

Edited and designed by Colin Kent-Daggett

“This neighborhood is under assault”



SOURCE: Wikimedia Commons

Debate over zoning rattles College Hill

Originally printed in the College Hill Independent (9/15/2018)
By Harry August and Ella Comberg

Along College Hill’s Keene Street, identical teal blue signs placed in nearly every yard point to a street united. Unlike other neighborhoods in Providence, this group of residents rally not against natural gas terminals, Immigrant and Customs Enforcement, or the threat of eminent domain. Their concern, touted by the signs that read “Save Neighborhoods: Enforce Zoning Laws,” is overcrowded student apartments.

“This neighborhood is pretty much under assault right now,” Deborah Simmons told the College Hill Independent, standing in front of her Keene Street home. A block to the south, Simmons’ neighbor on Lloyd Avenue echoed her concerns.

“We’re always fighting this battle of more people stuffed in smaller places. It becomes an Animal House situation,” he told the Independent, pointing towards the pile of trash sitting outside of a student house—a smelly blemish on the otherwise litter-free block. On Keene Street, the epicenters of neighborhood concern are numbers 77 and 85, two elegant clapboard houses owned by Walter

Bronhard, a landlord who made Providence headlines when he bought, neglected, and threatened to demolish the Welcome Arnold House, a historic property off of Benefit Street. Keene Street’s anxieties, though, are only in part due to the question of historic preservation. “We’d like the character of the neighborhood to be preserved,” another resident told the Indy.

That vague notion of “neighborhood character” accounts for many of the Keene Street neighbors’ ruffled feathers. On this block, houses that proudly adorn Providence Preservation Society placards above Munroe Dairy boxes consistently sell for \$500,000-800,000. And although residents are clear that the proximity of their homes to Brown University drew them to the neighborhood, the proposition of a known problem-landlord setting up shop on their block was too close for comfort.

Exiting concerns about noise, trash, parking, and public safety only intensified when neighbors obtained a copy of the 77 Keene Street lease and learned that Bronhard planned

to rent the six-bedroom property out to thirteen students. To justify their concerns, many Keene Street residents referenced one night in particular when a student house on their street threw a raucous party. People spilled into the street, Simmons told the Independent, rolling kegs down the street and partying well past midnight: “It was the worst party ever.” This moment has since integrated itself in the cultural memory of Keene Street, now known simply as “the hockey party.”

With that sleepless night fresh in their memory, the neighbors began their crusade in December of 2017, and by the spring of this year, they had organized neighborhood meetings, printed yard signs, testified in front of the city council, pooled their money for a private lawyer, and started an online petition in the name of restricting excessive student housing. The petition, which has garnered 141 signatures at the time of writing, invokes a slippery slope: “If [Bron-

» ZONING continued, PG. 2

SNEAK PEAK

From Maxcy Hall to Brown’s campus to the City of Providence, the Urban Studies newsletter has it all:



Housing DISP
Studies Prov.

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY group of students tackles affordability

» continued, PG. 5



Gloss ‘18 Enters
Working World

THE URBAN Studies star returns to his Western roots with the NRDC

» continued, PG. 5



Fane Tower
Debate Lingers

RESIDENTS STAY angry, two years into battle for I-195 zoning

» continued, PG. 6

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LETTERS

From the editor

I’ve found it easy to dismiss the importance of academia against an everyday backdrop of political violence on a local, national, and international scale. In the face of such acute and widespread suffering, universities can feel like a bubble that removes us from the realities facing the broader communities of which Brown students are a part. Urban Studies is, for me, paradoxically part of this problem and part of its solution. The Department’s interdisciplinary curriculum, its grounding in local case studies, and its focus on Providence all contribute to a heightened awareness of the political, economic, and environmental challenges in New England (and beyond), and the striking impotence of critical urban theory when confronted with the everyday toll of life in an unjust city. At the same time, that local focus and multifaceted approach makes me feel prepared to apply a wide-ranging and socially-conscious base of knowledge to urban issues that range from the practical to the abstract.

In that context, it is a unique and meaningful moment to be an engaged and critical Urban Studies student in Providence, the United States, and beyond. Enormous changes to the fabric of the Jewelry District, Brown’s continued expansion into College Hill, and activism and protests around the recently-approved LNG project in South Providence have highlighted the intersections of urban planning, architecture, environmentalism, history, and economic development. While these topics could be superficially divided by neighborhood, a more thorough investigation reveals how Brown’s modern investments into the surrounding neighborhood mirrors the garish tower proposed for the Jewelry District while, often, the only large-scale development in South Providence is in the polluted, toxic Port.

Other events in Providence mirror trends in cities across the country. The arrival of Bird and Lime scooters and Jump bikes is a visible manifestation of the influence of technology and start-ups on city design and governance. As Providence makes an effort to brand itself as a creative, tech-friendly, and innovate city, it is worth investigating the fate of these other cities in order to avoid their extreme wealth gaps and residential displacement.

Even more broadly, the recent IPCC report once again underscored the global complexity of climate change. Given that cities are the source of many of the most visible effects of economic production and growth as well as potential solutions, urban environments and their interdisciplinary students will be critical to effecting the sweeping changes needed to stop climate change.

So while the problems facing Providence and the wider world often feel insurmountable, Urban Studies students can help on various scales: we can contribute to campus as advocates for interdisciplinary and locally-grounded analysis, while simultaneously contributing to Providence as knowledgeable and willing activists.

From the director

One of my favorite parts of being director of urban studies is the monthly meeting with the honors students. We get together for dinner on a Tuesday night in our library, and everyone reports on their progress. Honors theses are yearlong affairs and sometimes difficult to manage as they evolve (should I start writing right away, how much more research do I need, does my thesis make sense, how long should it be?) Last year, the topics were quite global, while US based topics dominate this year, in particular housing. Rachel, for example, is looking at inequality in New Orleans, Daniel is concerned with rising rents in San Francisco, Nora examines the potential of co-op housing models, Kyler found an interesting take on housing, homelessness and indigenous culture in Hawaii, Jenna analyzes the interdependence of the housing and stock markets, Ryan uncovers spatial implications and artistic potential of 1960s Urban Renewal in downtown Providence, and Garrett measures the impact of new stadia on their urban environment. Each student presents a few PowerPoint slides and brings us up to date, followed by questions, suggestions about resources, arguments, methodology from the rest of the group – and we don’t always agree. It occurs to me that what we are doing on those Tuesday nights over dinner continues the oldest academic tradition, the ‘disputation’ (latin: disputatio), reaching back all the way to antiquity. I always come away with some new idea, a book I am determined to read, and with a sense of gratitude for the good work, sensibilities and sense of social justice among our students.

