

The Fifth Annual Symposium
on the Social Determinants of Health

Race, Racism, and Baltimore's Future: A Focus on Structural and Institutional Racism



Appendix: Residential Segregation in Baltimore City

#SDH2016



Engaging communities, Improving health



Introduction

After the death of Freddie Gray on April 12, 2015, and the protests and demonstrations that shook the city soon after, Baltimore became a symbol of racial strife and inequity and gained the media attention of not just the United States but the entire world. This was not news for the people of Baltimore or for many of the organizations that work tirelessly toward positive change in this city. To many, the death of Freddie Gray did not come as a surprise. To them, inequitable treatment of young, black men was nothing new; and it certainly was nothing that they had not heard, witnessed, or personally experienced. With the whole world watching, this tragedy brought determination; a determination that his death was not in vain, that the spotlight would not go away, and that together, through galvanized momentum, something would be done.

On April 25, 2016, over 700 people came together to attend the 5th annual Social Determinants of Health Symposium on **Race, Racism, and Baltimore's Future: A Focus on Structural and Institutional Racism**. The symposium was hosted by the Johns Hopkins Urban Health Institute and the Office of Provost. Attendees were a diverse group from the Baltimore area and beyond. Twenty-one invited speakers ranging from research and legal experts to leaders from non-profit community organizations spent the day in an intense discussion of race and racism in Baltimore. They participated in four panels, sharing poignant anecdotes about their personal experiences and presenting their research, all offering suggestions for ways forward.

This year, for the first time, the symposium also facilitated small breakout sessions in an effort to turn discussion into action, as tangible goals are necessary for making progress in Baltimore.

Speakers participated in four panels sharing expertise on:

1. overcoming structural racism,
2. how racism affects health,
3. how racism, racial segregation, and the education system are connected, and
4. racism and policing.

The goals of this symposium were to:

1. reiterate how salient structural racism is in the lives of people in Baltimore City,
2. acknowledge structural racism as a critical public health concern, and
3. critically assess the changes that we can make to reduce structural racism in our personal lives and in the institutions where we work.

Freddie Gray's death and the events that followed brought determination to the event—a determination that his death was not in vain, that the spotlight would not go away, and that together, through galvanized momentum, positive change would be made.

This report summarizes key lessons learned and challenges as discussed by the symposium speakers. Additionally, successful Baltimore City organizations are highlighted throughout.

Appendix: Residential Segregation in Baltimore City

Residential segregation is a result of structural racism, and works to affect health, education, and policing.

In his book *Stuck in Place*, Patrick Sharkey argues that accumulated deficits in human capital, educational attainment, economic circumstances, and particular occupational positions cannot explain why African Americans remain in disadvantaged neighborhoods for generations. Instead, he argues that after the civil rights movement, the poorest neighborhoods bore the brunt of four decades of economic restructuring and political disinvestment, which led individuals living in them (in Baltimore's case, predominantly African Americans) to be "stuck in place."⁵¹ According to Sharkey, African Americans remain attached to places – often places with concentrated poverty and violence – due to a combination of "white discrimination, hostility and violence, housing and credit constraints, and social and family ties."⁵¹

How did Baltimore create a city where significant numbers of African Americans are stuck in place? The timeline below provides some insights on residential isolation in present day Baltimore City.*

Historical Context for Residential Segregation

1910

In **1910**, the first ordinance on "racial zoning" in Baltimore City was passed.⁵²

1930s-1943

The Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC) ran two housing programs, one for whites and one for blacks.⁵³ Housing projects were used to reinforce residential segregation, including the McCulloh Homes, which were built as the first black housing development to prohibit the "encroachment of colored into the adjacent good white residential neighborhood."⁵² This white neighborhood is now known as Bolton Hill.

