recession. U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates have shown that 70% of the state’s population growth over the last five years has occurred in the four inner suburban counties (Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Montgomery and Prince George’s) and Baltimore. Conversely there is much less growth post-Great Recession in the more rural and exurban counties – now around 4% of statewide growth compared to nearly 30% at its peak just before the Great Recession.

Baltimore continues to attract increasing numbers of foreign-born residents. In 2012, the foreign-born population in Baltimore increased by more than 15,000 from 2000, adding to the population uptick. However, even as the number of foreign-born residents in the city increases, fewer of Maryland’s foreign-born population has been choosing Baltimore as a place to live. Instead these residents are moving increasingly to Prince George’s, Montgomery and other suburban counties. It is important to recognize the impact that the foreign-born population has had and will continue to have on Baltimore’s population growth and the need for the city to increase its share of the statewide foreign-born totals.



Housing preferences seem to be changing, too. In the three years before the Great Recession (2004-2006), just over one out of five new housing units (22.9%) were multifamily units. However, in the last three years (2011-2013), nearly four of 10 (39.4%) were multifamily units. Focusing on Baltimore, there is direct evidence of infill and redevelopment illustrated by conversion of existing buildings into residential units. Over the last 10 years, nearly one of five residential units (18.4%) constructed in Baltimore occurred in an existing building. Nearly as many (16%) were mixed-unit developments.



Drilling down to the urban core of Baltimore, during the first half of 2014 (January to June), 640 residential permits were issued for Census Tract 040100 – dubbed “*The 401*” – the downtown central core⁷. This represents a total of 1,456 from January 2004 to June 2014 – the most of any Census Tract in the city. The Downtown Partnership of Baltimore is touting the renaissance of urban living in this dense urban core by proclaiming that the “old business district” now is home to a population of “young professionals looking for vibrant post-college home; retirees trading country homes for city living; students taking advantage of stellar academic institutions; DC commuter living better for less [and] plenty of diversity too⁸.” Residents choosing this urban census tract more than doubled from 1,700 in 2000 to 4,000 in 2010 with a corresponding apartment occupancy rate of 97% by 2012.

⁷ <http://the401.org/>

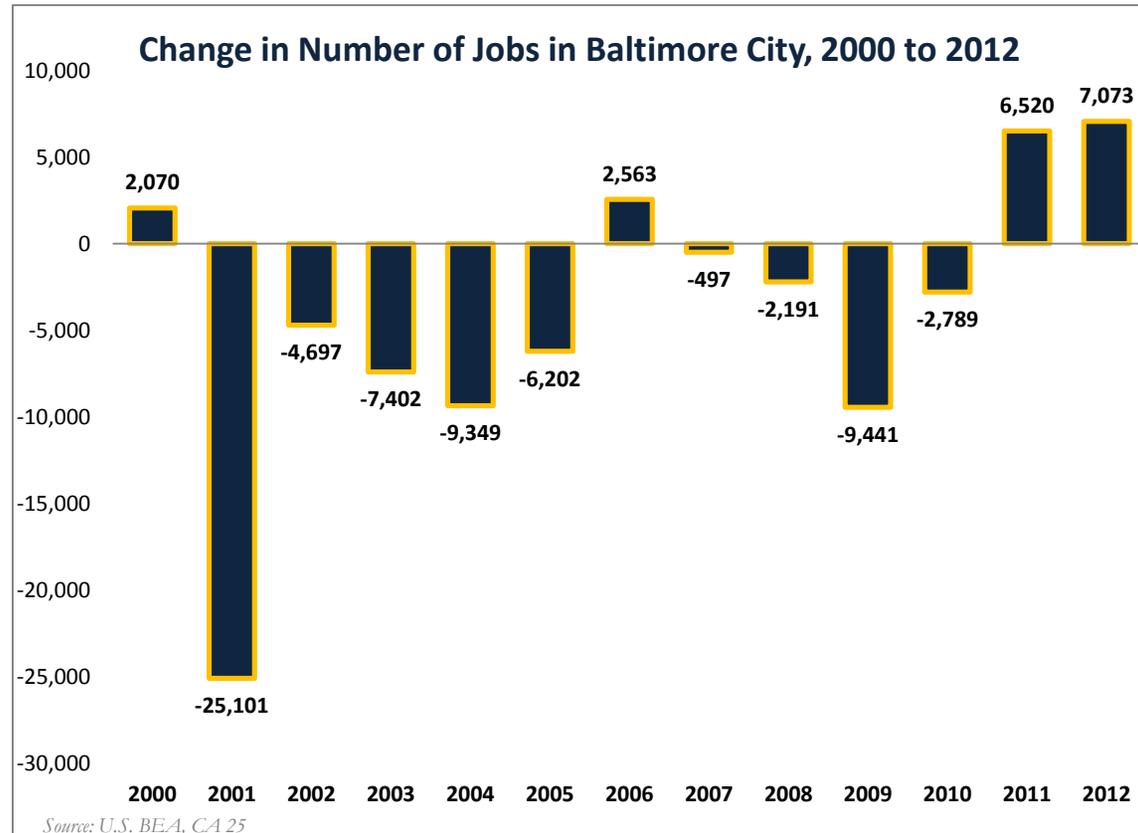
⁸ http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2012-02-22/news/bs-ed-rodricks-baltimore-20120222_1_harbor-east-pratt-and-light-office-buildings