In any event, the Urban Studies Program continues to be one of the strongest concentrations on campus, continuously attracting new students and faculty. Prof. MariJoan Bull is teaching a class on Housing in America (URBN 1260) this fall, and is the faculty liaison (together with former US Prof. Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz), for a DISP (Urban Studies Department Independent Study Project) with 20 enrolled students about Mapping the Housing Crisis in Providence. Under the leadership of Jennah Gosciak’19 and Oscar d’Angeac’17 the group works closely with local housing services and advocacy groups in order to better understand housing instability and inequity in Providence. Prof. Katie Galor is teaching a class on perhaps the most historically dramatic and contested city in the world: Jerusalem (URBN 1870K). Her new book on a similarly contested and dramatic city, Berlin is coming out in the spring. In the spring she will teach a class on “Ancient Cities: From the Origins through late Antiquity” (URBN 1870G) expanding the reach of our courses.

As I am writing this, our 26th Urban Studies Bus Tour is about to leave. As always, a mix of residents, faculty, staff and students fills the bus and engages in discussions with each other and the tour leader, followed by cider and donuts in the department – another one of my favorite activities in the program.

Zoning Cont.

hard] can move 13 students into a 6-bedroom house, why not 20?”

At the heart of these conflicts, as the yard signs allude, are two contentious parts of the Providence zoning ordinances that can be applied to restrict student apartments. One rule explicitly prohibits more than three “college students” from living together in single-family homes on blocks zoned as single family residential neighborhoods, as Keene is. While originally intended to limit the encroachment of student housing into a single family area near Providence College, Bob Azar, Deputy Director of the Providence Planning and Development, told the Independent, this section does not in fact apply to Bronhard’s properties on Keene Street. While those houses have been used as owner-occupied single-family homes, they’re officially considered two-family homes. The two properties have “in-law apartments” in the attic, and thus were grandfathered into the current zoning code as two family homes.

But the Keene Street houses in question are still subject to the more general rule, sneakily nestled within the definition of a “household,” that bans more than three “unrelated persons” from living together in a single unit, in any type of dwellings across the city. So, if thirteen students had actually moved into Bronhard’s two-unit home, they would have been in violation of the zoning code. But before this became an issue, according to Barnes, the landlord terminated the lease, moving the students to another property. So, why all the yard signs if the two houses are currently unoccupied and not in violation of the law? By choosing not to enforce the “unrelated persons” rule anywhere in any neighborhood, Barnes alleges, the city gives permission to developers to flip these homes into student housing, against the spirit of the law: “If this rule were being enforced, Bronhard would not have bothered to buy 85 and 77 Keene.”

Figuring out why the City might not actually enforce the law, however, becomes more complicated and relies on recent state court decisions. In an effort to protect students’ rights, the Rhode Island chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has challenged both the “unrelated persons” and “college student” types of laws, arguing that they violate the the equal protection clause of the Rhode Island constitution. The City of Providence, under current Mayor Jorge Elorza, successfully defended the “college students” ordinance in Superior Court just this year, convincing the court that college students are not a “protected class,” like race, ethnicity, or national origin.

However, the ACLU’s challenge to overturn a similar “unrelated persons” law in Narragansett was, in fact, successful, which helps explain why the current Providence administration is hesitant to enforce these rules, as Barnes alleges. The case relied on a 1994 Superior Court decisions that clearly stated that the rule is in violation of the state’s equal protection rights and is thus unconstitutional: “The town cannot, in effect, set aside its residential zones for use only by

people who have the good fortune to be related by blood.”

The City of Providence has good reason to look the other way while students fill up College Hill apartments: a legal precedent that backs the idea that enforcing this law would be discriminatory. Says Bob Azar of the Planning Department, “we’re hoping to have some proposals for changes to our zoning ordinance within the next couple of months that we will present to the council.” Still, residents of Keene Street feel they’re being wrongfully neglected by the city. When Deborah Simmons runs into Mayor Elorza at the farmer’s market (as she has on occasion), and he rattles off a list of other problems he’s trying to solve, she’s indignant that her cause always seems to land at the bottom of the list. “The city does not enforce anything!” she says. “They do nothing. A whole bunch of us called, saying ‘is this a violation?’ and they said maybe they would send somebody.”

City Councilperson Seth Yurdin of Ward 1 might have an explanation for the neglect that Keene Street residents are feeling. He opposes ordinances that would further restrict student apartments because unruly student houses “are the exception and not the rule.” “If there are specific problem properties,” he told the Independent, “there are ways for the City to look at those,” such as enforcing rules against noise or piles of trash. Perhaps a meaningful solution to these problems, then, is bolstering city enforcement of specific nuisances since, according to Councilman Yurdin, the City struggles to staff sufficient enforcement officials. If the City works towards adequately addressing problems as they come up, they can leave the vast majority of quiet students alone.

While Councilman Yurdin suggests that neighbors take up student-related issues with each other, Keene Streeters are adamant that their problem will only be solved with zoning-based change. Given the demographics of Keene Street, it seems that this group of neighbors has taken such a systematic approach to problem-solving simply because it can. Unlike so many low-income communities being actively displaced, the Keene Street residents have ample tools to engage City government and apprehend a neighborhood in flux—even if it’s a very different kind of flux. Perhaps most revelatory of the resources at Keene Street’s fingertips is their private lawyer. They have time and money and bright blue signs, but in practice, these resources do more to draw attention away from the Providence’s fundamental housing deficiency than they do to create reasonable solutions to the city’s most pressing issues. Indeed, at the same time home-owning College Hill residents worry about the potential for their neighborhood’s ‘character’ to change, renters on the South Side, West End, and Olneyville are being priced out with little interference from the City. And while the Keene Street tale of a hockey house party a few years back is enough to warrant a headache, in the scheme of Providence’s housing woes, it’s small potatoes.

NEWS FROM CAMPUS

U.'s Large Flora Diverse, Overlooked

By Jesse Barber

Author's Note: According to the 2007 Urban Tree Canopy study, College Hill has a canopy cover of 30% -- 7% more than Providence at large. The East Side, Mt. Hope (22.6), Hope (27.9), College Hill (30.0), Blackstone (40.1), Wayland (31.7), and Fox Point (10.7) have some of the largest canopies, while Downtown (6.6), Upper South Providence (10.9), Lower South Providence (9.2), and Washington Park (5.9) have some of the lowest. According to an article published in CityLab, canopy cover is positively correlated with higher property values, better health outcomes, and, as is reflected in the canopy distribution in Providence, higher income. As this short article indulges my favorite trees on

On the West side of Brook Street, across from the Brown Design Workshop, the Ginkgo leaves are yellow this time of year. Native to China, the Ginkgo tree has no close living relatives. It is neither deciduous nor conifer, and it reproduces like a fern, moss, or algae. Famously, six Ginkgoes 1-2 kilometers from the 1945 atom bombing of Hiroshima, Japan were almost the only plant to survive the blast; they still remain.

Around the corner, on Macmillan Quad, is a Japanese Maple. Although technically a deciduous shrub typically reaching six to ten meters tall, this magnificent, purple-leaved gem catches the eye of any passerby. Its myriad branches emanate from the trunk just feet from the ground, making it a perfect tree for climbing.

On Ruth J. Simmons Quad stands one of the most idiosyncratic creatures

on campus. It has a wide trunk as if it is destined to reach into the sky, but stops after only a few meters. Its leaves vary in size and its asymmetrical branches unsettle observers. Among the giant, exotic species scattered across Brown's campus, this charming, unusual tree stands proud.