mid-1930s

In the **mid-1930s** in an attempt to recover from the Great Depression, the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) was established.^{31b} The HOLC was responsible for assessing the financial risk of investing in a geographic area. A red color was used to designate the neighborhoods that were considered greatest risk, and generally this assessment was based on age and condition of the buildings, as well as the ethnic or racial composition of the community. This well-known practice in Baltimore became known as "redlining" and had substantial implications for homeownership for black residents.^{31b}

* Most of this information was obtained from a presentation on the history of housing segregation in Baltimore City developed by Samuels⁵⁰ and the American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland in a fight against unfair housing projects in the Thompson v. HUD ruling in 2005.⁵³

1930s

By the **1930s**, blacks comprised 20% of the city population, but were confined to about 2% of the City's land area. There were distinct neighborhoods that emerged in West and East Baltimore that were known as the black "ghettos."⁵²

Westport Homes were built, which were a public housing project for whites only.

1939-1945

During WWII, there was a severe housing shortage for African Americans who migrated to work in shipyards and defense plants. Opposition from white residents of the city prohibited housing to open for black workers, thus African Americans were forced into racially segregated space that became known as the "black belt."⁵² Despite efforts to open a "Negro war housing" at Herring Run area in Northeast Baltimore, and urging from the Urban League, the NAACP, CPHA, and Afro, that Cherry Hill area was isolated and full of pollution and environmental hazards, Mayor McKeldin dropped the Herring Run site.⁵²

1950s

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgage insurance program of the **1950s** fueled an increase in rental housing and homeownership for whites.^{52, 55}

1950-1964

Between **1950 and 1964**, 25,000 residents of Baltimore were displaced by "urban renewal, public housing construction and school construction."⁵² According to Samuels, 2008, 90% of the displaced residents were African American. Rental ads during this time designated housing as "colored" or "white."⁵²

1960

In 1960, Baltimore City was 34.7% African American and 30.2% of the census tracts in Baltimore City were 60% African American.¹

1967

As a result of civil rights activists, in **1967**, Brooklyn, Claremont, and O'Donnell, which were all white, were integrated. According to Samuels,⁵² as of 1995, these neighborhoods were all still 60% white with a waiting list of 90% black applicants.

1968

In **1968**, the Fair Housing Act was passed just days after the riots in Baltimore that occurred after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. This law prohibited the discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status, or disability in the sale, rental, and financing of dwellings.⁵⁶

1995

In **January 1995**, Carmen Thompson v. United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) fought to eradicate segregated public housing in Baltimore.⁵⁴