Employment & Commuting Trends

Are new residents finding more jobs within Baltimore, or do they reside in the city and work elsewhere? The answer is a bit of both.

Between April 2010 and July 2013, when the city gained in population, it also increased the number of jobs. In fact, the number of jobs has increased at a rate that far exceeds the population growth itself in each of the past two years. This signals a possibility for sustainable population growth in coming years.

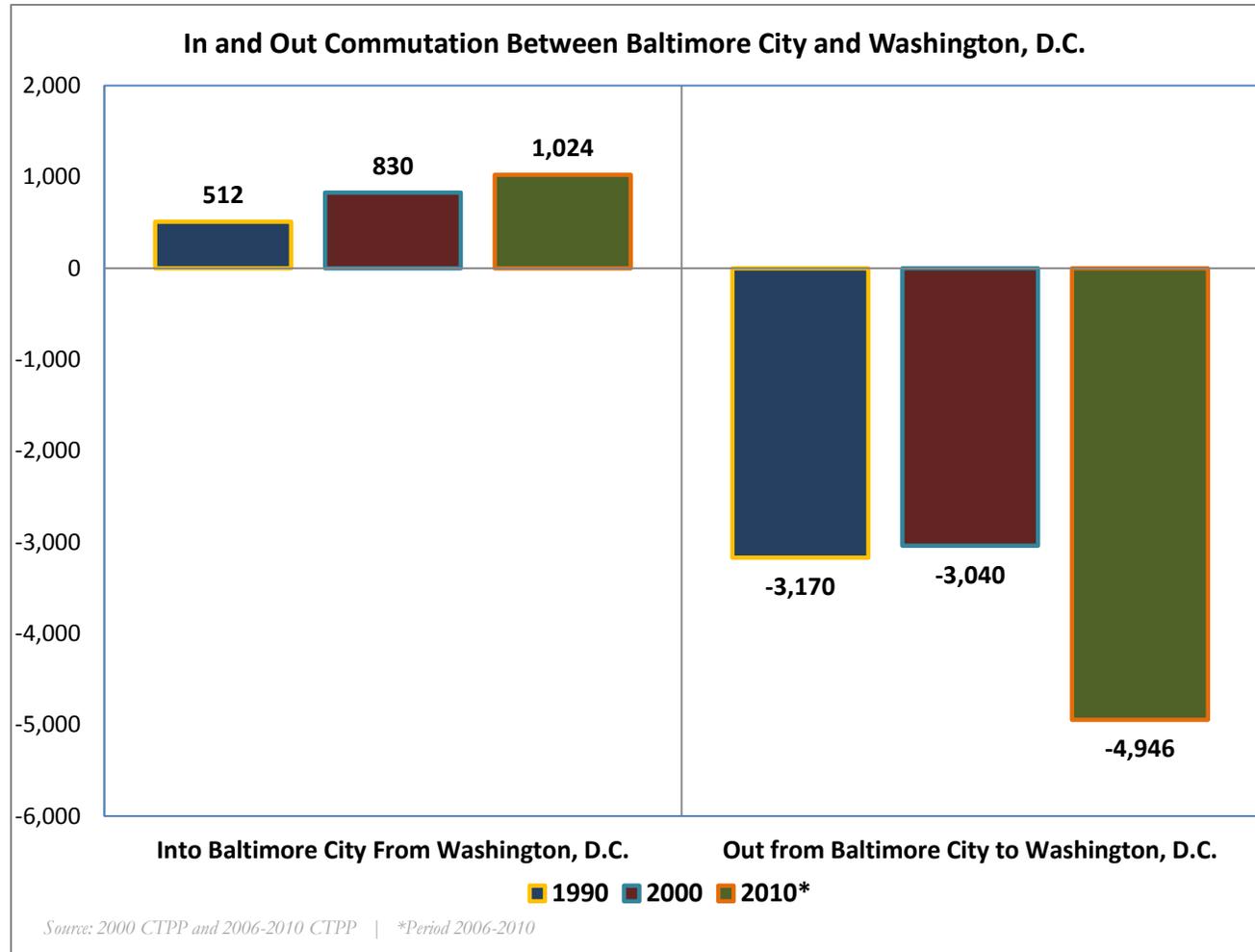
Furthermore, there are indications that Baltimore has been able to attract residents even *without* providing them a job. Baltimore has targeted workers in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area to live in Baltimore by claiming lower housing costs and transit accessibility. The regional commuter train (MARC) began weekend service in 2013. To capitalize on transit, including a city subway and light rail system, Maryland leaders have embraced Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) with legislation that provides incentives for well-designed communities in [state-Designated TOD areas](#). To help support state and local TOD efforts, the Maryland Department of Planning has developed a [TOD website](#) featuring station area demographics and transit use as well as TOD policies, programs and implementation efforts. As Baltimore continues to expand its public transit, this tool can provide a valuable resource linking to state initiative funding opportunities.