The foremost attraction of the Main Green is the mammoth Chinese Elm in front of University Hall. One of its primary branches extends about 30 horizontal feet, dominating the area with its immense canopy. Looking at its trunk from the West, the gnarled muzzle of a lion looks right back at you.

A relative of the tallest tree on earth is rooted on the South side of Metcalf Hall. The Metasequoia, or Dawn Redwood, is one of three living species in the redwood subfamily. The other two species, the Sequoia and Giant Sequoia -- the tallest known tree on earth at 95 meters tall -- are native to California and Oregon, while the Dawn Redwood is native to China and is deciduous, setting it apart from its cousins.

UEL Saved

By Colin Kent-Daggett



Source: Providence Daily Dose

Following nearly two months of controversy, Brown University officials revised their plans to demolish or move several historic homes, including the Environmental Studies Urban Environmental Lab on Angell St, in order to make room for a new performing arts center. The revision, which was released in late February, will require only one building to be moved and no demolitions. The original plan, released in December 2017, proposed a new performance space between Angell and Waterman. The initial design would have required the demolition of four structures and the movement of one building.

The University's continued alteration of neighborhood architectural character, along with organized resistance from Environmental Studies students in defense of their hallowed building, was a central part of local opposition to the proposal. According to a Brown press release and University architect Colette Creppell, Brown currently owns more than 130 historic houses and buildings that are 75 years old or older, dating back to 1770. The University revitalizes these buildings with creative adaptations for modern-day use, with "investments of more than \$500 million in the last 12 years alone."

Despite that investment, Brown has had a significant impact on the character of the surrounding neighborhood. Aerial photographs show blocks of smaller buildings razed in favor of the Biomedical building, Engineering school, and Granoff Center. Some local experts did not see the proposal as a particularly grievous continuation of this trend. Urban Studies Director Dietrich Neumann told the BDH that "the historic value of the buildings coming down is greatly exaggerated" and that "the buildings that came down to make room for the Engineering School on Manning Walk [including the Urban Studies building] were actually much more valuable."

While the value of the five buildings potentially displaced by the performing arts center is up for debate, the University decided to forgo a controversy around its continued expansion and acquiesce to student and public pressure. Now, the structure will have a 50% smaller footprint after moving some of its functions underground. Now, Environmental Studies concentrators and urban aficionados alike will be able to admire the construction of Brown's newest building from the comfort of a historic home.

HOPE Sponsors 'Evicted' Event

By Anna Messer

Earlier this fall, the student-run organization, Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE), hosted an event called "Evicted in Providence: A Community Conversation on Rhode Island's Eviction Crisis." The event featured six presentations, which collectively served to educate the audience on the phenomenon of eviction, state of the housing crisis in Rhode Island, and campaigns being undertaken by various groups.

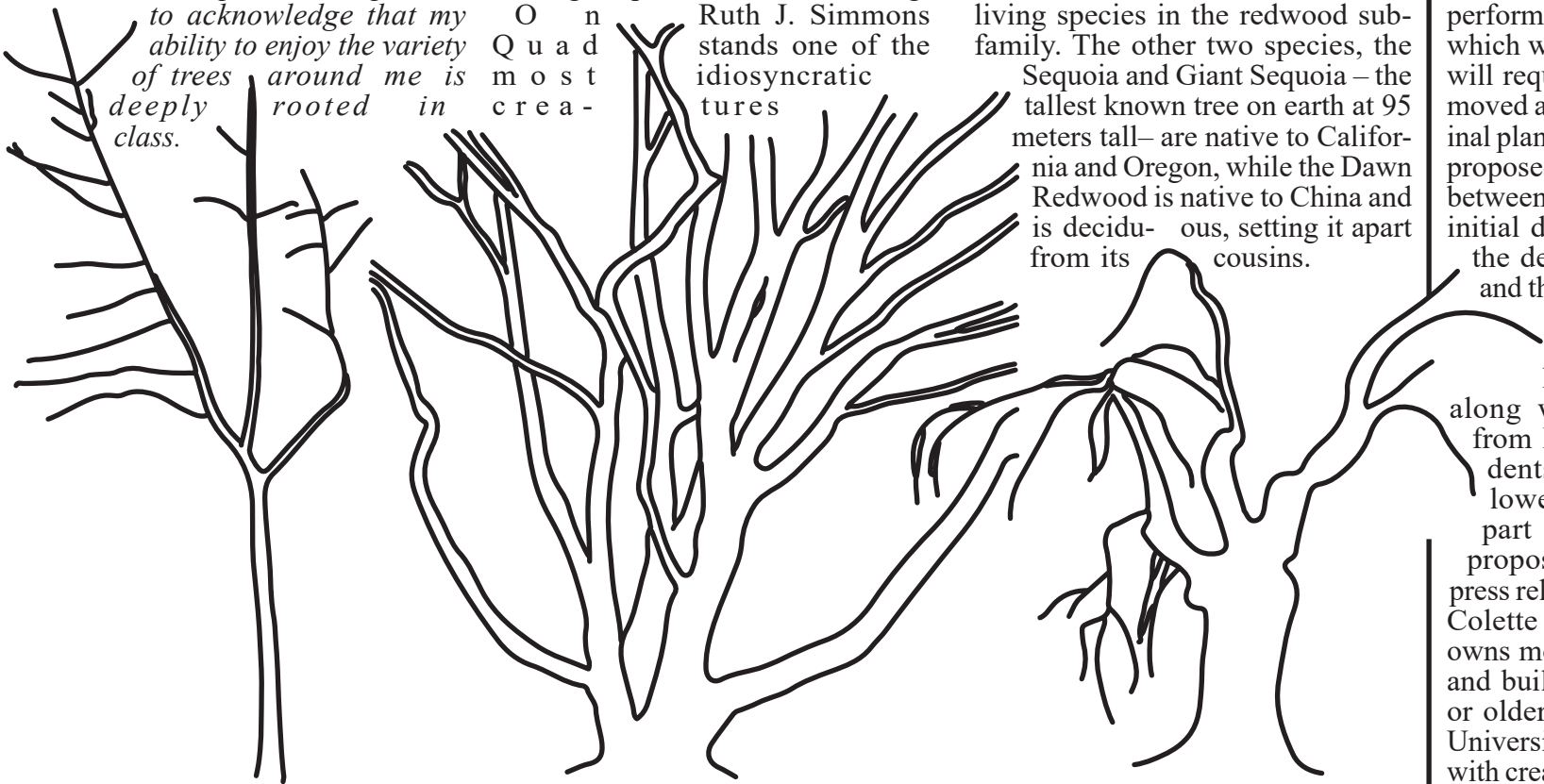
Brenda Clement of HousingWorks RI started the event by giving the audience an understanding of the housing climate in Rhode Island. Rents have increased 18% since 2012 and 8% since 2016 and one in three households are cost burdened, meaning more than 30% of income goes towards rent. The lack of affordability across the state's housing market is compounded by an aging housing stock, which serves to reinforce the need for new and affordable housing. In addition to the aging housing stock, Malcolm Mills from Direct Action for Rights and Equality emphasized that housing is a fundamental human right, inextricably linked to health

and safety. The crisis is not going to be fixed with tax stabilization agreements that enable luxury housing to be built over low-income housing. Moreover, Mills helped give depth to the discussion by pointing out that 'affordability' is a relative term.

