CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPING A COMMUNITY-CENTRIC MODEL USING A MULTI-SECTOR PARTNERSHIP PROCESS FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

A Case Study of the Historic Upton Community Revitalization in West Baltimore

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INTRODUCTION

For decades, inner cities across the United Sates have been negatively impacted by several social and economic challenges, which are the direct result of ineffective policies and processes, especially as they relate to urban housing and development. Ironically, many of the same policies and processes designed to alleviate societal challenges, such as poverty, actually created some of the major challenges that inner cities now face (Forrester, 1999). Baltimore, Maryland, is not unique in its demographic make-up or geographical population dispersion from other developed core urban cities in the United States. Today, Baltimore is classified as a hyper-segregated city due to decades of unjust housing polices, inequitable lending practices, and failed public and private initiatives (Brown, 2021). During the mid-20th century, Baltimore served as a model to the country in terms of institutional discriminatory housing practices and the creation

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of oppressive housing laws (Elfenbein et al., 2011). Historically, attempts to address these challenges have been undertaken at the federal, state, and local levels of government as well as the private sector with little or no success and void of any real sustainability. For example, programs such as Model Cities and Urban Renewal were eventually abandoned and universally considered failed governmental policies and initiatives. Along the same lines, at the state and local levels, the introduction of various grant (block and categorical) initiatives produced marginal success at best.

The issue with current policies designed to address housing and development in urban cities is decades of traditional market-driven principles, which have not produced desirable outcomes. Even the more modern techniques of tax incremental financing, payments in-lieu of taxes, new market tax credits, and opportunity zones have challenges with sustainability and gentrification issues. However, the Upton Community in West Baltimore has developed a new process and approach for addressing housing and development through multi-sector partnerships. This approach is designed to increase home ownership, economic development, and commercial activity that is both sustainable and equitable and does not displace community residents.

The Upton Planning Committee recognized the potential market forces available through collaboration with government agencies, which had the willingness and desire for sustainable development, and the private sector, which offered the skills, labor, and interest needed if meaningful development could produce profitable outcomes. The Upton Planning Committee is a nonprofit and in conjunction with the City of Baltimore developed a strategic plan for housing and development in the blighted Upton community located in West Baltimore. The Upton Community Development Corporation (CDC), the operational arm of the Upton Planning Committee, was charged with implementing the community's strategic plan. This chapter highlights some of the key components in multi-sector partnerships, discusses the individual sectors and historical evolution from a modern standpoint, and explores the case of Upton Planning Committee and the Upton Community Development Corporation in West Baltimore. This chapter begins by reviewing the concepts of public-private partnerships and corporate social responsibility and nonprofits separately before transitioning into the collaborative approach of multi-sector partnerships, which is then applied to our case study of the Upton Planning Committee/Upton Community Development Corporation.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS (PPPs)

Influential literature surrounding economic policy has centered around several well-publicized theories, including Peterson's model of capital forces and its involvement with the private sector (Peterson, 1981); Logan and Molotch's arguments regarding the Growth-Machine, which has lost favor among scholars in more recent years (Logan & Molotch 1987; Goetz 1994); and Stone's (1989) theory of urban regime and the influence of a community's political economy. However, more recent literature introduces the concept of an entrepreneurial approach to policy decisions as it pertains to the public sector addressing economic issues in an urban setting (Clarke & Gaile, 1992).

The entrepreneurial approach to public policy is a move away from the more traditional capital-intensive base investment approach to policies that focus more on regulation, market-driven community ownership, and citizen participation (Bailey & Turok, 2000; Clarke & Gaile 1992; Goetz, 1994; Green, 2001). This approach focuses on facilitating and creating the impetus for community and economic development through a participatory process. However, this requires, in addition to investment and risk-taking, higher levels of involvement and coordination by public officials and policymakers with the private sector. In other words, a true entrepreneurial approach to community development requires the development of a partnership that allows the public sector to expand beyond the traditional market-driven policies exercised through the policy directives of government or the free-market principle of the private sector. The combination allows for a partnership to draw upon the strengths of each sector while mitigating the risk associated with bureaucratic structure in the public sector and speculative investments risk in the private sector.

While the public sector had already began direct economic development, partnerships between the private and public sectors emerged in the 1960s and 1970s for the purpose of "urban regeneration" initiatives, such as the Model Cities Program and the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG). The focus of these public-private partnerships (PPPs) was to help large U.S. cities redevelop their downtown areas through federal government transfers and loans. Eventually, as the federal government began to pull back direct funding, state and local municipalities began to develop their own PPPs (Bovaird, 2010). By the late 1970s, these partnerships were a key policy tool in public administration. The Carter administration saw the opportunity to leverage federal, state, and local funds; the economic development and revitalization of the downtown urban areas was a common interest with the private sector (Lyall, 1986). The continued development of these partnerships was highlighted by cooperation, not competition, between the two sectors (Linder, 1999). During the 1980s, the Reagan administration created the first real push for privatization, which complemented the evolving movement of PPPs (Henig, 1989–1990). As the American economy grew on the heels of reinventing government and the popularity of privatizations, the mid-1990s marked a rebirth of PPPs in terms of exponential growth that continued until the Great Recession in 2007. Even the Obama administration relied heavily on PPPs to carry out transportation infrastructure projects, stabilize the financial system, and secure cyber infrastructure (Custos & Reitz, 2010).