These efforts build on a trend of residents living in Baltimore and working in the District of Columbia that began in the 1990s. As the right side of the chart shows, in 2010, approximately 2,000 more workers commuted from Baltimore to Washington compared to the year 2000.

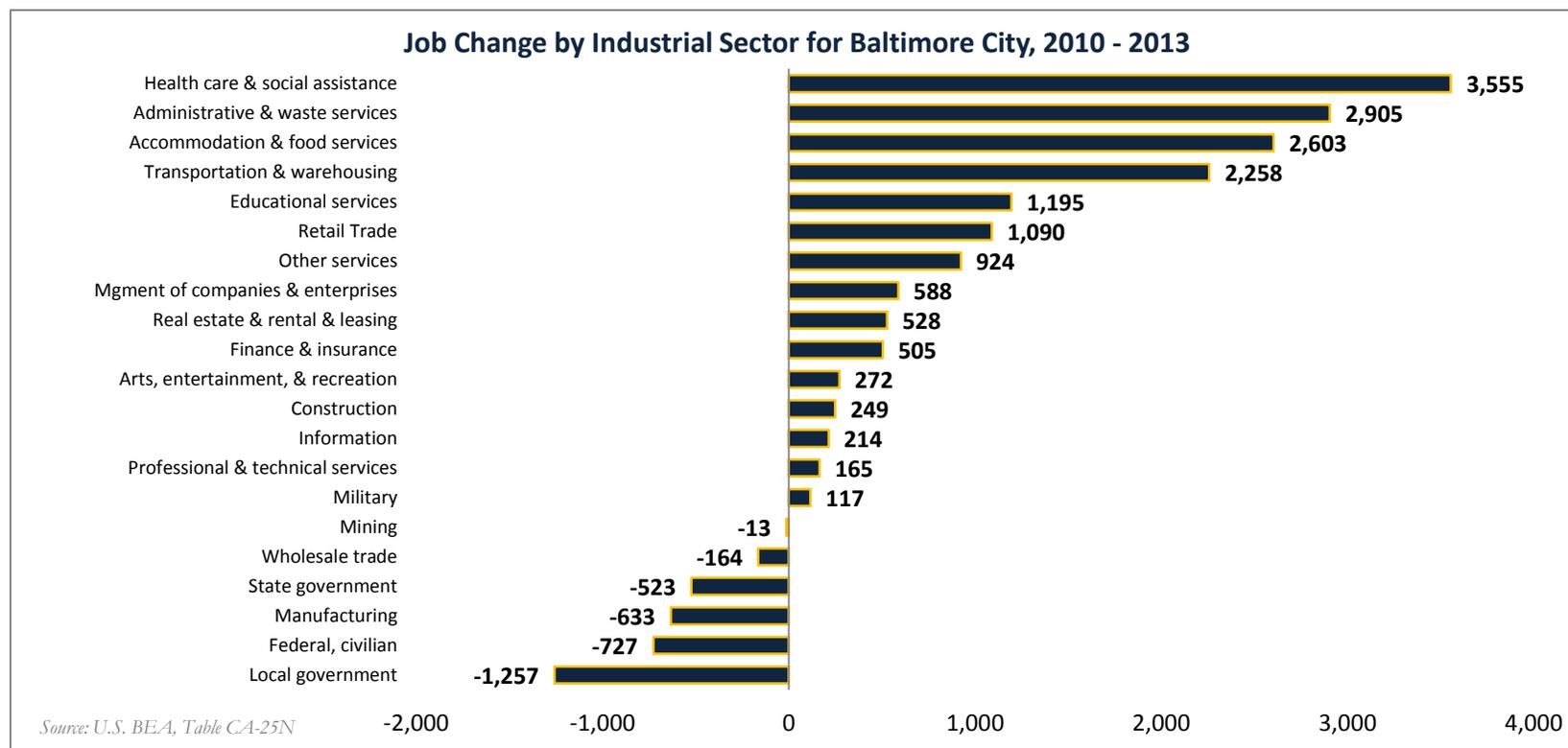
The left side of the chart indicates that residents of the District of Columbia have been traveling to Baltimore for employment in increasing numbers as well.