Turning to the problem of eviction, Jennifer Wood from the Rhode Island Center for Justice explained that there are 6,000-9,000 eviction filings in Rhode Island per year, and only three to four lawyers to represent pro-bono. Most tenants do not have representation in housing court and therefore are unable to properly defend themselves by, for instance, arguing that their housing does not meet an acceptable legal standard and therefore they should not have to pay the full rent. Wood highlighted current campaigns to overhaul the housing economy such as policies that prohibit discrimination against people because of the source of their income (i.e. Section 8), end the blacklisting of tenants who have been served an eviction notice regardless if they were able to win in court, and guarantee a civil right to council. Ketitia Dorce, a community member

with her own experience of eviction, told about how blacklisting made it incredibly difficult for her to find a new place for her family to live, even though she had a job, and how the burden is shifted onto tenants who have to pay fees for background checks which often lead to landlords rejecting them on the basis of an eviction history.

To close the event, Susannah Blankley described the community-led campaign in New York City which secured the right to council for tenants in housing court who were unable to afford representation. She quoted the shocking statistic that 50-80% of the 30,000 families that are evicted in NYC every year wouldn't have been evicted if they had an attorney. Blankley posited that the fight for the right to council highlights the real narrative underlying evictions--they are not about money; they are about power. The right to council is part of a larger strategy to build tenant power and is something that can be implemented in Rhode Island, a critical step to combatting evictions and the broader housing crisis.



IN CONVERSATION

With John Beck ‘18

By Colin Kent-Daggett

Urban Studies graduate and Providence Planning employee John Beck sat down with the Urban Studies Newsletter in October to discuss his transition from school to work, what prepared him for his job, and his new life off College Hill.

Colin Kent-Daggett: Would you tell me a bit about your new job at the City of Providence and how you got there?

John Beck: Like any other Senior I was trying to figure out what I was going to do after graduation. I had seen that there was a position with the Planning Department here in Providence that didn’t require a Masters degree, which is unique, especially for a government planning office.

CKD: What was the position?

JB: It’s called a Planning Technician, but that encompasses all sorts of things. So that’s how I originally found it. I was already really excited about the idea of staying in Providence. I think it’s a unique mid-sized city in the US from a lot of different points of view; culture, diversity, or for me, one of the important things is preservation and architecture. Unlike a lot of other cities on the East Coast,

a lot of the buildings are miraculously still here --

CKD: Someone recently told me we were lucky that Providence was too poor to tear them down...

JB: And we were lucky that people would fight about them! And argue that they’re better sitting vacant than destroyed. Anyways, I ended up starting two weeks after I graduated. It’s been really great; I moved to the other side of Providence to the West End. It’s been really nice to have a separate life from Brown but still be aware of what’s going on at the school.

CKD: So what have you been working on as a Planning Technician?

JB: Well the Planning Department is split into two areas. One is present-day development, so the City Plan Commission and any major or minor development project, the Historic District Commission, and the Downtown Design Review Board. I’m on that side and we deal with the zoning ordinance much more than long-term planning. Most of the projects I’ve been working on have related to the zoning ordinance, specifically the dispute on the East Side around the encroachment of student housing, and how to regulate short term rentals or AirBnB. Both have led to really

fascinating public processes where we’ve heard from a lot of residents. It’s been great to be in the middle of that and prepare research for both.

CKD: What’s happening with AirBnB in Providence? I know other cities have started to push back.

JB: Well even if it’s not out of control yet in Providence, it’s unregulated, and we want to have some level of oversight. At the same time, we want to maintain neighborhood character; people don’t expect to be living next to a de facto hotel when they live in a single family residential zone. That was a lot of the concern, so we were thinking of ways we could intervene that will satisfy people while also acknowledging there’s no proven way to deal with AirBnB -- everyone is figuring it out on the fly. Boston’s legislation, for example, won’t go into effect until next year

CKD: What is Boston doing?

JB: It’s very different, but they are basically tackling investment properties, basically locations that people simply rent out as a hotel and will never inhabit, in order to address affordability. They are also limiting the amount of time people can rent out their property as an AirBnB and putting into place a registration pro-

cess so they can better respond to complaints.

CKD: What else have you done?

JB: We’ve been working on very small corrections and clarifications to the ordinance, mainly, but those assorted projects incorporate the various skills I picked up at Brown. For example, we have an issue with all of the signs in Providence and the City wants to have a better way of communicating between the various departments who maintain them. I worked with GIS manager to create an application that will allow for us to log reports about each sign in order to see trends and which signs get damaged more than others. Generally, it’s been a lot of broader thinking about urban policy in the city and the ways in which zoning can be an effective tool in determining how the city grows

CKD: How has your perspective changed moving from College Hill to West End?

JB: It wasn’t a huge change for me, and isn’t the case for many Urban Studies concentrators because we tend to explore a lot. The biggest difference is that I don’t interact with Brown students at all. But I think it’s a good thing overall. For example, I used to be really involved in visual arts and theater on campus, and now I’ve joined AS220 to do work there, instead. So it’s shifting from the col-

With Lance Gloss ‘18

By Rachel Rood-Ojalvo

“HOW DO ten different people exercise their right to a mountain?” Lance asks me by phone as he walks down the street in Bozeman, Montana. Lance, who graduated from Brown last May, is working as an office coordinator for the National Resources Defense Council (NRDC). More than anything, he says, his Urban Studies education prepared him as a social scientist and a geographer to approach critical conservation questions about stewardship, belonging, and land use.

Lance knew he wanted to move to Bozeman after college, so during his Senior year he applied for a job at NRDC. Before he heard back, he jumped at an opportunity to spend the summer with the Greater Yellowstone Coalition (GYC). For the last 35 years, GYC has been one of the most important conservation organizations working near Yellowstone National Park. The Park itself is operated by the Federal government, but Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho share in management of the park and the adjacent “gateway communities.” The Yellowstone River begins in the heart of the park and, until its first dam in Billings, constitutes the longest free-flowing length of any river in the contiguous United States. It was along this stretch that Lance was introduced to water and land disputes in Montana.

Conservation efforts are chronically underfunded on the Yellowstone River. Over the summer, Lance worked on a long-term project to develop a regional resort tax;

Montana does not have a sales tax, instead relying on income and natural resource taxes. The lack of sales tax is significant in Park County, a county adjacent to Yellowstone National Park with only 16,000 residents but more than 1 million visitors each year. As Lance points out, “16,000 people’s property taxes can’t pay for 1 million people’s recreation.” There’s not enough revenue to fund public education, support conservation efforts, and maintain access to the river. The resort tax would be authorized under an amended portion of the state code that enables communities under 15,000 residents to set up a resort region, implement a special sales tax on certain goods, and use that revenue for conservation efforts.