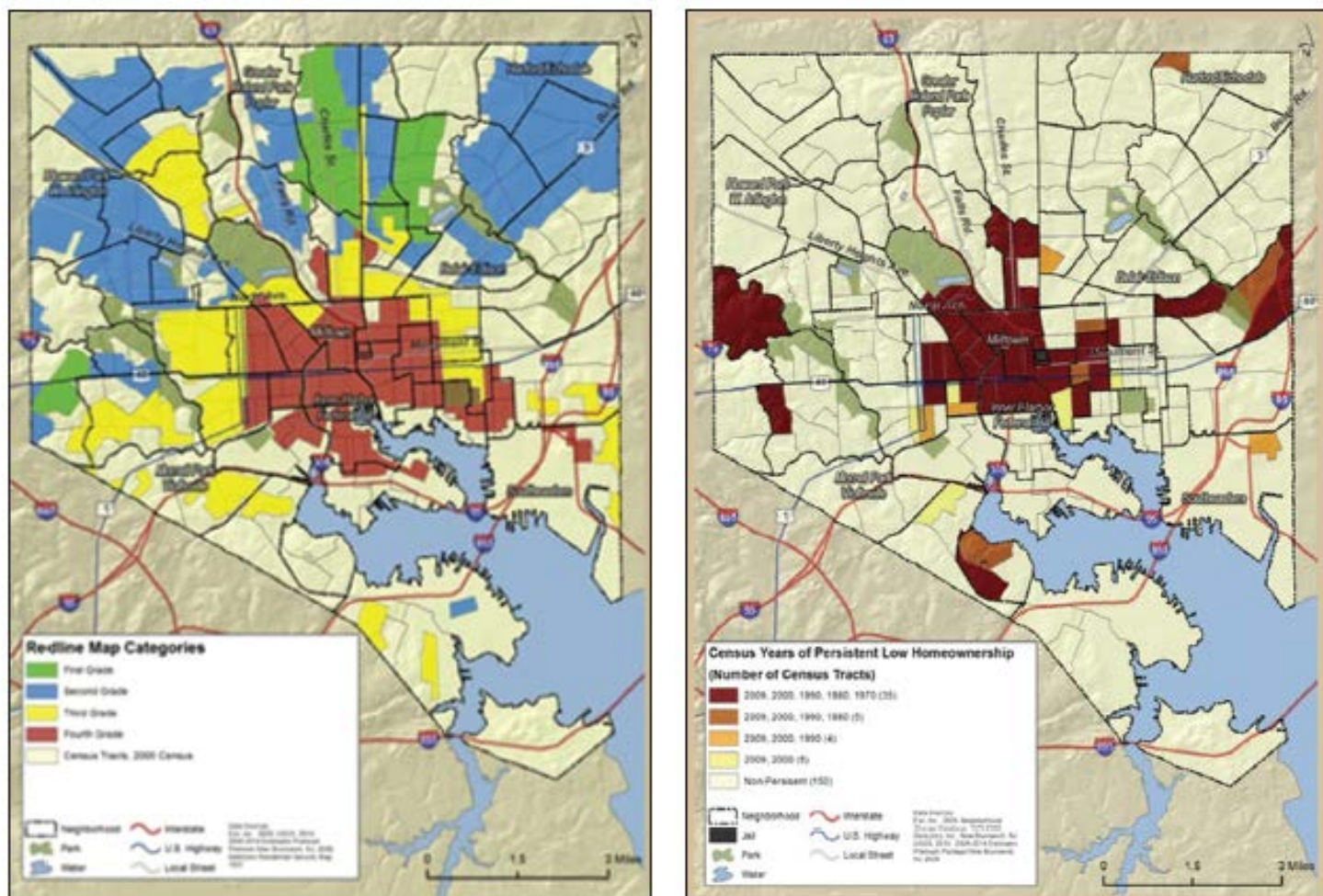


Figure 6. Baltimore's redlining map (left) and current census tracts with persistently low homeownership rates (right). VCU Center on Society and Health.^{31a} Maps created by the Virginia Network for Geospatial Health Research.

2000

By **2000**, Baltimore City was 64.3% African American, and 60% of the census tracts in Baltimore city were more than 60% African American which is double what they were in **1960**.¹

2005

In **January 2005**, after ten years of litigation, Federal District Judge Marvin J. Garbis ruled in favor of Thomson, stating that HUD violated the Fair Housing Act of 1968 by unfairly concentrating African Americans to the most impoverished and segregated areas of Baltimore City.^{54, 55}

2014 Governor Larry Hogan stopped the 14-mile, 2.9 billion dollar plans to build a Red Line rail line, which was intended to connect the East-West corridor of Baltimore.⁵⁷ According to Sherrilyn Ifill, this effort will disproportionately affect low and middle income African Americans who would have used the Red Line to get to work. Additionally, the money not spent on this project is likely to go towards supporting transportation infrastructure for the suburbs. According to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, "whites will receive 228 percent of the net benefit from [Hogan's] decision, while African Americans will receive -124 percent."⁵⁸ Since the ruling to stop the Red Line, the NAACP LDF has filed a civil rights law suit against the state of Maryland.⁵⁸

As can be seen by this timeline, there was a time when it was legal to forcibly segregate neighborhoods and there were specific policies in place that prohibited mobility and integration both economically and racially. Although some of these policies were explicitly racist, others created an environment where discrimination and racism allowed unequal and segregated neighborhoods to continue. As Bass explains, “federal, state and local governments played an active role in creating and preserving race-based spatial residential patterns. History shows that blatantly discriminatory and racially neutral policies that were discriminatory in practice were implemented primarily to segregate and discriminate against African Americans.”⁵⁶ The victory of Thompson vs. HUD in 2005 was a big step forward in eradicating residential segregation in Baltimore City.