Real estate data compiled at the Center for Regional Analysis at George Mason University shows the average year to date (2014) median home price in Baltimore to be \$126,000 (\$123,000 for 2013) whereas the average year to date (2014) median home price in the District of Columbia is more than three times the Baltimore price at \$500,000 (\$480,000 for 2013)⁹. For two cities of nearly identical population sizes (Baltimore: 622,000 | Washington: 646,000 – 2013), these differences in housing prices are striking.



⁹ http://cra.gmu.edu/pdfs/Washington_Metro_Housing_Market_Update.pdf, http://cra.gmu.edu/pdfs/Baltimore_Metro_Housing_Market_Update.pdf

While housing prices likely explain increasing rates of Washington, D.C. workers choosing to live in Baltimore, the fact remains that Baltimore is providing an increasing number of jobs.



Health care, social services, accommodation and food services, and transportation have all shown large increases in jobs, whereas manufacturing along with local, federal and state governments have seen the largest decreases over the past three years. Growth in health care and education employment in Baltimore merits emphasis. Baltimore Development Corporation notes that the top eight employers in the city are either within the fields of higher education or medical services¹⁰. These so-called Eds and Meds sectors account for 21.5% of jobs in Baltimore and provide permanent, renewable sources of both skilled employees as well as employment opportunities¹¹. Additionally, the steady presence of these sectors within Baltimore enables the city to maintain a strong credit rating.

¹⁰ <http://www.baltimoredevelopment.com/about-baltimore/top-employers/>

¹¹ <http://www.bizjournals.com/baltimore/news/2014/08/27/eds-and-meds-crucial-to-baltimores-economy-moodys.html>

Opportunities, Incentives and Revitalization

In 2012, 12.2% of residential parcels in Baltimore had land value higher than improvement value,¹² indicating that the city is not realizing its highest potential. When residential land is more valuable than the actual improvement value of the residence, the area is ripe for redevelopment and reinvestment. However, signs indicate this reinvestment has begun. (Indeed even the rate of residential parcels with land value greater than improvement value decreased by 3.3% from 2011 to 2012). To advance initial trends toward infill and redevelopment, we recommend that Baltimore leaders build upon the following opportunities, incentives and developments to spearhead additional regrowth.