According to Lance, almost every person interviewed during research on the amendment ranked water quality as a top-two spending priority, despite a wide variety of political views. Lance summarized, “water quality is more of a value than a priority.” Whether the public decides to enact tax legislation to enshrine those values will be seen in a couple years, when the resort tax comes to a vote. For now, Lance’s work with GYC is done; in August he was finally hired by NRDC.

Before Brown, GYC, and NRDC, Lance grew up in Colorado. Though the environment occupies more emotional and physical space in the Rockies, Lance was a voice for Western concerns in his New England classrooms. While Montana and Rhode Island both have total populations around 1 million people, Montana is over 120 times larger. Still, an

Urban Studies perspective is relevant in Bozeman, and Lance enjoys the challenge of applying his knowledge to new terrain. Lance understands the Urban Studies Program as a discipline concerned with geography, space, and access – concepts that can be even more useful to conservationists than ecology or biology. He asserts that for natural resource consumption, “we already know the science, we need the social science.”

Many Urban Studies students grapple with gentrification on an academic and personal level. Bozeman has its own version: a housing crisis, a growing population, an increase in property values, and an emerging frontier between communities. At one point, Lance interrupts to describe the parked cars. “On the street where I’m standing, I can see seven Subarus, twelve trucks, and the only sedan is my tiny Honda.” For Lance, the cars underscore Montana as the crossroads of a traditional, conservative, agricultural community and a newer, liberal, recreational community (Lance himself “grew up in the back of a Subaru”). The local indigenous population – which makes up 8% of Montana’s 1 million residents and whose seven reservations comprise nearly 10% of the state’s land area – is another important demographic in the local land-use puzzle.

All of these elements factor into NRDC’s approach. NRDC sees two main types of recreational land users: sportsmen, such as hunters and fishermen, and non-consumptive users, such as hikers and cyclists. Similar to his work in Park County, Lance is finding ways to fund conservation through non-consumptive users and tourists. When asked about the sobering report from the United Nations’

International Panel on Climate Change and its implications for the West, Lance redirects the conversation to Montanans’ general mistrust of marching orders from Washington D.C. and international bureaucrats. He reiterates the ways in which the Bozeman NRDC office has to build community trust. To Lance, “climate change is a helpful umbrella for many discrete [processes],” but the day-to-day realities of the NRDC’s work in Montana tend to be more concrete. When designing the minutiae of these policies, the NRDC needs to accommodate everyone involved in the environment in Montana without diluting the realities of climate change.

A day at a fishing access site exemplifies the myriad groups with a stake in Montana’s land and water. On the same water there might be one fisherman spending \$1500 to outsource time-consuming manual labor, alongside another continuing the fishing tradition of his great-great-grandfather for no money at all. “Then there’s a third guy who doesn’t want to talk to you because he’s a 4th-generation miner and he knows you want to talk about mines, and another spending \$30,000 so that he and his wife can fish for a week,” Lance says. Next to them, somebody else is just trying to catch dinner.

Lance also has some advice for future Urban Studies graduates: “Don’t let anybody tell you [that] your degree is not employable. A Bachelor of Arts in Urban Studies is one of most employable degrees at Brown because it combines several broadly applicable skills – social science and geography – with vocational-like training that prepares you in a specific way for a specific type

IN THE DEPARTMENT

Thesis Looks at LA Sports

By Garrett Robinson

MY SENIOR thesis is focused on the current wave of development occurring in the city of Inglewood, CA. Located in the South Bay region of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area, Inglewood is a predominantly black and brown community, with a median household income that is lower than many other surrounding cities. In early 2016, it was announced that two NFL teams – the St. Louis Rams and the San Diego Chargers – would be relocating to Los Angeles. A new stadium was proposed to house the two franchises, and Inglewood was chosen as the site.

The \$5 billion project caused immediate buzz, with some wondering about how such an expensive and large-scale development would affect the neighborhood and its residents. I chose to write about this topic because it allowed my personal identities – Los Angeles resident, football player and fan, and Urban Studies student – to interact with one another in an academic setting. Recently, I re-discovered that this is something that I have held an interest in for quite some time, as I wrote a short paper in high school about some of the stadium proposals that

were being reviewed before the NFL officially returned to LA. I have also always been interested in learning about cases of gentrification and displacement, and how these processes can be prevented in order for current residents to be able to enjoy the new amenities and spaces that are being built.

When I started this project, I had intended to only focus on the effects of the NFL stadium that is currently under construction. Predicted to be completed in 2020, the new stadium will be home to both the Rams and Chargers football franchises. The venue is also scheduled to host the Super Bowl in 2022, the College Football National Championship in 2023, and the opening ceremonies for the 2028 Olympic Games. Surrounding the stadium will be office buildings, retail centers, hotels, apartments, a performing arts venue, and a large lake; all of this will come together to form an almost 300-acre community in the heart of Inglewood. After conducting interviews with city officials and NFL employees over the summer, I found – to my surprise – that the stadium is not the primary driver of change in Inglewood. While it was described to me as “the icing on the cake” by numerous people that I spoke with, it is not seen as the lone project that will bring an influx of capital into the city. The expansion of LA’s Metro system, which will bring two new stations

to Inglewood, is predicted to bring more foot traffic into the city, and, therefore, more economic activity. In addition, the Los Angeles Clippers, who currently play basketball at the Staples Center in Downtown LA, are looking to build a new arena in Inglewood. This proposed venue would be located across the street from the NFL stadium, and has already produced conflict between the city and both residents and the Madison Square Garden Company, who owns the Forum and sees the new arena as a competitor for performances. As a result of my findings, my paper will now focus on these three projects, bringing them together to discuss the sweeping changes in Inglewood. It seems that some of these projects are an attempt to recapture Inglewood’s identity as LA’s premier sports town, as it was when they hosted the Lakers and Kings thirty years ago. These developments will also be discussed within the context of Los Angeles’s preparation for the Olympic Games in 2028. As of now, the vision for Inglewood is one of a sports and entertainment district, and it looks like these projects will go a long way in making that a reality.

Marijoan Bull

By Sydney Anderson

As I am nearing the end of my time at Brown and grappling with post-grad plans I’ve been asking lots of people lots of questions. Visiting Urban Studies Professor MJ Bull gave me even more to think about. Dr. Marijoan Bull is teaching Housing in America this semester and co-authored a textbook of the same name while teaching at Westfield State.

Long before her career in academia, Bull attended Brown as an aspiring engineering concentrator. In her second semester, she took an Urban Studies course and her interest was piqued. During a leave of absence from Brown, she discovered urban planning working for a now defunct housing organization in Federal Hill pushing back on recent Route 6 and 10 redevelopment to regain some of the neighborhood.

Her work with the organization, New Homes for Federal Hill, foreshadowed what she would spend the rest of her career working on.