Although these partnerships have had mixed success in practice, success has often been predicated on a project-by-project basis from a purely economic perspective as opposed to evaluating the long-term sustainable success of the aggregate project and the communities they serve. An example of this is the previously referenced Baltimore City projects, specifically the Charles Street Project and Harbor Place Project. The success of both projects is debatable given their initial financial success in the market followed by their eventual decline. However, criticism has been leveled against both projects due to the lack of initial community involvement, support, and tangible economic contribution to their neighboring/adjacent communities (Ganz, 1985; Levine, 1987). One of the fundamental challenges with the one-on-one relationship between the public and private sector is that these partnerships are often devoid of true community representation, which is an important aspect that serves to protect the vested interests of the community. As a result, a key criticism of these partnerships is that the profit-maximization mentality of the private sector can exploit public sector resources void of any community representation or interest. One solution, historically, has been the introduction of corporate social responsibility.

Corporate Social Responsibility

Beyond the principles of business ethics, social movements, and political pressure, which all contribute to the role corporate social responsibility (CSR) plays in organizations, the concept of stewardship and community partners is at the true core of CSR. Businesses that see themselves as part of the communities they work with and recognize the comprehensive benefits of an economically healthy and inclusive society will drive prosperity and promote good business. The private sector in the United States has always been thought of as grounded in the microeconomics of Adam Smith's (2010) market-driven principles, such as supply and demand and division of labor with a focus on profit maximization. CSR dates back to the late 1800s during the growth of the Industrial Revolution. This was around the same time we experienced an expansion of nonprofits and corporate philanthropy in the United States as businesses began seeking to improve productivity by exploring the intersection of business and social decision-making (Carroll, 2008; Hall, 2016). Although this paradox of business and social decision-making continued into the 20th century with business organizations pursuing the balance between increasing profits and meeting the needs of their workers and the communities they service, the concept of CSR literature did not really develop until the 1950s (Carroll, 2008; Latapí Agudelo et al., 2019). However, by the late 20th century, in a response to economic declines, businesses began to take serious actions to address the role of CSR in the communities in which they operated (Cochran, 2007).

CSR, which represents a form of social entrepreneurship at the corporate enterprise level, benefits from collaborations and partnerships from both a social and economic perspective. Research has shown the importance of implementing CSR in organizations as well as the selection, design, and institutionalizations of CSR partnerships. Research has also indicated the lack of transferrable knowledge and mechanisms to make CSR sustainable in business, increasing the need for a multi-sector aspect of these partnerships (Seitanidi & Crane, 2009). Although, CSR establishes a connection between corporations and the communities they serve, CSR is still not an adequate representative of true community interest. This small but integral component is often left out of partnerships specifically designed for a community's benefit. One solution to this dilemma, is the use of nonprofit organizations in these partnerships.

Nonprofits

Since the early establishment of the United States as a republic, there was mistrust in voluntary organizations and a fear of the power that wealthy private institutions wielded. Individual states governed their corporations, associations, and charities. Private giving to public institutions was not restricted or regulated, and voluntary associations were an important facet of public life. These institutions were involved with every aspect of public life—political parties, social movements, religious bodies, and fraternal organizations. As these organizations began to flourish in the 19th century, private charities and voluntary organizations played a vital role in providing care and humanitarian welfare. Changes in post-civil war legislation led to updated standards for educational institutions. Universities became hubs for philanthropic efforts through research centers and new academic disciplines and professions, which were followed by an influx of donations. The nonprofit sector further developed with the creation of community foundations and charitable trusts combined with eventual tax incentives. Early philanthropist and steel tycoon Andrew Carnegie, a critic of traditional philanthropy, believed intelligent philanthropy could help solve societal issues and sustain competitive processes, which could then return a surplus of wealth to society and improve the general welfare. Macroeconomic principles and pump-priming in the first half of the 20th century led to an increase in size, role, and spending of the federal government, which fueled an economic expansion of the private sector, creating both the need and opportunity for further development of the nonprofit sector from an economic, political, and social perspective (Hall, 2016).

Nonprofits have played an increasingly important role in the social welfare of American society and the globalized economy, especially considering popular movements that aimed to reduce the size of the federal government and create greater reliance on the "third sector," which is also known as nonprofits (Salamon, 1987; Zimmer & Freise, 2008). However, these nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have proven to help address the gap in governance and service in communities across the country. They mediate relationships, provide essential information that governments and/or corporations may not have access to, and work directly with and give voice to underrepresented peoples, communities, and organizations. Although often experiencing insufficient capital and resources, nonprofit organizations' scope, abilities, and purposes have varied throughout American history. They have consistently been invested in the welfare and well-being of the communities they serve. They have been the provider of service when failed policies or predator practices have left their communities in ruin. The nonprofit sector continues to serve as a representative for American communities.

Today, nonprofits serve a critical role in providing services and addressing the gap left by the public sectors' structural limitations and political restraints and the private sectors' inability or unwillingness to act. Many of these nonprofits are essential to the daily survival of communities across the country, particularly in high-density urban communities. In the state of Maryland, there are over 32,000 registered nonprofits, which provide over $23 billion dollars in services annually (Vanterpool, 2021). Moreover, the central function of nonprofits goes beyond the basis of services they provide. For many community residents, nonprofits are their connection to the greater society as they advise, consult, refer, communicate, provide, and direct residents in a manner traditional networks are unable to do (Prewitt, 2006; Smith & Lipsky, 1993). Nonprofits, therefore, are the lifeline in many communities for the underserved, underrepresented, and often neglected. As a result, nonprofits maintain a key role in the sustainability of equitable development and partnerships in the communities in which they operate. Nonprofits play a key role, not only in these communities in which they operate but also in the partnerships established with both the public and private sectors.

