

An aerial photograph of Baltimore, Maryland, showing the city skyline with various skyscrapers and buildings. In the foreground, there is a waterfront area with a large, modern, circular building and a red-roofed structure. The water is visible, and the city extends into the background under a clear sky.

SCHOOLS, PRISONS & CONCENTRATED POVERTY

ADDRESSING CHALLENGES, GENERATING SOLUTIONS

A Call to Action: Generating Strategies that Promote Nurturing, Justice, and Equitable Environments in Baltimore

In the 19th century, Daniel Coker, William Lively, William Watkins, and Father James Hector Nicholas Jourbert de la Muraille and the Oblate Sisters of Providence provided nurturing educational environments for Black Maryland residents through Sabbath and Day Schools that aimed to acknowledge and support the "whole person" (Gardner, 1976). At that time, African Americans faced the cruelty of slavery, restrictive state and city ordinances, and exclusion from employment and public schooling. Amid this oppression, by 1859 an estimated 2,665 students attended these self-sustaining schools. These schools provided an environment that fostered a commitment to education, developed a powerful teaching force, and invested in community uplift. As a result, more than half of Black Maryland residents identified as literate to some extent (Fields, 1984). More than 200 years later, evidence reveals an ongoing need for action to acknowledge and support the "whole person." Far too often, African American children, youth, and families experience punitive environments instead of nurturing homes, schools, and communities that enable them to thrive. This symposium is thus a call to action: to break down silos, identify challenges, and generate solutions. This document summarizes information compiled to begin a collaborative discussion to disrupt punitive approaches, further promote nurturing and equitable schools, and enact justice in workplaces, homes, and communities.

One challenge is the concentrated poverty that many students and families in Baltimore experience. Racially restrictive covenants of the early 1900s, redlining and blockbusting from 1930-70s, White flight in the 1970s through 90s, subprime lending in 2000-2010, and current disinvestment in African American communities have produced environments where many of our children experience higher levels of crime, violence, underground economies, liquor stores, fast food restaurants, abandoned buildings, lead poisoning, and poor transportation. Social science research has established that concentrated poverty in Baltimore is the result of government policies and practices that excluded African Americans. We cannot blame students and their families for intergenerational injustices they confront. This is an opportunity for agency directors, school district administrators, the philanthropic community, politicians, non-profit organizations, and community members to strategize on policies and practices that can provide justice and economic stability for students and families. As Bryan Stevenson states, "the opposite of poverty is justice." Many Baltimore students and their families live in communities where they need justice.

Baltimore City Public Schools must address the concentrated poverty that many students encounter in their homes and communities. Schools are expected to be the great equalizer, but often do not receive enough funding, resources, personnel, and interagency support to provide the intensity of services needed to assure students' educational and overall wellbeing. Research conducted and compiled by Baltimore's Promise shows that this situation has led to an opportunity and support gap. While graduation rates continue to increase, Baltimore City's average math, reading, and English Language Arts scores are considerably lower than those of other Maryland students. Research from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) on Baltimore City Schools indicates that 34.9% of students report being in a physical fight on school property; 12.3% report being threatened or injured with a weapon on school property; and 14.7% report being bullied on school property. Further, 12.2% of students report that they did not attend school because they felt unsafe at school or on their way to or from school. Clearly, much work remains in order to develop and implement strategies to empower schools and communities and provide nurturing and equitable environments for all of our children, students, teachers, and administrators.