Passionate about housing planning, Bull emphasizes the importance of access to quality housing and safe neighborhoods for all. A huge part of achieving this is encouraging meaningful and engaged public

» BULL continued, PG. 7

Mapping the Providence Housing Crisis

By Jennah Gosiack

This fall, Urban Studies as an interdisciplinary program at Brown took the lead to combine academic approaches with real-world data in order to understand the Providence housing crisis. This effort started last year when a group of Brown students began reaching out to organizations in the Providence housing sector to identify complementary actions students could take to support their ongoing advocacy and equity initiatives. If you ever have a conversation with a RI housing advocate, they might tell you that over 35% of Rhode Islanders are cost-burdened, meaning they spend more than 30% of their income on housing. Or that in fact, the only city in Rhode Island affordable to someone making under \$50,000 a year is the 1.3 square miles of Central Falls.

While these statistics from the HousingWorks factbook are a powerful resource, it soon became apparent to us that there were more questions

than answers. For instance when Direct Action for Rights and Equality (DARE) tried to place its for rent-stabilization last year, the organization faced resistance from elected officials, many of whom wanted to know: is this legislation necessary? Where are people rent-burdened and who would it affect?

As heads of the media collective Signs of Providence, Oscar d’Angeac (Urban Studies ’17) and I saw the potential for collaboration--Brown students, who have the time and resources to explore these questions, in partnership with community organizations, who have a wealth of local knowledge and a vision for policy change. This past summer, with the support of the Urban Studies Department, we proposed forming a Departmental Independent Study Project (DISP) course devoted to research on Providence housing. An enthusiastic and talented group of twenty students signed up for the course.

These students come from varied concentrations in addition to Urban Studies--such as Applied Math, Economics, Modern Culture and Media, Computer Science, and Sociology, among other concentrations. Working with Professor Bull, a visiting professor of urban and regional planning who is teaching ‘Housing in America’ at Brown, as well as outside advisors and guest

speakers, including Professor Sungu-Eryilmaz from Boston University, Kris Brown at HousingWorks RI, Patrick Rashleigh, the Visualization Coordinator with the Center for Digital Scholarship, and Bruce Boucek, Brown’s Social Sciences librarian, we developed 5 questions to answer (see pull quote).

One team is focusing on the criminalization of the Providence municipal code based on concerns raised by the Homeless Bill of Rights Defense Committee. Group members are searching for and mapping patterns in arrests along the axis of race and housing status, with particular consideration to the uptick in open container infractions. Another team has been quantifying and demystifying the eviction process. Coordinating with HousingWorks and the RI Center for Justice, they are attending court sessions, assessing the court’s records, and developing materials on the eviction process for tenants and landlords. A third team is modeling the complex housing system within the state in order to identify key players, relationships, and gaps. This work has led to the creation of a searchable database identifying 200 agencies along with their focus areas and contact information. In close collaboration with Southcoast Fair Housing, a fourth team of students has conducted two assessments of the rental market to identify discriminatory actions. Students have reviewed online housing listings for overt discriminatory language, and posed as renters to assess the willingness of RI landlords to accept housing vouchers.

» DISP continued, PG. 7

Innovation in NYC Tech

By Dan Plaisance

As urban economies increasingly center on the professional services and tech sectors, city governments are struggling to strike a balance between encouraging economic growth and maintaining character and livability. Large cities have begun to support public-private partnerships as a way to achieve socially-desirable outcomes while continuing to court private investment. This summer, I spent three months working on one such program with the New York City Economic Development Council (NYCEDC) Initiatives Department, which aims to identify industries poised to expand in New York and strategically invest to ensure the subsequent growth is inclusive, sustainable, and robust.

I worked on the strategic development of Cyber NYC, an initiative designed to correct the drastic shortage of cybersecurity technology and talent through a \$30 million city investment in technological innovation talent development. The program was a key component of Mayor Bill de Blasio’s jobs plan, a suite of programs focused on creating accessible jobs that pay at least \$50,000 each year. In addition to the potential for good-paying jobs, cybersecurity is essential to the safety of infrastructure networks, smart-city technologies, hospitals and healthcare networks, banks, governmental agencies, small and large businesses, and private citi-

» NYC continued, PG. 7

- Who owns the city?*
- Who is being displaced?*
- Where is criminalization of the municipal code concentrated?*
- What is the ecosystem of the Providence housing system?*
- How extensive is discrimination based on source of income?*

NEWS FROM RHODY

Fane Tower Debates Continues in Summer Beware ‘38’

By Colin Kent-Daggett

More than two years after Urban Studies Director Dietrich Neumann and RISD professor Friedrich St Florian published a controversial Op-Ed in the Providence Journal, arguments continue to swirl around the 46-story Fane Tower proposed for the Jewelry District. When Neumann and Florian penned their article in support of the development, proposed by New York developer Jason Fane, public debate around the tower and its potential tax break were already in full bloom. After a series of emotional City Council committee hearings this summer, little has changed other than Fane’s proposed design.

At the center of the controversy is the City’s zoning plan for the Jewelry District, which dictates height restrictions, setbacks, and other form-based development requirements. Fane’s proposal requires a change to this code, which many—including the Providence Preservation Society—argue should rule over a developer’s desires. Originally, the developer imagined three towers for Parcel 42 of the I-195 land but reduced his plans to one single tower on top of a large parking garage in response to criticism. The lot is adjacent to the new public park under development along the Providence River, a location that dissenters argue is unfit for what would be the tallest building in the city. On the other hand, construction unions and several major real estate developers have testified in support of the zoning change, citing job creation and a boost to the city’s tax base.

The project has bounced through the various governing bodies and regulatory agencies overseeing its proposed zoning changes. In March,

the Senate passed—and the Governor signed—a bill allows the I-195 Commission to change the boundaries of the relevant parcels. In May, the City Planning Commission denied a recommendation regarding Fane’s three changes to the zoning ordinance. In July, the Ordinance committee voted against the proposal, but the full Council sent the project back to the Ordinance committee in September. That meeting was held in October, followed by two November City



Source: East Side Monthly

Council meetings that put the project on the Mayor’s desk for approval. The Council’s approval is in line with Providence’s recent desperation for development. Following the 2007 relocation of I-195 to the Fox Point hurricane barrier the City has been keen to create a modern addition to its downtown core in the Jewelry District and “leverage all that [it] can and all that [it has] to offer to collectively move Providence forward,” according to Mayor Jorge Elorza in a September press conference.

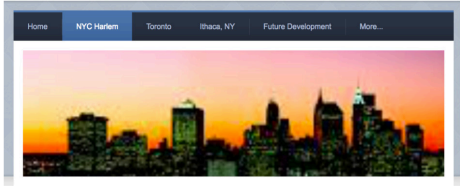
The walk along Dyer Street from Downtown to the JDA’s September meeting at South Street Landing showcased the incredible transformation taking place in the Jewelry

District. The I-195 Redevelopment Commission, responsible for the “sale, marketing, and oversight” of the new land, boasts about the variety of current projects, as a neighborhood that was recently a moonscape of surface parking lots is brimming with construction projects: South Street Landing, a 270,000 square foot office and academic center; the 120,000 square foot Innovation Center, which will house Brown’s School of Professional Studies and the Cambridge Innovation Center; the Johnson & Wales Science and Innovation Center; Chestnut Commons, a mixed-use development with 91 “upscale, urban residential units;” River House, the 174-unit luxury housing development marketed to students; and, of course, Fane Tower.

