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**The Ghettoization of HABC-Assisted Tenants in Baltimore City:  
Executive Summary**

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Report to the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Maryland  
April 21, 2003

## **The Ghettoization of HABC-Assisted Tenants in Baltimore City**

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### **Executive Summary**

Public housing in Baltimore is—and always has been—concentrated in areas with high minority populations and high poverty rates. In this report, I considered three aspects of the public housing program in Baltimore City: the family housing project program, the scattered site program, and the Section 8 voucher and certificate program. All three of these efforts have been administered in ways that result in the extreme concentration of tenants in intensely black neighborhoods with unacceptably high rates of poverty. Moreover, this concentration is not the result of changes in neighborhoods after the siting of the projects; on the contrary, all the initiatives have concentrated assisted tenants in neighborhoods that were high-poverty and intensely black even before the assisted tenants arrived. And far from being solely a legacy of de jure segregation, these segregative practices have continued consistently into the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

The high concentration of tenants in ghetto neighborhoods contrasts starkly with the low concentration or absence of tenants in low-poverty neighborhoods with low concentrations of black residents. The scattered-site program, the Section 8 voucher program, and the family public housing program all generally failed to provide tenants opportunities to live in low-minority, low-poverty neighborhoods even in Baltimore City. Such neighborhoods exist in Baltimore City even today, and more did in 1970 and 1980. Yet the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, backed and assisted by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, has never placed family public housing or scattered site units in these neighborhoods within Baltimore City, with the tragic exception of Hollander Ridge, which—far from being integrated into the non-ghetto tract in which it was constructed—was a self-contained, isolated ghetto from its conception. The HABC has also failed to use its wide-ranging authority to operate its Section 8 program in ways that offer tenants adequate choices of low-poverty, low-minority neighborhoods inside and outside Baltimore City. Hence even though the HABC has had adequate authority and resources, and even though metropolitan Baltimore has an ample supply of suitable neighborhoods, the HABC has systematically neglected those opportunities and decided not to use its authority and resources to take advantage of them.

Finally, I considered two possible strategies through which Baltimore's assisted tenants could gain access to decent neighborhoods: expanding opportunities for voucher users and developing affordable housing in appropriate neighborhoods throughout the metropolitan region. With appropriate resources and interventions, these opportunities

could create true housing choice for tenants and relieve conditions of segregation and concentrated poverty in Baltimore's public housing program.

**I. Throughout time, Baltimore's family public housing program has created and exacerbated ghetto conditions.**

Baltimore's family public housing is predominantly located in distressed, high-minority areas and is intensely concentrated in compact clusters. Over ninety percent of the city's family public housing units as of 1990 were in census tracts in which over half of residents were black, and 95 percent of family public housing units were in high-poverty tracts.<sup>1</sup> Nearly ninety percent of family public housing units, furthermore, were in a census tract with very high levels not only of poverty but also of multiple indicators of neighborhood distress: high levels of unemployment, female-headed families with children, and receipt of public assistance.

The segregated condition of Baltimore's family public housing in 1990 is not a product of demographic changes in the neighborhoods surrounding public housing projects after their siting. Rather, this concentration of public housing in poor, black, and distressed areas is a consequence of siting practices that appear to have:

- avoided white and non-poor neighborhoods;
- failed to take affirmative measures to locate public housing in mixed-income, mixed-race neighborhoods; and
- targeted poor and black neighborhoods for family public housing construction even in the 1970s.

These siting practices persisted even after the civil rights and fair housing legislation of the 1960s became law. Of the nine family public housing projects completed in the 1970s, seven (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Dukeland, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Rosemont, and Somerset Courts Extension) were sited in census tracts in which more than 90 percent of residents were black. Five of the nine projects completed in the 1970s (Albert Spencer Gardens, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Somerset Courts Extension, and The Broadway) were in tracts that were already extreme poverty tracts before the projects were completed; six of the nine (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Somerset Courts Extension, and The Broadway) were in more expansive "buffer zones" with poverty rates over 20 percent. No new public housing was sited in white residential neighborhoods, with the exception of Hollander Ridge, which was its own black ghetto.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Housing Authority of Baltimore City chose to site family public housing in the neighborhoods that were most likely to deteriorate and become more segregated, even in the absence of public housing. Neighborhoods with

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<sup>1</sup> High poverty tracts are those in which at least 20 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit; extreme poverty tracts are those in which at least 40 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit. Low-poverty tracts have poverty rates below 10 percent.

high rates of poverty and in which more than half of residents are black rarely climb out of poverty and racial segregation even in the face of substantial efforts to mix incomes and races. Far from making such an effort, the HABC used its siting powers to increase the concentration of poverty and African-American residents in some of Baltimore's most distressed neighborhoods. These neighborhoods—predictably—deteriorated further once the new projects were introduced there. A disproportionate number of the projects demolished in the past decade were built in the 1970s.

When the HABC decided to build new public housing as an extension of or adjacent to existing public housing that had been built under de jure segregation, its planners and administrators would and must have foreseen that the new housing would be similarly racially segregated and that their decisions would simply perpetuate and reinforce segregation. By the late 1960s, planners, HUD, and public housing authorities knew well that placing public housing in minority areas would perpetuate and reinforce segregation.

These siting decisions not only created and reinforced ghettos; they also shaped the composition of the HABC's clientele. White low-income families seeking public housing in metropolitan Baltimore, even if they live in Baltimore City, will be very unlikely to seek housing from the HABC if they believe that the only housing available will be located in almost all-black neighborhoods. Instead, they are likely either to forego assistance or to seek housing assistance in a suburban area where they know they will be able to live in an integrated or mostly white neighborhood.

## **II. Scattered site housing is mostly in the ghetto, and has been so since 1970.**

The scattered site program in Baltimore converted over 2,800 formerly private housing units to public housing between 1972 and 1995. In theory, that program presented to HABC and HUD a unique opportunity to reduce the racial segregation of the public housing projects and their residents and to provide living options in low-poverty neighborhoods. That did not happen, however.

The overwhelming majority of these 2,800 scattered sites were originally sited in census tracts with very high levels of minority concentration and very high poverty rates. From 1972 to 1995, at least 80 percent—and up to 92 percent—of the scattered site units were located in tracts that were already majority-black and high-poverty. Moreover, 31 percent of these sites were located within one-quarter mile of an existing family public housing project. As a consequence of this long-term trend, as of 2000, almost 90 percent of scattered site units are in neighborhoods in which over 90% of residents are black, and over 90 percent of the units are in neighborhoods whose poverty rates exceed 20%.

Moreover, Baltimore's scattered-site units are highly concentrated despite the availability of vacant housing in low-poverty, low-minority tracts in the City. Indeed, there are no scattered site units at all in the 37 census tracts in which fewer than 10 percent of residents were poor and fewer than 25.9 percent black in 1980, even though on April 1, 1980 alone there were over 2,000 vacant dwellings in these tracts.

These siting decisions only exacerbated the concentration of family public housing in Baltimore City. The Housing Authority of Baltimore City's family public housing siting decisions in the 1970s increased the concentration of poverty and African-American residents in some of Baltimore's most distressed neighborhoods. The HABC's scattered-site program, by locating and acquiring units in many of these same neighborhoods, solidified the already strong ghetto conditions of several extended Baltimore neighborhoods. Just as they would have known that building new public housing adjacent to existing public housing would exacerbate segregation, the HABC's planners and administrators would and must have foreseen that the location of scattered-site units would have had the same result.

### **III. Section 8 voucher users live disproportionately in high-poverty neighborhoods with high proportions of black residents.**

In theory, housing vouchers should allow the poor renters who receive them to leave areas of poverty and minority concentration. One would expect the purchasing power provided by the voucher and its "portability" to enable the voucher household to compete with non-poor renters seeking housing in the private rental market. The Section 8 voucher program might have presented the HABC an opportunity to overcome the concentration of low-income assisted families in the ghettos to which almost all tenants in HABC family and scattered-site public had been consigned.

This has simply not been the case with Baltimore's Section 8 program, however. The vast majority of voucher or certificate users in Baltimore City in 1998 lived in census tracts in which most residents were black and poor. Over 80 percent of voucher users lived in census tracts in which the majority of residents were black. Furthermore, even when voucher users moved to tracts that were not majority-black in 1990, they were twice as likely as the average renter to live in a tract undergoing rapid racial transition.

These results run counter to mobility patterns that found renter households fleeing the tracts in which 80% or more of the residents were black. It is not likely, therefore, that the concentration of Baltimore City voucher holders in these tracts was the product of voluntary, informed choice.

The concentration of Baltimore voucher users in poverty areas is even more extreme than their concentration in mostly black neighborhoods. Over 70 percent of voucher users in 1998 lived in high-poverty census tracts. Moreover, thirty percent of Baltimore City voucher users live in tracts that have not only high poverty rates, but also multiple indicators of distress: high levels of joblessness, public assistance receipt, and families headed by single women.

Tracts with poverty rates below 10 percent and fewer than 25.9 percent black residents exist both inside and beyond Baltimore City. Only one percent of Baltimore City voucher users lived in such tracts in 1998.

Together, these results show that the HABC's voucher program has not been administered in ways that affirmatively foster voucher users' mobility toward low-poverty, low-minority neighborhoods. The overconcentration of voucher users in the city's most distressed tracts strongly suggests that the voucher program has either allowed or encouraged the formation and perpetuation of Section 8 ghettos, further destabilizing already fragile neighborhoods.

The suburban portions of the market offer many more choices for housing in decent, non-distressed, non-poor and non-minority tracts than does Baltimore City alone. Vouchers can work in the Baltimore housing market, but only if voucher holders have much better access to the entire metropolitan market than is the norm for Baltimore City's voucher users. Such access will require active, affirmative steps by HABC and HUD. Without such steps, which probably will require a substantial restructuring of the voucher program as currently administered in Baltimore, the voucher program cannot be expected to provide non-white voucher-using households access to tracts with low poverty rates and low concentrations of black residents. Even with these steps, new efforts to provide affordable housing units in high-job growth areas of the suburbs will also be necessary, because too little rental housing exists in these areas to provide adequate choice to voucher users.

#### **IV. New strategies are needed and available to expand choices for Baltimore's assisted tenants.**

Two potential strategies can address the deplorable conditions to which HABC tenants have been consigned. The first strategy, one that can be undertaken immediately, is to expand opportunities for voucher users in low-poverty neighborhoods with low concentrations of African American households where rents are already low enough to accommodate Section 8 housing choice voucher users. An analysis based on tract conditions in April 2000 identifies 268 census tracts in and beyond Baltimore City that met these conditions but had not been pioneered in a significant way by voucher users as of 1998. These tracts are promising and should be explored as potential locations for voucher users. They do not, however, offer enough housing to accommodate large numbers of Section 8 households, nor should they if over-concentration is to be avoided.

A second strategy is therefore essential: to develop new affordable housing in appropriate neighborhoods throughout the region. As the regional economy continues to expand, decentralize, and shift toward the information sector and away from manufacturing, affordable housing tenants and employers will increasingly need better access to one another. Furthermore, to be ready for these economic shifts, the children of public housing tenants require the high-quality education they cannot currently rely on in city school districts. Therefore, affordable housing units must be made available in suburban areas; vouchers alone will not suffice, because landlords in the most desirable land markets have too few incentives to rent housing to voucher-assisted tenants. Moreover, landlords may legally discriminate against voucher users based on the source of their income; voucher users who are black may therefore still face racial discrimination that is legitimized with the excuse that a landlord does not accept voucher users.

An analysis of the 150 ZIP code areas in metropolitan Baltimore found that 43 ZIP codes contain 95 percent of the region's new jobs between 1994 and 1999. These areas contain only 27 percent of the region's rental housing stock, however. Moreover, they contained fewer than 20 percent of the region's rental units with gross rents below the approximately \$710 voucher payment standard (VPS) in 2000, and they contained only 15 percent of the vacant units whose landlords asked less than the VPS. Finally, the opportunity ZIPs currently contain only 16 percent of the region's stock of federally assisted housing. A disproportionate number of these federally assisted units were built by private developers under the Section 236 and Section 8 new construction programs and may soon convert to market rents.

These suburban ZIP codes are prime candidates for programs to encourage the development of mixed-income and 100% affordable rental housing to accommodate public housing tenants who want access to better opportunities for themselves and their children. Not only are they located in areas of high job growth; they are all located at least partly in state- and county-designated Priority Funding Areas,<sup>2</sup> to which the State of Maryland has committed to channel most of its new infrastructure funds. A decision to provide affordable housing in these high-opportunity ZIP codes will simply reinforce and help carry out existing legislation calling for development in Maryland to be compact, contiguous, pedestrian-friendly, and internally diverse in income and housing type.

At least three strategies can be undertaken to provide more affordable housing units in opportunity ZIP areas. First, existing assisted units with expiring affordability requirements should be targeted for purchase or unit-basing of vouchers. Second, existing market-rate rental units should be made affordable through acquisition or unit-basing of vouchers. Third, new construction will be necessary, because the existing stock of rental housing is inadequate to account for all the affordable housing needs generated internally within suburbs, not to mention assisted tenants who have been confined in Baltimore City ghettos.

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<sup>2</sup> Priority Funding Areas are zones designated by the Maryland state legislature and local governments within and pursuant to the 1997 Smart Growth Areas Act to which the state has committed to channel its infrastructure investments.

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Ghettos in the Ghetto**

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### **Summary**

Baltimore's family public housing is predominantly located in distressed, high-minority areas and is intensely concentrated in compact clusters. Over ninety percent of the city's family public housing units as of 1990 were in census tracts in which over half of residents were black, and 95 percent of family public housing units were in high-poverty tracts.<sup>1</sup> Nearly ninety percent of family public housing units, furthermore, were in a census tract with very high levels not only of poverty but also of multiple indicators of neighborhood distress: high levels of unemployment, female-headed families with children, and receipt of public assistance.

When the scope of analysis includes not only the public housing census tract but all tracts within one-quarter mile of project boundaries (the quarter-mile "buffer zone"), over three-quarters of family housing units were in majority-black buffer zones in 1990, and 93 percent were in high-poverty buffer zones. Over two-thirds of family public housing units were in extreme-poverty buffer zones in 1990. And over half of family public housing units were mostly surrounded by census tracts that were not only poor but also distressed.

The segregated condition of Baltimore's family public housing in 1990 is not a product of demographic changes in the neighborhoods surrounding public housing projects after their siting. Rather, this concentration of public housing in poor, black, and distressed areas is a consequence of siting practices that appear to have:

- avoided white and non-poor neighborhoods;
- failed to take affirmative measures to locate public housing in mixed-income, mixed-race neighborhoods; and
- targeted mostly poor and black neighborhoods for family public housing construction, especially when extending established family projects.

These siting practices persisted even after the civil rights and fair housing legislation of the 1960s became law. Of the nine family public housing projects completed in the 1970s, seven (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Dukeland, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Rosemont, and Somerset Courts Extension) were sited in census tracts in which more

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<sup>1</sup> High poverty tracts are those in which at least 20 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit; extreme poverty tracts are those in which at least 40 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit. Low-poverty tracts have poverty rates below 10 percent.

than 90 percent of residents were black. Five of the nine projects completed in the 1970s (Albert Spencer Gardens, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Somerset Courts Extension, and The Broadway) were in tracts that were already extreme poverty tracts before the projects were completed; six of the nine (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Somerset Courts Extension, and The Broadway) were in quarter-mile buffer zones with high poverty rates. Only Hollander Ridge was sited among white neighborhoods, and it quickly became its own self-contained ghetto because of its large size and its isolated site conditions.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Housing Authority of Baltimore City chose to site family public housing in the neighborhoods that were most likely to deteriorate and become more segregated, even in the absence of public housing. Neighborhoods with high rates of poverty and in which more than half of residents are black rarely climb out of poverty and racial segregation even in the face of substantial efforts to mix incomes and races. Far from making such an effort, the HABC used its siting powers to increase the concentration of poverty and African-American residents in some of Baltimore's most distressed neighborhoods. These neighborhoods—predictably—deteriorated further once the new projects were introduced there. A disproportionate number of the projects demolished in the past decade were built in the 1970s.

When public housing was built as an extension of or adjacent to existing public housing that was formerly de jure segregated, planners would have known that the new housing would be similarly racially segregated and that segregation would be perpetuated and reinforced. Indeed, the planning and construction of Columbia New Town in the 1960s by James Rouse was a response to the increasingly segregated condition of housing—both market-rate and government-assisted—in the Baltimore metropolitan area.<sup>2</sup> From its inception, Columbia included a series of measures designed to mix black and white, low-income and wealthier families in the same developments.<sup>3</sup> Even now, Howard County remains more racially integrated, with public housing more broadly dispersed, than the remainder of the Baltimore MSA.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, in metropolitan Cleveland and Chicago, a series of suburbs were adopting programs to encourage lasting integration by banning for-sale signs (an indicator of rapid owner flight) and by marketing homes in racially mixed areas so that they would remain mixed.<sup>5</sup> In other words, by the 1960s, planners throughout the United States knew that (a) concentrating housing that would be inhabited by black residents would further segregate them, but also that (b) with proper programmatic, architectural, and site design, long-term, stable integration could be fostered.

Recent decisions on the siting of low income housing tax credit (LIHTC) projects suggest that agencies' calculus has still not fundamentally changed. Sixty-two of the 63 LIHTC projects sited before 1998 are in tracts with at least 10 percent poor residents and 25.9 percent black residents;

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<sup>2</sup> Forsyth, Ann. 2002. "Planning lessons from three U.S. new towns of the 1960s and 1970s: Irvine, Columbia, and The Woodlands." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 68(4): 387-415.

<sup>3</sup> Hoppenfeld, M. 1971. The Columbia process: The potential for new towns. *The Architects Yearbook* 13, 34-47.

<sup>4</sup> Fourteen percent of Howard County's residents in 2000 were black. The median census tract in the county has 12 percent black residents; the tract with the largest share of black residents has 31.5 percent black residents, but 50 percent of tracts have between 4.8 percent and 21.1 percent black residents.

<sup>5</sup> Keating, W. Dennis. 1994. *The suburban racial dilemma: Housing and neighborhoods*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

the average LIHTC unit, over 1,700 of which were built by 1998, is in a tract that is nearly 30 percent poverty and over 80 percent black. Sixty percent of Baltimore City's pre-1998 LIHTC units are within a half-mile of a family public housing project site. These latest siting decisions have therefore simply perpetuated the long-standing tradition of using limited federal housing subsidies in ways that result in the consignment of assisted households to ghettos. They demonstrate that Baltimore City, which must formally approve LIHTC applications as a precondition of funding, has not fundamentally altered its decision-making framework when siting assisted housing.

Baltimore's family public housing *is* the ghetto. It is also squarely *in* the ghetto. And tragically, this ghetto has been constructed by the policies and practices of the HABC, the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City, and the Department of Housing and Community Development. These practices have consistently been sanctioned by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

### **I. Background: Defining areas surrounding public housing and choosing a time period**

This report uses two different geographies to characterize the conditions surrounding Baltimore's family public housing: the census tract and the quarter-mile buffer zone.

- The Census Bureau, working with input from local governments, delineates census tracts as comparatively homogeneous areas of between 3000 and 8000 people. Tracts are usually bounded by major streets or bodies of water; as a consequence, tract boundaries are sometimes difficult to cross, thereby creating real physical boundaries for the people who live in them. Many studies of metropolitan segregation use census tracts as their statistical building blocks. Census tracts may be somewhat too small to identify the general vicinity of a housing project, however; furthermore, the demographic composition of tracts in which large public housing projects are located is often dominated by the residents of the tracts themselves. Hence tract conditions are useful but incomplete indicators of conditions in the areas that surround public housing.
- For a more complete evaluation of the conditions surrounding and including Baltimore's family public housing projects, I identified the blocks on which projects are located and then drew a one-quarter mile buffer around those blocks. The "buffer zone" statistics reported here take into account the racial composition and poverty levels of all tracts within one-quarter mile of the project boundaries. These demographic characteristics are weighted based on how much of a tract's land area lies within the buffer zone. (See Appendix A for more details.) I chose a quarter mile because a pedestrian can walk that distance in about 15 to 20 minutes.<sup>6</sup> Some buffer zones are split by expressways, water,

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<sup>6</sup> The Cherry Hill, Brooklyn Homes, and Hollander Ridge developments are within a quarter mile of outlying counties. Small segments of two Anne Arundel County tracts lie within one-quarter mile of Brooklyn Homes; a portion of one Baltimore County tract lies within one-quarter mile of Cherry Hill; and some or all of four Baltimore County tracts are located within one-quarter mile of Hollander Ridge. I included all these tracts in the quarter-mile neighborhoods. At least in the Cherry Hill case, the Baltimore County tract is quite difficult to reach from the public housing projects within whose neighborhoods the tract falls and could probably not be reached on foot at all. Those

or railroad tracks, making them less walkable than most Baltimore City census tracts are. Hence the quarter-mile buffer should be considered a broad definition of the surroundings of public housing sites.

The report considers conditions in two years: 1970 and 1990. I selected 1970 because it is a relevant reference point for the projects that were built after passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and because census data and electronic boundary files are not available at the tract level before 1970. I selected 1990 for a second point of reference because by 2000, many of the family housing projects either had been demolished or were mostly vacant and awaiting demolition and because 1990 was the last census year before the ACLU of Maryland filed its complaint.

## II. Public housing in Baltimore is intensely concentrated into compact clusters.

Many of the 28 complexes extant in 1990—the last decennial census year in which Baltimore's family housing stock was complete—were built very close to one another (Map 1). Two large clusters of projects west and east of the central business district contained six and eight projects, respectively. A cluster east of downtown contained eight projects with 3,831 units, 30.4 percent of Baltimore's family housing, within a circle whose area covers about 1.2 square miles. A cluster west of downtown included 2,726 family housing units in six projects, 21.6 percent of the city's family units, within a circle whose area covers less than six-tenths of one square mile.<sup>7</sup> In all, that is, over half of the family public housing built in Baltimore was in these two small clusters whose land area encompassed less than two square miles in a city with 76 square miles of land area.

Other projects are also concentrated into clusters. Gilmor Homes lies a little less than one-half mile west of the closest project in the west cluster. The Cherry Hill complex (three projects treated as one complex in this report) and the Charles K. Anderson project are adjacent to one another in the southwest part of the city. This complex, containing thousands of public housing units, has a population exceeding that of many villages throughout the northeastern United States and has historically been isolated from the rest of Baltimore City by water and transportation infrastructure. Westport and Westport Extension (two projects treated as one complex in this report) and Mount Winans form another very similar cluster just northwest of the Cherry Hill-Charles K. Anderson area. Rosemont and Dukeland are close to one another, west of Gilmor Homes. The remaining six projects (Oswego Mall, Hollander Ridge, Fairfield Homes, O'Donnell Heights, Claremont Homes, and Brooklyn Homes) are (or were, before recent demolitions) farther removed from other family housing projects.

Many family public housing units in Baltimore are in poor, minority-dominated areas because they were sited near other public housing projects. The Housing Authority of Baltimore City made decisions not only to site, but also to expand, public housing projects in close proximity to

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tracts that are only barely "nicked" by the quarter-mile boundary are discounted by the area-weighting procedure I used (see Appendix A).

<sup>7</sup> Six of the projects, three of them east of downtown (Flag House, Lafayette Courts, and The Broadway) and three of them west of downtown (Lexington Terrace, Murphy Homes, and Emerson Julian Gardens) were demolished since 1990. These projects included well over 3,000 family housing units.

other projects that already accommodated almost exclusively black, exclusively poor residents. Many of the public housing projects in the public housing clusters date from the 1970s: Albert Spencer and Emerson Julian Gardens, Somerset Courts Extension, McCulloh Homes Extension, The Broadway, and Charles K. Anderson were all built in close proximity to established public housing projects.

### III. Conditions in 1970: Extant and planned public housing is largely in the ghetto

#### A. Extant and planned housing is highly concentrated in black areas as of 1970.

The family public housing projects extant in 1970 were highly concentrated in mostly black census tracts and surrounded by quarter-mile buffer zones that were mostly black. Most of the projects completed during the 1970s were also located in census tracts and within quarter-mile buffer zones that were already predominantly black by 1970. Finally, the average public housing resident in 1970 lived in a census tract that was 76 percent black, and in a larger quarter-mile buffer zone that was 66 percent black. Leaving out Hollander Ridge,<sup>8</sup> the average public housing unit built in the 1970s was constructed in a census tract in which 83 percent of residents were black.

#### 1. *Public housing was already highly concentrated in mostly black tracts in 1970 (Table 1, Map 2).*

The projects that were built by 1970 had resulted in highly segregated conditions.

- Twelve of the nineteen complexes that existed in 1970 (Cherry Hill, Fairfield, Murphy, Gilmor, Lafayette Courts, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh, Mt. Winans, Oswego Mall, Poe, and Somerset) were in tracts in which more than 80 percent of residents were black already in 1970. These projects contained 6,600 housing units, over two-thirds of the then-extant units.
- Four additional family housing complexes (Douglass, Flag House, Perkins, and Westport/Westport Extension) with 2,000 units were in tracts in which between 50 percent and 80 percent of residents were black in 1970.
- In all, 83.6 percent of Baltimore's existing public housing units in 1970 were in tracts in which over half of residents were black, even though only 46 percent of the city's residents and fewer than 30 percent of the metropolitan area's residents were black.
- The average public housing unit extant in 1970 was in a tract in which 76.0 percent of residents were black.<sup>9</sup>
- Three projects built as white projects in the 1940s and 1950s—Brooklyn, Claremont, and O'Donnell Heights—were in tracts in which fewer than 20 percent of residents were black in 1970.

<sup>8</sup> It is appropriate to exclude Hollander Ridge from this calculation because of its isolation from the adjacent census tracts. See discussion below.

