A port city located on the banks of the Patapsco River, Baltimore is one of the largest U.S. cities with a majority-Black population, and it has a long and complex history related to race. In the early 20th century, as in many American cities, Baltimore civic leaders endorsed broad plans to “protect White neighborhoods” from Black newcomers. Today, Baltimore struggles to overcome the legacy of these early racial divides. Of the 10 initial cities, Baltimore has the second highest rate of racial segregation, with 62% of the population required to relocate to achieve racial integration, behind only Philadelphia at 63%.

As a post-Industrial city today, Baltimore relies on low-paying service jobs and major anchor institutions, including hospitals and universities, to support the local economy. Although its income inequality is not as stark as other states where the 10 cities studied are located, Maryland is one of fifteen states in which all income growth between 2009 and 2013 was absorbed by the top 1% of earners.

Baltimore City Public Schools operate independently of the slightly larger Baltimore County Public School District; serving nearly 85,000 students across 186 schools (including 34 charter schools), with over 5,200 teachers. While more than one-third of all Baltimore’s children under age 18 live below the poverty line, Black children are more than three times as likely as White children to live in poverty; Latino children are more than twice as likely as White children. Unlike many other cities, the average graduation rate among Black students has been comparable or higher than White students from 2010-11 through 2013-14; however, the White graduation rate surpassed the Black graduation rate in 2014-15.

Baltimore is one of 10 cities identified by the U.S. Department of Justice as responsible for a surge in violence in 2015 and 2016. Research shows close connections between community violence and concentrated poverty, segregation and over-incarceration of Black males, three areas where Baltimore is also among the highest in the country. Violence disproportionately affects Black children, who experience rates of mortality twice as high as White children.
Baltimore has 43% of the supports measured through the Index. Baltimore's system offers the greatest level of Commitment compared to the other cities — standing out from the group for having relatively low suspension rates (7% of students) with consistently low rates across racial groups. Still, there were 541 expulsions in the 2013-14 school year, and 95% of those expelled were Black. Baltimore also delivers relatively strong supports for Stability, with good access to transportation and some of the strongest rates in terms of livable wages and racial equity in livable wages. At the same time, Baltimore is among the lowest in supports for Care and Capacity — almost 50% of low-income populations lack a grocery store in their neighborhoods, teacher salaries and experience are among the lowest and, as with other cities, school economic segregation continues to create separate schools with unequal resourcing for low-income students and students of color. As with other cities, Baltimore can address these inequities with policy and programming that supports housing affordability and integration. In 2015, Baltimore City Public Schools produced a Five-Year Strategic Plan outlining goals to maximize academic achievement and equity by the year 2020. The plan includes priorities around school climate, quality curricula and parent engagement, but does not explicitly speak to addressing health, housing and safety outcomes that impact student learning.8

The local community has taken great strides to overcome inequity and has made great progress in certain areas. National racial justice advocates have heralded Baltimore's positive community outcomes, as compared with other majority-Black cities, and have called for the city's leadership to accelerate the progress.7 However the 2015 death of Freddie Gray because of spinal cord injuries obtained while being transported in Baltimore police custody has led to tremendous community questions and advocacy around the need to create a climate free from the fear of police-sponsored violence. None of the officers involved in the incident with Freddie Gray were convicted.
Baltimore has 42% of the supports measured for Care, including access to health insurance, pre-natal care, healthy foods, parks, clean air, and in-school mental and physical health services.

Baltimore community has put a great deal of effort around improving access to Care in the past decade, particularly around infant mortality and low birthweight babies address through a collaborative city-wide initiative, B'more for Healthy Babies. Some of the largest needs based on the data collected are addressing low air quality and access to neighborhood grocery stores. The high level of air pollution in Baltimore is likely impacted by its roots as an older industrial city, where high levels of air pollution serve as a hallmark of local power plants and the port. Still, data indicate gaps in access to health insurance among Latino populations, in particular, and relatively higher rates of low birthweight babies among Black populations.

While Baltimore, like many cities, have low rates of access to grocery stores for low income populations, Black and Latino low-income people overall have greater access than low income White people. Many efforts are under way in the city to improve access to healthy food. In 2009, the Baltimore Sustainability Plan was adopted as an element of the Baltimore Master Plan, and prioritizes health, equity, and the environment in planning and development decisions. Also in 2009, the mayor of Baltimore hired a Food Policy Director and created the Baltimore Food Policy Initiative, an interagency initiative working toward the goal of improved access to affordable, healthy food across the city. The initiative has led to multiple actions and activities that promise to increase systems of care for Baltimore’s students: food access mapping with partners at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimarket program to increase SNAP access for Baltimore residents, a farmshare program for government union members, SNAP access at local farmer's markets, and several other planning-related initiatives, including farming on city-owned lands, zoning upgrades, etc.8
Baltimore has 43% of the supports needed to provide children with Stability, measured by housing affordability, transit access, child safety, civic engagement, working poverty and financial security.

