

## Apartheid Policies and Practices in Baltimore City (from 1896-2016\*)

by Lawrence Brown PhD (@bmoredoc), Morgan State University

Racial Segregation	Forced Displacement**	Education System	Discriminatory Police Actions	Criminal Justice System
1 <u>Racial zoning</u> (1910), attempted to pass 4 such ordinances and was the first in the nation; (G. Power) <u>White Baltimore real estate conspiracy</u> (1917)	<u>Slum clearance</u> , cleared 5 HABC sites, displaced 1,863 Black families (Hirsch). Overall 2,499 (CPHA). Done partially as a response to public health (Power/Stein)	<u>Historically segregated schools</u> (1867-1954), Baltimore maintained separate schools by race; <u>Colored School No. 9</u> built in 1897	<u>Police killings</u> , Baltimore police killed 56 people, wounding 88 in (2006-14), and engaged in 212 police-involved shootings; 127 people killed by BPD between 1992-2012.	<u>War on Drugs</u> (1970s-2010s) As David Simon says: “White drug use is the same per capita as black drug use. But we all know the numbers for people of color locked up behind the war on drugs.”
2 <u>Restrictive covenants</u> (1918), Edward Bouton of the Roland Park company pioneered racially restrictive covenants, Blacks were barred from owning homes in Roland Park, Homeland, Guilford, and Northwood communities (Dickinson)	<u>Baltimore Urban Renewal Agency</u> (1957) displaced 8,091 Black families; <u>Equivalent demolitions</u> (7,048) NCUP Building the American City p. 85 (80% of 8,810); <u>Highway destruction</u> of W. Baltimore US-40, displaced 960 Black families	<u>Chronic underfunding</u> led to lawsuits starting in 1983 challenging <u>equal funding</u> & the adequacy of the state’s funding. State funding also cut by state wealth formula due to TIFs.	<u>Police brutality</u> , since 2011 the city has paid \$5.7 million in 102 civil suits and court judgments alleging police brutality; officers discharge their weapons at twice the rate of NYC police; officers often engage in rough rides, injuring and killing Black victims disproportionately	<u>Marijuana arrests</u> (2010), Black Baltimoreans were 5.6 times more likely than Whites to be arrested for marijuana possession & Baltimore ranked 5th in the nation in marijuana arrests rate per 100,000 <u>State’s Attorney’s Office</u> does not indict & convict cops who kill unarmed Black citizens
3 <u>Redlining</u> (1937), Baltimore agents drew redlining map used to deny Black folk FHA-insured mortgages. <u>Subpriming</u> 2000-2008 Banks redline again ’11-’13	<u>Hopkins-led displacement</u> <u>Hopkins/Broadway</u> 1,138 Black families displaced <u>Hopkins/EBDI</u> 742 families displaced Total JHU displaced = 1,880	<u>The battle for desegregation</u> and <u>contemporary segregated schools</u> ; <u>Apartheid schools</u> = 83/153 are 99%+ COC	<u>Stop-and-frisk</u> , “...in 2012 BPD made more than 123,000 stops, which resulted in only 494 searches. Out of those, just 20 illegal items were found.”	<u>Deep investments in incarceration</u> , MD taxpayers are spend \$5+ million to incarcerate people from 25 Baltimore’s communities, with total spending of \$288 million/yr. on incarcerating Baltimore residents.
4 <u>Public housing site location</u> (1937) the HABC built public housing to reinforce segregation via site & tenant selection (Arnold Hirsch)	<u>Dismantling of public housing</u> HABC cut 6900 units; <u>residents hurt when their community is threatened or demolished</u> ; RAD sell-off 22 properties	<u>Mass school closures</u> 84 schools closed since 2000, nearly all in the Black Butterfly, <u>School charter</u> pop. up 366% from 2005-2013	<u>Zero-tolerance policing</u> started under Martin O’Malley <u>Stingray</u> cellphone interceptor used more than 4,300 times <u>Riot mobilization</u> April 27, 2015 at Mondawmin bus terminal	<u>Suspects denied medical care by BPD</u> (2015), In 3 years, Baltimore jail refused to admit nearly 2,600 detainees police custody until they had medical care.

\* On May 18, 1896 the Supreme Court handed down *Plessy v. Ferguson*, allowing states to pass wide-ranging racial segregation policies.

\*\*Altogether, *approximately 26,561 Black families* have been forced to relocate due to slum clearance, urban renewal, equivalent demolitions, Hopkins-led displacement, and the dismantling of public housing. As Joan Jacobson wrote, HABC’s “occupied inventory has dropped by 42 percent over the last 15 years – from 16,525<sup>4</sup> units in 1992 to 9,625 in the spring of 2007.” This represents a loss of 6,900 occupied public housing units due to HOPE VI. Each time forced displacement takes place, a Black neighborhood or public housing community is also torn apart as residents rarely return. Root shock accompanies and ensues following forced displacement.

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**End Public School Apartheid\*** by Michael Corbin, teacher at the REACH! Partnership School in Baltimore

The Civil Rights Project at UCLA calls schools where whites make up less than 1 percent of the enrollment “apartheid schools.” Baltimore has apartheid schools. I teach in apartheid classrooms. They are test-driven, culturally hostile, and institutionally racist. They are not “vestiges” or accidents. As with policing and housing, they are intentional, policy-created, and policy-perpetuated—and they need to be confronted at the federal, state, and local levels.

At the federal level, the Obama administration could follow through on the recommendations of the National Coalition on School Diversity—reducing racial and economic isolation and segregation in local schools and districts, for example, and requiring states to report on efforts to promote racial and economic diversity in the public schools in order to receive federal education dollars. The administration and Congress could expand and fund the 2009 Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Plan (TASAP) grant program and the ten Equity Assistance Centers funded by the U.S. Department of Education under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, both of which help states and school districts with desegregation. Similarly, the Justice Department and the Office of Civil Rights at the Department of Education could make educational apartheid a focus of their work as they once did in the long-ago civil rights era.

At the state level, Maryland could combat the hyper-segregation of Baltimore and Prince George’s County schools, and the growing segregation and racial isolation in its suburbs, by creating district student assignment policies that foster diverse schools, and producing inter-district programs like city-suburban transfers and regional magnet schools. For working models, Maryland could look to inter-district choice programs in Minneapolis, Rochester, and Omaha, and the eighty-four magnet schools in Connecticut designed for cross-district metropolitan desegregation.

At the local level, we can give students, families, and communities more meaningful ways to opt out of the current oppressive system. As University of Chicago urban education scholar Charles M. Payne has written, we need schools that are “intended to help people think more critically about the social forces that shape our lives and think more confidently about their ability to react against those forces.” Such schools “can take a variety of forms,” he goes on: “Freedom Schools, Afro-centric schools, Native American survival schools, Black Panther Liberation schools.” Despite the language of “choice,” such schools do not exist in Baltimore right now. Let’s build them.

Until we do, the real opportunities for intellectual liberation and genuine education for Baltimore students are in its rich community-based, co-curricular educational programs. From urban debate to spoken-word poetry to theater, photography, and political organizing, you will find amazing young intellectuals, artists, and academic stars in Baltimore. The tragedy is that they find inspiration only in the cracks of this damaging, racist school system.

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