<sup>9</sup> To compute average conditions, I (a) multiplied the number of units in the project by the relevant tract or buffer-zone percent black or below-poverty; (b) summed the product of step (a); and (c) divided the sum of step (b) by the number of public housing units.

The siting of the nine projects (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Dukeland, Emerson R. Julian Gardens, Hollander Ridge, McCulloh Extension, Rosemont, Somerset Courts Extension, Broadway) completed between 1971 and 1980 demonstrates that the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (a) avoided siting family housing in or near white residents and (b) failed to site housing in low-minority areas.

- Seven of the last nine projects—McCulloh Homes Extension, Rosemont, Dukeland, Emerson Julian Gardens, Somerset Courts Extension, Charles K. Anderson, and Albert Spencer Gardens—were in tracts in which over 90 percent of the residents were black in 1970. These projects included 876 units of family public housing.
- The Broadway, completed in 1971, was built in a tract in which 50 percent of residents were black in 1970; the Broadway was located across the street from Douglass Homes, whose census tract was 64 percent black.
- Hollander Ridge, with 1,000 units, was built in a tract in which only 5.8 percent of residents were black in 1970 on an isolated edge of Baltimore City.
- Leaving aside Hollander Ridge, the average housing unit built in the 1970s in Baltimore City would have been in a census tract in which 82.6 percent of residents were black.
- With Hollander Ridge, which was built on a former industrial site cut off from other Baltimore neighborhoods by highways, the average public housing unit built in the 1970s was in a tract in which 49.3 percent of residents were already black in 1970. Even this level was over twice the metropolitan percent black (23.7 percent), which is the appropriate point of reference.

The locations chosen also strongly suggest that the HABC deliberately targeted established black neighborhoods for new public housing projects. The HABC had the authority to consider locations both throughout Baltimore City and beyond the boundaries of Baltimore City in siting its new housing projects. Most tracts within that expansive area in 1970 were not concentrated black ghettos, yet the HABC sited almost all its new projects in such ghettos. This is a non-random outcome that strongly suggests not only an avoidance of white areas but a deliberate targeting of mostly black areas.

***2. Baltimore's family housing projects in 1970 were located within a larger black ghetto.***

The larger quarter-mile buffer zones that surrounded most public housing projects in 1970 were predominantly black. Hence the large share of minority residents in family housing census tracts is not solely a function of the residents in the projects themselves.

- Thirteen of the 19 pre-1970 complexes (Cherry Hill, Douglass, Flag House, Murphy, Gilmor, Lafayette Courts, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh, Oswego Mall, Poe Homes, Somerset Courts, Westport/Westport Extension), with 73 percent of the family units as of 1970, were in buffer zones in which at least half of residents were black.
- Ten of these pre-1970 complexes (all except Douglass, Flag House, and Westport/Westport Extension) were in buffer zones in which over 80 percent of residents were black.

- Seven of the nine post-1970 complexes (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Dukeland, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Rosemont, and Somerset Courts Extension) were in buffer zones in which over 80 percent of residents were black.

#### **B. Extant and planned public housing is in areas of poverty as of 1970.**

More than four-fifths of extant public housing in 1970 was in census tracts with extreme poverty rates. The average family public housing unit in 1970 was located in a census tract in which nearly half (48%) of residents lived below the poverty line, and within a quarter-mile buffer zone in which 39 percent of residents were poor. Five of the nine projects completed in the 1970s were built in extreme poverty census tracts. The average public housing unit built in the 1970s was constructed in a census tract in which 27 percent of residents lived below the poverty line and within a buffer zone in which 25 percent of residents were poor.

##### *1. Baltimore's public housing was concentrated in extreme-poverty tracts in 1970 (Table 1, Map 3).*

- Over 95 percent of public housing units were located in high-poverty tracts.
- Fifteen of the 19 complexes (Cherry Hill, Douglass, Fairfield, Flag house, Murphy, Gilmor, Lafayette Courts, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh, Mt. Winans, Perkins, Poe, Somerset Courts, and Westport/Westport Extension) that existed in 1970, containing 8,565 units (83 percent of all extant units), were in tracts in which over 40 percent of residents lived in extreme poverty.
- Three additional complexes (Claremont, O'Donnell Heights, and Oswego Mall) with 1,227 units (12 percent of all extant) were in high-poverty census tracts in 1970 whose poverty rates did not exceed 40 percent. Only Brooklyn Homes was in a tract whose poverty rate was below 20 percent in 1970.
- The average family public housing unit in 1970 was located in a neighborhood in which nearly half (48.4%) of residents lived below the poverty line.

The nine projects opened in the 1970s (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Dukeland, Emerson R. Julian Gardens, Hollander Ridge, McCulloh Extension, Rosemont, Somerset Courts Extension, Broadway) were also disproportionately located in tracts whose poverty rates were already high in 1970:

- Five projects (Albert Spencer, Emerson Julian, McCulloh Homes Extension, Somerset Courts Extension, and The Broadway), with 1,048 units total, were in extreme-poverty tracts in 1970. This poverty rate would not include the residents of the projects, none of which was occupied before 1971.
- The remaining four projects (Hollander Ridge, Rosemont, Dukeland, and Charles K. Anderson) were in tracts with poverty rates below 20 percent. Charles K. Anderson's lightly populated census tract was immediately adjacent to the high-poverty Cherry Hill complex.
- The average public housing unit built in the 1970s was constructed in a census tract in which 27 percent of residents lived below the poverty line ("high poverty" by most city planners' definitions).

**2. *The racial ghetto that surrounded Baltimore's family housing projects in 1970 was also a high-poverty ghetto.***

In the quarter-mile buffer area around housing projects, most residents were poor in 1970, for both extant projects and those completed in the 1970s.

- Nine of the 19 projects in place in 1970 (Douglass, Flag house, Murphy, Lafayette Courts, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh, Perkins, Poe, and Somerset Courts) were in extreme-poverty buffer zones. These projects contained 4,808 units, 47 percent of then-extant units.
- Seven additional extant projects (Cherry Hill, Fairfield, Gilmor, Latrobe, Mt. Winans, Oswego Mall, and Westport/Westport Extension) were in high-poverty buffer zones (20-39 percent poverty). These projects contained 3,792 units, 37 percent of the then-extant units.
- Six of the nine post-1970 projects (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Emerson Julian Gardens, McCulloh Extension, Somerset Courts Extension, and The Broadway) were in buffer zones with poverty levels exceeding 20 percent. These projects account for 1,169 units.
- Among the post-1970 projects, only Hollander Ridge and the small Dukeland and Rosemont projects were in buffer zones whose poverty rates did not exceed 20 percent.

#### **IV. Public housing in 1990: Deepening ghetto conditions**

##### **A. Public housing in 1990 was even more highly concentrated in black census tracts.**

In 1990, Baltimore's family public housing projects were even more highly concentrated in mostly black census tracts. Black residents were also generally more concentrated in the quarter-mile buffer zones around projects than elsewhere in the metropolitan area. The average public housing resident in 1990 lived in a census tract that was 83 percent black and within a buffer zone that was 71 percent black, up from 76 percent and 49 percent, respectively, in 1970.

**1. *Public housing was still highly concentrated in mostly black tracts in 1990 (Table 2, Map 4).***

- In all, 89 percent of Baltimore's public housing units were in majority-black tracts in 1990.
- Eighteen of the 28 family housing projects (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Cherry Hill, Dukeland, Emerson Julian Gardens, Murphy, Gilmor, Lafayette Courts, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh Homes, McCulloh Extension, Mt. Winans, Oswego Mall, Poe Homes, Rosemont, Somerset Courts, and Somerset Courts Extension) were in tracts in which over 90 percent of residents were black. These projects included 7,176 (57 percent) of the 12,597 total public housing units.

- Four additional projects (Douglass, Hollander Ridge, The Broadway, and Westport/Westport Extension), with 2,254 units (18 percent of the total) were in tracts in which between 80 and 90 percent of residents were black.
- Four projects (Claremont, Fairfield, Flag House, and Perkins) with 1,767 units were in tracts with between 50 percent and 80 percent black residents.
- The average public housing unit in 1990 was in a tract in which 82.7 percent of residents were black, up from 74.4 percent in 1970.

**2. *Public housing residents were also concentrated in larger black ghettos in 1990 (Table 2).***

- Over three-quarters of the family housing units (9,777 units, 78 percent of the total) were in majority black buffer zones in 1990.
- Eleven projects (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Dukeland, Emerson Julian Gardens, Murphy, Gilmor, Latrobe, Oswego Mall, Rosemont, Somerset Courts, and Somerset Courts Extension) with 2,698 units were in buffer zones that were at least 90 percent black;
- Six projects (Cherry Hill, Lafayette Courts, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh Homes, McCulloh Extension, and Poe Homes) with 4,338 units were in buffer zones that were between 80 and 90 percent black; and
- Five projects (Douglass, Flag House, Hollander Ridge, The Broadway, and Westport/Westport Extension), with 2,741 units, were in buffer zones that were between 50 and 80 percent black.
- The average public housing unit in 1990 sat within a quarter-mile buffer zone that was 70.9 percent black, up dramatically from 43.9 percent in 1970.

**B. Baltimore's public housing continued to be concentrated in very poor areas.**

**1. *Baltimore's public housing remained extraordinarily concentrated in extreme-poverty census tracts in 1990 (Table 2, Map 5).***

- Twenty-two of the 28 projects (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Cherry Hill, Claremont, Douglass, Emerson Julian Gardens, Fairfield, Flag House, Murphy, Gilmor, Hollander Ridge, Lafayette Courts, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh Homes, McCulloh Extension, Mt. Winans, O'Donnell Heights, Perkins, Poe Homes, Somerset Courts, and Somerset Courts Extension) were in extreme-poverty tracts. These projects included 11,065 units, 88 percent of the public housing stock as of 1990.
- Four additional projects (Dukeland, Oswego Mall, The Broadway, and Westport/Westport Extension) were in high-poverty tracts (poverty rates between 20 and 39 percent). These projects included 926 housing units.
- The two final public housing projects, Rosemont and Brooklyn Homes, were in tracts in which 16.1 percent and 19.1 percent of residents lived below the poverty line, respectively, in 1990.

- The average family public housing unit in Baltimore was in a census tract in which 54 percent of residents lived below the poverty line—far beyond “extreme poverty” and up from 48 percent in 1970.

*2. The larger racial ghettos that surround most public housing complexes are also among Baltimore's poorest areas.*

- Seventeen of the 29 complexes (Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Cherry Hill, Douglass, Emerson Julian Gardens, Flag House, Murphy, Gilmor, Lafayette Courts, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh Homes, McCulloh Extension, O'Donnell Heights, Poe Homes, Somerset Courts, and Somerset Courts Extension), with over two-thirds of the family housing units, were in extreme-poverty buffer zones in 1990.
- Eight other complexes (Claremont, Dukeland, Hollander Ridge, Mt. Winans, Oswego Mall, Perkins, The Broadway, and Westport/ Westport Extension), with 3,046 units (24 percent of the total), were in high-poverty buffer zones (20 to 39 percent poverty rates).
- Only Rosemont, Brooklyn Homes, and Fairfield were in buffer zones that were not high-poverty, and all three had poverty rates approaching 20 percent.
- The average family public housing unit in Baltimore was in a buffer zone in which 44 percent of residents lived below the poverty line, about the same level as in 1970.

#### V. Public housing was also within broad areas of distress in 1990

Poverty is an income-based measure of distress or vulnerability; some poor neighborhoods compensate for poverty with other strengths. To account for other dimensions of social vulnerability, Kasarda (1993) identified four indicators beyond the percent of persons in poverty to help identify neighborhoods as distressed: the percent of families receiving public assistance income; the percent of families with children that were headed by a single woman; the percent of out-of-school males unemployed for more than 26 weeks in the previous year; and the percent of 16- to 19-year olds who were not in school and had not graduated from high school (i.e., dropouts).<sup>10</sup> Using Kasarda's indicators but adapting his methods somewhat, I defined Baltimore's census tracts as moderately distressed if they were more than one standard deviation above the metropolitan-area average levels of poverty, public assistance, female-headed households, and unemployment, and severely distressed if they were also more than one standard deviation above the metropolitan-area average level of high-school dropouts. A neighborhood would qualify as distressed if it were one of the Baltimore MSA's highest-ranking census tracts on all four of the “moderate” indicators or all five of the “severe” indicators.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Kasarda, J. D. (1993). Inner-city concentrated poverty and neighborhood distress: 1970-1990. *Housing Policy Debate*, 4(3), 253-302.

<sup>11</sup> The Baltimore MSA was divided into 588 census tracts in 1990; 575 of these tracts had families in them. In all, 72 tracts were at least 1 standard deviation (SD) above the metropolitan poverty level average; 78 were more than 1 SD above the unemployment average; 134 were more than 1 SD above the female-headed family average; 91 were more than 1 SD above the public assistance average; and 121 were more than 1 SD above the dropout average.

In 1990, the Baltimore MSA had 575 census tracts with families in them. Fifty (50) of these tracts qualified as distressed; 22 were moderately, and 28 severely, distressed. All 50 of the distressed tracts in the MSA were in Baltimore City.

Twenty-three of the 28 family housing projects, with a total of nearly 11,000 housing units (87 percent of family housing units), were in distressed tracts in 1990 (Table 3). Sixteen of the projects were in severely distressed tracts: Albert Spencer Gardens, Charles K. Anderson, Cherry Hill, Fairfield, Flag House, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh Homes, McCulloh Extension, Mt. Winans, O'Donnell Heights, Perkins, Poe Homes, Somerset Courts Extension, The Broadway, and Westport/Westport Extension. The remaining seven (Brooklyn, Claremont, Douglass, Dukeland, Emerson Julian Gardens, Murphy, Gilmor, Hollander Ridge, Lafayette Courts, Oswego Mall, Rosemont, and Somerset Courts), were in moderately distressed tracts.

Baltimore's family public housing projects were not only *in* distressed census tracts in 1990; they were also frequently in census tracts that were *surrounded* by other distressed census tracts.

- Seventeen of the 28 housing projects (Albert Spencer Gardens, Douglass, Emerson Julian Gardens, Fairfield, Flag House, Murphy, Gilmor, Latrobe, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh Homes, McCulloh Extension, Mt. Winans, Perkins, Poe Homes, Somerset Courts, Somerset Courts Extension, and The Broadway) with 7,144 units (57 percent of Baltimore's family public housing) were located in quarter-mile buffer zones in which at least half of tracts were distressed.
- Three of the 28 projects had only distressed tracts within a quarter-mile of their project block boundaries in 1990: Albert Spencer Gardens, Somerset Courts, and Somerset Courts Extension (Table 3). These projects contain 337 dwellings.
- Somerset Courts and Extension appear to have been especially poorly sited, since five of their seven nearby tracts were severely distressed in 1990; their other two nearby tracts were moderately distressed.
- Only Brooklyn Homes, Hollander Ridge, Dukeland, and Rosemont had no distressed tracts in their quarter-mile buffer zones.

#### **VI. Public housing siting decisions paved the way for more recent location decisions about low income housing tax credit projects in Baltimore City, almost all of which are sited in impacted neighborhoods.**

The only major federal program still building new subsidized housing units is the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), data on which are difficult to obtain and sometimes incomplete. **The data that are available, on projects brought on line before mid-1998, suggest that relevant local government bodies have not fundamentally altered their tendency to place publicly assisted projects in impacted areas** (tracts with poverty rates below 10 percent and with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents<sup>12</sup>). These local bodies include Baltimore City, which must pass a resolution or provide a letter of support and evidence of a local contribution for all

<sup>12</sup> These tracts have been identified based on data from the 2000 Census. They are consequently not necessarily the same tracts as those named in the consent decree, which used 1990 Census data. However, they were identified using the same criteria as the consent decree used to provide consistency.

tax credit projects as a precondition of approval of tax credits by the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development.<sup>13</sup>

**Sixty-two of the 63 LIHTC projects brought on line in Baltimore City by mid-1998 were built in impacted tracts.** These 63 projects contained 1,792 housing units; 1,627 were in tracts classifiable as impacted in 2000.<sup>14</sup> The average LIHTC unit from this period sits in a neighborhood that is 81 percent black and in which 29.8 percent of residents live below the poverty line.

- 44 projects with 1,279 units were built in tracts that were at least 90 percent black in 2000; eight other projects with 218 units were built in other majority-black tracts.
- 21 projects with 476 units were built in tracts that qualify as extreme-poverty in 2000, and another 30 projects with 827 units were built in other high-poverty tracts.

**Over one-quarter of Baltimore City's LIHTC units can be found within a quarter-mile of a family public housing site.** Sixteen of the 63 LIHTC projects with 490 units were built within one-quarter mile of a family public housing project site, and 28 additional LIHTC projects with 450 more units were built between one-quarter and one-half mile away from family public housing sites. Sixty percent of Baltimore's pre-1998 LIHTC units are within a half-mile of a family public housing project.

**It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the institutional framework in which assisted housing siting decisions are made within Baltimore City has not changed.** These new and ongoing decisions are likely to further concentrate low-income residents and people of color in established ghettos. The ghettos were shaped and maintained in part by the past actions of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City and by Baltimore City, and approved and accommodated by HUD, in a period of time that extended well after passage of the 1968 Fair Housing Act. Having inherited these conditions, which were not an accident of fate but rather a product of policies and decisions during and after de jure segregation, Baltimore City did nothing to change them with the only remaining federal program for the construction of new subsidized housing, at least up to 1998. To the contrary: the latest siting decisions have simply perpetuated the tradition of using limited federal housing subsidies in ways that result in the consignment of assisted households to ghettos.

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<sup>13</sup> See Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development, Multifamily Rental Financing Program Guide, April 24, 2002 - Revision 17; Attachment to the April 24, 2002 Qualified Allocation Plan (on-line document available at <http://www.dhcd.state.md.us/rhfunds/download/2002guide.pdf> as of April 14, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Projects were identified and located based on data from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

### **Appendix A. Identifying project tracts and quarter-mile buffer zones.**

For this analysis, I undertook a four-step process that identified the census tracts and quarter-mile buffer zones in which Baltimore's family projects are located.

#### **1. Identify the blocks where the family projects are located.**

I began with a map provided by the ACLU of Maryland, initially provided by the City of Baltimore's Department of Housing and Community Development (dated October 16, 1990). The map showed the locations of all urban renewal and public housing projects. Using a separate list of which projects were family projects, I noted the location of the family projects. I then obtained a GIS polygon shapefile (electronic map) of the census blocks as of 2000 (which mostly match the 1990 boundaries). I identified the blocks on which the projects were located. In most cases there was a close match between projects and blocks. In some there were slight differences. Cherry Hill has one or two large blocks that were included, meaning that the aggregated electronic blocks are larger than the DHCD map. This is also true of Westport. I decided to exclude one very large block from Rosemont; that block file does not match the DHCD map very closely. In other cases, the match was very close.

#### **2. Identify the tracts in which the project blocks are located.**

Some of the projects straddle census tract boundaries now; others built since 1970 straddled boundaries in 1970 but not in 1990. To identify the tracts in which project blocks were located, I performed a GIS operation, intersecting the project-block boundary file with the Census Tract boundary file. Because the sources for the electronic files were often different and they were developed using different geographic points of reference, this process frequently yielded small "slivers," areas where the projects overlapped a tract boundary by a very small amount. In most cases it was easy to identify the tract in which the project was mostly located simply by computing the percent of each project's area that was located in each census tract. Where more than 25 percent of a project area was in a census tract, I did a visual inspection (comparing the DHCD map to the census tract map) to determine if the overlap appeared to have resulted from differing geographic points of reference. If not, then any tract in which at least 25 percent of the project area was located was identified as a project tract.

#### **3. Identify the quarter-mile buffer zones of the project blocks.**

To identify the areas in which the projects were located, I used the GIS to create buffer polygons that extended one-quarter mile from each block with a project. I then intersected these buffers with the census tract boundaries. Any tract within one-quarter mile of a project's boundaries was deemed to be in its buffer zone.

#### **4. Weight buffer zone composition based on area.**

Rather than identify a tract as either "inside" or "outside" the buffer zone, I computed the proportion of the area of each tract that was within one-quarter mile of each project. For example, a tract that was only slightly "nicked" by a buffer would have a low proportion in the project

buffer (c.g., only 2.1 percent of Tract 4501 in Baltimore County is in the quarter-mile buffer that extends from Hollander Ridge). To reduce the weight of tracts with small proportions of land in a project buffer, I multiplied the population, the black population, and the poor population by the buffer proportion before computing the percent of buffer zone residents who were black or who lived below the poverty line in 1970 and 1990.

### Example

Assume the quarter-mile buffer encompassed parts of three tracts:

Tract number	Share of tract area	Total	
		Population	Black residents
1	1.00	3,000	2,500
2	0.50	3,500	1,500
3	0.25	3,300	100
Buffer zone		9,800	4,100

If all three tracts were included in the project buffer zone, then 4,100 of the 9,800 residents—41.8%—would be black. But tracts 2 and 3 have lower shares of black residents than tract 1, and they also have lower shares of the tract area. To account for these differences, I weighted the buffer zone population by multiplying the total by the share of the tract area and summing these weighted populations:

Tract number	Share of tract area	Total		Weighted	
		Population	Black residents	Population	Black residents
1	1.00	3,000	2,500	3,000	2,500
2	0.50	3,500	1,500	1,750	750
3	0.25	3,300	100	825	25
Buffer zone				5,575	3,275

Using this method, 3,275 of the 5,575 area-weighted residents (58.7%) would be counted as black. Only the percent is reported in the tables.

Table 1. Percent black and percent below poverty, project Census tracts and quarter-mile buffer zones, 1970

	Percent of residents, 1970				Units	Complete
	Project tract(s)		Buffer zones*			
Pre-1970 projects	Black	Poor	Black	Poor		
Brooklyn Homes	1.9	14.8	2.0	16.8	500	1942
Cherry Hill (MD02-11-12-17)	99.2	47.1	80.5	31.9	1,597	1945/52/56
Claremont Homes	13.6	38.9	2.9	10.4	292	1953
Douglass Homes	67.4	43.8	67.8	50.4	393	1941
Fairfield Homes	81.1	59.1	34.8	31.5	300	1942
Flag House Court	65.6	55.6	69.8	55.9	487	1955
George B. Murphy Home	99.0	58.7	95.8	50.3	758	1963
Gilmor Homes	99.3	42.6	99.1	38.2	587	1942
Lafayette Courts	98.5	63.7	83.6	57.7	816	1955
Latrobe Homes	93.9	51.0	90.8	39.4	701	1941
Lexington Terrace	87.5	53.0	86.3	48.0	677	1958
McCulloh Homes	99.2	58.3	87.2	49.7	434	1941
Mount Winans	98.3	60.5	49.0	34.3	140	1969
O'Donnell Heights	7.2	28.4	5.5	19.3	900	1943
Oswego Mall	94.0	20.1	94.2	21.6	35	1969
Perkins Homes	68.2	58.9	42.5	44.3	688	1942
Poe Homes	97.4	46.0	87.9	45.9	298	1940
Somerset Courts	98.5	63.7	88.9	53.9	257	1943
Westport Homes / Extension	69.4	42.5	54.0	36.5	432	1942/60
<b>Post-1970 projects</b>						
Albert Spencer Gardens	93.1	47.4	96.9	44.9	20	1979
Charles K. Anderson	98.6	14.0	98.7	28.0	121	1980
Dukeland	98.2	18.4	98.2	17.0	30	1975
Emerson R. Julian Gardens	99.0	58.7	98.1	49.1	23	1979
Hollander Ridge	5.8	3.9	3.5	3.2	1,000	1976
McCulloh Extension	99.2	58.3	87.2	49.7	516	1971
Rosemont	98.5	16.0	98.3	16.2	106	1975
Somerset Courts Extension	93.9	51.0	89.0	46.6	60	1974
The Broadway	50.2	43.3	48.6	40.6	429	1971

\*Buffer zones are quarter-mile areas around and including the project blocks.

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts, poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Fourth Count Population Summary Tape, from GeoLytics CensusCD 1970.  
 Project locations from City of Baltimore Dept. of Housing and Community Development map, Community Development Programs, October 16, 1990.

Table 2. Percent black and percent below poverty, project Census tracts and quarter-mile buffer zones, 1990

Project	Percent of residents, 1990				Units	Complete
	Project tract(s)		Buffer zones*			
	Black	Poor	Black	Poor		
Albert Spencer Gardens	97.3	41.5	98.4	48.3	20	1979
Brooklyn Homes	7.9	19.1	8.8	19.7	500	1942
Charles K. Anderson	99.0	60.3	99.1	41.7	121	1980
Cherry Hill (MD02-11-12-17)	99.0	60.3	84.2	40.8	1,597	1945/52/56
Claremont Homes	70.9	61.5	49.5	21.3	292	1953
Douglass Homes	85.0	58.1	78.6	48.7	393	1941
Dukeland	99.3	24.2	99.1	20.3	30	1975
Emerson R. Julian Gardens	99.2	58.4	98.3	58.4	23	1979
Fairfield Homes	56.0	44.2	10.9	19.9	300	1942
Flag House Court	64.5	57.2	68.1	57.1	487	1955
George B. Murphy Home	99.2	58.4	95.5	58.4	758	1963
Gilmor Homes	98.5	54.1	98.7	42.4	587	1942
Hollander Ridge	89.2	44.0	64.4	30.2	1,000	1976
Lafayette Courts	98.1	79.2	86.3	68.1	816	1955
Latrobe Homes	95.6	49.5	90.6	51.8	701	1941
Lexington Terrace	99.1	76.8	86.3	60.7	677	1958
McCulloh Extension	97.1	60.3	87.4	49.6	516	1971
McCulloh Homes	97.1	60.3	87.4	49.6	434	1941
Mount Winans	99.1	44.5	48.4	27.5	140	1969
O'Donnell Heights	30.4	54.2	23.5	42.2	900	1943
Oswego Mall	98.4	30.2	97.6	30.8	35	1969
Perkins Homes	60.5	47.3	39.3	38.7	688	1942
Poe Homes	99.1	76.8	89.2	61.7	298	1940
Rosemont	98.9	16.1	98.9	17.3	106	1975
Somerset Courts	98.1	79.2	93.6	61.2	257	1943
Somerset Courts Extension	95.6	49.5	95.4	50.3	60	1974
The Broadway	83.2	30.0	69.7	34.3	429	1971
Westport Homes / Extension	84.1	36.1	66.3	33.3	432	1942/60

\*Buffer zones are quarter-mile areas around and including the project blocks.