21st Century Schools Initiative (INSPIRE)

Perhaps the largest targeted initiative showing promise for Baltimore's regrowth is the [21st Century Schools Initiative](#). The initiative, Investing in Neighborhoods and Schools to Promote Improvement, Revitalization, and Excellence, or INSPIRE, passed in April 2013. The program, a partnership between the Baltimore City Public Schools and the Maryland Stadium Authority, Baltimore City, and the State of Maryland, injects \$1.1 billion into school construction and redevelopment in Baltimore¹³.

The act calls for 15 school replacements and 30-35 school renovations over 10 years. Funded in part with \$20 million from the state through lottery funds and matched from the city, in part, through bottle tax and casino revenue, the act calls for improving the physical infrastructure of the schools and strengthening the construction industry in Baltimore.

The project provides a unique and timely opportunity to retain two groups that experienced the largest population declines in Baltimore over the past two years: ages 15-19 and 45-49. Indeed, the Baltimore City Planning Department aims to incorporate this large school investment within the surrounding neighborhoods by using the surrounding communities' vision plans to leverage private investment as

**BALTIMORE CITY
PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

well as specific public improvements in the quarter-mile focus zone encircling each participating school¹⁴. If successful, this approach may reduce the number of exiting residents in those cohorts.

Two recently developed online tools assist the public in identifying the regions in which these renovations and new school constructions will occur. The Baltimore City [Community Schools Planning](#)

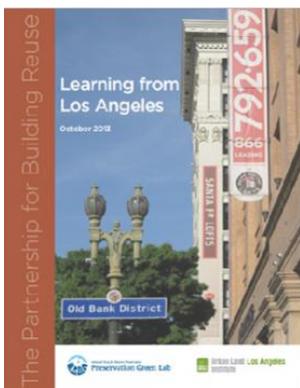
[Process](#) online map identifies local resources such as farmers markets, youth centers, pools, etc. that are near the new or redeveloped schools. The Maryland Department of Planning's [Baltimore City Schools & the 10 Year Plan](#) online map identifies some city services (e.g., The Charm City Circulator) but also identifies more state-centered data such as Maryland Historic Trust preservation easements, Department of

¹² Maryland Property View: <http://planning.maryland.gov/OurProducts/PropertyMAPProducts/PropertyMapProducts.shtml>

¹³ <http://www.baltimorecityschools.org/cms/lib/MD01001351/Centricity/Domain/8784/PDF/2013August-EdSpecsCompanion.pdf>

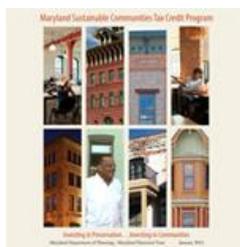
¹⁴ <http://archive.baltimorecity.gov/Government/AgenciesDepartments/Planning/Divisions/ComprehensivePlanning/INSPIREProgram.aspx>

Housing & Community Development’s Main Streets, etc. The Maryland Smart Growth Coordinating Committee, the staff-level working group of the Smart Growth Subcabinet, will continue to provide a forum for sharing best practices and coordination among state agencies to achieve the most widespread return on investment regarding smart growth initiatives for the city’s neighborhoods during the school reconstruction phase.



Partnership for Building Reuse

To overcome obstacles to building reuse, The Urban Land Institute and the National Trust for Historic Preservation have instituted the [Partnership for Building Reuse \(PBR\)](#) project. Starting with the pilot city of Los Angeles, this project tackled the reuse and retrofit of vacant and underused buildings in Los Angeles’s urban core. Work groups for the project examined zoning, building codes, historic preservation policy, incentives, cost differential and property assessment policies in Baltimore. The PBR will release a final report in the fall, especially relevant given the uptick of conversions from commercial space to residences in Baltimore. Maryland Department of Planning staff participated in the project as members of the steering committee.