Notably, Fane Tower is the only one of these projects not encouraged by the Jewelry District Association. Olin Thompson, a member of the JDA and a Jewelry District resident since 2007, said that he and other members support large investments “for the right projects.” Thompson asserts that “Fane Tower is out of step with this community and the rest of the city.” In general, Jewelry District residents have welcomed the renewed attention to their neighborhood. Frank Muhly, a Jewelry District resident since 2011, described the need for more retail and how his neighbors are “desperate for a Whole Foods.” Whether Fane Tower will become the centerpiece of a new Jewelry District remains to be seen. Regardless, the redevelopment of the I-95 land will remain contested as residents, local activists, and developers seek to remake the city’s newest neighborhood in their image.

By Ella Comberg

THE FANE ORGANIZATION



When the Pawtucket Red Sox considered relocating to Downtown Providence in 2017, opponents of the project invoked one of the sickest burns in Rhode Island history: they called the project “38 Stadium.” The comparison between the PawSox stadium and 38 Studios—a video game company owned by former Red Sox pitcher Curt Schilling that opened offices in downtown Providence in 2011—has less to do with the common Red Sox affiliation and more to do with the fear that, like 38 Studios, the stadium would put Rhode Island in crippling debt. Indeed, as the Providence Journal reported, “Less than two years after the state sold \$75 million in bonds to raise cash for Schilling’s untested company, 38 Studios collapsed into bankruptcy, ultimately saddling taxpayers with about \$38 million in debt.”



Above:
Fane website

Left:
38 Studios
Founder Curt
Schilling and
Ice Cube

For those of us who don’t pay taxes in Rhode Island, the 38 Studios debacle is laughable if not pitiful—the state, so desperate for economic development, shelled out millions of dollars to incentivize a company whose only product was a game called Kingdoms of Amalur: Reckoning to come to Providence. The promise of Westminister Street as Silicon Valley, buzzing with coders eating Haven Bros chili dogs, was too good to pass up. But in reality, it was a risky and ultimately devastating investment for the state—one that we might do well to keep in mind as City Council considers paying the way for Jason Fane’s Hope Point Tower in the Jewelry District with a spot zoning change that would allow the 600-foot tower to go up in a 130-foot zone. If built, the project will likely rely on some \$80 million over a 20-year tax stabilization agreement with the City. And like Schilling, Fane is working out of his wheelhouse: the developer who promises to erect the tallest building in Rhode Island has only built one building from scratch before. Instead, he mostly leases existing luxury properties like the so-called “chaz. Yorkville” which, as one resident wrote on Yelp, “encourages every owner to have a dog, because they provide a dog washing room on the main level.”

“Beware 38 Studios” is a portent we hear often in the Ocean State, but it’s a good one: let’s think carefully before handing over cash to a developer whose website looks like the photo above.

Azar Leads Bus Tour for Students and Locals

By Ruth Bamuwamye

ON A crisp Friday afternoon in October, there is one place I know that Brown University students and their neighbors are coexisting pleasantly, even congenially. That place is on the charter bus that takes 50 passengers on a free, themed tour of Providence. I had the opportunity to be in that sacred space when I helped out on the first of a series of Urban Studies Bus Tours.

The same spirit that attracts curious underclassmen to shopping period class-cruising seemed alive on the October bus tour of Providence’s new constructions. Professor Azar is the Deputy Director of the Department of Planning & Development and a Visiting Associate Professor of Practice for Urban Studies. To the tour participants, he was an engaging guide through the mazes of cranes that line some of Providence’s most developing neighborhoods: College Hill, West Broadway, the Valley, and Olneyville.

Supported by the fantastic maneuvering of our jovial bus driver, Azar gave voice to the seemingly endless

drone of construction work that I have become accustomed to hearing all over the city. Questions were asked about population growth in the city, how to solve the housing crisis in light of the proposed high-rises, and the future of highway infrastructure, among other pressing issues.

As a loyal Urban Studies student, I found it refreshing to be in a space where questions that I might write pages and pages about we answered not only with words but also by experiencing movement through the city. It was also a treat to hear the conversation continue after the tour over autumnal refreshments – courtesy of Meredith Paine, Urban Studies Program Manager and resident superhero. The relaxed, grounded energy in the Maxcy Hall seminar room was a pleasant break from the seemingly frantic academic world flying past the windows.

If you haven’t been on one of these tours – I recommend you grab a ticket for the next one. Getting off the hill is hard and the bubble we live in together is familiar but smothering.

The warm bus and warm company make it a little bit easier to get away. Just don’t wait too long to save your spot! There’s no better way to start a weekend at Brown than with a change of pace.

If you’d like to see Providence through the eyes of faculty from one of the university’s most interdisciplinary programs, contact Meredith Paine (meredith_paine@brown.edu). All tours begin and end at 108 George St. near the entrance to Brown’s Main Green, starting at 3pm and ending with light refreshments in Maxcy Hall room 109.

A full schedule of the bus tours can be found on the back cover

CONTINUED

NYC Cont.

zens. To achieve this, the city received input from hundreds of cybersecurity experts and community stakeholders. Although the initiative also yielded a startup accelerator, a cybersecurity hub, an international competition, and a matchmaking program for researchers and entrepreneurs, the initiative’s talent and workforce development programs are especially innovative. Already, the cybersecurity industry is facing a critical shortage of qualified talent. Technologically, the specific cyber threats and defense mechanisms relevant to employers are ever-shifting. This necessitates a creative approach to cyber education. The city-funded programs include a case-study course taught at City University of New York (CUNY) campuses by a cyber professional, a virtual internship program, and an Inclusive Tech Scholarship with Columbia’s graduate school to diversify the pool of cybersecurity executives. Most inventive, perhaps, is the stackable credentials program, developed by NYU and administered across several universities, that will allow students to complete short-term modules on an as-needed basis, or as career, personal, and financial circumstances allow. If a student eventually com-

pletes the required modules, they can be “stacked” into a master’s degree, even if the student has completed them over the course of several years. Equally essential is the Cyber Boot Camp, a three-month crash-course in cyber security that’s projected to place more than 90% graduates in entry-level cybersecurity jobs, which pay an average starting salary of approximately \$60,000 per year. Students without the necessary prior knowledge can take a free preparatory course through La Guardia Community College. Enrollees will also have access to transportation subsidies, child care, financial literacy training, interview and resume-writing tips, and career counseling services. These programs showcase the potential efficacy of strategic economic planning, especially when it takes an ambitious and equity-driven approach. Though expensive, such initiatives are best executed by local governments that are familiar with the specific characteristics of a city’s population, educational infrastructure, and job market. Targeted initiatives to widen the talent pipeline not only encourages growth and diversification, but also ensures the benefits of urban economic prosperity are shared with those who are too often excluded.

DISP Cont.

Finally, the last team has been categorizing ownership information from the property tax rolls in order to map changes in individual and corporate ownership between 2002 and 2017. This work has its challenges. The property tax rolls are inconsistent. Comprehensive eviction information is almost impossible to access. We’ve had to get creative, using everything from Craigslist to APRAs and trips to City Hall. At the end of the semester, each team will present to the class.