Sources: Race, poverty from US Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape Files 1 and 3  
 Project locations from City of Baltimore Dept. of Housing and Community Development map,  
 Community Development Programs, October 16, 1990.

Table 3. Distressed tracts: Project tracts and quarter-mile buffer zones, 1990

Project	Units	Project tracts				Quarter-mile buffer zones				
		Tracts	Distressed			Tracts	Distressed tracts			
			Total	Mod.	Severe		Total	Mod.	Severe	Pct
Albert Spencer Gardens	20	1	1	0	1	7	7	5	2	100.0
Brooklyn Homes	500	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0.0
Charles K. Anderson	121	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	1	33.3
Cherry Hill (MD02-11-12-17)	1,597	1	1	0	1	6	1	0	1	16.7
Claremont Homes	292	1	1	1	0	8	1	1	0	12.5
Douglass Homes	393	1	1	1	0	9	7	2	5	77.8
Dukeland	30	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0.0
Emerson R. Julian Gardens	23	1	1	1	0	8	7	3	4	87.5
Fairfield Homes	300	1	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	50.0
Flag House Court	487	1	1	0	1	7	4	2	2	57.1
George B. Murphy Home	758	1	1	1	0	9	7	3	4	77.8
Gilmor Homes	587	1	1	1	0	9	8	4	4	88.9
Hollander Ridge	1,000	1	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0.0
Lafayette Courts	816	1	1	1	0	7	6	2	4	85.7
Latrobe Homes	701	1	1	0	1	9	8	3	5	88.9
Lexington Terrace	677	1	1	0	1	8	6	3	3	75.0
McCulloh Extension	516	1	1	0	1	9	6	3	3	66.7
McCulloh Homes	434	1	1	0	1	9	6	3	3	66.7
Mount Winans	140	1	1	0	1	5	1	0	1	20.0
O'Donnell Heights	900	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	1	33.3
Oswego Mall	35	1	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	33.3
Perkins Homes	688	1	1	0	1	8	5	2	3	62.5
Poe Homes	298	1	1	0	1	7	5	3	2	71.4
Rosemont	106	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0.0
Somerset Courts	257	1	1	1	0	7	7	2	5	100.0
Somerset Courts Extension	60	1	1	0	1	7	7	2	5	100.0
The Broadway	429	1	1	0	1	9	5	2	3	55.6
Westport Homes / Extension	432	2	1	0	1	5	1	0	1	20.0

Sources: Race, poverty from U.S. Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Fourth Count Population Summary Tape, from GeoLytics CensusCD 1970 and US Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape Files 1 and 3; project locations from City of Baltimore Dept. of Housing and Community Development map, Community Development Programs, October 16, 1990. Buffer zones are quarter-mile areas around and including the project blocks.

Figure 1. Project blocks with quarter-mile buffers and 1990 Census tract boundaries

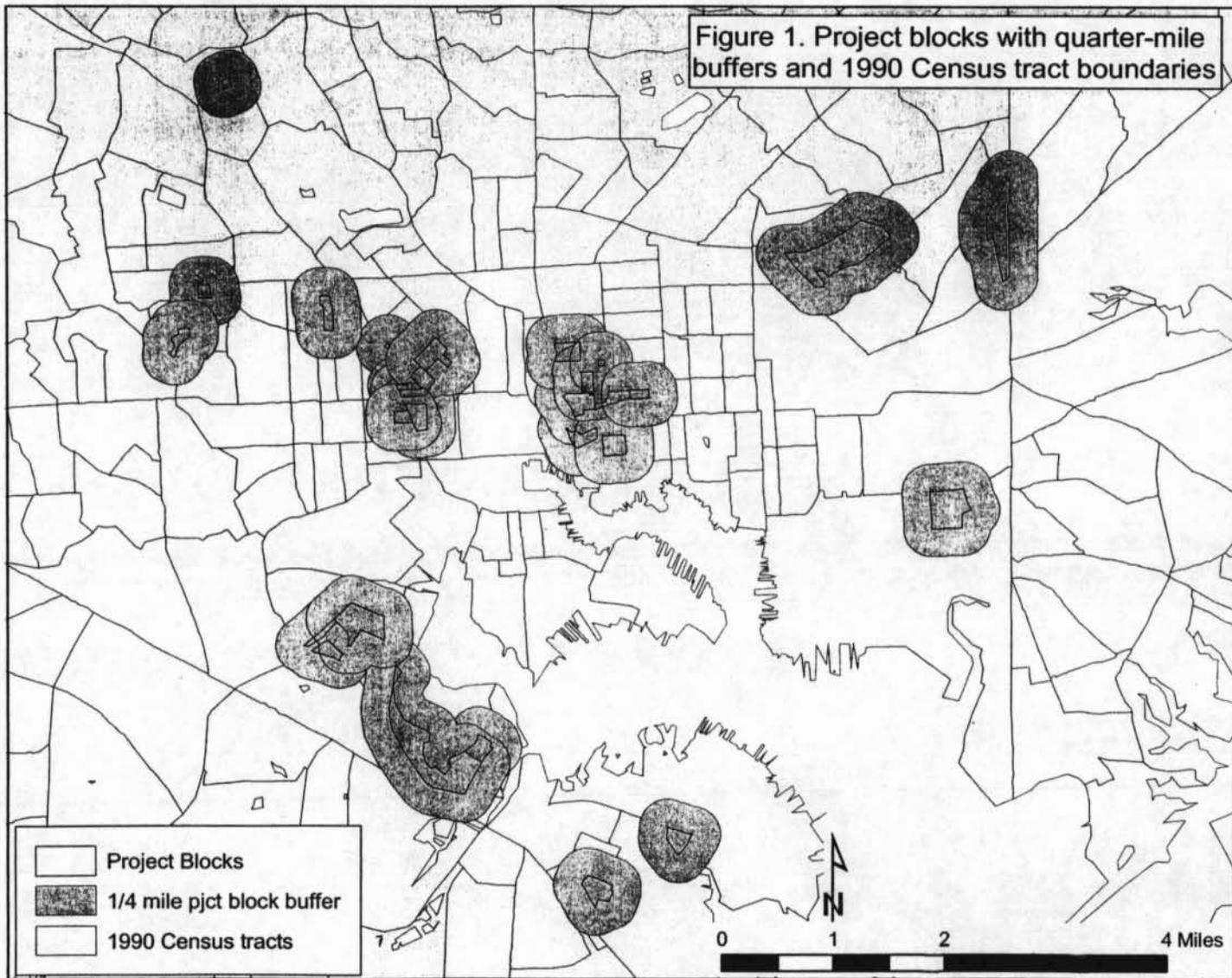


Figure 2. Percent Negro in census tract, with project blocks, Baltimore City, 1970

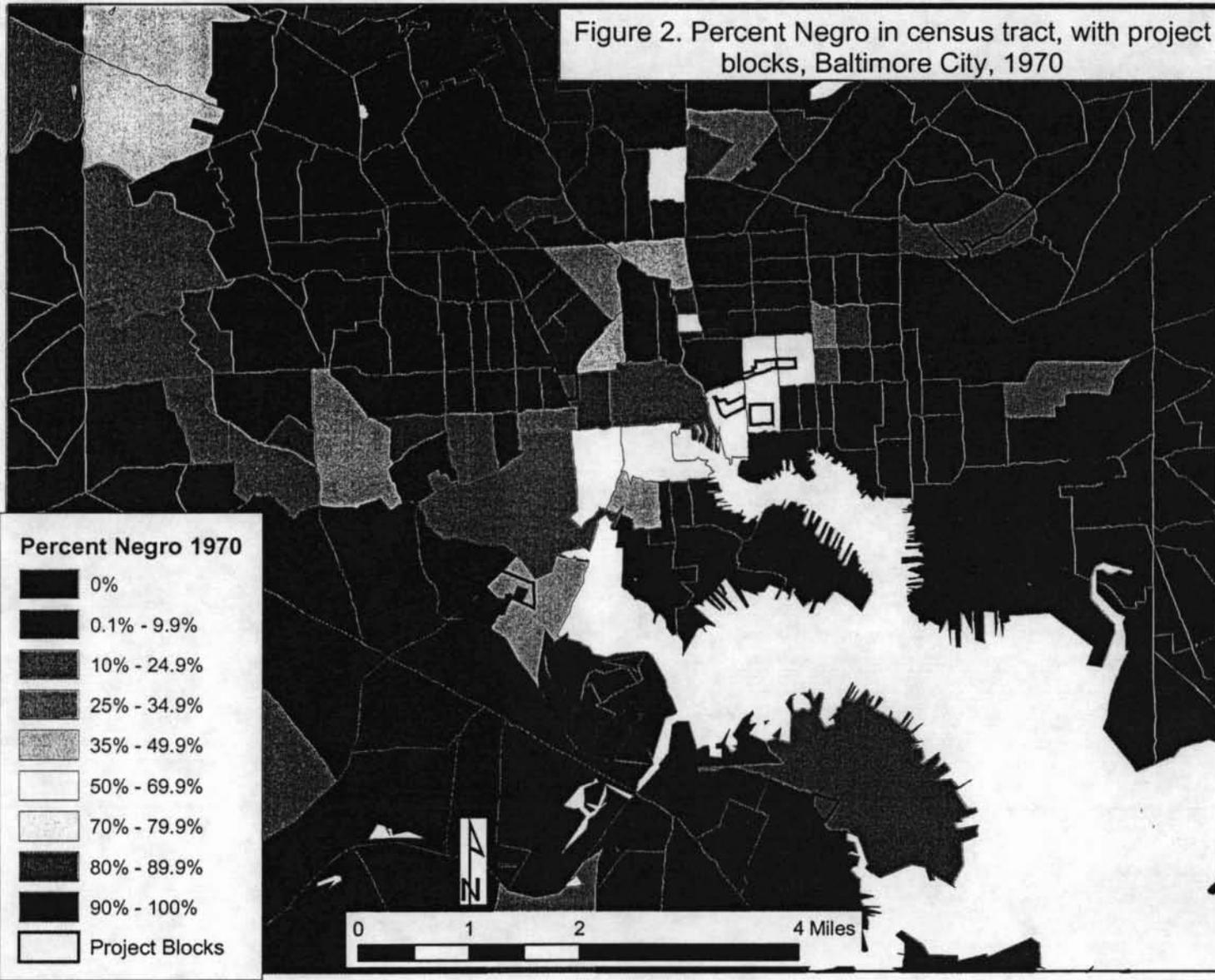


Figure 3. Percent below poverty in census tract, with project blocks, Baltimore City, 1970

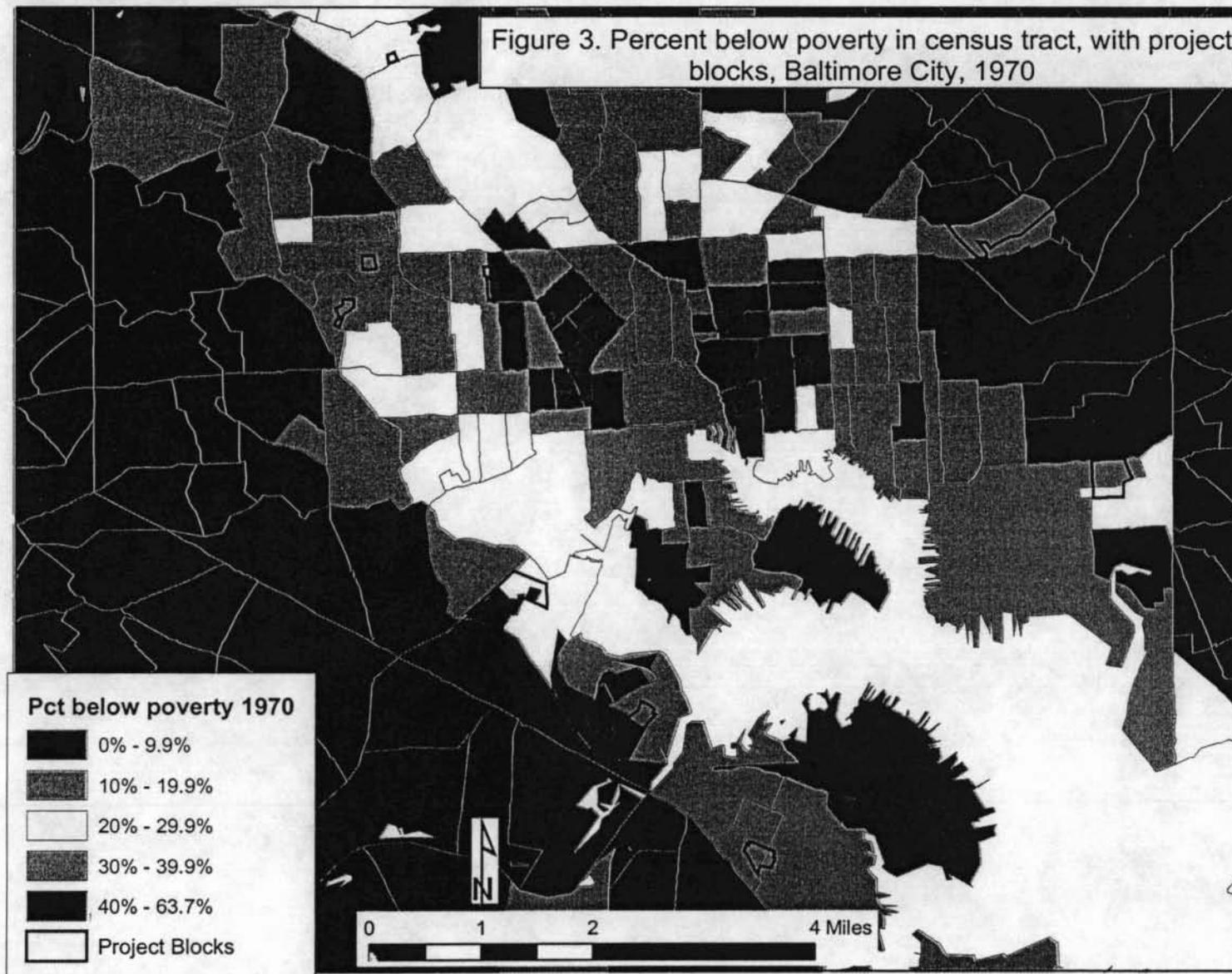


Figure 4. Percent black in census tract, with project blocks, Baltimore City, 1990

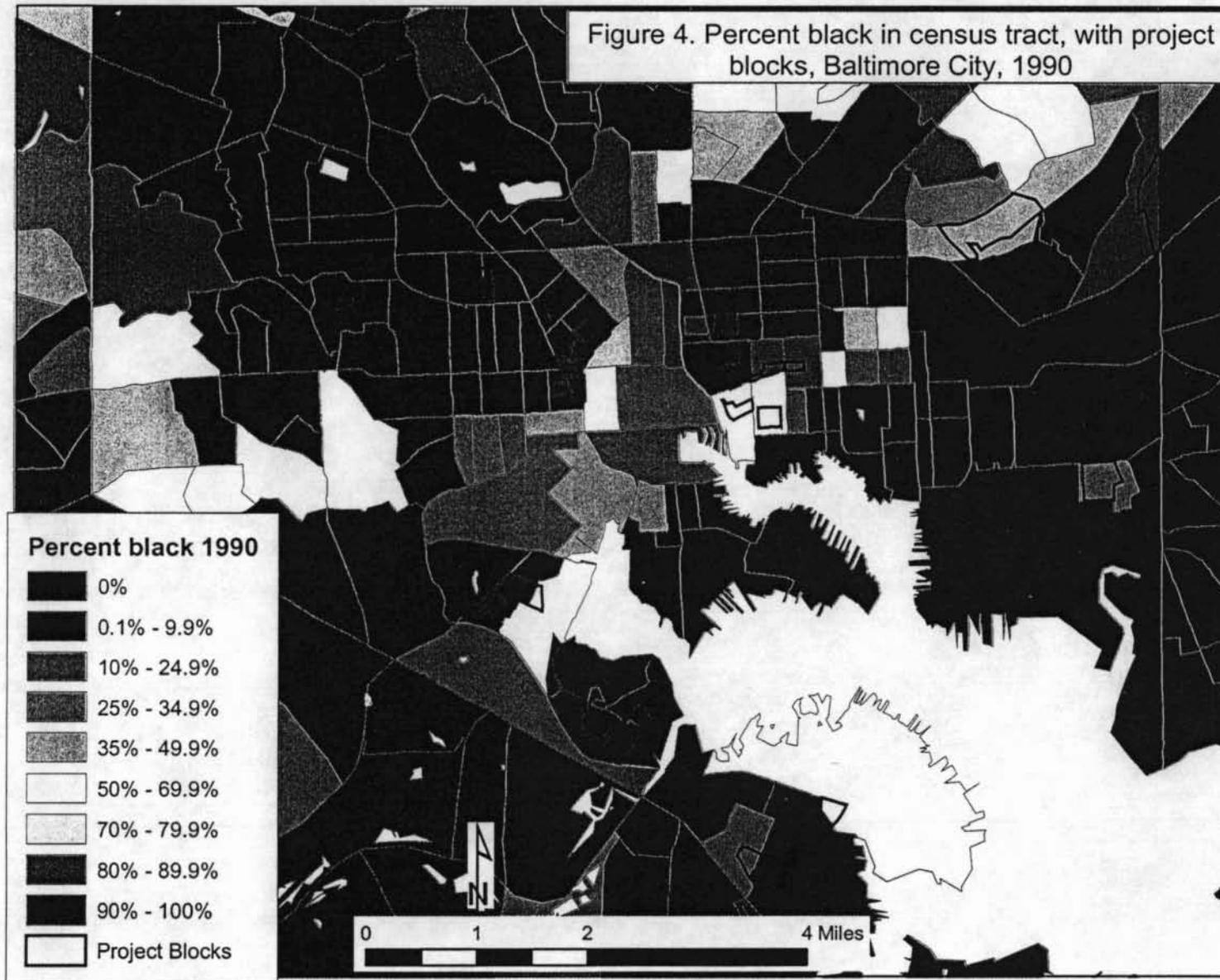
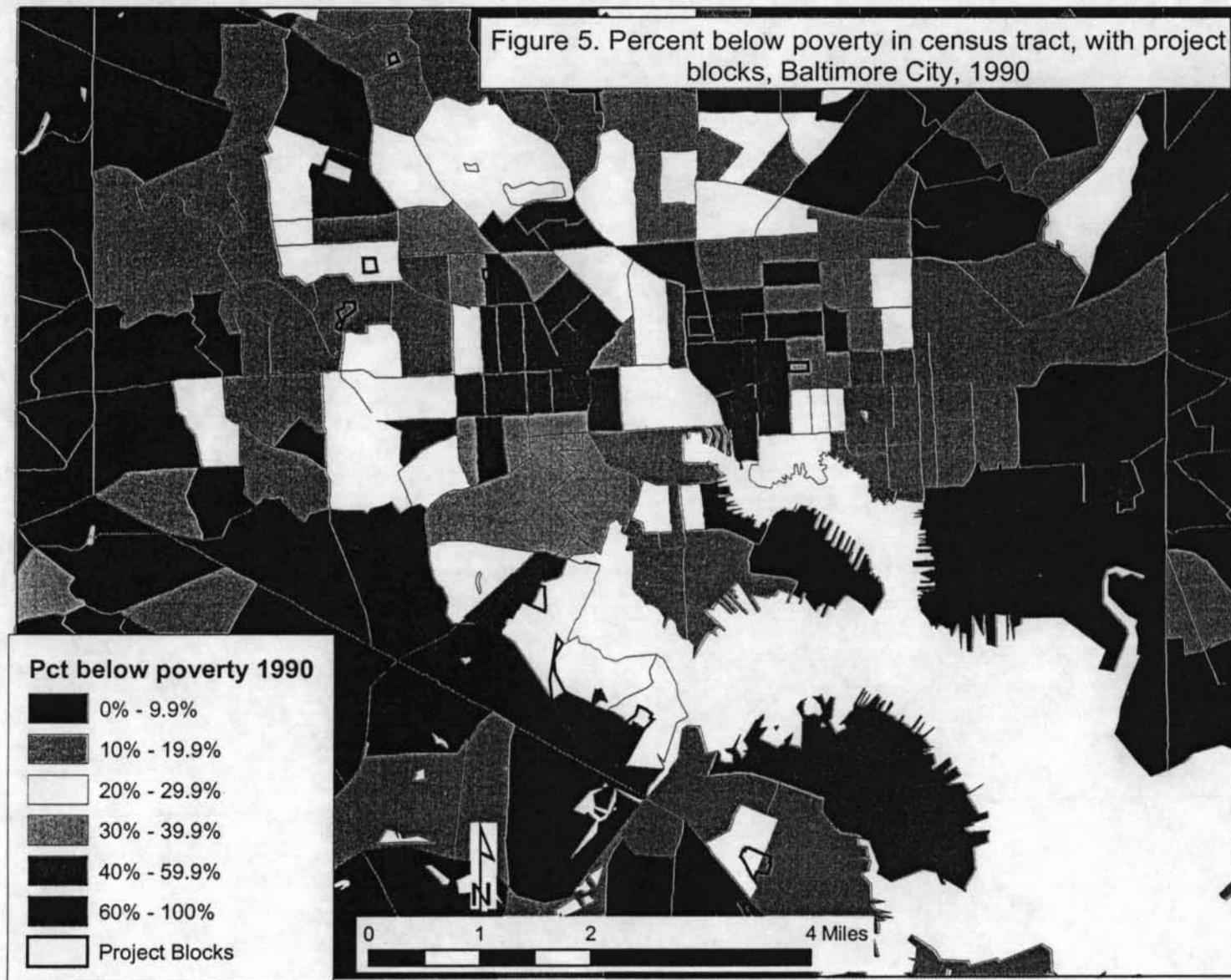


Figure 5. Percent below poverty in census tract, with project blocks, Baltimore City, 1990



**The Baltimore Scattered Site Program:  
An Unrealized Opportunity to Provide Housing outside the Ghetto**

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Report to the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Maryland  
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**Summary**

The scattered site program of the Housing Authority of Baltimore City converted over 2,800 formerly private housing units to public housing between 1972 and 1995. Many observers have hoped that such scattered-site programs would reduce the racial segregation of public housing residents and provide living options in low-poverty tracts. That did not happen in Baltimore, however. The overwhelming majority of these 2,800 scattered site units were located in census tracts that already had very high levels of minority concentration and very high poverty rates. Eighty percent of the units sited in the mid-1970s were in tracts that were already majority-black and high-poverty<sup>1</sup> in 1970. Over 90 percent of the units sited between 1977 and 1983 were in tracts that were majority-black and high-poverty in 1980. And over 90 percent of the units sited between 1988 and 1995 were in tracts that were majority-black and high-poverty in 1990. Baltimore's scattered site program therefore appears never to have included an emphasis on either poverty deconcentration or racial desegregation.

Moreover, 31 percent of these sites were within one-quarter mile of an existing family public housing project, which were themselves highly concentrated into intense clusters of ghetto conditions. These tracts have high rates of poverty, and more than half their residents; they rarely climb out of poverty and racial segregation even in the face of substantial efforts to mix incomes and races. Far from making such an effort, the HABC used its siting powers to increase the concentration of poverty and African-American residents in some of Baltimore's most distressed tracts. These tracts—predictably—deteriorated further once the scattered-site units were located there.

Planners would have known that scattered site units located near segregated family public housing projects and in other high-poverty, mostly black tracts would be similarly racially segregated and that their actions would simply perpetuate and reinforce segregation. Indeed, the planning and construction of Columbia New Town in the 1960s by James Rouse was a response to the increasingly segregated condition of housing—both market-rate and government-assisted—in the Baltimore metropolitan area.<sup>2</sup> From its inception, Columbia included a series of measures designed to mix black and white, low-income and wealthier families in the same

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<sup>1</sup> High poverty tracts are those in which at least 20 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit; extreme poverty tracts are those in which at least 40 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit. Low-poverty tracts have poverty rates below 10 percent.

<sup>2</sup> Forsyth, Ann. 2002. "Planning lessons from three U.S. new towns of the 1960s and 1970s: Irvine, Columbia, and The Woodlands." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 68(4): 387-415.

developments.<sup>3</sup> Even now, Howard County remains more racially integrated, with public housing more broadly dispersed, than the remainder of the Baltimore MSA.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, in metropolitan Cleveland and Chicago, a series of suburbs were adopting programs to encourage lasting integration by banning for-sale signs (an indicator of rapid owner flight) and by marketing homes in racially mixed areas so that they would remain mixed.<sup>5</sup> In other words, by the 1960s, planners throughout the United States knew that (a) concentrating housing that would be inhabited by black residents would further segregate them, but also that (b) with proper programmatic, architectural, and site design, long-term, stable integration could be fostered.

Significantly, Baltimore's scattered-site units are highly concentrated despite the availability of vacant housing in low-poverty tracts with fewer than 25 percent black residents in other parts of the City. Indeed, there are no scattered site units at all in the 37 census tracts in which fewer than 10 percent of residents were poor and fewer than 25.9 percent black in 1980, even though on April 1, 1980 alone there were over 2,000 vacant dwellings in these tracts.