Current Status in Baltimore City

A lot of the information that follows was obtained from a report published by the Urban Health Institute called *Health and Wellbeing of Baltimore's Children, Youth and Families*, written by Dr. Philip Leaf and colleagues.² The report provides a thorough overview of Baltimore City and demographic and structural changes that have occurred between 2000 and 2010. A few of its findings are highlighted below as they help us better understand the current residential inequities in Baltimore City. The story of racial inequity in housing to the present day can be thought of as a continuation of a story of residential segregation that extends well back in time.⁵¹ Unfortunately, as the data provided below suggests, neighborhood disadvantage has remained relatively stable over generations.

Spatial Segregation

Denton and Massey⁵⁹ discuss a measure of indicators, including “evenness” and “isolation” to describe the degree of residential segregation in a metropolitan area. Evenness refers to the proportion of demographic groups and how they are distributed throughout the jurisdiction as a whole. “Evenness” is scored on a scale of 0.0 to 1.0, with zero indicating no residential

segregation and 1.0 indicating complete residential segregation.¹ According to Denton,⁶⁰ an evenness score above .6 indicates hypersegregation. Isolation refers to the likelihood that a member of one group will interact with a member of another group in their neighborhood,¹ and is again scored on a scale of 0.0 to 1.0, with zero indicating no isolation and 1.0 indicating complete isolation.⁶⁰ According to Denton,⁶⁰ an isolation score above .7 indicates hypersegregation. According to the use of these indexes and analysis conducted by Webster:¹

- In 1960, Baltimore City’s index of evenness was .84. By 2000, the City’s index declined to .71 yet is still above Denton’s cutoff of .6, indicating hypersegregation.*
- In 1960, Baltimore City’s index for isolation was .83, and in 2000, it was .85, indicating again on Denton’s scale that the City is hypersegregated.²⁴
- Between 1960 and 2000, the percentage of the city’s census tracts that were 60% or greater African American steadily increased, as can be seen in the chart below.

The residential geographic pattern of African Americans in Baltimore City remains strongly segregated. According to an analysis conducted by Frey and Myer in 2000,⁶² in Baltimore City, African Americans scored

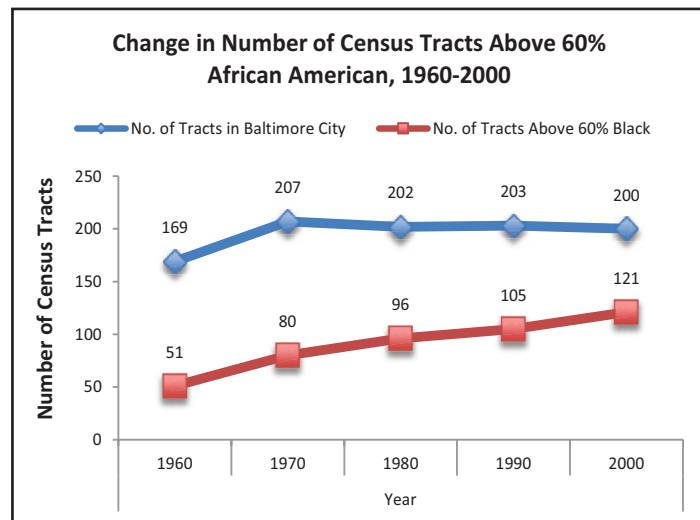


Figure 7. Demographic Overview of the Baltimore Region, 1960 to the Present. (Expert testimony in Thompson vs. HUD). This was an analysis of U.S. Census data from 2000. Data obtained from Webster, G.¹