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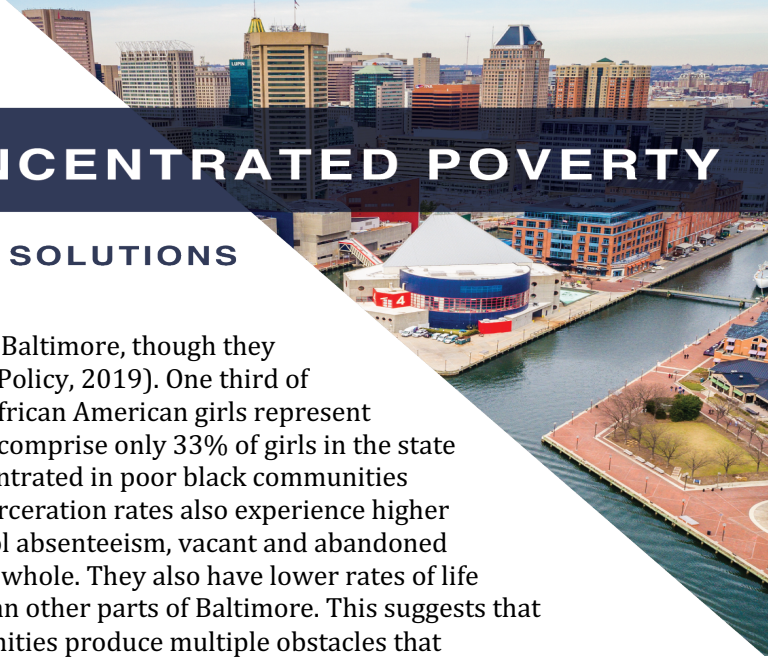
African American youth make up 90% of juvenile arrests in Baltimore, though they represent only 64% of the city's youth (Children's Law and Policy, 2019). One third of Maryland residents in state prison is from Baltimore City. African American girls represent 65% of female juvenile center placements in Maryland, but comprise only 33% of girls in the state (Baltimore Sun, 2017). Incarceration rates are highly concentrated in poor black communities (Justice Policy Institute, 2015). Communities with high incarceration rates also experience higher rates of unemployment, reliance on public assistance, school absenteeism, vacant and abandoned housing, and addiction challenges compared to the city as a whole. They also have lower rates of life expectancy, educational attainment, and median income than other parts of Baltimore. This suggests that both concentrated poverty and highly incarcerated communities produce multiple obstacles that students and their families navigate daily. Not only are African American youth disproportionately arrested; they are also more likely to live in communities where adults are in prison. Michelle Alexander (2011) calls the mass incarceration in Black communities the "New Jim Crow." The research below shows that too many young people and their families are haunted by a caste-like system that prevents them from fully thriving in our city. We must engage in a transparent dialogue to develop effective strategies that disrupt these patterns.

Punitive environments and the relationships they foster take a toll on students' mental health. Forty-one per cent of female students and 22.8% of males report feeling sad or hopeless. Moreover, 9.9% of male youth and 9.4% of females report having been forced to have sexual intercourse. Thirty-nine per cent of LGBT youth report seriously considering or attempting suicide. Also, 80% of our youth are not getting eight hours of sleep nightly. It is common to ask youth to develop their resiliency to overcome these hurdles. In contrast, this symposium asks adults to provide environments and relationships that support young people's resiliency so they can thrive.

Producing pathways to career and economic success is another challenge. A study analyzing Baltimore City patterns of employment commissioned by the Associated Black Charities found that African American employment tends to be concentrated in lower-wage/lower skills occupations (Li & Clinch, 2018). Most African Americans work in retail trade, transportation and warehousing, health care, social assistance, or administrative and waste management services. Less than 30% work in management, business, science, and arts occupations. Blacks in Baltimore City earn about half of what White workers earn (median income of \$38,688 vs. \$76,992 for White workers). The unemployment rate is also alarming. Black males' unemployment rate is 17.2%, compared to 4.4% for White men. Students needed non-discriminatory pathways for career and college readiness that provide awareness, support, and employment options to reach their goals. African Americans and those of other marginalized identities need non-punitive and less hostile workforce environments.

Cognizant of these disturbing patterns, we unite to engage in a collaborative conversation to create effective pathways to success for all Baltimoreans. The compiled research indicates a need for action to provide nurturing, equitable environments that produce justice, structural change, and support for youth, families, and communities to thrive. We acknowledge the work done towards these goals every day by nonprofits, local grassroots organizations, school district personnel, researchers, and community members. Let us celebrate and invest in the great work underway in these communities, while removing systemic barriers that hinder the thriving of the "whole person." Let us seize this time to break down silos, pursuing the tradition of Daniel Coker, William Lively, William Watkins, and Father James Hector Nicholas Jourbert de la Muraille and the Oblate Sisters of Providence.