Multi-Sector Partnerships

Over the past decade, multi-sector partnerships were increasingly pressured to address an array of complex social problems that were often left unaddressed or unsolved by the independent sectors of society, known as "wicked issues." These issues involved a multitude of different factors and interests, many of which may overlap or compete with one another. These interactions called for the collaboration of multiple sectors to effectively approach and attempt to address these "wicked issues." The rationale behind using these types of organizational collaborations was that each sector has its own strengths, and synergizing these strengths can help compensate for each other's weaknesses. The public sector holds the ability to coordinate resources and mandates to target public issues, though they are limited by governance mechanisms and jurisdictions. At the same time, the private sector specializes in maximizing the value of resources and allowing for the cost-effective delivery of service outcomes (Andrews & Entwistle, 2010). They also have more flexibility in addressing organizational change and action due to less restrictive rules and regulations in the decision-making processes. The nonprofit sector, which is usually left out of traditional public-private partnerships (PPPs), can enhance and ensure the equity of service outcomes as they specialize in staying connected to community while protecting the interest of historically excluded and disadvantaged groups in the service delivery process (Rosenau, 1999). When all three sectors collaborate and combine resources, specialization, and authority, the outcome can produce expanding service potential through capacity and quality.

Historically, the public sector has been charged with the responsibility to address issues in the public sphere where both market mechanisms and philanthropic action have failed. After one industry or sector tries and fails, another industry or sector will attempt to solve the issue; if this industry or sector also fails, then the public sector is called upon to attempt to fix or address what the other sectors could not or would not solve. This cycle is rooted in the evolution of federalism throughout the history of this country (Shafritz et al., 2013). Therefore, it is only logical that interest in multi-sector collaboration as a viable solution to public issues would emerge. Overall, academic research on multi-sector partnerships in terms of long-term sustainability is limited, and there is some uncertainty over how well multi-sector partnerships have thus far delivered effective outcomes. Research does exist indicating possible negative association and insignificant effectiveness in public-nonprofit partnerships (Andrews & Entwistle, 2010). However, other research indicated that (1) collaboration using a third entity increases service value for the participating organizations and clients, and (2) positive trends in effectiveness and accountability are significant factors driving the creation and use of multi-sector partnerships (Selden et al., 2006).

Even though multi-sector partnerships are being sought after as possible best practices/solutions towards "wicked issues," there still exist necessary components and parameters that lead to successful partnerships. Current research suggests that these types of collaborations need to be well thought-out in order to increase the probability of the partnerships' success and long-term sustainability. Bryson et al. (2006) highlighted possible key characteristics for effective and sustainable multi-sector partnerships, including the need for all participating parties of the collaboration to have a general agreement on the problem at hand. Agreement of the common problem helped the partnership develop the processes and necessary buy-in needed to accomplish identified objectives. This also goes hand in hand with having a shared purpose and the need to make sure their collective visions are aligned in solving the same issue. Buy-in also helped mitigate conflict and served to keep the partnership committed to the overall mission of the collaboration.

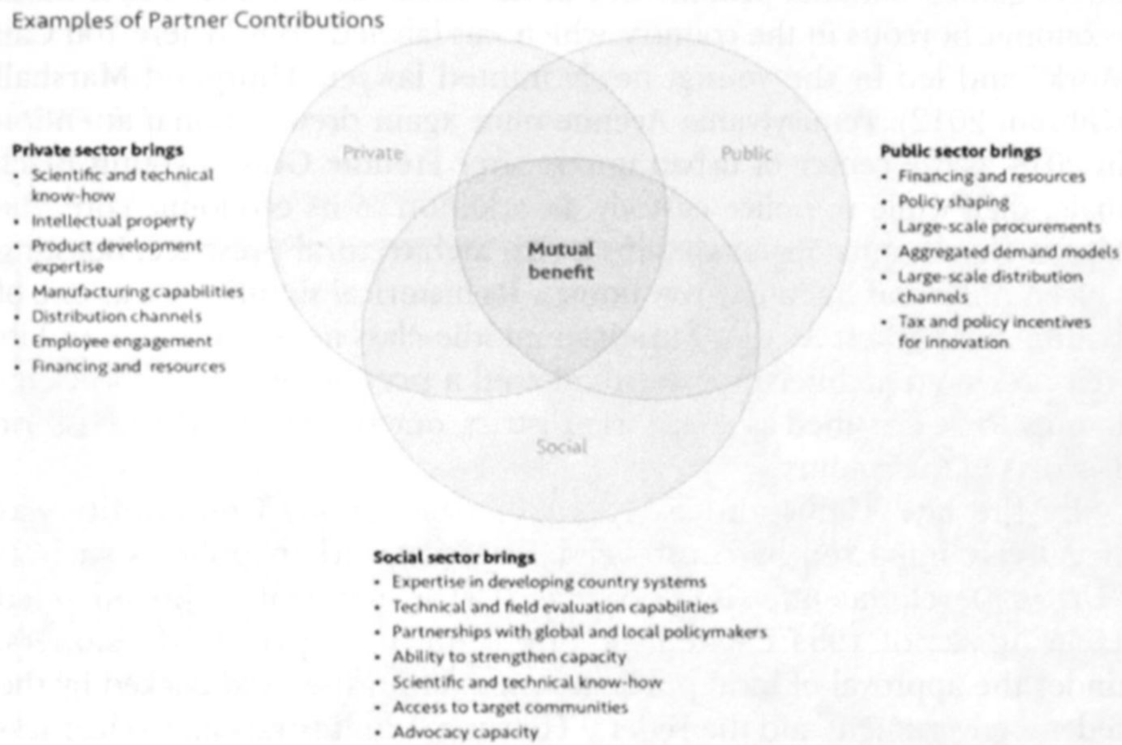
Multi-sector partnerships necessitate that organizations share resources and authority and work jointly to address the issue at hand while still maintaining their respective unique identities and strengths. Collectively, these unique individual strengths are what provide the overall value to the partnership. Due to the multi-level nature of multi-sector partnerships and the idea that they create value for each organization and the public, creating a framework that strategically encapsulates these considerations is desired. Bryson et al. (2017) presented one approach, which was developed from a modified version of Mark Moore's (1995) strategic triangle framework for creating public value. Their modification focused on the multi-sector context in contrast to a purely public sector focus. This framework was designed to assist public management thinkers plan out multi-sector partnerships strategically. It built on the practical reasoning of Moore's strategic triangles and underscores the importance of entrepreneurial managers while recognizing the limitations of Moore's highly debated work in the essence of creating public value cocreation.