Because the HABC consistently targeted mostly black, high-poverty tracts as the almost exclusive location for its scattered-site units, almost 90 percent of these units are in tracts in which, in the year 2000, over 90% of residents were black, and over 90 percent of the units were in high-poverty tracts.

### **I. Current conditions: Year 2000**

Enough information was available on the scattered site units to allow address-matching of 2,847 units.<sup>6</sup> These units are currently intensely concentrated in high poverty tracts dominated by African Americans.

**Scattered site housing is intensely concentrated in tracts with the highest concentration of blacks or African Americans.** This concentration is absolute: almost nine out of ten scattered site units (88.9%) are located in tracts in which 90% or more of year 2000 residents were black. The concentration is also high compared to the conditions experienced by most Baltimore households, only 37 percent of whom live in tracts in which over 90% of residents are black (Table 1; Figure 1). In contrast, only 24 scattered site units are located in tracts with fewer than 25% black residents as of 2000 and 13 more are in tracts with between 25% and 35% black residents. Even more strikingly, only 3.2 percent of all scattered site units are in tracts in which blacks are not in the majority, whereas nearly 40 percent of occupied dwellings in Baltimore were in such tracts as of 2000.

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<sup>3</sup> Hoppenfeld, M. 1971. The Columbia process: The potential for new towns. *The Architects Yearbook* 13, 34-47.

<sup>4</sup> Fourteen percent of Howard County's residents in 2000 were black. The median census tract in the county has 12 percent black residents; the tract with the largest share of black residents has 31.5 percent black residents, but 50 percent of tracts have between 4.8 percent and 21.1 percent black residents.

<sup>5</sup> Keating, W. Dennis. 1994. *The suburban racial dilemma: Housing and neighborhoods*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

<sup>6</sup> Address-matching is a process in which a user employs a computerized geographic information system (GIS) to find spatial locations from a list of addresses.

Table 1. Occupied and scattered site units by percent black in tract, Baltimore City, 2000

Percent black in tract	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	7	0.2	31,795	12.3
10-24%	17	0.6	33,190	12.9
25-34%	13	0.5	13,297	5.2
35-49%	55	1.9	24,145	9.4
50-69%	89	3.1	20,856	8.1
70-79%	64	2.2	14,385	5.6
80-89%	72	2.5	24,155	9.4
90-100%	2,530	88.9	96,173	37.3
Total	2,847	100.0	257,996	100.0

Sources: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF1; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

**Scattered site housing is intensely concentrated in high-poverty census tracts.** Over 90% of scattered site units are in high-poverty tracts, whereas just 49.0% of all occupied dwellings in Baltimore City were in these tracts in 2000 (Table 2; Figure 2). Nearly 40% of the scattered site units are located in extreme poverty tracts, compared to only 10.3% of all occupied units. In other words, scattered site units are nearly four times more concentrated in extreme-poverty tracts than are occupied units in Baltimore City. By contrast, only six (6) scattered site dwellings are located in tracts in which fewer than 10% of residents live below the poverty line, even though there were 38,171 occupied dwellings in these tracts in 2000.

Table 2. Occupied and scattered site units by percent tract residents below poverty, Baltimore City, 2000

Percent below poverty line	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	6	0.2	38,171	14.8
10-19%	243	8.5	93,524	36.3
20-29%	436	15.3	58,491	22.7
30-39%	1,029	36.1	41,269	16.0
40%+	1,133	39.8	26,541	10.3
Total	2,847	100.0	257,996	100.0

Sources: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

**Scattered site housing is predominantly located in tracts with high rates of poverty and intense concentrations of black residents.** Well over one-third (37.7%) of the scattered site dwellings are in extreme-poverty census tracts in which over 90% of residents are black (Appendix Table A). Nearly one-third more (31.3%) live in virtually all-black tracts with poverty rates between 30% and 40%. Of the 266 scattered site units in tracts in which fewer than 20% of residents live below the poverty line, 210 (78.9%) are in virtually all-black tracts in which between 10% and 20% of residents live in poverty.

**Practically no scattered site housing is located in tracts with few African Americans and poverty rates below 20%.** Only 25 of the 2,847 units (less than one percent of the total) are in tracts in which fewer than 35% of residents are black and fewer than 20% of residents live below the poverty line (Appendix Table A). There are almost 65,000 occupied housing units in Baltimore in tracts with fewer than 25 percent black residents; the HABC scattered-site inventory accounts for less than one-half of one percent of all units in these tracts.

**Over three-fourths of scattered-site units are located in census tracts that had multiple indicators of tract distress in 1990.** Kasarda (1993) identified four indicators beyond the percent of persons in poverty to help identify tracts as distressed: the percent of families receiving public assistance income; the percent of families with children that were headed by a single woman; the percent of out-of-school males unemployed for more than 26 weeks in the previous year; and the percent of 16- to 19-year olds who were not in school and had not graduated from high school (i.e., dropouts).<sup>7</sup>

Using Kasarda's indicators and criteria, I defined a tract as moderately distressed if it was among the highest-ranking in the Baltimore Metropolitan Statistical Area on the first four of these indicators and severely distressed if it also ranked among the highest in dropouts. Seventeen percent of Baltimore's households lived in these tracts in 2000. Over two of every five scattered site units (42.6 percent) are in a moderately distressed tract, and well over one-third (36.6 percent) are in severely distressed tracts. In all, 78.9 percent of the scattered site units are in distressed tracts.

## **II. Scattered site units have consistently, and increasingly, been acquired in census tracts that are already poor and mostly black at the time of acquisition.**

In addition to the analysis of current conditions, I obtained data on tract conditions in 1970, 1980, and 1990 to estimate the tract conditions when the scattered site units were first acquired by the HABC. This analysis suggests that scattered site units have always been acquired in tracts in which concentrations of blacks or African Americans and poverty levels were high before the acquisitions occurred. Moreover, this practice grew more entrenched over time, rather than less. The earliest period of scattered site acquisition, 1972-1975, represents the "high-water mark" for siting of scattered site units in areas that were majority white and/or low-poverty. Yet even during this period, only 13 percent of the sites were in majority-white tracts, while nearly 80% were in tracts that were 80% to 100% black.

### **A. Acquisitions in the 1970s concentrated in tracts where black and poor residents were intensely concentrated.**

HABC records indicate that it acquired the first of the current stock of scattered-site units in 1972, when 86 units were acquired. The current database indicates that HABC acquired another 766 units in 1973 and 249 in 1975. In all, 1,101 units were acquired in this early round, but tract

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<sup>7</sup> Kasarda, J. D. (1993). Inner-city concentrated poverty and neighborhood distress: 1970-1990. *Housing Policy Debate*, 4(3), 253-302.

data were not available for five of the units. I use the 1970 census to describe tract conditions for these acquisitions.

- Over two-thirds of the earliest scattered site units were in tracts in which over 90% of residents were black (Table 3). An additional 10 percent of these units were in tracts in which between 80% and 90% of residents were black. By comparison, fewer than 35% of all Baltimore's occupied units were in these nearly all-black tracts.

Table 3. Scattered site (1972-75) and occupied (1970) units by percent black in tract, Baltimore City, 1970

Percent black in tract	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	50	4.6	133,262	46.1
10-24%	41	3.7	24,283	8.4
25-34%	37	3.4	3,984	1.4
35-49%	18	1.6	8,763	3.0
50-69%	40	3.6	10,278	3.6
70-79%	52	4.7	8,125	2.8
80-89%	108	9.9	14,663	5.1
90-100%	750	68.4	85,645	29.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,096</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>289,003</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 1; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

- Only 50 of the 1,096 scattered site units, 4.6% of the total, were in tracts with fewer than 10% black residents in 1970. Over 46% of all Baltimore's occupied units were in such nearly all-white tracts in 1970.
- Only 13 percent of the scattered site units were in majority-white tracts in 1970.
- Over one-third of the earliest scattered site units were in extreme-poverty tracts as of 1970 (Table 4). Another 36 percent of the units were in tracts with poverty rates between 30% and 40%, for a total of 71 percent of units in tracts with poverty rates exceeding 30%. Only 17 percent of all occupied units in Baltimore were in these tracts in 1970.

Table 4. Scattered site (1972-75) and occupied (1970) units by percent tract residents below poverty line, Baltimore City, 1970

Percent below poverty line	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	14	1.3	108,799	37.6
10-19%	149	13.6	86,013	29.8
20-29%	155	14.1	45,149	15.6
30-39%	393	35.9	22,487	7.8
40%+	385	35.1	26,555	9.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,096</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>289,003</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 5; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

- Over one-quarter of the earliest scattered site units were in virtually all black tracts in which over 40 percent of residents lived below the poverty level (Appendix Table B). Only 6.8 percent of all occupied units in Baltimore were in these tracts in 1970.

**B. Acquisitions in the 1980s concentrated in tracts where black and poor residents were intensely concentrated.**

Between 1977 and 1983, HABC acquired another 1,355 units; most of these units were acquired between 1981 and 1983. I use the 1980 Census to describe tract conditions for these acquisitions.

- About 87 percent of the units were located in tracts where over 90% of residents were black in 1980 (Table 5).

Table 5. Scattered site (1977-83) and occupied (1980) units by percent black in tract, Baltimore City, 1980

Percent black in tract	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	20	1.5	88,386	31.4
10-24%	39	2.9	24,493	8.7
25-34%	2	0.1	17,285	6.1
35-49%	33	2.4	16,358	5.8
50-69%	25	1.8	18,808	6.7
70-79%	1	0.1	7,712	2.7
80-89%	62	4.6	12,301	4.4
90-100%	1,173	86.6	96,071	34.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,355</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>281,414</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1980 Census of Population and Housing.

STF 1; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

- Fewer than seven percent of the units were located in tracts in which blacks were fewer than half of residents in 1980.
- Two-thirds of the scattered site dwellings were located in tracts in which poverty levels exceeded 40% (Table 6).

Table 6. Scattered site (1972-75) and occupied (1970) units by percent tract residents below poverty line, Baltimore City, 1970

Percent below poverty line	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	0	0.0	76,112	27.0
10-19%	4	0.3	66,428	23.6
20-29%	147	10.8	66,296	23.6
30-39%	306	22.6	33,716	12.0
40%+	898	66.3	38,862	13.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,355</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>281,414</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1980 Census of Population and Housing.

STF3; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

- Only four units—less than one-half of one percent—were located in tracts with 1980 poverty rates below 20%.
- Over 60 percent of these scattered site dwellings were located in virtually all-black tracts with extreme poverty levels as of 1980 (Appendix Table C).

**C. Acquisitions in the 1990s concentrated in tracts where black and poor residents were intensely concentrated.**

The final acquisitions occurred in 1988, 1990, and 1995. Records are available for 391 units, mostly from 1988 (209) and 1990 (176). I use the 1990 Census to describe tract conditions for these acquisitions.

- Over 80 percent of these units were located in virtually all-black tracts (those with at least 90% black residents) as of 1990 (Table 7).

Table 7. Scattered site (1988-95) and occupied (1990) units by percent black in tract, Baltimore City, 1990

Percent black in tract	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	2	0.5	68,309	24.7
10-24%	2	0.5	24,327	8.8
25-34%	3	0.8	18,773	6.8
35-49%	0	0.0	13,661	4.9
50-69%	15	3.8	25,056	9.1
70-79%	8	2.0	12,540	4.5
80-89%	40	10.2	13,771	5.0
90-100%	321	82.1	100,047	36.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>391</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>276,484</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF 1; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

- Only seven units—1.8% of the total—were located in tracts in which blacks did not constitute the majority of 1990 residents.
- 92.8 percent of the units were located in tracts whose 1990 poverty levels exceeded 20% (Table 8).

Table 8. Scattered site (1972-75) and occupied (1970) units by percent tract residents below poverty line, Baltimore City, 1970

Percent below poverty line	Scattered-site units		Occupied units	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	3	0.8	83,859	30.3
10-19%	25	6.4	73,123	26.4
20-29%	107	27.4	48,870	17.7
30-39%	94	24.0	34,447	12.5
40%+	162	41.4	36,185	13.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>391</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>276,484</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF 3; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

- Over half of the scattered site units were in virtually all black tracts in which poverty levels exceeded 30% (Appendix Table D). Another 80 units were in virtually all black tracts with poverty levels between 20% and 30%.

Scattered site units were much more concentrated in poor tracts and tracts dominated by black residents than other occupied units in 1990. Only 36.2% of occupied units were in tracts in which

over 90% of residents were black (compared to 82.1% of scattered site units). Only 24.7% of occupied units were in high-poverty tracts (compared to 92.8% of scattered site units).

**III. Scattered site units are still intensely concentrated in high-poverty tracts with more than 90 percent black residents, and the most recently acquired units are most likely to be in such tracts.**

**All the scattered site units are in tracts that, in 2000, are predominantly black and poor.** As the previous section shows, this tendency has become more pronounced through time rather than being corrected. Even today, the earliest units are more likely than later-round units to be located in tracts with fewer than 35 percent black residents.

- Twenty-nine of the 1,101 units from the first round are located in tracts in which fewer than 35% of residents are black in the year 2000: about 2.6 percent of all first-round units (Table 9).

Table 9. Scattered site units by year of acquisition by percent black in tract, Baltimore City, 2000

Percent black in tract	Acquisition period					
	1972-1975		1977-1983		1988-1995	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	5	0.5	2	0.1	0	0.0
10-24%	12	1.1	4	0.3	1	0.3
25-34%	12	1.1	0	0.0	1	0.3
35-49%	5	0.5	48	3.5	2	0.5
50-69%	29	2.6	54	4.0	6	1.5
70-79%	45	4.1	7	0.5	12	3.1
80-89%	50	4.5	16	1.2	6	1.5
90-100%	943	85.6	1,224	90.3	363	92.8
Total	1,101	100.0	1,355	100.0	391	100.0

Sources: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF1; Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

- Six of the 1,355 units from the second round are in tracts in which fewer than 35% of year-2000 residents are black: 0.4 percent of all second-round units.
- Two of the 391 final-round units are in tracts in which fewer than 35% of year-2000 residents are black: 0.5 percent of the final-round units.

This disparity reinforces the notion that the siting practices for scattered site housing did not improve through time. In fact, the avoidance of non-black tracts grew more pronounced.

A final question concerns the 2000 poverty status of units from each round. When they were sited, 85 percent of the first-round units were in tracts whose poverty rates exceeded 20% (Table 10). By 2000, 89 percent of these first-round units were in these high-poverty tracts. Nearly all (99.7 percent) of the second-round units were in high-poverty tracts at siting; by 2000, 94.5 percent of these units were in high-poverty tracts. For the third-round units, 93 percent were located in high-poverty tracts at siting, compared to 87 percent in 2000. Hence tract poverty

grew for the first-round units, but diminished slightly for the second- and final-round units. Even so, all three groups remain highly concentrated in high-poverty tracts.

Table 10. Scattered site units by year of acquisition by percent tract residents below poverty line, Baltimore City, 2000

Percent below poverty line	Acquisition period					
	1972-1975		1977-1983		1988-1995	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
<10%	5	0.5	0	0.0	1	0.3
10-19%	117	10.6	75	5.5	51	13.0
20-29%	157	14.3	185	13.7	94	24.0
30-39%	364	33.1	552	40.7	113	28.9
40%+	458	41.6	543	40.1	132	33.8
Total	1,101	100.0	1,355	100.0	391	100.0

Sources: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3.

Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

**There are only 25 scattered site units located in tracts in which fewer than 20% of residents live below the poverty line and fewer than 35% of residents are black.** Eighteen of these units date from the first round, six from the second, and only one from the final round (Appendix Table E).

#### IV. No individual scattered-site project is an exception to the general trend of concentration in poor, mostly black tracts.

The scattered site units were delivered in 18 individual HUD projects. At least 64 percent of the units in every project were in tracts in which at least 90% of residents were black in the census year closest to the project year (Table 11, page 11). Two projects (2-24 and 2-84, in 1972 and 1995 respectively) were entirely in tracts with at least 90% black residents. At least 79 percent of the units in every project were in majority-black tracts in the census year closest to the project year, and three projects were entirely in majority-black tracts (2-72, in 1988, in addition to 2-24 and 2-84).

In only four projects (2-35, 2-40, 2-59, and 2-63) were more than 10 percent of the units in tracts with fewer than 35% black residents; the maximum share of units in these tracts with fewer than 35% black residents was 17 percent (project 2-63, in 1980).

Ten of the 18 projects were sited entirely in high-poverty tracts (poverty rates exceeding 20 percent of residents), and in none of the projects were fewer than 80 percent of units sited in high-poverty tracts (Table 12, page 12). In 12 of the 18 projects, the majority of units were sited in extreme poverty tracts (poverty rates exceeding 40 percent) at around the time of their siting. Only four of the 18 projects sited any units at all in tracts with poverty rates below 10 percent, but none of these four projects sited more than 2 percent of their units in low-poverty tracts; together, these projects accounted for 17 units in low-poverty tracts.

**V. HABC concentrated its scattered site housing near family public housing projects.**

One goal of scattered-site housing programs in general is to help deconcentrate tenants from areas near public housing. To determine the extent to which the HABC scattered site program achieved this goal, I used a geographic information system (GIS) to draw a quarter-mile circle around blocks on which Baltimore's 29 family housing projects are located and counted the scattered site units within those circles. HABC's program concentrated many tenants in areas near public housing projects.

**The analysis shows that 31 percent of the scattered site units (885 of the 2,847) were acquired within one-quarter mile of at least one public housing project.** About 16 percent of all scattered-site units (464 units) were within one-quarter mile of the cluster of seven family housing projects west of downtown (Albert Spencer Gardens, Emerson Julian Gardens, Murphy Home, Gilmore Homes, Lexington Terrace, McCulloh Homes and Extension, and Poe Homes). Another 13 percent of scattered-site units (369 units) were within one-quarter mile of at least one of the eight projects east of downtown (Douglass, Flag House, Lafayette Courts, Latrobe Homes, Perkins Homes, Somerset Court, Somerset Court Extension, and The Broadway). Almost all these projects had already been occupied for well over a decade by mostly black, mostly below-poverty tenants when the scattered site program began in 1972.

**VI. HABC did not take advantage of opportunities to acquire housing in tracts with low poverty and percent black residents.**

In 1980, the scattered site program had been running for eight years and was about to enter its most productive decade. An analysis of 1980 Census data found 37 census tracts in which fewer than 25.9% of residents were black and fewer than 10% lived below the poverty line, levels defined as "non-impacted" in the partial consent decree. (Since data were not immediately available on the total number of assisted households in each of these tracts in 1980, it is not possible to say whether these tracts met all three of the "non-impacted" criteria.)

There were 2,132 vacant year-round dwellings in these tracts in 1980, of which 884 were for rent, 406 for sale, 116 held for occasional use, and 726 vacant for other reasons. These "other vacant" units tend to be those which their owners have taken off the market; some are tax delinquent, some in foreclosure, others simply waiting for conditions to change. This number represents only the total vacancies on April 1, 1980; the total number of dwellings that may have become vacant between 1972 and 1995 in these tracts would have been much higher than 2,132. Fourteen of the 37 census tracts had median rents below the city-wide median (\$214 in 1980), with 661 total vacant units in these comparatively low-cost tracts on April 1, 1980 alone.

**No scattered site dwellings exist in these 37 census tracts.**

Table 11. Neighborhood percent black at about the time of siting, Baltimore scattered site units, by project number, 1970-1990

Units

Project Number	Year		Total Units	Percent of residents black									
	Project	Census		<10	10-24	25-34	35-49	50-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	50-100	
MD2-24	1972	1970	86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	86	86
MD2-35	1973	1970	133	4	4	8	0	6	4	15	92	117	117
MD2-40	1975	1970	249	21	5	7	0	9	19	28	160	216	216
MD2-58	1977	1980	205	2	2	0	0	0	0	15	186	201	201
MD2-59	1973	1970	633	25	32	22	18	30	29	65	412	536	536
MD2-62	1982	1980	99	0	5	1	15	3	0	8	67	78	78
MD2-63	1980	1980	98	10	6	1	1	4	0	6	70	80	80
MD2-64	1982	1980	142	1	10	0	2	1	0	7	121	129	129
MD2-65	1981	1980	131	4	9	0	1	3	1	2	111	117	117
MD2-66	1982	1980	136	1	0	0	6	1	0	5	123	129	129
MD2-67	1983	1980	149	2	1	0	1	3	0	1	141	145	145
MD2-68	1983	1980	150	0	3	0	1	1	0	8	137	146	146
MD2-69	1988	1990	148	0	0	2	0	1	1	12	132	146	146
MD2-72	1988	1990	61	0	0	0	0	1	0	9	51	61	61
MD2-76	1979	1980	245	0	3	0	6	9	0	10	217	236	236
MD2-77	1990	1990	110	1	2	0	0	4	1	18	84	107	107
MD2-84	1995	1990	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	6
MD2-89	1990	1990	66	1	0	1	0	9	6	1	48	64	64

Percent of units

Project Number	Year		Total Units	Percent of residents black									
	Project	Census		<10	10-24	25-34	35-49	50-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	50-100	
MD2-24	1972	1970	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
MD2-35	1973	1970	100.0	3.0	3.0	6.0	0.0	4.5	3.0	11.3	69.2	88.0	88.0
MD2-40	1975	1970	100.0	8.4	2.0	2.8	0.0	3.6	7.6	11.2	64.3	86.7	86.7
MD2-58	1977	1980	100.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.3	90.7	98.0	98.0
MD2-59	1973	1970	100.0	3.9	5.1	3.5	2.8	4.7	4.6	10.3	65.1	84.7	84.7
MD2-62	1982	1980	100.0	0.0	5.1	1.0	15.2	3.0	0.0	8.1	67.7	78.8	78.8
MD2-63	1980	1980	100.0	10.2	6.1	1.0	1.0	4.1	0.0	6.1	71.4	81.6	81.6
MD2-64	1982	1980	100.0	0.7	7.0	0.0	1.4	0.7	0.0	4.9	85.2	90.8	90.8
MD2-65	1981	1980	100.0	3.1	6.9	0.0	0.8	2.3	0.8	1.5	84.7	89.3	89.3
MD2-66	1982	1980	100.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	4.4	0.7	0.0	3.7	90.4	94.9	94.9
MD2-67	1983	1980	100.0	1.3	0.7	0.0	0.7	2.0	0.0	0.7	94.6	97.3	97.3
MD2-68	1983	1980	100.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	5.3	91.3	97.3	97.3
MD2-69	1988	1990	100.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.7	0.7	8.1	89.2	98.6	98.6
MD2-72	1988	1990	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	14.8	83.6	100.0	100.0
MD2-76	1979	1980	100.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.4	3.7	0.0	4.1	88.6	96.3	96.3
MD2-77	1990	1990	100.0	0.9	1.8	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.9	16.4	76.4	97.3	97.3
MD2-84	1995	1990	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
MD2-89	1990	1990	100.0	1.5	0.0	1.5	0.0	13.6	9.1	1.5	72.7	97.0	97.0

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Summary file 5;  
 Sources: US Census Bureau, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 1;  
 Sources: US Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 1;  
 Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

Table 12. Neighborhood poverty rates at about the time of siting, Baltimore scattered site units, by project number, 1970-1990

Units

Project Number	Year		Total Units	Percent of persons below poverty					
	Project	Census		<10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40+	20+
MD2-24	1972	1970	86	0	0	10	51	25	86
MD2-35	1973	1970	133	0	5	29	31	68	128
MD2-40	1975	1970	249	2	35	31	95	86	212
MD2-58	1977	1980	205	0	0	8	31	166	205
MD2-59	1973	1970	633	12	109	85	216	206	507
MD2-62	1982	1980	99	0	0	9	42	48	99
MD2-63	1980	1980	98	0	0	14	21	63	98
MD2-64	1982	1980	142	0	0	11	45	86	142
MD2-65	1981	1980	131	0	0	17	26	88	131
MD2-66	1982	1980	136	0	0	20	37	79	136
MD2-67	1983	1980	149	0	2	10	30	107	147
MD2-68	1983	1980	150	0	0	20	28	102	150
MD2-69	1988	1990	148	0	1	43	16	88	147
MD2-72	1988	1990	61	0	0	3	10	48	61
MD2-76	1979	1980	245	0	2	38	46	159	243
MD2-77	1990	1990	110	2	20	47	41	0	88
MD2-84	1995	1990	6	0	0	0	0	6	6
MD2-89	1990	1990	66	1	4	14	27	20	61

Percent of units

Project Number	Year		Total Units	Percent of persons below poverty					
	Project	Census		<10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40+	20+
MD2-24	1972	1970	100.0	0.0	0.0	11.6	59.3	29.1	100.0
MD2-35	1973	1970	100.0	0.0	3.8	21.8	23.3	51.1	96.2
MD2-40	1975	1970	100.0	0.8	14.1	12.4	38.2	34.5	85.1
MD2-58	1977	1980	100.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	15.1	81.0	100.0
MD2-59	1973	1970	100.0	1.9	17.2	13.4	34.1	32.5	80.1
MD2-62	1982	1980	100.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	42.4	48.5	100.0
MD2-63	1980	1980	100.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	21.4	64.3	100.0
MD2-64	1982	1980	100.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	31.7	60.6	100.0
MD2-65	1981	1980	100.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	19.8	67.2	100.0
MD2-66	1982	1980	100.0	0.0	0.0	14.7	27.2	58.1	100.0
MD2-67	1983	1980	100.0	0.0	1.3	6.7	20.1	71.8	98.7
MD2-68	1983	1980	100.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	18.7	68.0	100.0
MD2-69	1988	1990	100.0	0.0	0.7	29.1	10.8	59.5	99.3
MD2-72	1988	1990	100.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	16.4	78.7	100.0
MD2-76	1979	1980	100.0	0.0	0.8	15.5	18.8	64.9	99.2
MD2-77	1990	1990	100.0	1.8	18.2	42.7	37.3	0.0	80.0
MD2-84	1995	1990	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
MD2-89	1990	1990	100.0	1.5	6.1	21.2	40.9	30.3	92.4

Sources: US Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Summary file 5;  
 Sources: US Census Bureau, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3;  
 Sources: US Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3;  
 Scattered site data provided by HABC to ACLU of Maryland

Appendix Table A. 2000 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings,  
Baltimore City 2000

Dwelling units		Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total		
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+				
in tract	<10%	10-24%	25-34%	35-49%	50-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-100%	Total
<10%	11,802	17,408	5,091	893	0	35,194			
10-24%	11,426	15,713	2,111	8,253	0	37,503			
25-34%	4,428	3,120	5,463	2,096	0	15,107			
35-49%	2,752	11,227	7,133	4,808	1,716	27,636			
50-69%	3,695	8,643	4,568	3,864	3,631	24,401			
70-79%	3,049	8,413	1,529	979	2,016	15,986			
80-89%	1,622	13,634	7,903	1,376	2,286	26,821			
90-100%	2,366	25,980	34,561	30,513	24,409	117,829			
Total	41,140	104,138	68,359	52,782	34,058	300,477			

Occupied units		Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total		
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+				
in tract	<10%	10-24%	25-34%	35-49%	50-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-100%	Total
<10%	10,758	15,569	4,697	771	0	31,795			
10-24%	10,859	13,850	1,486	6,995	0	33,190			
25-34%	4,110	2,782	4,708	1,697	0	13,297			
35-49%	2,500	10,406	6,063	3,787	1,389	24,145			
50-69%	3,460	7,946	3,800	2,948	2,702	20,856			
70-79%	2,872	7,696	1,283	703	1,831	14,385			
80-89%	1,542	12,701	7,118	891	1,903	24,155			
90-100%	2,070	22,574	29,336	23,477	18,716	96,173			
Total	38,171	93,524	58,491	41,269	26,541	257,996			

Scattered site units		Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total		
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+				
in tract	<10%	10-24%	25-34%	35-49%	50-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-100%	Total
<10%	1	5	1	0	0	7			
10-24%	1	16	0	0	0	17			
25-34%	0	2	11	0	0	13			
35-49%	0	0	33	22	0	55			
50-69%	0	5	28	21	35	89			
70-79%	2	2	5	54	1	64			
80-89%	1	19	2	44	6	72			
90-100%	1	194	356	888	1,091	2,530			
Total	6	243	436	1,029	1,133	2,847			

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF1 (Summary level 150).

Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3 (Summary level 150).

Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table A. 2000 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings.  
Percent of dwellings in each cell, Baltimore City, 2000

Percent of dwelling units

Percent black in tract	Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total
	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	3.9	5.8	1.7	0.3	0.0	11.7
10-24%	3.8	5.2	0.7	2.7	0.0	12.5
25-34%	1.5	1.0	1.8	0.7	0.0	5.0
35-49%	0.9	3.7	2.4	1.6	0.6	9.2
50-69%	1.2	2.9	1.5	1.3	1.2	8.1
70-79%	1.0	2.8	0.5	0.3	0.7	5.3
80-89%	0.5	4.5	2.6	0.5	0.8	8.9
90-100%	0.8	8.6	11.5	10.2	8.1	39.2
Total	13.7	34.7	22.8	17.6	11.3	100.0

Percent of occupied units

Percent black in tract	Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total
	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	4.2	6.0	1.8	0.3	0.0	12.3
10-24%	4.2	5.4	0.6	2.7	0.0	12.9
25-34%	1.6	1.1	1.8	0.7	0.0	5.2
35-49%	1.0	4.0	2.4	1.5	0.5	9.4
50-69%	1.3	3.1	1.5	1.1	1.0	8.1
70-79%	1.1	3.0	0.5	0.3	0.7	5.6
80-89%	0.6	4.9	2.8	0.3	0.7	9.4
90-100%	0.8	8.7	11.4	9.1	7.3	37.3
Total	14.8	36.3	22.7	16.0	10.3	100.0

Percent of scattered site units

Percent black in tract	Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total
	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
10-24%	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
25-34%	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.5
35-49%	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.8	0.0	1.9
50-69%	0.0	0.2	1.0	0.7	1.2	3.1
70-79%	0.1	0.1	0.2	1.9	0.0	2.2
80-89%	0.0	0.7	0.1	1.5	0.2	2.5
90-100%	0.0	6.8	12.5	31.2	38.3	88.9
Total	0.2	8.5	15.3	36.1	39.8	100.0

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF1 (Summary level 150).

Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3 (Summary level 150).

Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table B. 1970 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings.  
Baltimore City

Dwelling units		Percent of persons below poverty 1969					Total		
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+				
in tract	<10%	10-24%	25-34%	35-49%	50-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-100%	Total
<10%	85,098	45,486	7,140	1,324	0	139,048			
10-24%	11,468	7,601	4,792	1,801	0	25,662			
25-34%	2,990	59	0	1,124	0	4,173			
35-49%	0	2,964	6,472	0	0	9,436			
50-69%	0	2,594	1,711	2,000	4,913	11,218			
70-79%	6,307	0	0	1,664	855	8,826			
80-89%	756	5,158	6,554	1,028	1,938	15,434			
90-100%	5,242	26,665	21,491	15,787	21,861	91,046			
Total	111,861	90,527	48,160	24,728	29,567	304,843			

Occupied units		Percent of persons below poverty 1969					Total		
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+				
in tract	<10%	10-24%	25-34%	35-49%	50-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-100%	Total
<10%	82,859	42,592	6,548	1,263	0	133,262			
10-24%	11,093	7,089	4,484	1,617	0	24,283			
25-34%	2,918	59	0	1,007	0	3,984			
35-49%	0	2,878	5,885	0	0	8,763			
50-69%	0	2,504	1,576	1,784	4,414	10,278			
70-79%	6,061	0	0	1,406	658	8,125			
80-89%	756	4,986	6,251	972	1,698	14,663			
90-100%	5,112	25,905	20,405	14,438	19,785	85,645			
Total	108,799	86,013	45,149	22,487	26,555	289,003			

Scattered site units		Percent of persons below poverty 1969					Total		
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+				
in tract	<10%	10-24%	25-34%	35-49%	50-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-100%	Total
<10%	9	36	5	0	0	50			
10-24%	4	23	13	1	0	41			
25-34%	0	0	0	37	0	37			
35-49%	0	8	10	0	0	18			
50-69%	0	7	12	0	21	40			
70-79%	0	0	0	52	0	52			
80-89%	1	17	3	2	85	108			
90-100%	0	58	112	301	279	750			
Total	14	149	155	393	385	1,096			

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts, poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Fourth Count Population Summary Tape, from GeoLytics CensusCD 1970.  
Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table B (continued). 1970 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings.  
Baltimore City: Percent of all units in each cell

Dwelling units Percent black in tract	Percent of persons below poverty 1969					Total
	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	27.9	14.9	2.3	0.4	0.0	45.6
10-24%	3.8	2.5	1.6	0.6	0.0	8.4
25-34%	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.4
35-49%	0.0	1.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	3.1
50-69%	0.0	0.9	0.6	0.7	1.6	3.7
70-79%	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.3	2.9
80-89%	0.2	1.7	2.1	0.3	0.6	5.1
90-100%	1.7	8.7	7.0	5.2	7.2	29.9
Total	36.7	29.7	15.8	8.1	9.7	100.0

Occupied units Percent black in tract	Percent of persons below poverty 1969					Total
	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	28.7	14.7	2.3	0.4	0.0	46.1
10-24%	3.8	2.5	1.6	0.6	0.0	8.4
25-34%	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.4
35-49%	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	3.0
50-69%	0.0	0.9	0.5	0.6	1.5	3.6
70-79%	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	2.8
80-89%	0.3	1.7	2.2	0.3	0.6	5.1
90-100%	1.8	9.0	7.1	5.0	6.8	29.6
Total	37.6	29.8	15.6	7.8	9.2	100.0

Scattered site units Percent black in tract	Percent of persons below poverty 1969					Total
	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	0.8	3.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	4.6
10-24%	0.4	2.1	1.2	0.1	0.0	3.7
25-34%	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	3.4
35-49%	0.0	0.7	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.6
50-69%	0.0	0.6	1.1	0.0	1.9	3.6
70-79%	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	4.7
80-89%	0.1	1.6	0.3	0.2	7.8	9.9
90-100%	0.0	5.3	10.2	27.5	25.5	68.4
Total	1.3	13.6	14.1	35.9	35.1	100.0

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts, poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Fourth Count Population Summary Tape, from GeoLytics CensusCD 1970.  
Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table C. 1980 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings, Baltimore City

Dwelling units		Percent of persons below poverty 1979					Total
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+		
in tract							
<10%	49,166	23,471	18,161	2,340	0	93,138	
10-24%	9,567	7,740	5,749	0	2,911	25,967	
25-34%	9,228	1,403	3,982	3,185	939	18,737	
35-49%	4,727	6,719	4,036	1,766	0	17,248	
50-69%	1,670	9,455	5,316	886	2,635	19,962	
70-79%	0	3,094	3,597	0	1,744	8,435	
80-89%	0	0	4,226	5,148	4,213	13,587	
90-100%	4,335	17,544	26,710	24,212	32,584	105,385	
Total	78,693	69,426	71,777	37,537	45,026	302,459	

Occupied units		Percent of persons below poverty 1979					Total
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+		
in tract							
<10%	47,378	22,357	16,606	2,045	0	88,386	
10-24%	9,311	7,260	5,231	0	2,691	24,493	
25-34%	8,978	1,306	3,434	2,803	764	17,285	
35-49%	4,575	6,552	3,698	1,533	0	16,358	
50-69%	1,648	9,141	4,875	653	2,491	18,808	
70-79%	0	3,024	3,182	0	1,506	7,712	
80-89%	0	0	4,055	4,824	3,422	12,301	
90-100%	4,222	16,788	25,215	21,858	27,988	96,071	
Total	76,112	66,428	66,296	33,716	38,862	281,414	

Scattered site units		Percent of persons below poverty 1979					Total
Percent black	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+		
in tract							
<10%	0	0	5	15	0	20	
10-24%	0	0	16	0	23	39	
25-34%	0	0	0	1	1	2	
35-49%	0	0	2	31	0	33	
50-69%	0	0	15	10	0	25	
70-79%	0	0	0	0	1	1	
80-89%	0	0	2	15	45	62	
90-100%	0	4	107	234	828	1,173	
Total	0	4	147	306	898	1,355	

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, STF1 (Summary level 14), from GeoLytics CensusCD 1980.

Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, STF3 (Summary level 14), from GeoLytics CensusCD 1980.

Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table C (continued): 1980 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings, Baltimore City: Percent of all units in each cell

Dwelling units		Percent of persons below poverty 1979					
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	Total
in tract							
<10%		16.3	7.8	6.0	0.8	0.0	30.8
10-24%		3.2	2.6	1.9	0.0	1.0	8.6
25-34%		3.1	0.5	1.3	1.1	0.3	6.2
35-49%		1.6	2.2	1.3	0.6	0.0	5.7
50-69%		0.6	3.1	1.8	0.3	0.9	6.6
70-79%		0.0	1.0	1.2	0.0	0.6	2.8
80-89%		0.0	0.0	1.4	1.7	1.4	4.5
90-100%		1.4	5.8	8.8	8.0	10.8	34.8
Total		26.0	23.0	23.7	12.4	14.9	100.0

Occupied units		Percent of persons below poverty 1979					
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	Total
in tract							
<10%		16.8	7.9	5.9	0.7	0.0	31.4
10-24%		3.3	2.6	1.9	0.0	1.0	8.7
25-34%		3.2	0.5	1.2	1.0	0.3	6.1
35-49%		1.6	2.3	1.3	0.5	0.0	5.8
50-69%		0.6	3.2	1.7	0.2	0.9	6.7
70-79%		0.0	1.1	1.1	0.0	0.5	2.7
80-89%		0.0	0.0	1.4	1.7	1.2	4.4
90-100%		1.5	6.0	9.0	7.8	9.9	34.1
Total		27.0	23.6	23.6	12.0	13.8	100.0

Scattered site units		Percent of persons below poverty 1979					
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	Total
in tract							
<10%		0.0	0.0	0.4	1.1	0.0	1.5
10-24%		0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.7	2.9
25-34%		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
35-49%		0.0	0.0	0.1	2.3	0.0	2.4
50-69%		0.0	0.0	1.1	0.7	0.0	1.8
70-79%		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
80-89%		0.0	0.0	0.1	1.1	3.3	4.6
90-100%		0.0	0.3	7.9	17.3	61.1	86.6
Total		0.0	0.3	10.8	22.6	66.3	100.0

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, STF1 (Summary level 14), from GeoLytics CensusCD 1980.

Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, STF3 (Summary level 14), from GeoLytics CensusCD 1980.

Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table D. 1990 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings, Baltimore City

Dwelling units		Percent of persons below poverty 1989					Total
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
in tract							
<10%	35,229	26,317	8,077	4,102	0	73,725	
10-24%	11,175	8,441	4,243	2,727	0	26,586	
25-34%	5,214	7,175	4,476	1,131	2,675	20,671	
35-49%	5,006	1,507	4,478	4,022	0	15,013	
50-69%	13,575	5,142	4,780	1,056	3,023	27,576	
70-79%	3,593	4,590	934	3,251	911	13,279	
80-89%	3,126	2,950	2,595	1,531	5,341	15,543	
90-100%	11,020	22,323	25,312	21,451	31,207	111,313	
Total	87,938	78,445	54,895	39,271	43,157	303,706	

Occupied units		Percent of persons below poverty 1989					Total
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
in tract							
<10%	33,465	24,167	6,965	3,712	0	68,309	
10-24%	10,618	7,566	3,739	2,404	0	24,327	
25-34%	5,007	6,831	3,645	935	2,355	18,773	
35-49%	4,810	1,423	4,038	3,390	0	13,661	
50-69%	12,856	4,787	4,406	902	2,105	25,056	
70-79%	3,468	4,394	858	2,960	860	12,540	
80-89%	2,974	2,804	2,360	1,375	4,258	13,771	
90-100%	10,661	21,151	22,859	18,769	26,607	100,047	
Total	83,859	73,123	48,870	34,447	36,185	276,484	

Scattered site units		Percent of persons below poverty 1989					Total
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
in tract							
<10%	1	0	1	0	0	2	
10-24%	0	0	1	1	0	2	
25-34%	0	0	0	3	0	3	
35-49%	0	0	0	0	0	0	
50-69%	0	1	5	9	0	15	
70-79%	0	0	1	7	0	8	
80-89%	0	0	19	3	18	40	
90-100%	2	24	80	71	144	321	
Total	3	25	107	94	162	391	

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF1 (Summary level 90), downloaded from American FactFinder on-line, 10/2002.

Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF3 (Summary level 90), downloaded from American FactFinder on-line, 10/2002.

Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table D (continued). 1980 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site, vacant, and all dwellings.  
Baltimore City: Percent of all units in each cell

Dwelling units		Percent of persons below poverty 1989					Total
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
in tract							
<10%		11.6	8.7	2.7	1.4	0.0	24.3
10-24%		3.7	2.8	1.4	0.9	0.0	8.8
25-34%		1.7	2.4	1.5	0.4	0.9	6.8
35-49%		1.6	0.5	1.5	1.3	0.0	4.9
50-69%		4.5	1.7	1.6	0.3	1.0	9.1
70-79%		1.2	1.5	0.3	1.1	0.3	4.4
80-89%		1.0	1.0	0.9	0.5	1.8	5.1
90-100%		3.6	7.4	8.3	7.1	10.3	36.7
Total		29.0	25.8	18.1	12.9	14.2	100.0

Occupied units		Percent of persons below poverty 1989					Total
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
in tract							
<10%		12.1	8.7	2.5	1.3	0.0	24.7
10-24%		3.8	2.7	1.4	0.9	0.0	8.8
25-34%		1.8	2.5	1.3	0.3	0.9	6.8
35-49%		1.7	0.5	1.5	1.2	0.0	4.9
50-69%		4.6	1.7	1.6	0.3	0.8	9.1
70-79%		1.3	1.6	0.3	1.1	0.3	4.5
80-89%		1.1	1.0	0.9	0.5	1.5	5.0
90-100%		3.9	7.6	8.3	6.8	9.6	36.2
Total		30.3	26.4	17.7	12.5	13.1	100.0

Scattered site units		Percent of persons below poverty 1989					Total
Percent black		<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
in tract							
<10%		0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.5
10-24%		0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.5
25-34%		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.8
35-49%		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
50-69%		0.0	0.3	1.3	2.3	0.0	3.8
70-79%		0.0	0.0	0.3	1.8	0.0	2.0
80-89%		0.0	0.0	4.9	0.8	4.6	10.2
90-100%		0.5	6.1	20.5	18.2	36.8	82.1
Total		0.8	6.4	27.4	24.0	41.4	100.0

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF1 (Summary level 90), downloaded from American FactFinder on-line, 10/2002.

Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF3 (Summary level 90), downloaded from American FactFinder on-line, 10/2002.

Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table E. 2000 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site dwellings by acquisition period, Baltimore City, 2000

Scattered site units: Early period

Percent black

in tract

<10%	1	3	1	0	0	5
10-24%	0	12	0	0	0	12
25-34%	0	2	10	0	0	12
35-49%	0	0	0	5	0	5
50-69%	0	5	12	1	11	29
70-79%	2	2	0	41	0	45
80-89%	1	19	1	25	4	50
90-100%	1	74	133	292	443	943
Total	5	117	157	364	458	1,101

Scattered site units: Middle period

Percent black

in tract

<10%	0	2	0	0	0	2
10-24%	0	4	0	0	0	4
25-34%	0	0	0	0	0	0
35-49%	0	0	32	16	0	48
50-69%	0	0	13	20	21	54
70-79%	0	0	2	4	1	7
80-89%	0	0	0	16	0	16
90-100%	0	69	138	496	521	1,224
Total	0	75	185	552	543	1,355

Scattered site units: Last period

Percent black

in tract

<10%	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-24%	1	0	0	0	0	1
25-34%	0	0	1	0	0	1
35-49%	0	0	1	1	0	2
50-69%	0	0	3	0	3	6
70-79%	0	0	3	9	0	12
80-89%	0	0	1	3	2	6
90-100%	0	51	85	100	127	363
Total	1	51	94	113	132	391

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF1 (Summary level 150), downloaded from American FactFinder on-line, 10/2002

Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3 (Summary level 150).

Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Appendix Table E (continued). 2000 neighborhood statistics: Scattered site dwellings by acquisition period, Baltimore City: Percent of units in each cell

Scattered site units: Early period						
Percent blz	Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total
in tract	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5
10-24%	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
25-34%	0.0	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.1
35-49%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
50-69%	0.0	0.5	1.1	0.1	1.0	2.6
70-79%	0.2	0.2	0.0	3.7	0.0	4.1
80-89%	0.1	1.7	0.1	2.3	0.4	4.5
90-100%	0.1	6.7	12.1	26.5	40.2	85.6
Total	0.5	10.6	14.3	33.1	41.6	100.0

Scattered site units: Middle period						
Percent blz	Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total
in tract	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
10-24%	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
25-34%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
35-49%	0.0	0.0	2.4	1.2	0.0	3.5
50-69%	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	4.0
70-79%	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.5
80-89%	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.2
90-100%	0.0	5.1	10.2	36.6	38.5	90.3
Total	0.0	5.5	13.7	40.7	40.1	100.0

Scattered site units: Last period						
Percent blz	Percent of persons below poverty 1999					Total
in tract	<10%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40%+	
<10%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10-24%	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
25-34%	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3
35-49%	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.5
50-69%	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.8	1.5
70-79%	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.3	0.0	3.1
80-89%	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.8	0.5	1.5
90-100%	0.0	13.0	21.7	25.6	32.5	92.8
Total	0.3	13.0	24.0	28.9	33.8	100.0

Sources:

Racial composition of tracts: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF1 (Summary level 150), downloaded from American FactFinder on-line, 10/2002  
 Poverty: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3 (Summary level 150).  
 Scattered site units: HABC data provided to Maryland ACLU.

Figure 1. Scattered site housing and percent tract population black or African American, Baltimore City and environs, 2000



Figure 2. Scattered site housing and neighborhood poverty rates (2000), Baltimore City and environs



**Racial Segregation, Poverty, and Distress:  
The Neighborhood Conditions of Metropolitan Baltimore's Section 8 Voucher Users**

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**Report to the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Maryland  
April 16, 2003**

**Racial Segregation, Poverty, and Distress:  
The Neighborhood Conditions of Metropolitan Baltimore's Section 8 Voucher Users**

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**Summary**

In theory, housing vouchers potentially allow the poor renters who receive them to leave areas of poverty and minority concentration. One would expect the purchasing power provided by the voucher and its "portability" to enable the voucher household to compete with non-poor renters seeking housing in the private rental market.

However, the theoretical appeal of housing vouchers is diminished by several constraints on their effective use in the actual housing market.<sup>1</sup> Landlords must be willing to accept the vouchers and participate in the program. Lower cost rentals are not always located in desirable census tracts. In markets with very low vacancy rates, tenants with vouchers can have substantial difficulty finding a vacant apartment that suits their needs. In many housing markets, large areas are zoned for low residential densities that reduce the efficient development of rental housing. As a consequence, renters have far fewer choices than homeowners. Moreover, vouchers and certificates do not by themselves end discrimination in housing markets or resolve racial segregation problems. African American voucher holders face a constrained regional housing market in which disproportionate numbers of rentals are in distressed tracts, and many black residents have been relegated to these tracts.<sup>2</sup>

Although voucher holders do seek out better neighborhoods that are not available to poor renters who lack the purchasing power of the voucher, compared with all other renters, Section 8 tenants still live disproportionately in distressed tracts and in areas of poverty and minority concentration.<sup>3</sup>

This report assesses the census tract conditions of Baltimore's Section 8 voucher users, more than 90% of whom are African American. It finds that the vast majority of voucher or certificate users in Baltimore City in 1998 lived in census tracts in which most residents were black (African American) and poor.<sup>4</sup> Over 80 percent of voucher users lived in tracts in which the

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<sup>1</sup> Pendall, Rolf. 2000. "Why voucher and certificate users live in distressed neighborhoods." *Housing Policy Debate* 11(4): 881-910.

<sup>2</sup> Pendall 2000, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Pendall 2000, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> This report uses a database from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development containing information from 1998; I use tract-level Census information from 1990 and 2000 to analyze the neighborhood conditions of these voucher users.

majority of residents were black. Voucher users in Baltimore City who live in low-minority tracts live disproportionately in tracts going through rapid racial transition.

These results run counter to mobility patterns that found renter households fleeing the tracts in which 80% or more of the residents were black. It is not likely, therefore, that the concentration of Baltimore City voucher holders in these tracts was the product of voluntary, informed choice.

The concentration of Baltimore voucher users in poverty areas is even more extreme than their concentration in mostly black tracts. Over 70 percent of voucher users in 1998 lived in high-poverty census tracts.<sup>5</sup> Compared to other Baltimore City renters, this level of concentration is very high.

Moreover, thirty percent of Baltimore City voucher users live in tracts that have not only high poverty rates, but also multiple indicators of distress: high levels of joblessness, public assistance receipt, and families headed by single women.<sup>6</sup> Baltimore's voucher holders are more concentrated in these distressed tracts than other renters.

Tracts with poverty rates below 10 percent and fewer than 25 percent black residents exist both inside and beyond Baltimore City. Only one percent of Baltimore City voucher users lived in such tracts in 1998.

Together, these results show that the HABC's voucher program has not been administered in ways that affirmatively foster voucher users' mobility toward low-poverty, low-minority tracts. The overconcentration of voucher users in the city's most distressed tracts strongly suggests that the voucher program has either allowed or encouraged the formation and perpetuation of Section 8 ghettos, further destabilizing already fragile neighborhoods.

The suburban portions of the market offer many more choices for housing in decent, non-distressed, non-poor and non-minority tracts than does Baltimore City alone. Vouchers can work in the Baltimore housing market, but only if voucher holders have much better access to the entire metropolitan market than is the norm for Baltimore City's voucher users. Such access will require active, affirmative steps by HABC and HUD. Without such steps, which probably will require a substantial restructuring of the voucher program as currently administered in Baltimore, the voucher program cannot be expected to provide non-white voucher-using households access to tracts with low poverty rates and low concentrations of black residents. Even with these steps, new efforts to provide affordable housing units in high-job growth areas of the suburbs will also be necessary, because too little rental housing exists in these areas to provide adequate choice to voucher users.

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<sup>5</sup> High poverty tracts are those in which at least 20 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit; extreme poverty tracts are those in which at least 40 percent of households earn incomes below the federal poverty limit. Low-poverty tracts have poverty rates below 10 percent.

<sup>6</sup> Kasarda, J. D. (1993). Inner-city concentrated poverty and neighborhood distress: 1970-1990. *Housing Policy Debate*, 4(3), 253-302.

## I. Baltimore City Voucher Users Live in Segregated, Poor, Distressed Tracts

### A. Almost all Baltimore voucher users live in either mostly black<sup>7</sup> or rapidly turning tracts.

#### 1. *Baltimore City voucher users are highly segregated into mostly black tracts.*

**In 1998, over four out of five voucher users (82 percent) lived in tracts whose populations were at least half black** (Table 1, Map 1). Only 62 percent of City renter households lived in tracts that were at least half black.