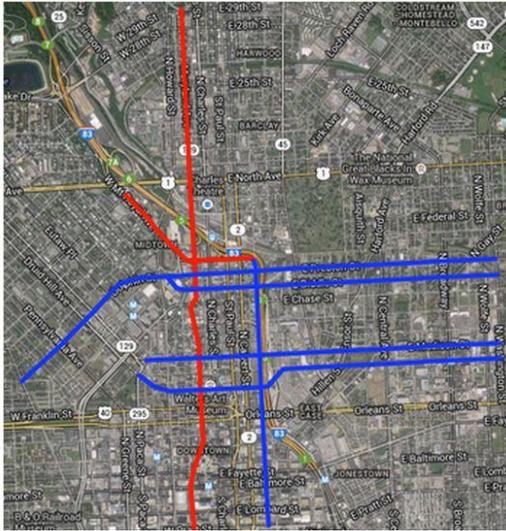


Sustainable Communities Tax Credit

During the 2014 State Legislative Session, the General Assembly reauthorized the state [Sustainable Communities Tax Credit](#) for an additional three years. Begun in 1996, the tax credit has been a proven community revitalization tool. It has been estimated that for every dollar invested into this program, \$8.53 has been generated in economic activity.¹⁵ During the reauthorization, the General Assembly added a component to fund smaller commercial rehabilitation projects that have previously had to compete with larger-scale commercial projects for financing and grants. Maryland Historical Trust staff will begin certifying applications in January. This will have an immediate impact for Baltimore, where city neighborhoods designated as state Sustainable Communities are eligible for the new tax credit.



¹⁵ http://mht.maryland.gov/documents/PDF/TaxCredits_Studies_Abell_2009.pdf



The proposed Downtown Bicycle Network to be constructed in 2014-2015 including the Mount Royal Avenue Cycletrack and the Guildford Avenue bicycle lane.

Bicycling Initiatives

Despite several setbacks, bikesharing is scheduled to come to Baltimore as early as 2015. The initial funding (80% of the estimated \$1.1 million needed) for *Charm City Bikeshare* was obtained through the State's [Cycle Maryland Initiative](#).

Additionally, 140 miles of bike lanes on city streets have been added since 2006. The bicycle network is set to expand within Baltimore by late 2014 and early 2015 with the Maryland Avenue and Mount Royal Avenue cycle tracks.



Traffic Circle planned along the proposed Mount Royal Cycle Track



Mayor's Proposal for 10K new families by 2020 & Vacants to Value

Baltimore Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake has advocated increasing Baltimore's population by adding 10,000 new families by 2020. To aid in this initiative, Baltimore has been working to reduce the property tax rate as well as to raze 4,000 vacant homes.

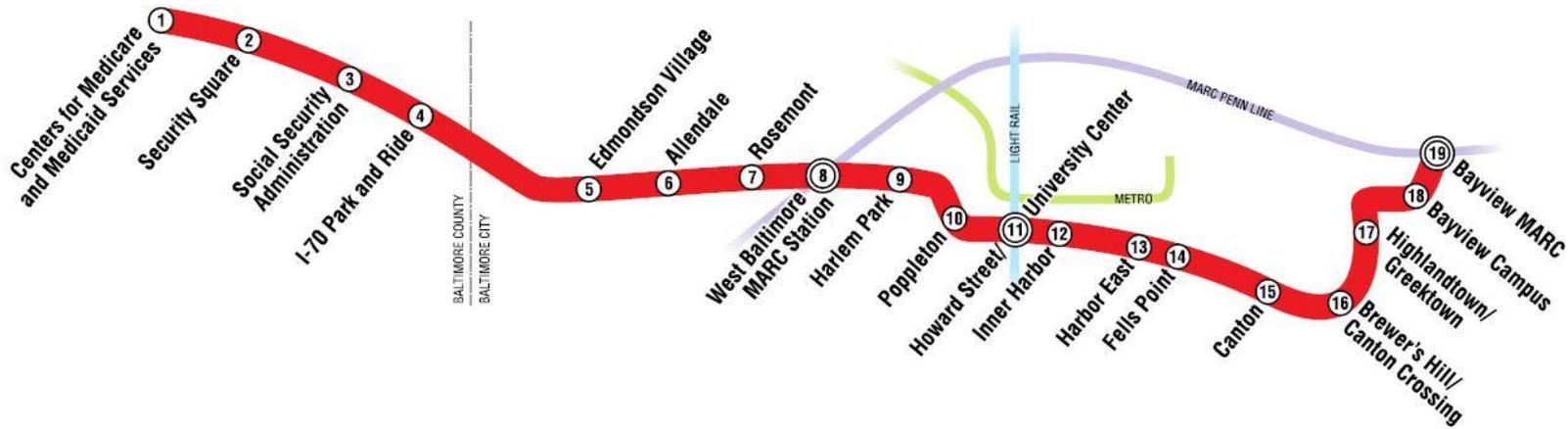
In addition to razing vacant homes, Baltimore has encouraged redevelopment and reinvestment through its [Vacants to Value program](#) that encourages demolition, rehabilitation or redevelopment of vacant and abandoned properties to encourage reinvestment. Homeowners can receive a \$10,000 housing credit toward their down payment or closing costs when purchasing a rehabbed vacant home.