Social innovation scholars Davis and Gibbons (2017) posited the concept of innovation in the contributions and collaboration of multi-sector partnerships. However, they also emphasized the challenges associated with multi-sector partnerships, which often focus on single-project and are short term in nature. Building long-term sustainability requires intentional coordination of multiple organizations with different long-term objectives, incentives, and risk profiles. In Figure 4.1, Davis and Gibbons (2017) presented a model for social innovation designed to identify the responsibilities and resources each sector (or entity) brings to the partnership, along with the recognition of the need for flexibility to respond to challenges as they arise in the achievement of the shared goals, also known here as the mutual benefit.

The case study in the next section highlights the effectiveness of a multi-sector partnership. Specifically, it focuses on: (1) private-sector

Figure 4.1

Social Innovation Partnership Model



Source: Davis & Gibbons (2017)

organizations' intrinsic pursuit of CSR in an effort to be good partners in the communities in which they operate; (2) a public sector unable to bring about meaningful sustainable change to a community ravished by decades of discrimination, disinvestment, poverty, and blight but willing to mobilize resources and regulations for progress; and (3) a nonprofit deeply connected to the community with the skillset and drive to create meaningful sustainable development in the community without effecting the integrity or character of the community.

Case Study

The Upton Community is a historical African American neighborhood located in West Baltimore, Maryland. The Upton Community has been home to several prominent national and international leaders, including U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, Civil Rights Leaders Parren and Clarence Mitchell, Jr., entertainers Eubie Blake and Billy Holliday, and countless others. In the heart of the Upton Community is Pennsylvania

Avenue, also known as "Main Street." The historic Pennsylvania Avenue Main Street was the cultural epicenter of Black art, entertainment, and commercial economic activity in the first half of the 20th century. Main Street gained national prominence in the 1930s as one of the first Black economic boycotts in the country, which was labeled "Buy Where You Can Work" and led by the young, newly minted lawyer, Thurgood Marshall (Gibson, 2012). Pennsylvania Avenue once again drew national attention in 2014 as the center of urban unrest after Freddie Gray, a young Black male, died while in police custody. In addition to its economic core, the Upton Community also maintains a rich architectural presence, boasting Queen Anne and Italianate row homes. Its historical significance as one of Baltimore's earliest African American middle-class neighborhoods and its well-preserved architectural detail allowed a portion of the Upton Community to be classified as a Historic District, one of the few Black Historic Districts in the country.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Upton Community was negatively impacted by controversial national urban policies such as "Urban Development," also known as "Urban Renewal." The amended Housing Act of 1954 created the opportunity for private developers, under the approval of local public housing authorities and backed by the federal government and the Federal Housing Administration, to clear less desirable neighborhoods (aka slums) and replace them with new redevelopment construction. As large portions of the Upton Community were raised to make way for high-density government housing, a major highway development was simultaneously underway, which split the predominantly Black community of West Baltimore (Elfenbein et al., 2011). The result of this community in transition, combined with decades of discriminatory bank practices such as redlining, a high degree of segregation, systematic governmental policy injustices, and suburban flight, left the Upton Community deprived of adequate resources and a depleted economic base as a direct result of disinvestment, underfunding, and lack of direct capital (Gourrier, 2021).

Following the 1968 riots, the Upton Community created the Upton Planning Committee (UPC), a nonprofit to oversee the revitalization and redevelopment of the community. For decades, the UPC observed one failed government program/project after another as well as scores of private developers and commercial speculative investors who surveyed the community for predatory opportunities with no long-term sustainable success. In 2005, new leadership of the UPC worked with the Baltimore City Council and mayor's office to develop a master community plan. In the development of the 2005 master community plan, the UPC leadership began to explore alternative theories and processes regarding community development. Under the leadership of Wanda Best and Jules Dunham

Howie, the UPC began looking for a new model of urban development that could bring about the revitalization and rebirth of the historic Upton Community without displacing its legacy residents (W. Best & J. Dunham-Howie, personal communication, September 2021).