* These coefficients are drawn from Karl Taeuber’s expert report entitled “Public Housing and Racial Segregation in Baltimore.”⁶¹

a 75.2 dissimilarity index with whites. This indicates that in order for blacks and whites to become evenly distributed across all the neighborhoods in Baltimore City, 75.2% of whites would have to move to another neighborhood.⁶²

Within Baltimore City, there are both areas of family public housing projects and housing secured by Section 8 voucher users, and both are heavily populated with African Americans who are poor. In contrast, housing that is secured by white Section 8 voucher users is more commonly located in the five counties that surround Baltimore City, including Baltimore County, Anne Arundel County, Carroll County, Harford County, and Howard County, and not in the city itself.¹ This trend can be seen in the following three maps, provided by Dr. Webster in his expert testimony in *Thompson vs. HUD*.⁵⁴

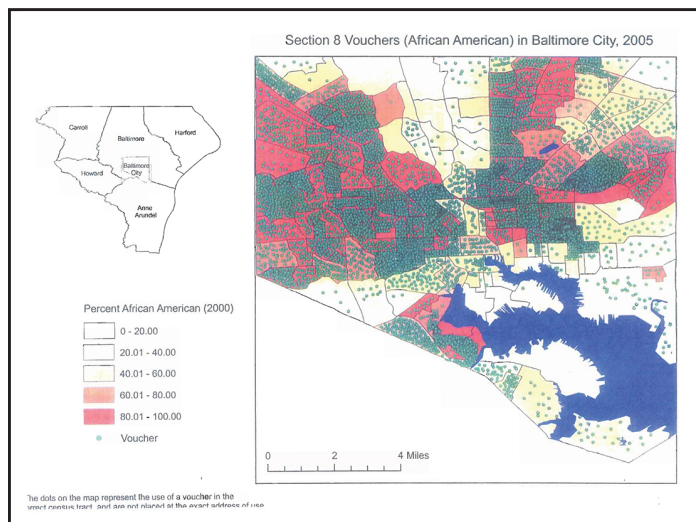
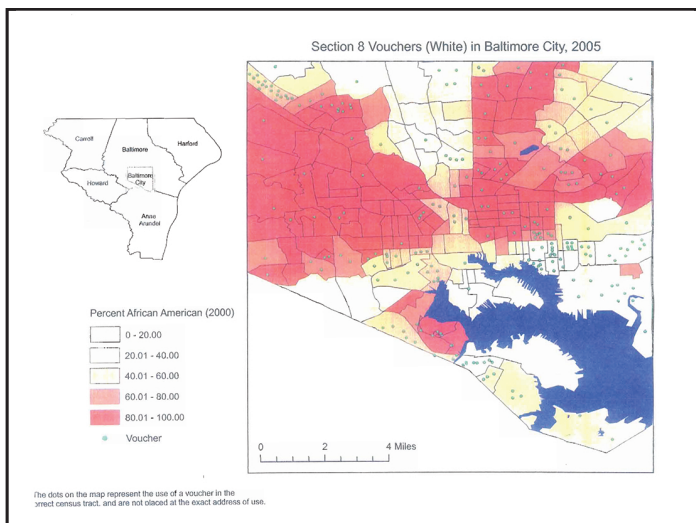
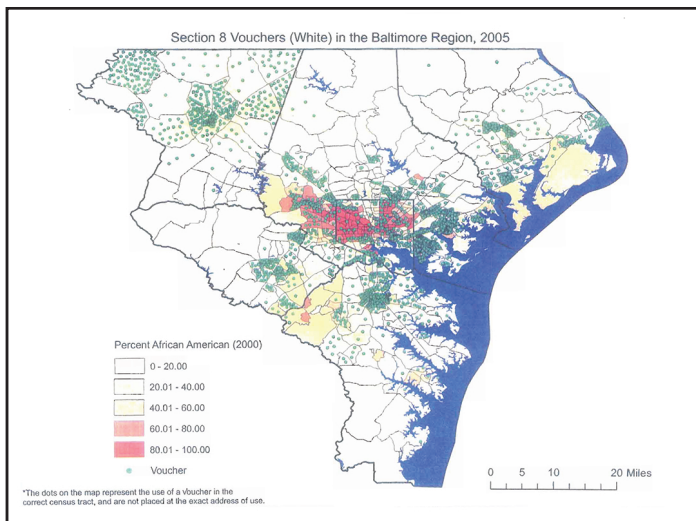
Residential segregation provides a means for which different standards of public service can be delivered.⁶³