The Baltimore Red Line

Construction on the [east-west light rail line](#) running from Baltimore County in the west to the Johns Hopkins Bayview Medical Center in east Baltimore is set to begin in 2015 along a 14.1-mile route.

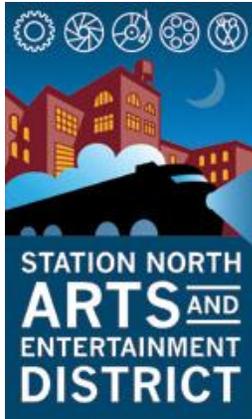
Transportation planners estimate 57,000 daily riders with 7-10 minute frequency. This \$2.2 billion project is expected to entice residents to Baltimore who now live and work in Baltimore County.



Several of the stations along the route are set to capitalize on [TOD designation](#) and therefore leverage the public sector infrastructure investment from the Red Line with private sector investment aimed at attracting jobs and reinvigorating surrounding communities.

Reinvest Maryland

At the request of Maryland Governor O'Malley and Lieutenant Governor Brown, the [Maryland Sustainable Growth Commission](#) in 2014 prepared [Reinvest Maryland: Accelerating Infill, Redevelopment & Community Revitalization](#). Part of the report focuses on successful strategies to achieve revitalization throughout Maryland, including the following profiles of best practices used in Baltimore.



Station North Arts & Entertainment District

Baltimore's Station North Arts and Entertainment District is located approximately a mile and a half directly north of downtown Baltimore in the neighborhoods enveloping Penn Station to the north and east. This location is prime to capitalize on the previously-discussed trend in residents living in Baltimore City and commuting (via MARC trains) to Washington, D.C. for employment.

In 2002, [Station North Arts and Entertainment District](#) was the first in Baltimore to receive the state's designation as an Arts and Entertainment District. This designation, conferred by the State Department of Business and Economic Development, offers certain property, income, and amusement tax benefits to businesses and residents. In turn, this designation has helped spur additional residential and commercial revitalization and an expansion of the Maryland Institute College of Art's campus.

Baltimore has supported revitalization efforts with changes to zoning and an urban renewal plan to permit higher density with design review and investments in streetscaping, parks and bike lanes, increased code enforcement, and selling land for development. The Housing Authority of Baltimore awarded a large development site to Telesis Corporation, which is developing or rehabbing 325 dwelling units, with a mix of affordable, market rate, for lease and for sale units. The area is a state-designated Enterprise Zone and Sustainable Community.





Healthy Neighborhoods, Inc. (HNI)

Baltimore City has numerous established but often undervalued neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are often referred to as ‘middle markets’ wherein working class people form strong community bonds and strive to build a stronger neighborhood coalition. However persistently low property values in these areas can hinder revitalization and result in necessitating a boost for the community’s image. In Baltimore City, 14 of these middle market neighborhoods have access to the [Healthy Neighborhoods, Inc. \(HNI\)](#) nonprofit organization that provides resources for people to purchase and renovate their homes, refinance and renovate their homes, or to simply make home improvements. The organization additionally provides professional advice for rehabbers, support for community projects that project a positive image, and assistance with neighborhood marketing.

The program is a case study in successful collaboration across the city to target burgeoning areas that need an extra boost. The buyers must meet Fannie Mae/Freddie Mac underwriting standards but the loan programs are not income-restricted. In addition to HNI, the coalition comprises 6 banks, who contributed to the \$23 million loan pool, as well as 3 foundations and 1 nonprofit organization who act as guarantors.