Figure 4.2

The Historic Pennsylvania Avenue

Source: Photo provided by the Upton Planning Community.

In 2016, the UPC leadership pursued a new resident-driven master community plan supported by a Wells Fargo Regional Foundation National Pilot Neighborhood Planning Grant. The revised master plan created the Historic Upton Neighborhood 2026 Master Plan (HUN). In addition to the traditional master plan components of planning objectives (i.e., SWOT analysis, priorities, goals and objectives), the newly devised master plan's guiding principles were highlighted by three unique aspects of community development. In creating a model process of development, the UPC was positioning itself to achieve outcomes that were different from the past 50 years. The first principle, much like other organizations, was led by mission and vision statements, meaning the UPC's work was going to be guided by a true community-centric process. The second principle recognized that government programs had failed and private sector initiative were unsuccessful and/or unsustainable; therefore, the approach moving forward would focus on a multi-sector partnership approach to addressing the community's primary issues. Finally, the third principle was to create an implementation entity charged with the responsibility and accountability to implement and monitor the efforts of the 2026 master plan.

Community-Centric Model

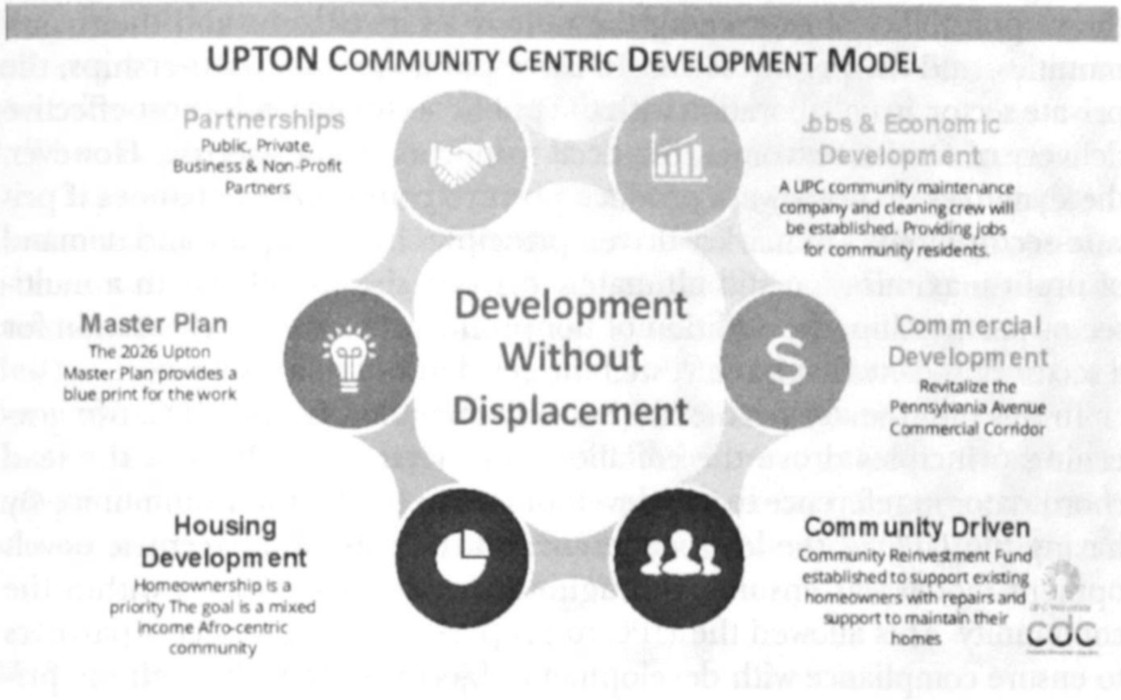
The Upton Community Centric Development Model, designed by the Upton Westside CDC Director Jules Dunham Howie, centered its focus on "Development Without Displacement." This community-centric model approach viewed revitalization and development as a process that should be intentionally and methodologically controlled to ensure fair and equitable outcomes. This approach recognized how development in urban spaces across the country had led to gentrification and displacement of community residents, who had often built and sustained these communities for decades. For some time now, research acknowledged that homeownership (and its accompanying equity) was the primary source of wealth among Americans and provided a significant foundation for the transfer of generational wealth (Bhutta et al., 2020; Boehm & Schlottmann, 2008; Choi et al., 2018). Community residents who are often homeowners and whose current property values may be low, are often displaced when urban areas are in transition. The displacement neglects the community resident's opportunity to realize property appreciation, which is also known as increased equity. At the same time, due to the low valuation during displacement, the resident may be unable to transition into ownership in their new location (Lawrence, 2002; Richardson et al., 2019).

The Upton Planning Committee classified its current resident homeowners as "Legacy Residents," realizing that the approach to revitalizing the Upton Community must focus on its legacy residents. Equally important, the UPC was committed to developing the community in a manner that would not displace residents and allowed them to realize the benefits of the revived neighborhood. Moreover, the UPC provided residents who lived in the neighborhood but were not homeowners the opportunity to purchase homes in the community in which they lived, worshipped, went to school. The model below is a diagram of the Upton Community-Centric Development Model.

In the model above, the UPC provided a comprehensive view of community development centered around Development Without Displacement. When planning is centered on a single concept, much like an organization's mission statement, the output of decision-making is deliberate and conscientious. In this case, each of the comments in the model, albeit Commercial Development, Housing Development, or Jobs, were all intertwined under a common initiative. However, it should be noted that a community-centric model is labor intensive and takes a high level of coordination and commitment. In addition, consistency is key; if at any point in the process the loss of consistency exists, the entire model could lose integrity.