All residents of Baltimore live within a half mile of transit, and comparatively few families working full-time are earn less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level (8%) compared to other cities. While working poverty rates are more racially equitable than other cities, Black and Latino families still earn unfair wages at higher rates than their White and Asian peers. In addition, 15% of the population is unbanked, which can also put financial strains on low income families by impacting their ability to save for life events like post-secondary tuition or unexpected loss of a job.

As with other cities, housing cost burden is a significant issue for families, with 55% of rented households spending more than 30% of their income on housing. Baltimore also has one of the highest rates of racial segregation in housing, reflecting the system of segregation implemented through federal, state and local policies throughout the 20th century. Across the country, housing policies supported White homeownership while systematically making it illegal for Black families to own homes or live in White neighborhoods, and manipulated markets using redlining and zoning to minimize property value in Black neighborhoods. Without comprehensive correction for these racist policies, cities like Baltimore continue to have separate and unequal neighborhoods and schools today.9 These inequitable living conditions are a matter of life and death – In Baltimore as with other cities studied, Black children 1 – 19 die at more than double the rate of their White peers. To correct for the historical, racist policies that create market instability and inequity today, communities in Baltimore and elsewhere need to elect local, state and federal policymakers that will institute loving systems that will reintegrate communities and schools. However, in Baltimore, low voter participation (62%) in the 2016 general election indicate that nearly 40% of the population’s interests may not be represented in local, state and national public policy.
Baltimore has one of the highest levels of Commitment, delivering 63% of the supports measured for Commitment, as measured by access to early childhood education, positive discipline practices, anti-bullying efforts and ending policies that create a school-to-prison pipeline.

Baltimore has the lowest levels of suspension of any city studied, with relatively low differences by race, though Black students do still face suspension at higher rates than their peers. Still, the number of expulsions and students referred to law enforcement are relatively high, and in both cases 95% of those harmful practices are used against Black students. Baltimore as well as several other cities reported zero allegations of bullying or harassment, but this is more likely a function of instances going unreported rather than not existing, highlighting a need to better assess the culture of inclusion within schools.

Access to early childhood education is a critical support to address in Baltimore. While none of the cities met the minimum benchmarks for points here, Baltimore has one of the lowest rates among the 10 cities with only 51% of 3 and 4 year olds enrolled in school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Bullying Reports</th>
<th>Benchmark: &gt;0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Number of bullying or harassment allegations on basis of sex, race, color, national origin or disability among all K-12 students</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preschool Suspensions</th>
<th>Benchmark: &lt;10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Number of preschool children receiving at least 1 out-of-school suspension</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students Referred to Law Enforcement</th>
<th>Benchmark: &lt;50</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>95% of referrals are Black Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of children receiving at least 1 referral to law enforcement</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Childhood Education Participation</th>
<th>Benchmark: &gt;90%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47%</td>
<td>Percentage of 3- and 4-year-olds enrolled in school</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Suspensions</th>
<th>Benchmark: &lt;10%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8%</td>
<td>Percentage of K-12 students receiving at least 1 suspension</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total School Expulsions</th>
<th>Benchmark: &lt;10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>541</td>
<td>Total number of K-12 students expelled &amp; percent by racial group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>API</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>95%</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>5%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Baltimore has one of the lowest levels of Capacity, delivering approximately 19% of supports measured, including access to challenging curricula, experienced teachers and integrated, well-resourced schools. While nearly all the K-8 schools offer gifted/talented curricula for students (97%), only 57% of public secondary schools offer Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate programs, and a lower percentage of Black students are enrolled in schools with AP/IB programs than their Latino and White peers. As a result, only 13% of high school students are enrolled in an AP/IB course, and enrollment among Black students is nearly three times lower than that of White students. Research shows that challenging curriculum can motivate students and keep them in school, as well as better equip them for post-secondary enrollment and success. In addition to increasing access to AP and IB curriculum, the school district can also assess the gap in students with the potential to succeed in advanced placement but who have not been encouraged to enroll to ensure more students, particularly Black and Latino students, participate in rigorous courses. In part, Baltimore leadership should consider how teacher salary and experience impacts the ability to offer more advanced curriculum: after adjusting for cost of living, Baltimore has one of the lowest teacher salaries, and only 79% of teachers have more than 2 years of experience.