Miller's Court

Located immediately adjacent to the target boundaries of the Greater Homewood Healthy Neighborhood, the Miller's Court reuse project has spurred a succession of revitalization in the community of Remington within Baltimore City. The Miller's Court Building itself was originally the fourth-largest tin can manufacturer in the U.S. It was constructed between 1890 and 1910 and also served as a U.S. Census office in the mid-to-late 20th century and subsequently lay vacant for the latter part of the 20th century. By 2009, a complete renovation had been completed into a LEED Gold Certified Property



that contains over 30,000 square feet of office space for nonprofit organizations and loft-style apartments. The apartments are offered with significant savings to school teachers.

The Miller's Court project has helped encourage several new restaurants, a relocation of a popular theatre, and new businesses to open in the Remington neighborhood. Maryland Department of Planning created an [online Story Map](#) detailing the revitalization initiatives within Remington.



New Broadway East Community Park

Where a line of vacant, blighted rowhouses once stood, visitors now enjoy the New Broadway East Community Park, which transformed 18 vacant residential home sites in Baltimore into a park, providing residents with access to quality public open space as well as improving water quality and the health of the Chesapeake Bay. The park stands out for its innovative approach to stormwater retrofits and a public/private partnership focused on the long term.

Similar to the collaboration demonstrated with Healthy Neighborhoods, Inc., this New Broadway East Community Park represented a true collaborative effort. Project management was split between the Parks & People Foundation, the City of Baltimore, and Humanim, and is located on city-owned property. Parks & People Foundation initiated the

project, worked with the Broadway East Community Association, area churches, and elderly residents to plan the park, and raised funds for implementation. The Baltimore Office of Sustainability prepared concept plans, and the Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development demolished the homes. The city paid for improvements to perimeter sidewalks.

Neighboring property owner Humanim, a nonprofit workforce development and health services organization, committed to long-term maintenance and stewardship of the property. City budget constraints prevent the Department of Recreation and Parks from assuming the responsibility for new parks, so Humanim's pledge was critical. Parks & People secured funds from the Maryland Chesapeake and Atlantic Coastal Bays Trust Fund through the Department of Natural Resources, Boise, ASPEN Recycled Papers, and Alliance for Community Trees.

The new park features paths, a small parking lot and a community gathering space constructed with pervious concrete and pavers, as well as landscaping with native species. Project organizers point to the fact that they changed the site from 100 percent impervious to 100 percent pervious surfaces.



New Broadway Community Park Photos by Alliance for Community Trees (ACTrees.org)

A City Poised for Infill, Redevelopment, and Revitalization

Infill, redevelopment and revitalization in Baltimore will not only help city residents but also will augment the quality of life for the surrounding region and state. Maryland is a compact state; it is the fifth most densely populated state in the U.S.¹⁶ Growth pressure continues to encroach upon the state's natural resource areas and farms, in particular, continue to be converted for development. Since 1987, Maryland has lost more than 365,000 acres of farmland to development.¹⁷ While this rate of conversion has slowed since 2002, approximately 50,000 acres have been converted in just the past 12 years. Coincidentally, this amount is virtually identical in size to Baltimore.¹⁸ More investment within Maryland's most populous city will translate into more development and redevelopment in an area where infrastructure and public facilities exist. This, in turn, will relieve pressure for greenfield development and conversion, lessening impacts to the Chesapeake Bay while maintaining Maryland's farms, forests and natural areas.

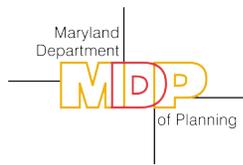
Baltimore is located in the state with the nation's highest median household income.¹⁹ It is the most populous city within that state. Yet, as this analysis has shown, Baltimore residents are among the poorest in Maryland. Until five years ago, the city lost residents while the surrounding metropolitan area gained in population. Within the past five years, however, the city has shown a turnaround demonstrated by population growth and revitalization. This has occurred amid a backdrop of millennials and empty-nesters moving back to the city, employees from the nation's capital choosing Baltimore as their residence, a massive injection into public school funding, large transportation improvements, city leadership advocating for redevelopment and population increases, and several initiatives, opportunities and examples that prove Baltimore has great potential for transformation.

¹⁶ <http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/populations/usapoptable.htm>

¹⁷ 1997, 2002, 2007, and 212 Census of Agriculture: <http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/2012/>

¹⁸ Baltimore City is 51,802 acres

¹⁹ 2012, US Census Bureau: <https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/statemedian/>



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