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JUVENILE JUSTICE IN BALTIMORE: SCHOOLS & POLICING

School Police Force

- Baltimore has the only school system in Maryland with a sworn school police force.
- Baltimore City School Police Force duties include “patrolling, responding to calls, investigating offenses, counseling students, de-escalating conflict, advising school staff on security issues, and providing information to parents” (Baltimore City Schools, 2019).
- The police force has a Civilian Review Board.
- School police officers have all the powers of any peace or police officer in the state. They receive the same basic academy training as Baltimore City police officers (Baltimore City Schools, 2019).
- 90 officers working in Baltimore City Public Schools are allowed to carry guns around the exterior of buildings before and after school (Baltimore Sun, 2019).
- School officers are allowed to make arrests.

Changes in School Policing

- Baltimore City School Police have adopted policies and practices designed to limit the offenses for which youth can be arrested
 - Those changes have led to a 97% decrease in arrests of students by the Baltimore City School Police.

Academic Year	Number of Arrests
2007-2008	971
2017-2018	33

Juvenile Arrests

- The overall number of juvenile arrests has fallen in recent years, from 4,402 in 2012 to 2,217 in 2017. However, for youth of marginalized groups and identities, the percentage of African American arrested remains high (Baltimore Sun, 2018; Abell Foundation, 2018).

2016 Juvenile Arrests	Percentage African American
Girls	65%
LGBTQ & gender non-conforming	85% of 20% identifying

Why Consider Arrests and Incarceration?

- Communities in Baltimore with high incarceration rates have lower life expectancy, educational attainment, and median incomes than other parts of Baltimore (Justice Policy Institute, 2015).
- Maryland taxpayers spend nearly \$300 million each year to incarcerate people from Baltimore City (Justice Policy Institute, 2015)

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SCHOOL DISCIPLINE TRENDS IN BALTIMORE

School Confinement

- Baltimore City Public Schools is one of the most segregated school systems in the country, serving a school population that is 80% African American (MSDE, 2017).
- In the 2015-2016 school year, 7% of students in Baltimore City Public School experienced suspension or expulsion. This number decreased the following two academic years, to 5.7% in 2016-2017 and 5.1% in 2017-2018.

Year	Percentage Suspended (In and Out of School) or Expelled	Suspension offenses	Number of students suspended (Out of School)
2015-2016	7%	(no data)	(no data)
2016-2017	5.7%	6,764	4,449
2017- 2018	5.1%	5,688	3,923

Source: Maryland State Department of Education

Punitive outcomes: School discipline for African American children

- Of the 4,097 unduplicated students who experienced in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, or expulsion in the 2017-2018 school year, **3,754 were African American.**
- BCPS is majority African American, so the majority of suspensions and expulsions are also African American students. State-wide, in 2017-2018 Baltimore City did not have the largest number of African American students experiencing out-of-school suspension or expulsion (3,616). That distinction went to Prince George's (6,227). Overall, African American students experienced more out-of-school suspensions and expulsions than any other group (23,037).
- The majority of the disciplinary infractions are reported for students in grades 6-12, but students in Baltimore are suspended or expelled as early as pre-kindergarten.
- Most students are suspended for actions classified as "attacks/threat/fighting" and "disrespect/disruption" (MSDE, 2017).