Clustering of Economic Distress

Baltimore City in 2009 had a median household income of \$38,772 compared to the Maryland median income of \$69,272.² However, many neighborhoods in Baltimore City have a median income of much lower than \$38,772. The five neighborhoods with the highest rates of unemployment are Greenmount East, Upton/Druid Heights, Oldtown/Middle East, Madison/East End, and Southern Park Heights.^{3a} One can expect that the differences in income and employment translate into discrepancies in schools and health. One can speculate that spatial segregation in areas of high economic poverty and disheveled housing conditions is likely one of the conditions that replicates and preserves unequal conditions for people of color, who predominantly live in these areas.

Increase in Vacant Housing

Between 2008-2010 the number of vacant housing units in Baltimore City increased by 10.1%.² More affluent neighborhoods, including Harbor East and Little Italy saw increases in population, while a large portion of East Baltimore, including Oldtown/Middle East, Greenmount East, Clifton Berea, and Midway Coldstream, saw substantial declines in population.² These demographic changes, and the increase in vacant housing can pose substantial challenges to health, schooling, and policing if continued to be left unaddressed. For example,



Figures 8-10. To see more maps like these, please refer to the expert testimony of Webster,¹ which is available online at www.aclu-md.org/uploaded_files/0000/0156/776webster.pdf

increases in vacant housing for particular communities could influence school segregation if flight out of the neighborhoods is disproportionately white and rows of unattended, uncared for empty buildings could decrease sanitation standards for residents living close by.

Limited Upward Economic Mobility

Moreover, in particular for African Americans and other racial minorities living in these communities, it limits their economic mobility. In a study conducted by Chetty and Henderson⁴ at Harvard University, researchers found that out of 100 of the largest counties in the U.S., Baltimore City had the worst prospects for upward economic mobility for children with parents at the 25th percentile of the income distribution.

Based on data from children who grew up in the 1980s and 1990s, this study found that every extra year spent in the city of Baltimore reduced a child's earnings by .86% per year of exposure, which generates a total earnings penalty of approximately 17% for children who grew up here since birth.⁴

Findings from this study also found that within a given commuting zone, counties with the worst rates of upward mobility tended to have five characteristics:

- Segregation by income and race
- Poor school systems
- Higher levels of income inequity
- High rates of violent crime
- Smaller share of two-parent households

From what we have detailed throughout this report, Baltimore City has many of these characteristics, and many of these characteristics are tied intimately to structural racism.

Baltimore City Organizations Addressing Housing and Transportation Discrimination

- **NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund** www.naacpldf.org
- **The Citizens Planning and Housing Association** www.cphabaltimore.org
- **Baltimore Heritage** is a non-profit organization that works to save historic buildings, revitalize neighborhoods, and celebrate the stories of people living in Baltimore City by providing tours and education. <http://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/>

Who we are

Established in 2000, the UHI serves as an interface between Johns Hopkins University and the Baltimore community in which it resides. Together with its university and community partners, the UHI explores ways that the research, teaching, and clinical expertise of the University can be better harnessed for the benefit of the residents of Baltimore.

Our Mission

To serve as a catalyst that brings together the resources of Johns Hopkins Institutions with the City of Baltimore, to improve the community's health and well-being, and in so doing serve as a model of community-university collaboration regionally and nationally.

We would like to acknowledge the contributions from the Community-University Coordinating Council and community planning meeting participants in helping to shape the symposium.

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