School economic segregation can also deeply affect school capacity and outcomes. Baltimore schools have high levels of income segregation, with 82% of students attending high poverty schools (where more than 75% of the students are eligible for free or reduced lunch), and Black and Latino students attend high poverty schools at significantly higher rates than White students. High poverty schools typically have lower resourcing compared to schools in higher income neighborhoods, while students likely experience higher rates of trauma and adverse experiences outside of school, requiring greater support to succeed academically.
Across the country, we see powerful examples of organizations and community members taking steps to provide systems of supports that give all children an opportunity to learn. While each city may identify their own priorities, there are four key things that all cities can do to strengthen their system of supports. These are outlined below along with promising models and approaches to learn and build from.

1. **Increase Adoption of Models for Delivering a System of CARE to all Children and Families**

To address childhood trauma and other mental and physical health needs, cities need to equip each and every public school to be a hub for assessing and meeting healthcare and other resource needs. Models like [Communities in Schools](https://www.communitiesinschools.org/our-model/) and [City Connects](https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/schools/lsoe/sites/cityconnects/our-approach.html) equip schools with staff and tools to provide a system for addressing individual student and family needs at scale. For more information on CIS's model go to: [www.communitiesinschools.org/our-model/](https://www.communitiesinschools.org/our-model/).

In addition to school models that refer students to providers, [School-Based Health Alliance](https://www.sbh4all.org/about/state-affiliates/) is a network of local, state and national nonprofits working to “complement the work of school nurses by providing a readily accessible referral site for students who are without a medical home or in need of more comprehensive services such as primary, mental, oral, or vision health care.”

SBHA and its state affiliates help schools establish and effectively run school-based health centers. For more information on SBHA affiliates, go to [www.sbh4all.org/about/state-affiliates/](https://www.sbh4all.org/about/state-affiliates/).

2. **Elevate Policies and Practices That Integrate Communities and Schools to Increase Community STABILITY and Equitable Allocation of Community Resources**

To address community and school segregation, we need to build mainstream understanding of the history of policies in the U.S. that created segregation and wealth inequity and come to terms with the damage those policies continue to have on communities today. In his book *The Color of Law*, Richard Rothstein recognizes that we as a society have largely “forgotten the history of how our government segregated America,” and schools widely teach curricula that has been white-washed, failing to educate the public on our history of oppression and de jure racial segregation.

*The Color of Law* outlines several examples of affirming policies that could be adopted if there were greater political will to reverse the damage of past policies and supports rooted in racism. One key policy change communities can adopt is inclusionary zoning policy, which can “require housing developers to set aside...
a portion of the homes they build at below-market rates, and reserve the right for the public housing commission to purchase one-third of those units to operate as subsidized public housing.”

Reforming the Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher program can also lead to greater community integration.

Increasing subsidies to be on par with housing costs in more affluent neighborhoods and increasing the number of vouchers allocated to serve all families that have been damaged by historically racist policies would be a large step in beginning to heal and repair communities.

### 3. Increase COMMITMENT to All Children Through Increased Early Childhood Education Opportunities and Greater Training for Teachers and Administrators in Anti-Racist Practices and a Culture of Inclusion and Healing

Federal programs that provide access to early childhood education need increased funding to meet the scale of need that exists.

Racial opportunity gaps are not just about gaps in access to resources; they also result from unintentional differences in the ways adults and other students treat children of color.

These “invisible forces” are hard to measure, but are becoming clearer through research from groups like GLSEN and Georgetown Law Center that put data to the implicit biases and harassment that students, teachers, administrators and other adults within the system inflict against girls and boys of color. For recommendations on practices for increasing inclusion and reducing bullying in schools see GLSEN’s report at: www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/TeasingtoTorture%202015%20FINAL%20PDF%5B1%5D_0.pdf

For recommendations on policies and practices to address bullying without using zero tolerance approaches that are more harmful than helpful to school safety and culture, go to www.schottfoundation.org/resources/two-wrongs-dont-make-right-why-zero-tolerance-not-solution-bullying.

The Communities for Just Schools Fund (CJSF) is a leader in strengthening the organizing infrastructure in local communities by giving grants to local and regional groups that organize young people, parents and caregivers, educators and other community members to advocate on behalf of students impacted by exclusionary school discipline practices. For individuals and foundations interested in contributing to local organizing, CJSF shares several ways to get involved: www.cjsfund.org/get-involved

### 4. Deepen Public and Private Commitment to Increasing CAPACITY of Public Schools

According to research by the Education Law Center and Rutgers Graduate School of Education, states are largely failing to invest adequately and fairly to provide all students with the resources and supports that they need to succeed.

For data and resources to advocate for fair school funding, go to: www.schoolfundingfairness.org/is-school-funding-fair
Endnotes