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Wellness & Youth in Baltimore

Baltimore's youth experience a variety of events in the community and at school that impact measures of wellness. Below we provide data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's (CDC) biennial national Youth Risk Behavior survey. These data focus on high school students' health behaviors and the risks to their overall wellness. We also include the 2017 disaggregated data by sex and sexual identity groups. The Baltimore Student sample size was 805 with a 92% response rate (83.2% Black/African American)

Baltimore Overall 2015 and 2017

Question	2015	2017
Carried a weapon	21.9%	19%
Carried a weapon on school property	9.8%	7.8%
Were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property	10%	12.3%
Were in a physical fight on school property	15.9%	34.9%
Were bullied on school property	11.9%	14.7%
Did not go to school because they felt unsafe at school or on their way to or from school	11.5%	12.2%
Were ever forced to have sexual intercourse	10.6%	9.8%
Felt sad or hopeless	29.8%	31.9%
Seriously considered attempting suicide	17.8%	19.2%
Made a plan about how they would attempt suicide	14.4%	16%
Attempted suicide	18.7%	17.3%
Suicide attempt resulted in an injury, poisoning, or overdose that had to be treated by a doctor or nurse	7.3%	7.5%
Did not get 8 or more hours of sleep	76.1%	79.8%
Were offered, sold, or given an illegal drug on school property	25.2%	27.8%

2017 Data Disaggregated by Gender Subgroups

Question	Female	Male
Felt sad or hopeless	41%	22.8%
Seriously considered attempting suicide	24.5%	13.2%
Were ever forced to have sexual intercourse	9.4%	9.9%
Ever experienced sexual violence by anyone	10.7%	10.2%

2017 Data Disaggregated by Sexual Identity Subgroups

Question	Heterosexual	LGBTQ
Felt sad or hopeless	25.3%	54.3%
Seriously considered attempting suicide	14.1%	39.6%
Made a plan about how they would attempt suicide	10.9%	35.0%
Attempted suicide	13%	30.6%
Suicide attempt resulted in an injury, poisoning, or overdose that had to be treated by a doctor or nurse	5.7%	12.5%

Charts adapted from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2017). Youth Risk Behavior Survey Data. Retrieved Sept. 15, 2019, from <https://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/data/yrbs/pdf/2017/ss6708.pdf>

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FROM CRADLE TO CAREERS

Youth Health, Achievement, and Career Readiness

Wellness measures for Baltimore's youth extends beyond health and risk behaviors. Data on healthy births, kindergarten readiness, achievement tests, college readiness, and the quality of post-secondary credentials provides insight on community and youth health. This data can be a powerful tool for creating and implementing action plans to shape a healthier Baltimore. Data provided in the charts below is adapted from Baltimore's Promise Data Score Card and measures "outcomes that serve as key indicators for important milestones on the Cradle-to-Career Continuum. The data presented below represents Baltimore City's Black/African American population.

Infant & Early Childhood Health & School Readiness	2016	2017
Infant Mortality Rate Infant deaths per 1,000 live births	11.3%	12.2%
Low Birth Weights % of births with infants weighing 5.5lbs or less	14.9%	15.6%
Late or No Prenatal Care % of Births to Mothers Receiving Late or No Prenatal Care	10.5%	8.4%
% Entering Kindergarten Ready to Succeed in School	42%	38%

Achievement at Grade Level	2017	2018
PARCC MATH – Grade 3 % of students who met or exceeded expectations	16.2%	15.4%
PARCC MATH – Grade 8 % of students who met or exceeded expectations	3.6%	5.7%
PARCC English Language Arts – Grade 3 % of students who met or exceeded expectations	10.6%	12.3%
PARCC English Language Arts – Grade 8 % of students who met or exceeded expectations	10.9%	14.0%

High School Graduates Ready for Next Step without Remediation		
PARCC English/Language Arts – Grade 10	13.6%	11.0%
PARCC Algebra I % of students who met or exceeded all expectations	8.5%	6.5%
PARCC Algebra II % of students who met or exceeded all expectations	4.5%	4.1%
4-year High School Graduation % of HS students who graduated within four years of enrollment	72.1%	73.5%
Youth Earn a Quality Post-Secondary Credential or Receive Training and Are Career Ready		
College Enrollment % of HS graduates who enrolled in college within 16 months post HS	50.6%	50.2%

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EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN BALTIMORE