Figure 4.3

Upton Community-Centric Development Model



Source: Upton Planning Committee Resources.

Multi-Sector Partnership

Another key component was the idea of multi-sector partnership. As identified in the Upton Community Centric Development Model above, "Partnerships—Public, Private, Business & Non-Profit Partners" were one of the primary drivers of the model. Multi-sector partnerships, as defined and described earlier, were an evolution of partnerships and collaborations that existed to solve large contextual societal problems. In this particular multi-sector partnership, the nonprofit (UPC) was the driving entity responsible for the identification of community challenges, the required participants and potential partnerships, and the proposed incremental and long-term solutions for the Upton Community and its residents.

The UPC established an expansive coordinated effort to address the commercial development, including the creation of jobs and economic development along Pennsylvania Avenue. This included grants and funding sources as well as an organized dues paying association for all the commercial enterprises along the avenue. The UPC recognized that commercial development was a key component in comprehensive community development, job creation, overall economic activity, and sustainable neighborhood development. However, for the purpose of parsimony, this case study will primarily focus on the activities of the UPC surrounding residential and housing development.

As referenced earlier, private-public partnerships historically are arranged between the public sector (government), who is charged with the responsibility of overseeing the welfare of its citizens and their communities, and the private sector. In these public-private partnerships, the private sector, in collaboration with the public sector, provides cost-effective delivery of service outcomes, financial resources, and expertise. However, the dynamics do not always produce positive community outcomes if private-sector motives of market-driven principles in the supply and demand of profit maximization still ultimately drive decision-making. In a multi-sector partnership, the addition of nonprofits provides representation for a sector of society that has a vested interest but often lacks a voice.

In this multi-sector partnership arrangement led by the UPC, two governing principles drove the collaboration. First, the UPC was the lead coordinator in reference to any development in the Upton Community. By having the UPC as the lead, adherence to the community-centric development model was ensured throughout the various projects within the community. This allowed the UPC to properly vet private sector partners to ensure compliance with development objectives, be it through the private developers' personal corporate social responsibility or buy-in to the community-centric development model. Second, with the support of the Baltimore City government via the approval of the Historic Upton Neighborhood 2026 Master Plan through the city's planning commission, the UPC was provided the authority by the city to oversee the development coordination within the Upton Community under the guidance of the 2026 master community plan. This authority required all outside developers to go through the UPC and the UPC process to obtain approval and permits for development within the geographical Upton Community area.

The establishment of authorization legitimizes the process and creates a hierarchal structure for the collaboration of the partnership. With the adequate structure in place, the UPC's model providing the framework and state and local government agencies eager to commence with development, the UPC began seeking private sector developers to join the partnership.

Upton Westside Community Development Corporation

After the creation of the community-centric development model and the organizational structure of the multi-sector partnership, the UPC recognized, through the lack of tangible and sustainable success with the 2005 Master Plan, the need for an entity charged with the responsibility of implementation and accountability. The UPC was made up of community leaders and representatives from the various neighborhood associations within the Upton Community. The coordination of these members provided a rich source of information, direct communication, and representation with the residents of the community and allowed the UPC to maintain a gauge for the pulse of Upton. However, having an independent arm/entity whose sole responsibility was ensuring productivity, progress, and development was essential to the success of the 2026 master plan.

The solution was the creation of the Upton Westside Community Development Corporation (Upton CDC). As a registered and certified Community Development Corporation, the Upton CDC was run by a full-time executive director (Jules Dunham Howie) and a board of directors that consisted of the Upton Planning Committee's executive director (Wanda Best) with four other industry professionals. The CDC was officially incorporated in 2018 and immediately commenced development projects within the Upton Community. The CDC provided the organization with both an independent accountability component as well as outside organizational and technical skills needed to take on large scale development projects.

Multi-Sector Partnership in Action

With the approval of the 2026 master plan and the community-centric model and mission established, the UPC began putting the pieces of the development process together. The leadership of the UPC initially sought out partnerships with various government agencies. The two primary partners were the city of Baltimore (city council representatives) and the Baltimore City Department of Housing & Community Development (DHCD). The existing relationship with local government officials that had been nurtured over the years would allow the CDC to begin to address the massive problem of uninhabitable vacant homes in the Upton Community. It was reported that, as of July 2018, the city of Baltimore had over 16,600 vacant structures, many located in West Baltimore and the Upton Community (City of Baltimore, 2018). Not only did these vacant homes represent a health risk and loss of revenue for the city of Baltimore, but the vacant structures also depressed property values of neighboring homeowners, which is known to increase crime and the probability of fire and other hazards (Brown et al., 2018). The UPC immediately put a plan in place with the city of Baltimore and DHCD for redevelopment of the community's abandoned housing stock. The city of Baltimore had previously approved a policy to sell vacant properties for one-dollar ($1), which the UPC was able to use as a basis for development of Upton homes (Alves, 2017).

As part of the planning process, the UPC would hold regularly scheduled design charrettes alongside the 2026 master plan work groups to make sure the vision of the community was being maintained as development began. Simultaneously, while the UPC was in negotiations with the city, they began holding monthly developer meetings to begin the process of vetting private developers and allowing them to showcase and demonstrate how their plans and social responsibility fit with the community-centric model. In addition, the UPC established relationships with the state of Maryland and the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development as a source of funding through Project C.O.R.E. (Creating Opportunities for Renewal and Enterprise).