**Only 5.9 percent of vouchers users lived in tracts that were less than 25% black, compared to 21.2 percent of all Baltimore renters** (Table 1). There were still a significant number of non-segregated tracts in Baltimore City in which renters could find housing, but most voucher users did not live in these tracts. Moreover, it is likely that most of the voucher users who lived in these tracts were among the 6 percent of Baltimore City voucher users who were white in 1998. (Complete data on the race of voucher holders was not available because of suppression to protect privacy.)

**Between 1990 and 2000, the City tracts in which blacks were most highly concentrated lost renter households at the highest rates.** During the 1990s, households fled mostly black tracts; those with smaller black populations attracted substantial numbers of black households and retained larger shares of their white residents than tracts in which most residents were black (Table 2). The tracts in which more than 80% of residents were black in 1990 lost 14,712 renter households, while tracts with fewer than 25% black residents in 1990 gained over 2,600 renter households. These mobility patterns suggest that renter households prefer not to live in tracts with more than 80% black residents.

**It is unreasonable to argue that the substantial concentration of voucher users in mostly black tracts is a function of informed choice.** If large numbers of mobile households avoid and exit mostly black tracts but voucher users do not, it is logical to conclude that the residential location decisions of voucher users are constrained and/or uninformed.

#### 2. *Many voucher users live in tracts whose share of black residents increased in the 1990s.*

**To the small extent that voucher holders located in low-minority tracts, these tracts tended to be disproportionately tracts that were rapidly segregating.** 62 percent of Baltimore City voucher users (as of 1998) that were living in tracts with a minority of black residents in 1990 lived in transitional tracts (Table 3). Only 31 percent of Baltimore City renters who lived in minority-black tracts lived in transitional tracts. In other words, even when voucher users moved

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<sup>7</sup> Summary racial reporting in the 1990 Census includes the category "black"; reporting in the 2000 Census includes the category "black or African American." Not all blacks are African American; others are African or Afro-Caribbean, for example. The data reported here includes both non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanic blacks (e.g., Dominicans and Puerto Ricans). Hispanics constitute a very small share of Baltimore's population.

to tracts that were not overwhelmingly black in 1990, they were twice as likely as the average renter to live in transitional tracts.

**To the extent that Baltimore City voucher users lived in tracts that were minority-black in 1990, they concentrated in a subset of transitional tracts.** There were stably integrated tracts in which fewer than 35 percent of residents were black in 1990, but Baltimore City's voucher users did not concentrate in these tracts. Baltimore City's voucher users also were somewhat less concentrated than other renters in stably integrated tracts that had between 35 and 50 percent black residents.

**B. In addition to living in predominantly black tracts, most City voucher users live in tracts with high and increasing poverty rates.**

**Baltimore's voucher users are disproportionately concentrated in high-poverty tracts.** Seven of every 10 (70.6 percent) of Baltimore city's voucher households lived in "high-poverty" census tracts in 1998 (Table 4; Map 2), compared to only 57.3 percent of renters throughout the city. About one in six (16.3 percent) of the city's voucher households lived in an extreme poverty tract.

**City voucher users have scarcely penetrated tracts whose poverty rate is below 10 percent.** Only 4.5 percent of voucher users live in tracts with poverty rates below 10 percent, compared to 9.5 percent of renters city-wide. Moreover, this 9.5% represents over 12,000 households, suggesting that there are numerous unrecognized rental housing opportunities in low-poverty tracts.

**Baltimore's voucher holders were disproportionately concentrated in tracts whose poverty rate grew in the 1990s.** Thirty-seven percent of city voucher users lived in tracts whose poverty rates grew more than six percentage points in 2000, compared to 32.8 percent of all renter households in the city (Table 5).

**C. Practically no Baltimore City voucher holders live in low-poverty tracts with low concentrations of black residents; thousands of city renters live in such tracts.**

Only 25 voucher users in Baltimore City—less than one percent of all voucher users—lived in "non-impacted" tracts in 1998 (Table 6), those tracts with poverty rates below 10 percent and with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents.<sup>8</sup> Over 7,600 renter households lived in these tracts in 2000. Identification of the race of the 25 voucher users in non-impacted tracts was suppressed to protect confidentiality, but it would be reasonable to assume that many of them were white. Hence there still were many unrealized rental housing opportunities for voucher users in non-impacted tracts even in 2000.

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<sup>8</sup> These tracts have been identified based on data from the 2000 Census. They are consequently not necessarily the same tracts as those named in the consent decree, which used 1990 Census data. However, I identified them using the same two census-based criteria as used in the consent decree for the sake of consistency.

**D. Thirty percent of voucher users in Baltimore City lived in tracts with multiple indicators of tract distress.**

Poverty is an income-based measure of neighborhood distress or vulnerability; some poor neighborhoods compensate for poverty with other strengths. To account for other dimensions of social vulnerability, John Kasarda identified four indicators beyond the percent of persons in poverty to help identify tracts as distressed: the percent of families receiving public assistance income; the percent of families with children that were headed by a single woman; the percent of out-of-school males unemployed for more than 26 weeks in the previous year; and the percent of 16- to 19-year olds who were not in school and had not graduated from high school (i.e., dropouts).<sup>9</sup> Using Kasarda's indicators but adapting his methods somewhat, I defined Baltimore's census tracts as moderately distressed if they were more than one standard deviation above the metropolitan-area average levels of poverty, public assistance, female-headed households, and unemployment, and severely distressed if they were also more than one standard deviation above the metropolitan-area average level of high-school dropouts. A tract would qualify as distressed if it were one of the Baltimore MSA's highest-ranking census tracts on all four of the "moderate" indicators or all five of the "severe" indicators.<sup>10</sup>

In 1990, the Baltimore MSA had 575 census tracts with families in them. Fifty (50) of these tracts qualified as distressed; 22 were moderately, and 28 severely, distressed. All 50 of the distressed tracts in the MSA were in Baltimore City. This means that any household with a voucher who does not live in Baltimore City is guaranteed to live outside a distressed tract, by these definitions.

**Baltimore voucher users are more likely than other Baltimore renter households to live in distressed tracts.** Although vouchers are intended to allow households to escape the worst tracts in their cities, nearly 30 percent of Baltimore's voucher users lived in distressed tracts (by 1990 definitions) in 1998 (Table 7; Map 3). Only 24.5 percent of Baltimore's renter households lived in these distressed tracts in 2000. Voucher users were more likely than other renter households to live in both moderately distressed and severely distressed tracts.

**E. Racial segregation of voucher users is a foreseeable and preventable outcome.**

**Without appropriate interventions, Baltimore's voucher programs inevitably result in the segregation of voucher users.** Almost all Baltimore city voucher users (approximately 94%) are black. Baltimore is a city with a long and well-recognized history of racial segregation and discrimination. Without active intervention by the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, black voucher users will live in transitional tracts at best and entirely segregated tracts at worst. This is a predictable, but preventable, outcome of a hands-off voucher system that neither requires

<sup>9</sup> Kasarda, J. D. (1993). Inner-city concentrated poverty and neighborhood distress: 1970-1990. *Housing Policy Debate*, 4(3), 253-302.

<sup>10</sup> The Baltimore MSA was divided into 588 census tracts in 1990; 575 of these tracts had families in them. In all, 72 tracts were at least 1 standard deviation (SD) above the metropolitan poverty level average; 78 were more than 1 SD above the unemployment average; 134 were more than 1 SD above the female-headed family average; 91 were more than 1 SD above the public assistance average; and 121 were more than 1 SD above the dropout average.

landlords to accept Section 8 vouchers nor requires public housing agencies to provide mobility counseling to help voucher holders gain access to stable and low-minority tracts. In stable tracts, landlords have few incentives to accommodate Section 8 tenants; landlords in unstable tracts know they can command more stable and probably higher rents by accepting and even advertising for Section 8 tenants. As this process of acceptance and advertising continues, new concentrations of Section 8 tenants form.

**The Housing Authority of Baltimore City is not encouraging voucher users to move to non-impacted tracts even when housing is available within the voucher payment standard.** In 2000, over 4,400 Baltimore city tenants lived in housing units in non-impacted tracts and paid monthly rent and utilities below the voucher payment standard<sup>11</sup> (VPS) in 2000 (Table 8). More than 300 other vacant units were available as of April 1, 2000 in these tracts at contract rents below the VPS. Over the course of a year, many other apartments would become available in these tracts. *None of the 16 non-impacted city tracts in which this housing was located had more than 10 reported voucher users in 1998.*

**It is therefore not exclusively a lack of housing opportunities in Baltimore City that precludes the deconcentration of voucher users from the city's poorest and most segregated tracts.** Rather, these conditions are a result at least of "non-decisions," i.e., failures to act affirmatively to prevent segregation and encourage integration, if not of overt decisions to allow or even encourage voucher users to concentrate in Section 8 ghettos instead of moving to non-impacted tracts.

**Because the Housing Authority of Baltimore City can also work to deconcentrate voucher users to suburban areas, the concentration of voucher users in distressed, mostly black tracts is even more clearly a result of policy choices by the HABC.** Most households who bear vouchers from the HABC do not leave the city, even though many households—black and white alike—have chosen to move to suburban areas to pursue better living conditions, employment, and safety in the suburbs.

**II. Voucher holders in the counties outside Baltimore City have more opportunities to find housing in non-segregated, non-poor areas, but are still concentrated by race.**

**A. Suburban housing markets are more open than those in Baltimore City, but are still segregated, especially for black voucher users.**

The areas of the metropolitan housing market outside Baltimore City offer opportunities for voucher users to avoid distressed tracts and to secure housing in non-minority and non-poor areas. In 1990, only 50 of the 575 census tracts in the Baltimore MSA were distressed; all 50 are located in Baltimore City. Therefore, **any household with a voucher who does not live in Baltimore City is guaranteed to live outside a distressed tract.**

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<sup>11</sup> The Section 8 payment standard in Baltimore City is 110% of FMR. In 2000, the FMR was \$648; 110% of this is approximately \$710.

**A household using a voucher outside the city is also likely to secure housing outside areas of minority concentration.** In 1998, only 18.6 percent of suburban voucher users lived in a majority-black tract (Table 1). Over half (52.2 percent) lived in a census tract that is 25% black or less. However, many voucher holders in the suburbs are white; across the suburban counties the number of white and black suburban voucher holders is relatively even.

**A quarter of black suburban voucher holders live in tracts with less than 25 percent black residents** (Table 9). Most of the voucher users accessing the suburban tracts with black populations below 25% are, in fact, white.

**Outside Baltimore City, 64.8 percent of black voucher holders live in majority-white tracts.** While the distribution of voucher holders in the Baltimore housing market in 1998 continued to reflect patterns of residential segregation prevalent in the market, black voucher holders who access housing outside the city are able to avoid the metropolitan area's poorest and most distressed tracts. Few black voucher holders in the suburbs experience the extremes of racial concentration common to voucher holders within the City; only about 10.5 percent live in tracts that are at least 80% black.

**Outside the city, few voucher holders of either race live in high poverty census tracts.** Only 3.8 percent of suburban voucher users lived in high-poverty tracts in 1998, and no suburban voucher users lived in extreme-poverty tracts. Over half of suburban voucher users lived in low-poverty tracts, and another 43 percent lived in tracts with poverty rates between 10 and 20 percent. As of 1998, nearly 38 percent of suburban voucher holders, including 21.5 percent of black voucher holders, lived in tracts that had both a poverty rate below 10% and fewer than 25% black residents (Table 6).

**Non-impacted tracts offer a reasonably large supply of rental housing.** In April 2000, there were over 41,000 occupied rental units with gross rent below the VPS in non-impacted suburban census tracts (Table 8). An additional 3,351 vacant housing units (7.4 percent of the rental stock) were available for rent in these census tracts at below the VPS.

**Even so, fewer than 20 percent of non-impacted tracts outside Baltimore City have been seriously pioneered by voucher users.** Only 61 non-impacted census tracts outside Baltimore City have more than 10 reported voucher users in them. Another 252 non-impacted census tracts outside the city have 10 voucher users or fewer. Yet nearly two-thirds of rental units—30,000 in all—were in the tracts in which fewer than 10 voucher users lived in 1998.

**Housing authorities will thus need to provide tenant counseling and redouble efforts to encourage landlords in non-impacted tracts to accept Section 8 vouchers.** Half of suburban census tracts with more than 10 voucher users are impacted; in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties, that figure is approaching 60 percent. A hands-off approach to Section 8 vouchers is likely to result in the concentration of tenants in this limited number of census tracts and to intensify their impacted status.

**B. Baltimore County offers both promises and challenges for black voucher users.**

**Over 60 percent of the black voucher users in suburban counties of the Baltimore MSA live in Baltimore County.** A closer look at their conditions underscores both the availability of non-impacted census tracts in suburban counties and the progress that has yet to be made in opening these tracts to larger numbers of assisted households.

**Over 200 black voucher users in Baltimore County lived in non-impacted tracts,** about 13 percent of all of Baltimore County's black voucher users (Table 10). This is a valuable achievement, made remarkable in light of the near-absence of voucher users from Baltimore City's voucher users (approximately six percent of whom are not black) from non-impacted tracts.

**Yet too often, Baltimore County's black voucher users live in racially concentrated or transitional tracts.** Nearly 56 percent of these voucher-assisted households lived in tracts whose population was majority-black in 2000. Furthermore, 56 percent of black voucher users in Baltimore County who lived in tracts that had a minority of black residents in 1990 lived in transitional tracts, a level nearly as high as in Baltimore City (Table 4).<sup>12</sup> Voucher users in the County who lived in tracts that were between 35 percent and 50 percent black in 1990 were especially likely to live in racially transitioning tracts; 94.5 percent of these voucher users lived in tracts that gained at least 10 percentage points in their share of black residents in the 1990s.

**Baltimore County has many non-impacted tracts where very few voucher holders live but rentals are available below the VPS.** Baltimore County has 135 non-impacted tracts (Table 11). Only 23 of these tracts had more than 10 reported voucher users, and many of these voucher users were certainly white. In April 2000, the other 112 non-impacted tracts had over 13,000 occupied units renting for less than the VPS and nearly 1,000 additional vacant units whose landlords were asking less than \$710 per month in rent. With this large a number of tracts and this large a number of rental units, Section 8 program administrators could immediately accommodate additional voucher users—including black voucher users—in non-impacted Baltimore County tracts without creating large concentrations of voucher users in any tract.

**Vouchers can allow African American families to find stable integrated neighborhoods in Baltimore County, but a purely "hands-off" approach may exacerbate concentration in mostly black tracts.** A majority of Baltimore County's black voucher users already live in majority-black tracts, and more than half of those who live in minority-black tracts find themselves in unstable neighborhoods whose racial composition is rapidly shifting from white to black. Systematic counseling and landlord recruitment is needed to keep this problem of concentration from increasing, if not getting worse.

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<sup>12</sup> Keep in mind that this refers only to black voucher holders whose race was disclosed. In tracts with fewer than 10 or 15 voucher users, the racial composition was not disclosed. These tracts tend to have lower shares of black residents. Hence the integration of suburban black voucher users into white tracts may be understated somewhat.

**III. Conclusion: Unless the administration of the HABC voucher program changes dramatically, vouchers are an inappropriate solution for tenants' concentration in impacted tracts.**

Baltimore's voucher users live predominantly and disproportionately in majority-black, high-poverty tracts. To the extent that voucher users live in tracts with lower percentages of black and poor residents, these tracts disproportionately tend to be transitioning toward higher rates of poverty and higher percentages of black residents. Baltimore's voucher users also live disproportionately in tracts with multiple indicators of distress beyond poverty.

The suburban portions of the market offer many more choices for housing in decent, non-distressed, non-poor and non-minority tracts than does Baltimore City alone. This suggests that vouchers can work in the Baltimore housing market, but only if voucher holders have much better access to the entire metropolitan market than is the norm for Baltimore City's voucher users.

Such access will require active, affirmative steps by HABC and HUD. Increased FMRs and exception rents are one such positive step that will make housing in higher cost areas accessible to voucher holders. But in addition, a sustained and systematic program of mobility counseling, including effective enforcement, is fundamental. Information, counseling and antidiscrimination efforts can only go so far. There must also be an adequate supply of affordably priced rental housing, within reach of HUD's FMRs and exception rents throughout the market, including the newly developing areas of job growth. The voucher program cannot be expected to succeed in the absence of regional fair housing planning or without the creation of new affordable housing outside the ghetto.

Table 1. Percent voucher users (1998) and renter households by tract percent black, Baltimore City, 1998-2000

Percent black in tract, 2000	Voucher holders				Renter h'holds 2000	
	Inside city		Outside city		2000	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
<10	50	2.0%	1,717	29.5%	12,321	9.6%
10-25	100	3.9	1,320	22.7	14,900	11.6
25-35	63	2.5	996	17.1	7,820	6.1
35-50	248	9.7	704	12.1	12,960	10.1
50-70	318	12.4	545	9.4	10,165	7.9
70-80	159	6.2	237	4.1	5,071	4.0
80-90	389	15.2	143	2.5	12,455	9.7
90-100	1,231	48.1	157	2.7	52,435	40.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,558</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,819</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>128,127</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing. SF1, tract data and redistricting file, level 750.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Geographic note: 2000 block data were aggregated to 1990 Census tract boundaries to determine conditions in 2000 for voucher users whose location was based on 1990 tract boundaries.

Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Data on renter households (2000) are based on 2000 tract boundaries.

Table 2. Voucher users and renter household change by percent black in tract as of 1990, Baltimore City, 1990-2000

Tract % black, 1990	Vouchers 1998	Renter households			
		1990	2000	% chg	change
<10	209	25,666	26,911	4.9	1,245
10-25	219	10,332	11,758	13.8	1,426
25-35	199	10,418	9,777	-6.2	-641
35-50	128	8,014	7,576	-5.5	-438
50-70	292	12,200	12,257	0.5	57
70-80	224	5,970	5,195	-13.0	-775
80-90	208	8,743	6,642	-24.0	-2,101
90-100	1,079	60,717	48,106	-20.8	-12,611
Total	2,558	144,050	128,222	-11.0	-15,828

Percent of all households

Tract % black, 1990	Vouchers 1998	Renter households		
		1990	2000	chg in %
<10	8.2	17.8	21.0	3.2
10-25	8.6	7.2	9.2	2.0
25-35	7.8	7.2	7.6	0.4
35-50	5.0	5.6	5.9	0.3
50-70	11.4	8.5	9.6	1.1
70-80	8.8	4.1	4.1	-0.1
80-90	8.1	6.1	5.2	-0.9
90-100	42.2	42.1	37.5	-4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1992. 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 1, Summary level 080.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Redistricting file, Summary level 750.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsq/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Geographic note: 2000 block data were aggregated to 1990 Census tract boundaries. Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography. (The number of renter households differs from Table 1 because of this method.)

Table 3. Voucher households in transitional tracts, Baltimore City and Rest of MSA, 1998  
Tracts that began the 1990s with a minority of black residents

A. Baltimore City

Tract percent black, 1990	Voucher households			Renter households		
	Total	Transitional*		Total	Transitional*	
		Number	Pct.		Number	Pct.
<10	209	52	24.9	26,911	1,583	5.9
10-25	219	170	77.6	11,758	5,400	45.9
25-35	199	161	80.9	9,777	5,697	58.3
35-50	128	89	69.5	7,576	4,889	64.5
<50%	755	472	62.5	56,022	17,569	31.4

B. Baltimore County

Tract percent black, 1990	Voucher households			Renter households			Black voucher households		
	Total	Transitional*		Total	Transitional*		Total	Transitional*	
		Number	Pct.		Number	Pct.		Number	Pct.
<10	1,305	12	0.9	57,633	229	0.4	207	0	0.0
10-25	687	270	39.3	16,764	5,985	35.7	349	138	39.5
25-35	256	201	78.5	4,434	3,561	80.3	133	89	66.9
35-50	506	479	94.7	8,907	8,645	97.1	422	399	94.5
<50%	2,754	962	34.9	87,738	18,420	21.0	1,111	626	56.3

C. Rest of MSA

Tract percent black, 1990	Voucher households			Renter households		
	Total	Transitional*		Total	Transitional*	
		Number	Pct.		Number	Pct.
<10	977	0	0.0	42,697	0	0.0
10-25	825	3	0.4	38,450	183	0.5
25-35	461	0	0.0	11,838	0	0.0
35-50	267	0	0.0	3,065	0	0.0
<50%	2,530	3	0.1	96,050	183	0.2

\*Transitional neighborhoods are those meeting the following conditions:

1. At least 35 percent black in 2000
2. Gain of at least 10 percentage points in percent black, 1990-2000

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1992. 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 1, Summary level 080.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Redistricting file, Summary level 750.

Geographic note: 2000 block data were aggregated to 1990 Census tract boundaries. Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Table 4. Voucher users and renters by percent of tract residents in poverty, Baltimore City, 2000

Percent of tract residents below poverty, 2000	Voucher holders				Renter households	
	Inside city		Outside city		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
<10%	115	4.5%	3,099	53.3%	12,111	9.5%
10-19	636	24.9	2,496	42.9	37,780	29.5
20-29	788	30.8	200	3.4	31,150	24.3
30-39	603	23.6	24	0.4	26,167	20.4
40% or more	416	16.3	0	0.0	20,919	16.3
20% or more	1,807	70.6	224	3.8	78,236	61.1
Total	2,558	100.0	5,819	100.0	128,127	100.0

Sources

Renter locations

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 1, Tract level.

Poverty levels

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3, Summary level 90.

Vouchers

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Geographic notes

For voucher neighborhood poverty data, 2000 block data were aggregated to 1990 tract boundaries. Block groups (as of 2000) were allocated to 1990 Census tracts based on the location of the centroids of 2000 block groups. Discrepancies between geographies may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Data on renter households (2000) are based on 2000 tract boundaries.

Table 5. Voucher users and renters according to tract poverty-level change in the 1990s, Baltimore City, 1998/2000

Change in tract poverty rate, 1990-2000	Voucher users (1998)				City renters (2000)	
	Inside city		Outside city		Total	Percent
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent		
Total	2,558	100.0	5,819	100.0	128,222	100.0
Decline	315	12.3%	399	6.9%	21,254	16.6%
Stable	1,297	50.7	4,806	82.6	64,878	50.6
Increase	946	37.0	614	10.6	42,090	32.8

Note: Ranges

	Change in % poverty	
	Minimum	Maximum
Decline	-32.6	-2.9
Stable	-2.7	6.2
Increase	6.3	19.6

Sources

Renters

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Redistricting file, Summary level 750.

Poverty levels

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1993. 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3, Summary level 080.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3, Summary level 90.

Vouchers

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Geographic notes

For population data, 2000 block data were aggregated to 1990 Census tract boundaries.

Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

For poverty and income data, 2000 block groups were allocated to 1990 Census tracts based on the location of the centroids of 2000 block groups. Discrepancies between geographies may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Table 6. Voucher users and renter households in low-poverty tracts with fewer than 25% black residents, Baltimore City and MSA, 1998 / 2000

		Total	In tracts <10% poverty and <25.9% black	
			Number	Percent
Voucher households	Inside city	2,558	25	1.0
	Outside city: All voucher users	5,819	2,186	37.6
	Outside city: Black voucher users	2,438	523	21.5
City renter households		128,222	7,619	5.9

Sources

Renters

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 1, Tract data.

Poverty levels

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1993. 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3, Summary level 080.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3, Summary level 90.

Vouchers

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Geographic notes

For voucher neighborhood data, 2000 block and block group data were aggregated to 1990 tract boundaries.

Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

For poverty and income data, 2000 block groups were allocated to 1990 Census tracts based on the location of the centroids of 2000 block groups. Discrepancies between geographies may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Data on renter households (2000) are based on 2000 tract boundaries.

Table 7. Voucher users and renter households in distressed tracts, Baltimore City, 1998 / 2000

<b>Total</b>	<b>Distressed</b>				<b>Not distressed</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>Moderately</b>	<b>Severely</b>		
All renters	128,222	31,406	14,378	17,028	96,816
Voucher holders	2,558	753	334	419	1,805

<b>Percent of total</b>	<b>Distressed</b>				<b>Not distressed</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>Moderately</b>	<b>Severely</b>		
All renters	100.0	24.5	11.2	13.3	75.5
Voucher holders	100.0	29.4	13.1	16.4	70.6

Notes: Distressed tracts defined as of 1990 as those greater than 1 standard deviation above the Baltimore MSA mean on four indicators:

1. Percent of persons below the poverty line
2. Percent of families with children headed by single women
3. Percent of persons aged 16 or more unemployed for more than 26 weeks in previous year
4. Percent of households with public assistance income

Severely distressed tracts add an additional indicator:

5. Percent of 16-19 year olds without high-school diplomas not in school

**Sources**

Distress indicators: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1993. 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3, summary level 80.

Renters: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Short form (block data, summary level 750).

**Vouchers:**

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

**Geographic note:** 2000 block data (renters) were aggregated to 1990 Census tract boundaries. Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Table 8. Occupied units with gross rents below 110% of FMR and vacant units renting for less than 110% of FMR, Non-impacted tracts only, Baltimore City and MSA outside city, 2000

	Occupied units			Vacant units		
	Vouchers in tract		Total	Vouchers in tract		Total
	Up to 10	Over 10		Up to 10	Over 10	
Baltimore City	4,427	0	4,427	327	0	327
Metro outside city	25,579	16,100	41,679	1,786	1,564	3,351

Explanatory note: This table summarizes the availability of housing renting for less than the voucher payment standard (VPS) for metropolitan Baltimore in non-impacted tracts (those with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent as of 2000). The HABC has adopted a VPS of 110% of HUD's Fair Market Rent (FMR). In 2000 the FMR was about \$650, translating to a VPS of about \$710.

"Non-impacted" tracts were those with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent as of 2000. These criteria are the same census criteria used in the consent decree, but they apply to the tracts as of 2000. Hence the tracts are not necessarily the same ones listed in the consent decree.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3.