Employment Snapshot: African Americans

- In Baltimore, Blacks are the majority of the population, are 81% of the unemployed, and have a 9.55 unemployment rate compared to whites, who are 11% of the unemployed but have a 2.7% unemployment rate (Andre Perry, 2017, "Full Employment Has Not Reached Black America")
- Unemployment rate: 17.2% for Black men; 4.4 % for White men

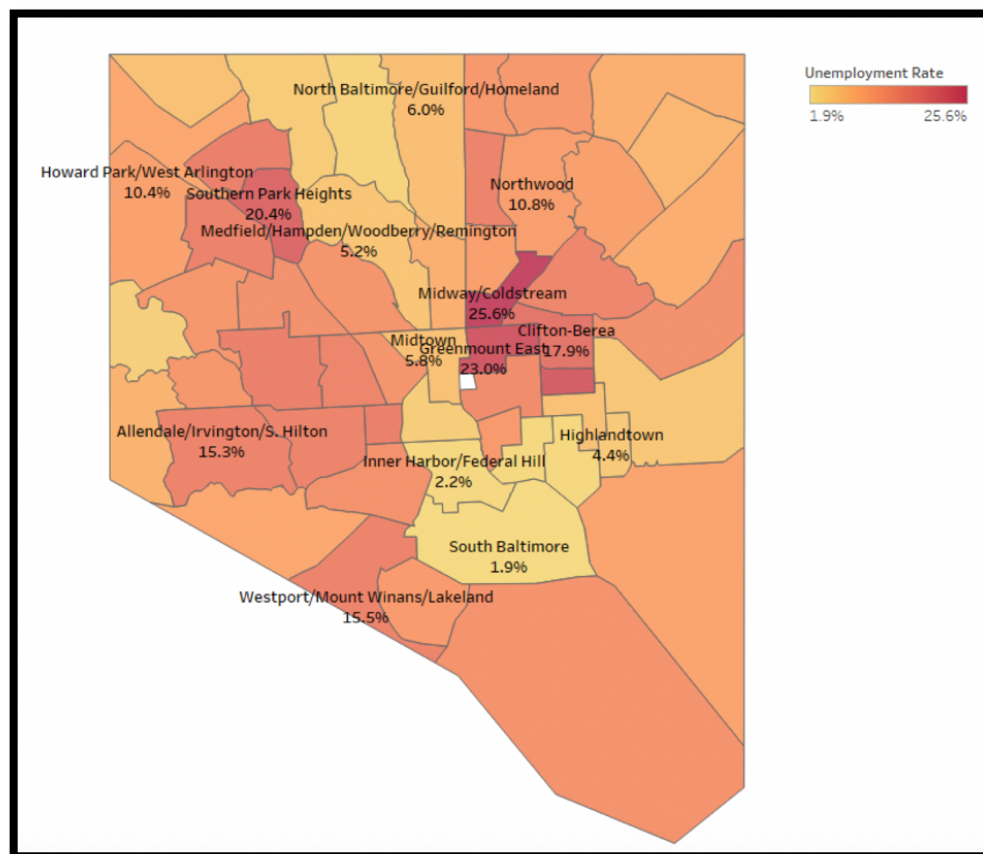
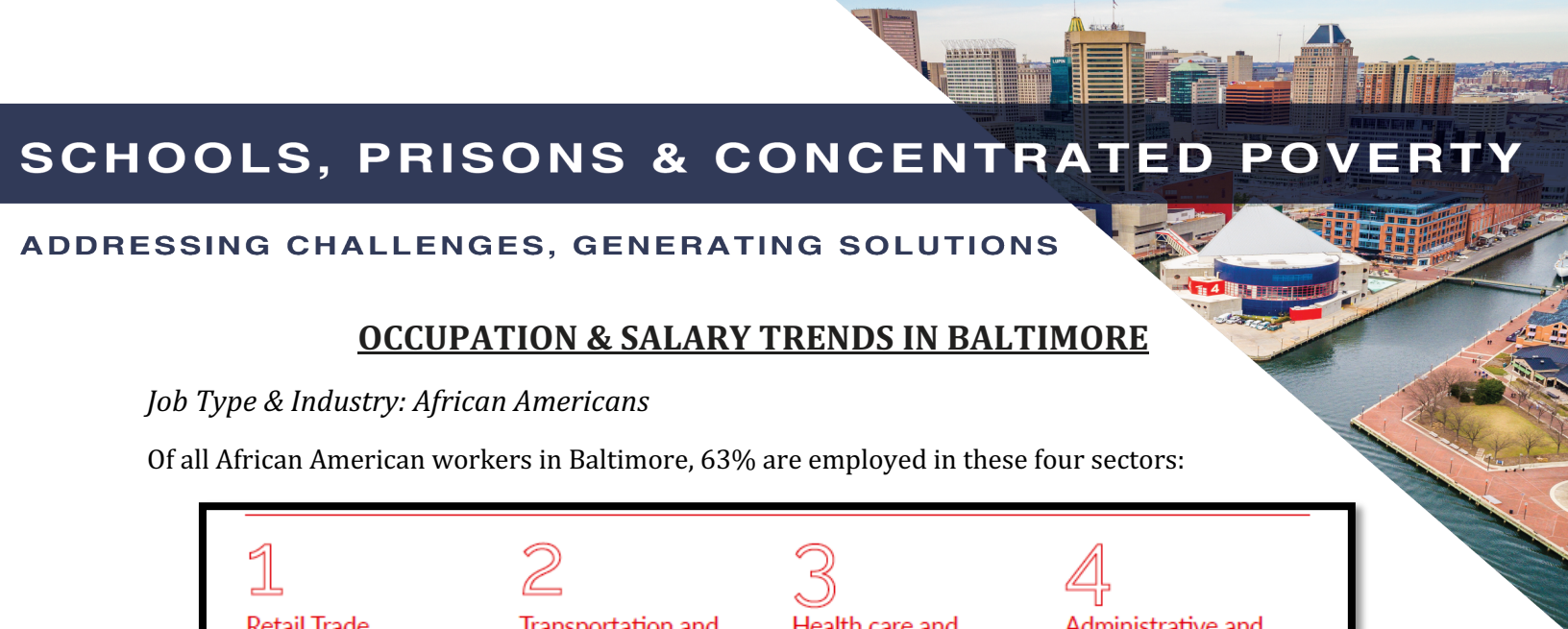