Consistent with "Development Without Displacement," the need for affordability was essential to the success of Upton's legacy-residence homeownership. Through the use of financial subsidies from the state of Maryland (Project C.O.R.E.), City of Baltimore (grant dollars), and private sector initiatives, the model that UPC developed allowed residents to purchase homes at a fraction of the development cost, which was due to the coordination of resources, public sector subsidies, and private sector efficiencies. This maintained affordability and provided immediate equity to the new homeowner, all while increasing the valuation of existing homeowners and revitalizing the neighborhood without displacing legacy residents.

Figure 4.4 illustrates a home on Dolphin Street that recently sold in the heart of Upton as part of the UPC project. This home was one of a cluster of homes the UPC and UPC CDC redeveloped since the new process model was established. The Upton Planning Committee and the UPC Westside CDC currently have over 100 homes under development and, with the assistance of a state grant, are completing the first zero-energy affordable home built in the City of Baltimore. The process garnered millions of dollars to support the revitalization efforts in the Upton Community along the Pennsylvania Avenue Main Street since 2018. These recourses have leveraged over $80 million in development that is underway throughout the Upton Community. A recently created operational investment fund in the UPC Westside CDC will also deepen the agency's ability to provide even more community development projects that have equity ownership and provide direct assistance to community residents.

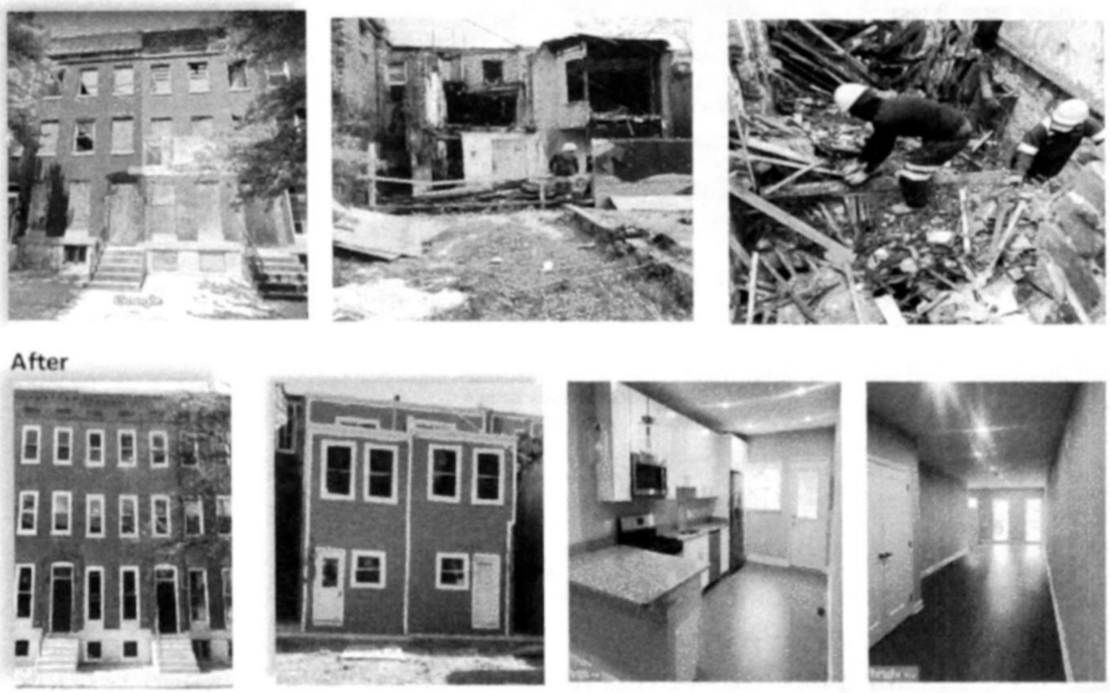
It should also be noted that, although this case study highlights the UPC's work on housing development, efforts continue in the area of commercial development and job creation. The Upton Community, like many predominantly Black communities in Baltimore who were not able to sustain economically the decades of government supported segregation, bank discrimination, disinvestment, and underfunding, successfully developed a model and process that has produced a positive impact and results. Collaboration through a multi-sector partnership has proven successful, unlike previous initiatives that failed to move forward. The UPC and UPC CDC

Figure 4.4

Sample Redeveloped Upton Home Via UPC Project

Before:

After



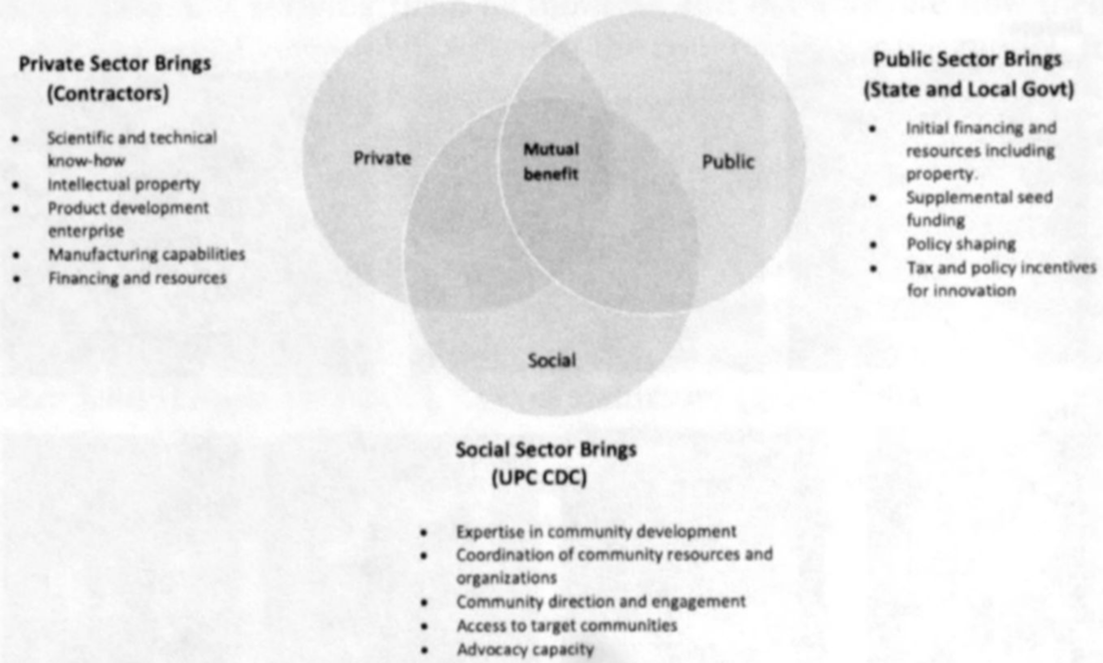
Source: Upton Planning Committee Resources.

have also begun to directly source development projects while continuing to make arrangements with the city of Baltimore to take down additional vacant and abandoned parcels and holding monthly developers' meetings in an effort to remain committed to the mission and development of the Upton Community, without displacement!

Figure 4.5 adapts the Davis and Gibbons (2017) social innovation model previously presented with the UPC multi-sector partnership by incorporating the established arrangements made with the various entities in the development of the Upton Community. The mutual benefit, in this case, is the shared goal of the sustainable community and residential development (housing) without displacement. The private sector, which is represented by contractors with a social responsibility to the community in which they serve, delivered technical expertise as well as outside resources (institutional financing) not readily available for most grass-root and nonprofit organizations. The public sector, primarily via the Baltimore City Housing Department (BCHD) and the Baltimore City Department of Housing & Community Development (DHCD), provided policy formation through zoning, tax-incentives, along with the implementation and recognition of

Figure 4.5

UPC Social Innovation Model



the UPC master plan. Moreover, the city's injection of capital resources (reclaimed units) initially served as the key catalyst for the project. Additional incremental recourse such as Baltimore City grant dollars as well as the state of Maryland's Project C.O.R.E. funds, were essential to the overall mission of the project and the supplemental component of affordable housing. However, coordination of these resources, expertise, and direction were all centered in the commitment of the social sector representative—the Upton CDC, a nonprofit.

In developing and refining a community master plan, the Upton CDC, through decades of work in the community with the Upton Planning Commission and through the use of charrettes and regularly scheduled community contact, was able to coordinate the communication, advocacy, and resource acquisition of the multi-sector partnership into tangible development, resulting in real and measurable impact for the Upton Community of Baltimore. What once seemed like an endless battle against disinvestment, disenfranchisement, neglect, and discrimination is now an example of the possibilities that exist through multi-sector collaboration when a common goal for the greater good is the focus.

CONCLUSION

Through collaboration with public agencies and private entities, the UPC has been able to leverage millions of dollars in resources from both state and local levels of government. In addition, the nonprofit's innovative community-centric planning process was able to contribute to the overall economic outlook of the community. At the same time, its private sector partners, also interested in corporate social responsibility (CSR) and social entrepreneurship, were able to produce profitable outcomes, and the community was able to gain sustainable development without community displacement of legacy residents (Seitanidi & Crane, 2009). This case study highlights how successful housing and development are achievable in urban communities with the right process and through the collaboration of all willing and interested parties using multi-sector partnerships through social innovation, governmental entrepreneurship, and direct community involvement.

Although the concept of the public-private partnerships, which has been around for some time, and the popularity of multi-sector partnerships over the past few decades have created interest in these types of collaborations, these partnerships have historically yielded mixed results. However, understanding partner motivations, identifying responsibilities and resources, focusing on shared goals, and establishing a clear organizational driver (in this case the UPC) mitigates many of the challenges previously discussed. Ideally, this case will serve as a model for how social and governmental entrepreneurship along with direct community involvement can provide insight to solving some of the nation's complex social problems (Dentoni & Ross, 2013). Throughout this chapter, terms have been used somewhat interchangeably, such as social enterprise, social entrepreneurship, and social innovation. Although academia has struggled to comprehensibly define these concepts individually in terms of the actors, the organization/entity, or the revenue model activity, this relatively new field of study continues to evolve and is defined in practice by practitioners. Moreover, as the case study presents here, all of the above terms are applicable and represent the intuitiveness, ingenuity, and social impact focus of the individuals and organizations involved in this endeavor.

The increasing success of the highlighted case is an example of an innovative shift in the paradigm of solving social problems. The UPC case presents the use of multi-sector partnerships as a reverse to the traditional governmental top-down approach or the private sector's market-driven approach to solving wicked social problems. It is often said that if you continue to do the same thing, you'll continue to get the same result. Here we have a grass-root community led initiative bringing about real social change with sustainable and equitable outcomes as its primary and only objective.

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