Table 9. Black voucher users (1998) by percent of neighborhood residents black, Baltimore MSA outside Baltimore City, 2000

Percent black in tract, 2000	Voucher users with known race		Black voucher users	Percent of vouchers in category*	Pct of black voucher users
	Total	Percent			
<10%	1,164	24.4%	206	17.7%	8.4%
10-25	1,112	23.3	461	41.5	18.9
25-35	888	18.6	480	54.1	19.7
35-50	655	13.7	433	66.1	17.8
50-70	475	10.0	431	90.7	17.7
70-80	200	4.2	172	86.0	7.1
80-90	122	2.6	113	92.6	4.6
90-100	148	3.1	142	95.9	5.8
Total	4,764	100.0	2,438	51.2	100.0

\*Percent of vouchers for whom race information is available

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing. Redistricting file, Summary level 750.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Geographic note: 2000 block data were aggregated to 1990 Census tract boundaries.

Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Table 10. Black voucher holders by percent black and percent below poverty in tract (2000), Baltimore County, 1998

Total black voucher users

Percent of tract residents black, 2000	Percent of tract below poverty, 2000					Total
	<10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40+	
<10 percent	48	63	0	0	0	111
10-25	156	39	0	10	0	205
25-35	82	64	0	0	0	146
35-50	0	163	55	0	0	218
50-70	32	399	0	0	0	431
70-80	172	0	0	0	0	172
80-90	61	0	52	0	0	113
90-100	0	142	0	0	0	142
Total	551	870	107	10	0	1538

Percent of black voucher users

Percent of tract residents black, 2000	Percent of tract below poverty, 2000					Total
	<10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40+	
<10 percent	3.1	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.2
10-25	10.1	2.5	0.0	0.7	0.0	13.3
25-35	5.3	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5
35-50	0.0	10.6	3.6	0.0	0.0	14.2
50-70	2.1	25.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.0
70-80	11.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.2
80-90	4.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	7.3
90-100	0.0	9.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.2
Total	35.8	56.6	7.0	0.7	0.0	100.0

Sources: Renters: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2001. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 1, Tract data. Poverty levels: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1993. 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3, Summary level 080. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3, Summary level 90. Vouchers: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsq/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Geographic notes: For voucher neighborhood data, 2000 block and block group data were aggregated to 1990 tract boundaries. Discrepancies between 2000 blocks and 1990 tracts may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography. For poverty and income data, 2000 block groups were allocated to 1990 Census tracts based on the location of the centroids of 2000 block groups. Discrepancies between geographies may cause slight variations between 2000 totals as reported here and 2000 totals as reported at other summary levels for 2000 geography.

Table 11. Non-impacted\* tracts by jurisdiction by number of voucher users in tract (1998), Baltimore Metropolitan Area, 2000

	Non-impacted tracts			Gross rent or rent asked less than \$710/month			
	Vouchers in tract:			Occupied units		Vacant for rent units	
	Vouchers in tract:		Total	Vouchers in tract:		Vouchers in tract:	
	Up to 10	Over 10		Up to 10	Over 10	Up to 10	Over 10
Total metro area	268	61	329	30,006	16,100	2,114	1,564
Total outside city	252	61	313	25,579	16,100	1,786	1,564
Anne Arundel	63	10	73	3,869	2,310	184	299
Baltimore County	112	23	135	13,714	8,120	973	785
Carroll	14	15	29	1,042	3,869	66	329
Harford	30	4	34	3,997	765	377	86
Howard**	27	7	34	2,308	768	136	24
Queen Anne	6	2	8	649	268	50	41
Baltimore City	16	0	16	4,427	0	327	0

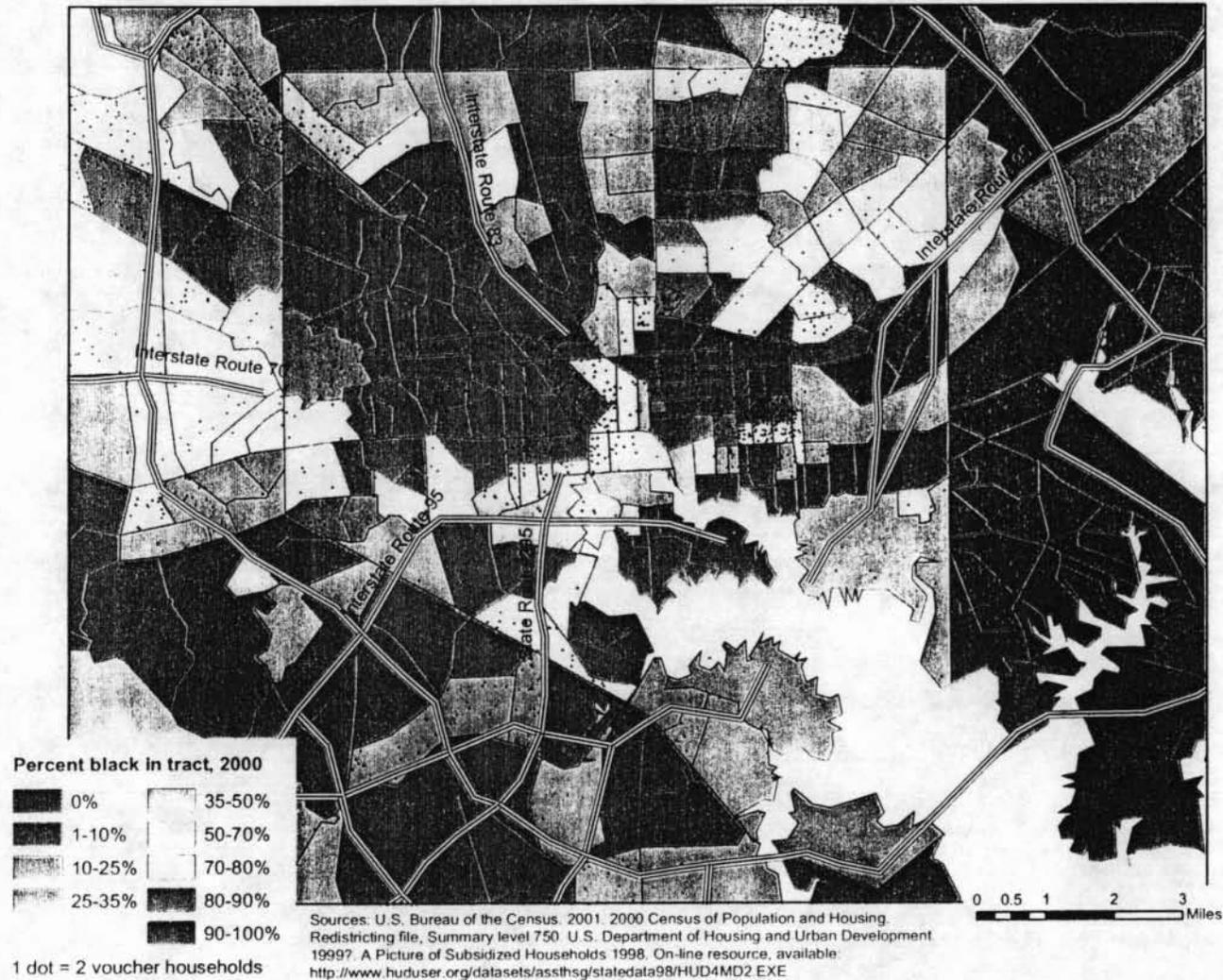
Explanatory note: This table summarizes the availability of housing renting for less than the voucher payment standard (VPS) for metropolitan Baltimore. The HABC has adopted a VPS of 110% of HUD's Fair Market Rent (FMR). In 2000 the FMR was about \$650, translating to a VPS of about \$710.

\*\*Non-impacted\* tracts were those with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent as of 2000. These criteria are the same census criteria used in the consent decree, but they apply to the tracts as of 2000. Hence the tracts are not necessarily the same ones listed in the consent decree.

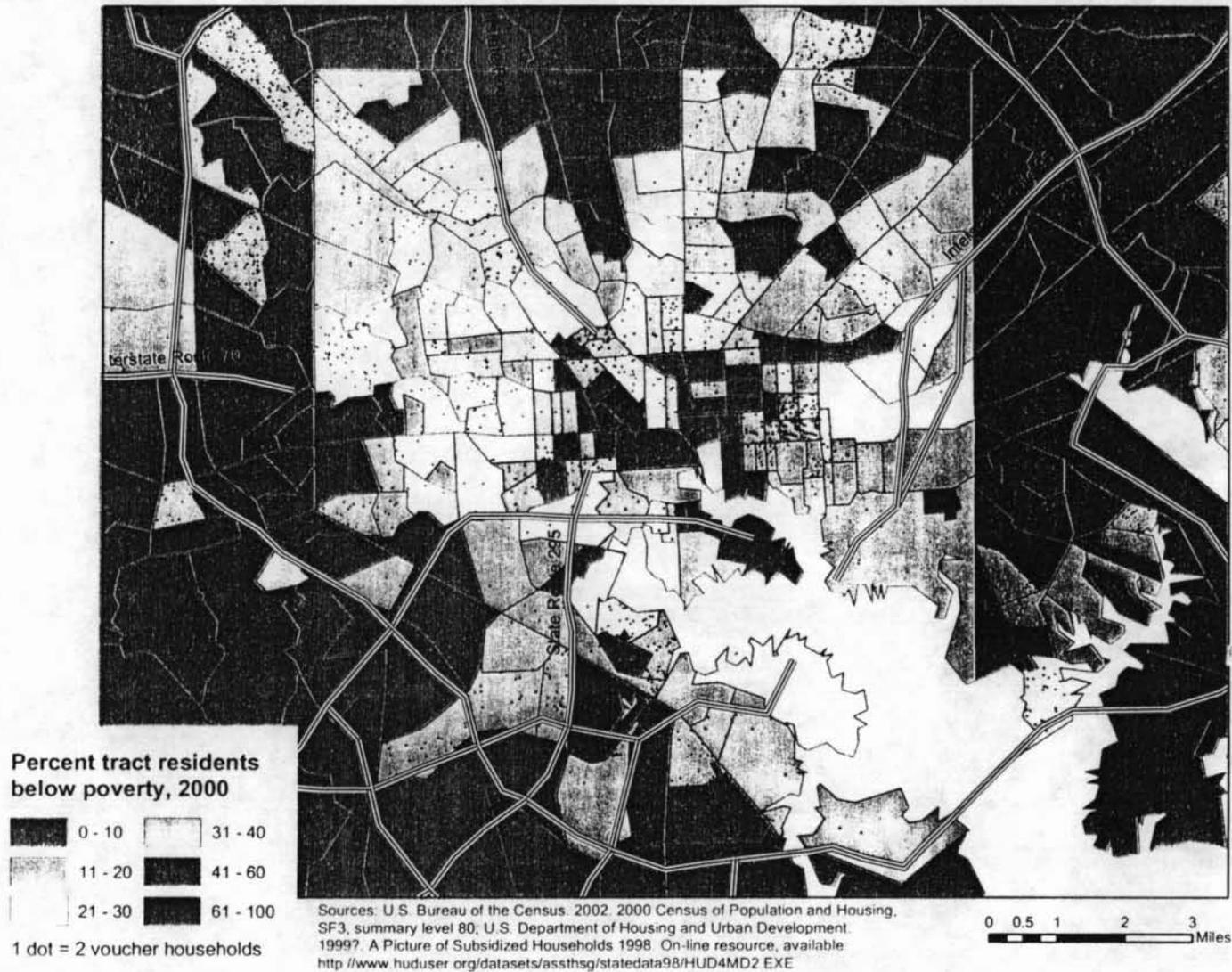
\*\*Howard County had an FMR of \$892 in 2000. This table therefore understates the number of apartments that would be available in Howard County and in the rest of the MSA.

Source: Housing data from U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3. Voucher users estimated from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available:  
<http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsg/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

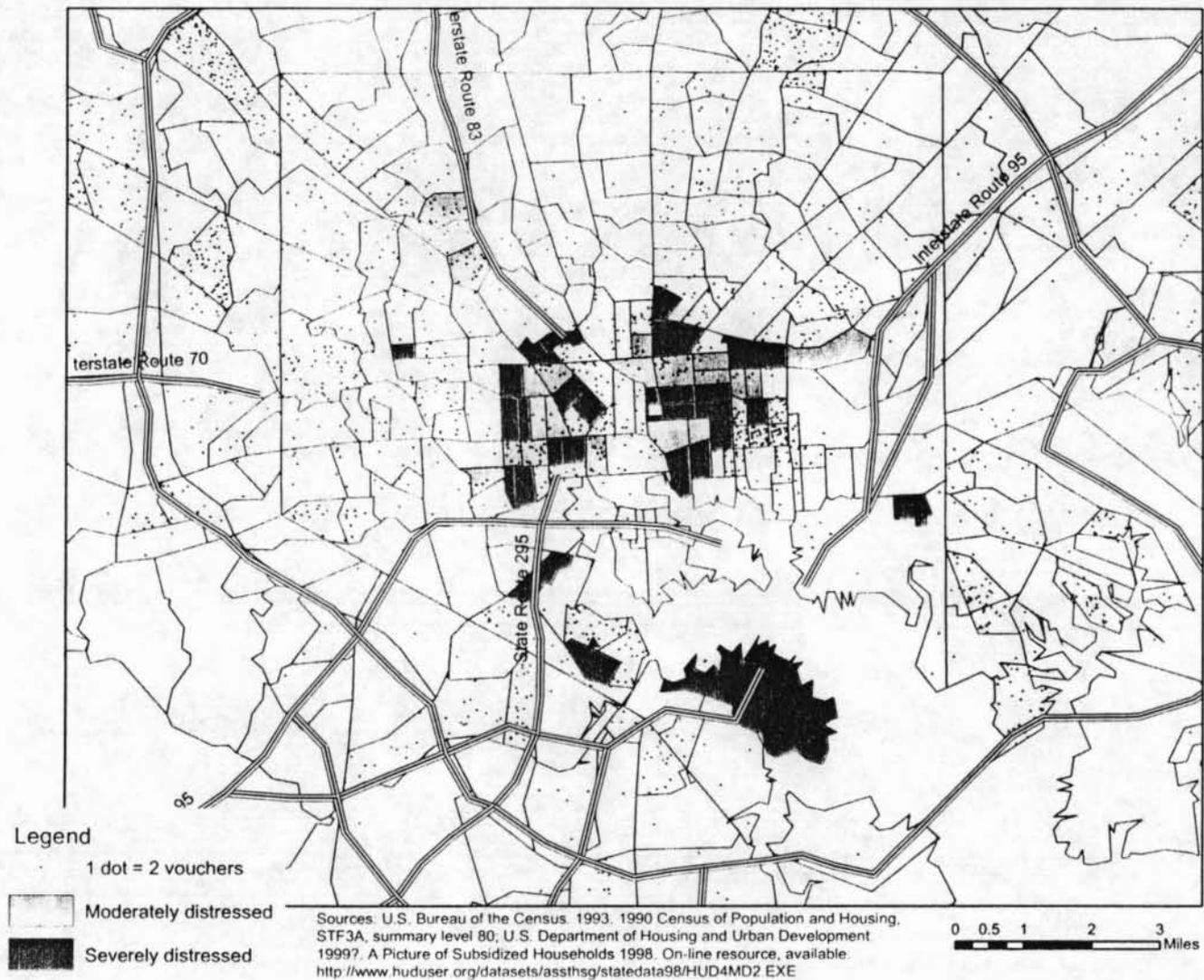
Map 1. Voucher users and percent tract population black or African American, Baltimore City and environs, 2000



Map 2. Voucher users (1998) and neighborhood poverty rates (2000), Baltimore City and environs



Map 3. Voucher users in distressed tracts, Baltimore City and environs, 1998



**New Strategies to Expand Choice for Baltimore's Assisted Tenants**

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**Report to the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Maryland**  
**April 21, 2003**

## New Strategies to Expand Choice for Baltimore's Assisted Tenants

Rolf Pendall  
Associate Professor  
Cornell University

April 21, 2003

### Background and Summary

Tenants assisted by the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC) live in some of the region's poorest and most distressed neighborhoods. They have not had access to the neighborhood quality that even the region's average renter household enjoys; and the average renter in Baltimore, as in most U.S. metropolitan areas, lives in a decidedly less desirable neighborhood than does the average home owner.

In this report, I briefly explore two potential strategies to address the deplorable conditions to which HABC tenants have been consigned. The first strategy, one that can be undertaken immediately, is to expand opportunities for voucher users in low-poverty neighborhoods with low concentrations of African American households where rents are already low enough to accommodate Section 8 housing choice voucher users. An analysis based on tract conditions in April 2000 identifies 268 census tracts in and beyond Baltimore City that met these conditions but had not been pioneered in a significant way by voucher users as of 1998. These tracts are promising and should be explored as potential locations for voucher users. They do not, however, offer enough housing to accommodate large numbers of Section 8 households, nor should they if over-concentration is to be avoided.

A second strategy is therefore essential: to develop new affordable housing in appropriate neighborhoods throughout the region. As the regional economy continues to expand, decentralize, and shift toward the information sector and away from manufacturing, affordable housing tenants and employers will increasingly need better access to one another. Furthermore, to be ready for these economic shifts, the children of public housing tenants require the high-quality education they cannot currently rely on in city school districts. This means that affordable housing units must be made available in suburban areas; vouchers alone will not suffice, because landlords in the most desirable land markets have too few incentives to rent housing to voucher-assisted tenants. Moreover, landlords may legally discriminate against voucher users based on the source of their income; voucher users who are black may therefore still face racial discrimination that is legitimized with the excuse that a landlord does not accept voucher users.

I analyzed the 150 ZIP code areas in metropolitan Baltimore and found that 43 ZIP codes contain 95 percent of the region's new jobs between 1994 and 1999. These areas, which I call "opportunity ZIPs" contain only 27 percent of the region's rental housing stock, however. Moreover, they contained fewer than 20 percent of the region's rental units with gross rents below the approximately \$710 voucher payment standard (VPS) in 2000, and they contained only 15 percent of the vacant units whose landlords asked less than the VPS. Finally, the opportunity ZIPs currently contain only 16 percent of the region's stock of federally assisted housing. A disproportionate

number of these federally assisted units were built by private developers under the Section 236 and Section 8 new construction programs and may soon convert to market rents.

These suburban ZIP codes are prime candidates for programs to encourage the development of mixed-income and 100% affordable rental housing to accommodate public housing tenants who want access to better opportunities for themselves and their children. Not only are they located in areas of high job growth; they are all located at least partly in state- and county-designated Priority Funding Areas,<sup>1</sup> to which the State of Maryland has committed to channel most of its new infrastructure funds. A decision to provide affordable housing in these high-opportunity ZIP codes will simply reinforce and help carry out existing legislation calling for development in Maryland to be compact, contiguous, pedestrian-friendly, and internally diverse in income and housing type.

At least three strategies can be undertaken to provide more affordable housing units in opportunity ZIP areas. First, existing assisted units with expiring affordability requirements should be targeted for purchase or unit-basing of vouchers. Second, existing market-rate rental units should be made affordable through acquisition or unit-basing of vouchers. Third, new construction will be necessary, because the existing stock of rental housing is inadequate to account for all the affordable housing needs generated internally to suburbs, not to mention assisted tenants who have been confined in Baltimore City ghettos.

#### **I. Strategy 1: Open new opportunities for voucher users in appropriate neighborhoods**

**Vouchers can offer assisted tenants access to non-poor, low-minority census tracts in the Baltimore MSA, but only if their bearers have much better access to suburban areas than is the norm for Baltimore City's voucher users and only if they receive adequate counseling and placement assistance.** Baltimore City's Section 8 voucher users live disproportionately in some of the most impoverished and isolated conditions in their region. Tenants with Section 8 assistance from suburban housing authorities, by contrast, do not live in such distressed, poor, and racially isolated conditions. Black voucher users, however, tend to be disproportionately concentrated in majority-black census tracts, especially in Baltimore County.

**A clear first step for the Housing Authority of Baltimore City and HUD, therefore, would be to open opportunities for Baltimore City's voucher users in appropriate neighborhoods where suburban voucher users already live.** Such neighborhoods should be identified and monitored carefully to avoid the formation of new concentrations of Section 8 households in the suburbs. Baltimore City already has the renowned CitiStat system to monitor many aspects of urban life and service delivery; a geographic expansion of CitiStat, or something like it, could be discussed as a way of monitoring neighborhood conditions region-wide.

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<sup>1</sup> Priority Funding Areas are zones designated by the Maryland state legislature and local governments within and pursuant to the 1997 Smart Growth Areas Act to which the state has committed to channel its infrastructure investments.

**Many suburban neighborhoods in which voucher users lived in 1998 were already majority-black, and others experienced rapid racial and economic transition in the 1990s.** This concentration of black voucher users in segregated or transitional neighborhoods is a natural outcome of a hands-off voucher system that does not require landlords to accept Section 8 vouchers and fails to inform, encourage, and assist tenants in locating and securing housing in low poverty and non-minority concentrated neighborhoods. In stable neighborhoods, landlords have few incentives to accommodate Section 8 tenants; landlords in unstable neighborhoods know they can command more stable and probably higher rents by accepting and even advertising for Section 8 tenants. As this process of acceptance and advertising continues, new concentrations of Section 8 tenants form.

**Because of this tendency, it is crucial for Section 8 managers to**

- **monitor neighborhood conditions in neighborhoods where voucher users concentrate**
- **actively recruit landlords in low poverty and non-minority concentrated neighborhoods; and**
- **make units in those neighborhoods available to poor families through project-based Section 8 contracts and/or mobility counseling programs that link voucher holders with the units.**

**It is equally essential to identify low poverty and non-minority neighborhoods where vouchers could be used but are not.** In addition to aggressive landlord recruitment in these areas, HABC can

- enter into contracts with private owners to attach "project-based vouchers" to a portion of the units in a development, or
- provide financing to a developer to acquire properties and set aside a portion of the units for voucher households.

To identify appropriate neighborhoods for additional emphasis in the Section 8 voucher program, I undertook an analysis using the HUD database of assisted housing (1998) and results from the 2000 Census. The analysis considers (a) the regional location of rental housing whose rents did not exceed Baltimore's Fair Market Rent (FMR) in 2000; (b) which neighborhoods had an ample supply of affordable vacant rental housing, low rates of poverty, and low shares of black residents; and (c) which neighborhoods had not yet been "pioneered" by voucher users, indicated by the fact that fewer than 10 voucher users lived there in 1998. The analysis suggests that there are significant numbers of neighborhoods in several counties and in Baltimore City itself in which the region's Section 8 voucher program administrators could seek to open new opportunities for voucher users.

**By these criteria, 329 tracts in the Baltimore MSA as of 2000 were not impacted, that is, they had fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent in 2000.<sup>2</sup>** To identify non-impacted tracts that represent important opportunities to explore immediately for voucher users, I identified the number of rentals and vacant rental units in non-impacted tracts

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<sup>2</sup> These tracts are identified using the same census-based criteria as in the consent decree. Since they are identified using 2000 census tract boundaries and data, however, they will differ from those named in the consent decree.

that rented for less than 110 percent of the HUD-established Fair Market Rent (the voucher payment standard, or VPS). A complete list of the 329 non-impacted tracts with their median gross rent, the number of occupied units with gross rents below the VPS, and the number of vacant units whose landlords were asking less than the VPS appears in Appendix A.

**There is a reasonably large supply of rental housing in non-impacted tracts, even within Baltimore City.** In April 2000, there were approximately 46,000 occupied rental units with gross rent below the VPS in non-impacted census tracts; over 41,000 of these units were outside Baltimore City (Table 1). More than 3,600 additional vacant housing units (7.4 percent of the rental stock) were available for rent in these census tracts at rents below the VPS; over 3,300 of these vacancies were in suburban non-impacted tracts.<sup>3</sup>

**Fewer than 20 percent of non-impacted tracts outside Baltimore City have been seriously pioneered by voucher users.** Only 61 non-impacted census tracts outside Baltimore City have more than 10 reported voucher users in them (Table 1). Another 252 non-impacted census tracts outside the city have 10 voucher users or fewer. Yet nearly two-thirds of the units renting for less than the VPS—30,000 in all—were in these 252 non-pioneered tracts.

**The Housing Authority of Baltimore City is not encouraging voucher users to move to non-impacted tracts, even though such housing is available in these city tracts at below the VPS.** Over 4,400 units were already rented at levels below the VPS in non-impacted tracts in Baltimore City in 2000, and more than 300 other vacant units were available at these levels (Table 1). None of the 16 non-impacted city tracts in which this housing was located had more than 10 reported voucher users in 1998. The voucher program's administrators should explore opportunities for Section 8 tenants in these neighborhoods immediately.

**There are therefore still many neighborhoods in metropolitan Baltimore—even in Baltimore City—that the region's Section 8 programs have not penetrated.** Metropolitan administration of vouchers, improved counseling for Section 8 recipients, outreach to prospective landlords, and communications among the region's several Section 8 programs would all help voucher users throughout metropolitan Baltimore find affordable apartments in these locations.

**Housing authorities will need to provide tenant counseling and redouble efforts to encourage landlords in non-impacted tracts to accept Section 8 vouchers.** Half of suburban census tracts with more than 10 voucher users are impacted; in Baltimore County and Anne Arundel County, that figure is approaching 60 percent. A hands-off approach to Section 8 vouchers is likely to result in the concentration of tenants in this limited number of census tracts and to intensify their impacted status.

**Continual efforts are needed to set exception rents in tracts whose median rent exceeds the metropolitan voucher payment standard.** Rent levels tend to be high in non-minority areas and those with low rates of poverty. With active monitoring of rent levels and the adequacy of

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<sup>3</sup> This analysis does not account for the higher VPS in Columbia (Howard County), where the FMR in 2000 was \$892. Most of Howard County's tracts are non-impacted, and many additional rental units were vacant or available at or below that rent in 2000.