Figure 1. Unemployment in Baltimore by Neighborhood. Retrieved from Baltimore's Promise, <https://baltimorespromise.org/dashboard/>



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OCCUPATION & SALARY TRENDS IN BALTIMORE

Job Type & Industry: African Americans

Of all African American workers in Baltimore, 63% are employed in these four sectors:



Figure 2. Retrieved from: Associated Black Charities. Retrieved from https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5728e34fd51cd4809e7ae0/t/5ad765c1562fa74d577abb3c/1524065741388/Analysis+of+Patterns+of+Employment+by+Race+Report_v2c++Online+Version.pdf

- Although African Americans are overrepresented in these four sectors, they are underrepresented in middle- to high-skills industries providing mid to high earnings.
- In Baltimore City, 58% of white residents are employed in higher skill occupations, compared to only 29% of African Americans.
- In professional, scientific and technical services, the region's leading sector—and one with opportunities for high wages—African Americans make up fewer than one in six workers in the city and region.

Wage Differentials: African Americans vs. Whites

Analysis of racial differences in employment, job growth, earnings, and turnover show racial wage disparities across industries and within nearly every industry. Not only are African Americans underrepresented in higher paying fields; in Baltimore City, African Americans earned about half of what white workers earned—a median of \$38,688 compared to \$76,992. The following is a sample comparison of private sector median salaries in 2016 between African American and White workers in Baltimore City. (Data provided by Associated Black Charities.)

Industry	Wages	
	White Alone	Black or African American Alone
Finance and insurance	\$118,944	\$58,668
Construction	\$65, 340	\$45,780
Wholesale trade	\$83,424	\$47,112
Professional, scientific and technical services	\$82,716	\$57, 564

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