And in February, as we return for the spring semester, we will revise our findings in order to present to members of the Providence community and our partner organizations, including DARE, Southcoast Fair Housing, the Rhode Island Homeless Advocacy Project (RIHAP), HousingWorks, House of Hope, the RI Interfaith Coalition, the Center for Justice, and Signs of Providence. We’re excited to share our work, and we hope that this course is only the beginning of more sustained collaboration and academic engagement between the Urban Studies Department and the city.



Top:
Collaborative
analysis

Bottom:
DISP members
meet in Rock

Source:
Author



Bull Cont.

participation in land use decision making, M professional planners. As a member of the APA, she has participated in two Community Planning Assistance Teams (CPAT). The CPAT program provides marginalized communities lacking the depth of resources to do a planning project with expertise offered by APA members. For example, A community may want to build a park and submits an application with base-level research to the APA, and if they are selected, the APA puts together a team of volunteer members whose expertise matches that needed by the community. The team reviews the resources provided by the community and gathers more information before going to the community for about a week to conduct more in-depth research and meet with stakeholders. After this the CPAT team goes home and spends typically several months writing a report with recommendations for the community.

Bull was a member of the first all-female CPAT, assisting a female planner in South Carolina struggling with neighborhood revitalization in a community that had long suffered from the effects of segregation. Bull and her team went to the South Carolina neighborhood and were led on a walking tour by about 60 community members, who were able to help the CPAT understand their needs and concerns. Many people in the local community hadn’t felt safe walking in the area, and for Bull it was a strong statement to say “we are going to walk through this neighborhood and engage with this land.”

Understanding sense of place requires understanding its history, and that’s what Bull’s South Carolina CPAT team focused on, especially highlighting the history of segregation and racism in the locale. One city councilor who was a part of the

walking tour had become a crusader for an abandoned cemetery in the neighborhood that, now overgrown and unkempt, had once been a major cemetery for black folks in the region and was home to the burial site of an important community leader and minister. When black people were not allowed to be buried in the municipal white cemetery, they had to turn to the local, privately-owned burial grounds, given little choice about where to bury their loved ones. When the grounds were abandoned by the family that owned them, the city was uncomfortable doing anything with the private institution. The CPAT report and the work of engaged community activists convinced the municipality that they had an obligation to take care of this cemetery. Today, funds have been directed to it, it has been upgraded, and people know that it is there. It is a memorial not only to individuals, but a recognition of the power of community and a grounding of our land in our past, present and future.

If you weren’t able to take her class this semester and want to learn more, you can read her book (she will also be teaching the course again next year). The book, Housing in America is designed for planners, urbanists, and residents alike to engage with their communities. Dr. Bull wants everyone to be educated, the gate-keeping of city planning to be countered by regular folks understanding the tools that planners use. For young urbanists looking to professional planning, Bull recommends working throughout the sector first. It’s useful, she says, to understand the municipal uses of planning, but just as useful to have experience in the nonprofit world, where young people can develop a lot of creativity. In the long run, combining both technical and creative work will make you the most effective advocate for neighborhoods, able to think better and harder

Have you written an academic paper about urban issues?
Submit to the Urban Journal!

Have you made art about cities, architecture, or space?
Submit to the Urban Journal!

The Urban Journal -- the Urban Studies Department’s annual publication -- is printed and distributed each May. The Journal features essays and art from students in any concentration in an effort to promote interdisciplinary analysis, to encourage creative thinking about urban space, and to showcase exceptional student work.

Please send submissions and questions to colin_kent-daggett@brown.edu

CLASSIFIEDS

Courses of Interest

Spring 2019

ARCH 1125

Building an Empire:
The Sacred and Civic Arch.
of Ancient Rome

K. Schorle

MWF 11-11:50

ENVS 1555

Urban Agriculture:
The Importance of Localized
Food Systems

D. King

TTh 1-2:20

HIAA 0090

The Other History of
Modern Architecture

I. Osayimwese

MWF 1-1:50

SOC 1340

Principles and Methods
of GIS

K. Mwenda

MWF 1-1:50

Providence
Restaurant
Weeks

January 13-26

Fixed prices at over
100 restaurants!

URBN Seminars
Spring 2019

URBN 1870J

The Politics of
Community Organizing

M. Orr

URBN 1870Q

Cities in Mind: Modern Urban
Thought and Theory

S. Zipp

URBN 1870T

Transportation: An Urban
Planning Perspective

R. Azar

Urban Studies

Bus Tours

March 1st

April 15th

April 24th

Meet @ 3:00 on George St,
in front of the Main Green

Register on EventBrite!

“Street Smart”

By Colin Kent Duggott & Harry August

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53					54				55			

ACROSS

1. Stitches

5. Bldg. located at 1 Capitol Hill

8. Scores a point in cribbage

12. Egg-shaped

13. Cousin of .doc and .xlsx

14. Fit

15. Local dance club

16. Canadian bacon and pineapple

18. Plural present of be

19. Big-name Wimbledon sponsor

20. Organization with an Atlanta HQ

21. Batters' goals

23. Grafton County, NH airport

25. Ladies' man

27. Campus print shop

31. Aural's opposite

32. Anti-Israeli protest strat.

33. Left of third base, say

34. Participated in Brown Together?

36. The World's #1 Skincare Brand for Noticeably Smoother Skin

37. One of a famous duo

38. Plebiscite

39. James Bond, e.g.

42. Stinking

44. Fish eggs

47. From Wesleyan to Brown, say

49. Connecticut Sun's league

50. Years and years

51. Present participle suffix

52. Crowd noises

53. Tortilla ingredient

54. Qing dynasty statesman with a famous dish

55. Worry

DOWN

1. Divan

2. Always

3. "Street stretching from Richmond Square to Main

4. Lupus abbrev.

5. Frat brother eating Vietnamese soup?

6. October birthstone

7. "Avenue stretching from Broadway to Manton

8. Unit of pressure: Abbr.

9. Heroic

10. ___ student

11. Jibe

17. Jump in figure skating

19. 2016 Summer Olympics host

22. Rock climbing role

24. Suit

25. Fishing tool

26. Cold, for Jose

27. Sum

28. "Street stretching from Wickenden to Angell

29. 35-year old in your section, say: Abbr.

30. ___ carte

32. "Street stretching from Alves Way to Main

35. Pub. financing methods

36. Silently approve

38. Sixth Zodiac sign

39. APMA concentrator, e.g.

40. Multihull sailboat

41. Restaurant on Brook and Benevolent

43. ___ of thousands

45. Clarinet cousin

46. Jamestown to Newport direction

48. Snowden org.

49. Org. with a panda logo

S E W S D O A P E G S
O V A L P P T S P R Y
F E T E H A W A I I A N
A B E R O L E N C D C
R R I S L E B
R O M E O A L L E G R A
O R A L B D S F O U L
D O N A T E D N I V E A
Y I N V O T E
S P Y F E T I D R O E
T R A N S F E R W N B A
E O N S I N G W O O S
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