FMRs, along with aggressive use of exception rents and above-FMR voucher payment standards, HUD and HABC can open additional housing units in these higher rent areas. Recent steps to increase the FMR, and approval of exception rents, are a step in the right direction but must be sustained. In addition, HABC voucher holders must receive the benefit of payment standards set at 110% of FMR throughout the market area; otherwise, they are less likely to find housing in non-impacted census tracts.

**Even so, opportunities for voucher users are likely to remain too limited to allow full mobility to regional locations in which job growth is strongest, schools are desirable, and neighborhoods are safe.** Even with an apparently large supply of rental housing from which to choose, black voucher users face substantial hurdles in finding housing in desirable neighborhoods. The design of the Section 8 program allows landlords to reject tenants simply because they do not wish to accept Section 8 housing vouchers. This ability to discriminate on the basis of income source provides landlords a legitimate legal reason or excuse to exclude minority and family Section 8 households whom they cannot otherwise legally exclude. Indeed, African American voucher users tend to concentrate in distressed neighborhoods in regions where whites constitute a large minority of the population.<sup>4</sup> If desegregation is the goal, therefore, resources must be made available to develop assisted housing in low poverty and non-minority areas of the housing market, especially those areas where substantial job growth is occurring.

## II. Strategy 2. Building and acquiring affordable housing in the Baltimore MSA counties

The second strategy involves building and acquiring affordable housing in appropriate parts of the Baltimore MSA beyond Baltimore City. Such actions will reduce residential segregation and promote fair housing; they are essential as the foundation for the increasingly decentralized economy of the region. They are also necessary to provide low-income households better access to the jobs for which they are qualified.

### A. Background: The decentralization of the Baltimore economy

Between 1990 and 2000, the number of jobs in the Baltimore MSA grew 9.7 percent. This overall job growth masks substantial differences between Baltimore City and the rest of the metropolitan area, however. In the City proper, the job base declined by over 10 percent, while jobs grew by over 21 percent in the MSA's six counties.<sup>5</sup>

This suburbanization of jobs is a long-term trend. In 1970, Baltimore City had over 53 percent of the MSA's 990,000 jobs. In 2000, the City had fewer than 30 percent of the MSA's 1.5 million jobs. The City still had more jobs in 2000 than any one of the suburban counties in the MSA, but Baltimore County has probably overtaken Baltimore City since 2000, if the two jurisdictions' annual rates of job creation in the last two years remained at the average rates of the 1990s.

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<sup>4</sup> Pendall, Rolf. 2000. "Why voucher and certificate users live in distressed neighborhoods." *Housing Policy Debate* 11(4): 881-910.

<sup>5</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information System (REIS), Series CA25, data extracted by author from <http://www.bea.doc.gov/bea/regional/reis/>, available April 16, 2003.

These trends were foreseeable, and were in fact foreseen, by planners in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, the development of Howard County's Columbia New Town in the 1960s by James Rouse anticipated and fostered the further deconcentration of employment.<sup>6</sup> When Rouse and his team planned Columbia they assured that a mix of new housing types would be built there, both market-rate and government-assisted, and that this housing would be built in neighborhoods that would mix low-income and wealthier families in the same areas.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, Rouse and his planners knew that integration would have to be fostered and maintained actively rather than left to the unmanaged operations of the housing market.<sup>8</sup> Today, Howard County is more racially integrated, with public housing more broadly dispersed, than the remainder of the Baltimore MSA.<sup>9</sup> Hence, by the 1960s, planners throughout the United States knew that as metropolitan economies decentralized, new jobs and new housing could be planned at the same time in ways that would promote long-term, stable integration in the suburbs to an extent then unrealized in cities. And crucially, they were right: Columbia is mostly racially integrated today.

As jobs have decentralized from Baltimore, the jobs that have remained have consistently "up-scaled." In 1970, the average wage per job (inflation-adjusted to 2000 dollars) in Baltimore City was \$32,841, about 98 percent of the average wage per job throughout the MSA.<sup>10</sup> Thirty years later, Baltimore City's average wage per job had increased to \$42,077, a 28 percent increase in real terms, raising it to a level more than 13 percent above the MSA average wage per job. Only one suburban county in the MSA—Howard County—had even a double-digit increase in its average wage per job; Carroll, Harford, and Queen Anne's counties all experienced declining real wages per job between 1970 and 1990.

Partly as a consequence of this up-scaling of City jobs, cross-commuting has risen between the City and its suburban counties. Between 1990 and 2000 alone, the share of Baltimore City residents holding jobs within the City fell from 66.1 percent of all employed residents to 62.0 percent of employed residents.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, the share of City residents holding jobs in Anne Arundel and Baltimore Counties increased from 5.1 percent and 21.4 percent, respectively, to 5.5 percent and 23.7 percent of all Baltimore City workers. Baltimore City has the highest wages in

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<sup>6</sup> Forsyth, Ann. 2002. "Planning lessons from three U.S. new towns of the 1960s and 1970s: Irvine, Columbia, and The Woodlands." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 68(4): 387-415.

<sup>7</sup> Hoppenfeld, M. 1971. The Columbia process: The potential for new towns. *The Architects Yearbook* 13, 34-47.

<sup>8</sup> Forsyth, Ann. 2004. *Reforming Suburbia*, at Chapter 3. Forthcoming from University of California Press; draft chapter on file with Pendall.

<sup>9</sup> Fourteen percent of Howard County's residents in 2000 were black. The median census tract in the county has 12 percent black residents; the tract with the largest share of black residents has 31.5 percent black residents, but 50 percent of tracts have between 4.8 percent and 21.1 percent black residents.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Information System (REIS), Series CA34, data extracted by author from <http://www.bea.doc.gov/bea/regional/reis/>, available April 16, 2003. Wage data deflated using average annual Consumer Price Index for all urban consumers.

<sup>11</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. 2003. County-to-County Worker Flow Files: Maryland. Electronic files extracted by the author from [http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/commuting/2KRESKO\\_MD.xls](http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/commuting/2KRESKO_MD.xls) and [http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/commuting/2KWRKCO\\_MD.xls](http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/commuting/2KWRKCO_MD.xls). U.S. Census Bureau. 1993(?). Census of Population 1990: Number of Workers by County of Residence by County of Work. Electronic files extracted by the author from <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/journey/resco/MDresco.dbf> and <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/journey/wrkco/MDwrkco.dbf>, available April 16, 2003.

its MSA and has about seven jobs for every five working residents, but 38 percent of these working residents hold jobs outside the city.

As City residents have increasingly looked outside the city for their employment, the share of City jobs filled by suburbanites has increased. In 1990, 51 percent of City jobs were filled by City residents. By 2000, only 45 percent of City jobs were held by City residents. Meanwhile, the share of City jobs held by workers living in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Harford, and Howard Counties increased. Baltimore County, of course, supplies the largest share of any suburban county: 31.9 percent of City jobs.

Among the six suburban counties, only two—Baltimore County and Howard County—added more jobs than employed residents in the 1990s. Neither of these two counties has a surplus of jobs for its employed residents, but both rely extensively on other counties to accommodate the workers in their jobs. The average wage per job in both of these counties remains either about at or slightly below the regional average; meanwhile, the housing costs and income of residents in both counties were comparatively high, especially in Howard County.

In short, there is a substantial mismatch between jobs and housing in metropolitan Baltimore. Increasingly, high-income workers live outside but commute into the City, while many low-wage workers live in the City and commute to surrounding counties.

### **B. The need for affordable housing in high-growth areas**

The rapid growth of medium- and low-wage employment in suburban counties requires an adequate labor force to fill those jobs. Cross-commuting from Baltimore City to outlying counties suggests that this labor force is currently paying substantial portions of its wages on transportation from the inner city to suburban jobs, in part because it cannot find adequate affordable housing in suburban areas.

**Starting at least in the late 1960s, and intensifying in the early 1970s, planners and federal officials embraced the idea that affordable housing must be built beyond the central city, as a central component of all new residential development.** President Nixon's first secretary of HUD, George Romney, promoted efforts to bring down exclusionary zoning barriers that stood in the way of new Section 236 apartment-house construction as that program got underway.<sup>12</sup> Federal housing and community development legislation was amended in 1968 to require the inclusion of a "housing element" in plans prepared under the influential Section 701 program, thereby requiring local governments to consider for the first time their regions' housing needs when planning their land uses.<sup>13</sup> Anthony Downs, a still-influential policy scholar, published a book in 1973 that advocated "opening up the suburbs."<sup>14</sup> Maryland, with its large suburban counties, seems a logical place for this to occur, because leaders elected to serve the general welfare

<sup>12</sup> Danielson, Michael N. *The Politics of Exclusion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

<sup>13</sup> The 701 program, initiated with the passage of the 1954 Housing Act, provided planning grants to local governments; municipalities were required to adopt "701 plans" as a precondition to receiving federal grants for urban renewal, housing, and other programs. See Kaiser, Edward J. and David R. Godschalk. 1995. "Twentieth century land use planning: A stalwart family tree." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 61 (3): 365-385.

<sup>14</sup> Downs, Anthony. 1973. *Opening up the Suburbs*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

of an entire county—whose job bases required adequate housing for people at all wage levels—are less likely to rely on other jurisdictions to accommodate their low-wage workers than leaders from many small towns. Indeed, Montgomery County adopted in 1973 its renowned inclusionary housing program, which ever since has required developers to build new affordable housing units in all new projects of at least 50 dwelling units. For a time, Prince George's county also had a mandatory inclusionary housing program. These programs have led to the creation of over 10,000 affordable housing units in the counties closest to Washington, DC.<sup>15</sup> In the Baltimore metropolitan area, however, only Howard County currently has an inclusionary housing program.<sup>16</sup>

**Affordable housing has not sufficiently penetrated the suburbs of metropolitan Baltimore in which the economy is expanding, even though substantial numbers of market-rate housing units are being built in these areas.** In this section of the report, I identify high-opportunity ZIP codes based on housing, employment, and planning criteria, and show that more affordable housing is needed in these areas to accommodate a growing workforce and to permit low-income workers to get better access to low-wage jobs. Their supply of market-rate apartments to which voucher users can gain access is inadequate; furthermore, their supply of government assisted housing is small and much of it is vulnerable to expiring affordability requirements.

Several factors should guide the location of new affordable housing. Opportunities should be made available where:

- **some development has already occurred**, i.e., not in the least densely developed areas of a region but where some services and facilities are already available
- **state and county planning efforts support future investments** in new infrastructure
- tenants have better economic prospects, i.e., those in which jobs are growing, either in absolute or in percent terms, at rates that exceed the metropolitan-area median
- **average wages match the likely skill and education level of assisted tenants**, i.e., not the highest-wage areas in the region
- **new development will not further concentrate low-income renters**, i.e., poverty rates do not exceed 15 percent of residents and less than half of housing is rented
- **new development will not further concentrate African American residents**

Using the U.S. Census Bureau's ZIP Code Business Patterns publication from 1994 and 1999 and 2000 Census data, I looked for ZIP codes that met the following criteria:

- Development density: exceeding the 30th percentile density of all ZIP codes in either jobs per square mile or persons per square mile in 1999/2000
- At least part of ZIP code inside state- and county-designated Priority Funding Areas (PFAs), consistent with the Smart Growth Priority Funding Areas Act of 1997

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<sup>15</sup> Brown, Karen Destorel. 2001. "Expanding Affordable Housing through Inclusionary Zoning: Lessons from the Washington Metropolitan Area." A discussion paper prepared by The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, October. Available at <http://www.brookings.org/es/urban/publications/inclusionary.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> Based on author's unpublished January 2003 survey of local land use regulations and affordable housing programs in the 50 largest U.S. metropolitan areas. Data on file with author.

- Job growth: exceeding the median ZIP code level job growth in either percent or absolute terms between 1994 and 1999<sup>17</sup>
- Average wage per job: less than 1.25 times the MSA average wage of \$32,000 in 1999 (i.e., less than \$40,000)
- Poverty: Fewer than 15 percent of residents below the poverty line
- Rental housing: Less than 50 percent of the housing stock rented
- Percent black in ZIP: Less than 30 percent of ZIP residents black or African American.<sup>18</sup>

**Just over one-quarter of the ZIP code areas in the Baltimore MSA—43 of 150—met all these criteria.** Almost all the ZIP codes were entirely outside Baltimore City; two were partly inside Baltimore City at its northeastern and northwestern boundaries with Baltimore County. There were ZIP codes meeting these criteria in all six of the counties in the MSA (Map 1). Together, these ZIP codes are an important part of the future of the Baltimore Metropolitan Area. Most importantly, 95 percent of the region's net new jobs are located in these ZIP codes (Table 2). They contain 43 percent of the region's owner-occupied housing and 62 percent of the owner-occupied housing built in the 1990s. They contain 36 percent of the region's land area.

**Rental housing is under-represented in these high-opportunity ZIP areas compared to the lower-opportunity ZIPs (Table 2).** They account for just 27 percent of the rental housing in metropolitan Baltimore. Less than 20 percent of the region's occupied units with gross rents below the \$710 voucher payment standard (VPS) in 2000 were located in these areas. And only 15.3 percent of the region's vacant units whose landlords were asking less than the VPS were located in these areas. In the short term, therefore, it may be possible to operate the voucher program in ways that target these ZIP codes and expand choices for tenants. But too few units in opportunity ZIPs have rents below the VPS.

**Only 16 percent of federally assisted housing units in the Baltimore MSA as of 1998 were in opportunity ZIP areas (Table 3).** The HUD database had latitude-longitude coordinates for 44,351 subsidized units in the Baltimore MSA, only 7,108 of which were in opportunity ZIPs. This is mainly a consequence of the historic concentration of federally subsidized housing units in Baltimore City, which accounted for 30,307 of subsidized units with coordinates in the database. Only 150 of Baltimore City's units—half of one percent—were located in opportunity ZIPs.

**About half of federally assisted housing units outside Baltimore City in the Baltimore MSA were in opportunity ZIP areas.** The HUD Database of Assisted Housing<sup>19</sup> shows that nearly

<sup>17</sup> One job-rich ZIP code, 21093 (Lutherville-Timonium), was excluded from the opportunity ZIPs because of missing data from 1999; the total number of jobs and the total payroll were not disclosed that year. A review of the data from 1998 and 2000 suggests that the ZIP added at least 1000 jobs between 1994 and 1999; other ZIP characteristics are also consistent with its designation as an opportunity ZIP. However, it was excluded because of missing job data.

<sup>18</sup> I set this level at 30 percent based on two rationales. First, research suggests that white residents do not tolerate more than about 35 percent African American neighbors. Second, a ZIP code area that has 30 percent black residents is likely to have some neighborhoods in which over 35 percent of residents are black but some neighborhoods in which substantially fewer than 25 percent of residents are black. Therefore, to reduce the likelihood of further concentration of African Americans within such concentrated areas, I set the criterion at 30 percent. This does not, however, constitute an endorsement of using either 30 percent or 35 percent as a threshold for evaluating concentrations in census tracts, which are much smaller than ZIP code areas.

7,000 of the 14,000 federally assisted units in the counties outside Baltimore City were located in opportunity ZIP areas. Conversely, half of the units were outside these ZIP areas.

**The two outlying counties closest to Baltimore City have the least assisted housing in opportunity ZIP areas as a share of all assisted units.** A minority of federally assisted housing was in opportunity ZIPs in Baltimore County (1,102 of 4,667 units, 23.6 percent) and Anne Arundel County (2,176 of 5,097 units, 42.7 percent of units). Queen Anne's County has very little subsidized housing, all of which is outside opportunity ZIP areas, but Queen Anne's has little relevance for tenants in Baltimore City. Carroll, Harford, and Howard Counties have done more to ensure that new assisted housing is built in fast-growing, job-rich areas where concentrations of poverty and minority residents are comparatively low.

**Federally assisted units in opportunity ZIP areas tend to be concentrated in projects whose subsidies may expire soon** (Table 3). The HUD database provides information on five categories of unit-based programs: Public housing; Section 8 new and substantial rehabilitation; Section 236; Other FHA projects with subsidy; and Low Income Housing Tax Credits. The second two categories—Section 8 new and substantial rehab and Section 236—are both programs that subsidized private sector developers to dedicate housing to low-income tenants for a stipulated period of time. In some cases, non-profit developers built or acquired these projects, but in many others they remain in private for-profit hands. Under these circumstances the projects may be converted to market-rate or condominium (for-sale) units after the affordability period expires. Low income housing tax credit projects may also convert to market rates, but since they are newer (mostly built in the 1990s), their affordability terms will not expire as soon as the Section 8 and Section 236 projects might. Over 5,000 of the units in opportunity ZIP areas are in Section 8 new/substantial rehabilitation and Section 236 projects: over 70 percent of units in the opportunity ZIP areas. By contrast, only 37.5 percent of units outside the opportunity ZIPs are in Section 8 and Section 236 projects.

**Only 11 percent of Low Income Housing Tax Credit projects were built in the opportunity ZIP areas.** The only major federal program still building new subsidized housing units is the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC). Congress has acknowledged that housing vouchers cannot meet all our housing needs by increasing funding for the Low Income Housing Tax Credit. The data that are available suggest that federal, state, and local governments have not been doing all they can to assure that federal tax subsidies are being directed to the state's fastest-growing areas. Nearly 1800 tax-credit units were located in Baltimore City in 1998, none of them in an opportunity ZIP. Only 22 percent of LIHTC projects built outside Baltimore City were built in opportunity ZIPs. No tax credit projects in the HUD database were sited in Baltimore County's opportunity ZIPs, whereas 1,028 units were sited elsewhere in the county.

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<sup>19</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999 (?). A Picture of Subsidized Households, 1998. Online resource at <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsq/statedata98/HUD4MD1.EXE>, available April 17, 2003. This database includes both senior and family housing. The database did not provide sufficient information to distinguish between family and elderly housing. Nationally, however, about one-half of Section 8 new construction projects were built for the elderly and disabled. Therefore, it is likely that a substantial number of the units reported in the job-rich opportunity ZIPs are open only to the elderly and disabled, and are not available to families in the workforce or those moving from welfare to work.

### C. Conclusions: New Housing in Opportunity ZIP Areas

**Permanently affordable housing is critical infrastructure in opportunity ZIP code areas.** Maryland's much-esteemed Smart Growth program<sup>20</sup> encourages state-county partnerships by allowing counties to designate "Priority Funding Areas" toward which the State will direct its infrastructure spending. By identifying these outlying suburban areas as PFAs, the county governments have already made a policy choice: these areas will experience most of their new development. Permanently affordable housing should be considered a critical element of the new infrastructure required in these developing areas, just as sewers, water, roads, and schools are. Conversely, assisted tenants in the Baltimore metropolitan area deserve equal access to the facilities in which the state will invest in coming years.

**Affordable housing should therefore be developed in these areas.** The supply of below-FMR apartments in these ZIP codes is too small to permit many tenants reliably to find rental housing there. Only 5.1 percent of existing rental housing in the ZIP codes was vacant in April 2000, compared to 7.4 percent outside the ZIP codes. And of the vacant rentals, only 47 percent rented for less than the FMR, compared to 81 percent outside the target ZIP codes. As jobs continue to decentralize to these areas, upward pressure on rents will intensify, and the need for permanently affordable housing will intensify. Through methods such as acquisition of existing housing and/or project-basing of vouchers, some of these units can be set aside for the poor families otherwise served by the voucher and public housing programs.

**Additional efforts can and should be undertaken both in the immediate future and over the longer term to provide affordable housing units in suburban areas.**

**An immediate priority should be to preserve existing affordable housing stock in opportunity ZIP areas.** Preserving the affordability of existing housing makes sound economic sense and is enormously important for tenants who might otherwise be displaced when their units go to market rates, thereby disrupting social networks and turning them out into a very competitive and expensive housing market. Preservation can be carried out immediately.

**Other immediate efforts can be made to acquire existing market-rate housing in opportunity ZIPs and make it permanently affordable for low-income households.** Rental units in opportunity ZIP areas ranging from small multiples to large apartment buildings could be purchased and converted to permanently affordable housing units, in part by converting some tenant-based vouchers to unit-based vouchers. This strategy avoids the exclusion that occurs when landlords discriminate against voucher users.

**In the medium term, new construction programs will be necessary to build permanently affordable housing in areas of fast job growth.** For at least 30 years, planners and policy makers throughout the United States—and beyond—have advocated for the construction of new affordable housing units in areas with healthy economies. There are many rationales for this policy, beyond the goals of reducing residential segregation and increasing fair housing choice for residents of Baltimore City's public housing. It can ensure that assisted tenants have access to jobs.

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<sup>20</sup> Adopted in the 1997 Smart Growth Areas Act by the State Legislature.

It can ensure that employers have an adequate and dependable labor supply. It can reduce long commutes, which impose both social and environmental costs and expose commuters to economic and health-related costs. It can promote diversity in new neighborhoods, an important quality for all citizens in an increasingly diverse nation. It can allow social mobility within the same neighborhood while encouraging more neighborhood stability; as families build wealth, they may be able to rent or buy decent market-rate housing nearby rather than moving to a distant suburb.

**Technical Appendix: Methods****A. Identifying non-impacted neighborhoods for voucher users**

In this section, I used data from the 2000 U.S. Census to identify census tracts where fewer than 25.9 percent of residents were black and fewer than 10 percent of residents lived below the poverty line. I then tabulated the number of occupied and vacant units whose gross rents or estimated asking rents fell below the voucher payment standard (VPS). I estimated the VPS at \$710 for the region in 2000, based on information that the Housing Authority of Baltimore City sets its VPS at 110% of the fair market rent (FMR), which in 2000 was \$648. The gross rent and asking rent distributions have a category indicating the number of apartments renting for (or with asking rents of) \$700 to \$749. I estimated the number of apartments renting between \$700 and \$710 to be 20 percent of the units in the \$700-\$749 category. Adding these apartments to those renting at less than \$700 yielded the total number of occupied or vacant units whose rents fell below the VPS. Both gross rent and asking rent are data items from the long form of the U.S. Census and are subject to sampling error.

Data on voucher users was available at the census tract level from the 1998 HUD database of assisted housing. Tract identification, however, was from 1990. I used a geographic information system to identify the 2000 census tracts in which more or fewer than 10 voucher users were located in the following steps.

1. Select all 1990 census tracts with more than 10 voucher users.
2. Using the "select by location" function, select the 2000 census tracts whose centers are in the selected tracts.
3. By visual inspection, identify and select any additional 2000 census tracts that mostly overlap the 1990 census tracts with more than 10 voucher users.
4. Code the selected 2000 census tracts as having more than 10 voucher users.
5. Reverse the selection of 2000 census tracts; code the remaining tracts as having up to 10 voucher users.

**B. Affordable housing units in opportunity ZIP areas****1. Identifying opportunity ZIP areas.**

This part of the analysis required the extraction of data from the ZIP Code Business Patterns CD-ROM from 1994 and 1999. This CD-ROM contains summary data for each ZIP Code on the number of workers, the number of establishments, and the total payroll of private establishments. It does not include self-employment or government employment of any kind. I mapped the data from ZIP Code Business Patterns onto the census bureau's ZIP code tabulation areas (ZCTAs). A small number of ZIP codes did not have corresponding ZCTAs; these ZIP codes are either post office boxes or single-site locations (e.g., office towers). Using a commercial database I acquired on-line, I matched the remaining (unmatched) ZIP codes and their data to latitude and longitude coordinates available in the commercial database. This enabled me to map the single-site and post office ZIP data (jobs, payroll, and establishments) onto the ZCTAs and to add the single-site and post office data to the data already mapped to a corresponding (underlying) ZCTA. This assumes that all the jobs associated with a single-site ZIP and a post-office ZIP are actually located within that ZCTA, which seems a fairly reasonable assumption. Each ZCTA has at least one post office; most employers probably prefer to receive mail at the most proximate post office box. The Census bureau also summarizes the results of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing by ZCTA, providing a com-

plete dataset of information on jobs, housing, and population at a finer scale than the county level. A final source of data for this part of the exercise was a set of ArcView shapefiles provided by the Maryland State Office of Planning delineating the priority funding areas (PFAs) that had been proposed and/or approved by early 2003.

I could thus merge data from ZIP Code Business Patterns and the Census of Population and Housing and identify opportunity ZIP areas based on the following criteria:

- Development density: exceeding the 30th percentile density of all ZIP codes in either jobs per square mile or persons per square mile in 1999/2000
- Job growth: exceeding the median ZIP code level job growth in either percent or absolute terms between 1994 and 1999<sup>21</sup>
- Average wage per job: less than 1.25 times the MSA average wage of \$32,000 in 1999 (i.e., less than \$40,000)
- Poverty: Fewer than 15 percent of residents below the poverty line
- Rental housing: Less than 50 percent of the housing stock rented
- Percent black in ZIP: Less than 30 percent of ZIP residents black or African American.

I set the percent-black level at 30 percent based on two rationales. First, research suggests that white residents do not tolerate more than about 35 percent African American neighbors. Second, a ZIP code area that has 30 percent black residents is likely to have some neighborhoods in which over 35 percent of residents are black but some neighborhoods in which substantially fewer than 25 percent of residents are black. Therefore, to reduce the likelihood of further concentration of African Americans within such concentrated areas, I set the criterion at 30 percent. This does not, however, constitute an endorsement of using either 30 percent or 35 percent as a threshold for evaluating concentrations in census tracts, which are much smaller than ZIP code areas.

A final criterion for identifying opportunity ZIPs was that at least part of each ZIP code should be inside a state- or county-designated Priority Funding Area (PFA). After selecting all the ZIP codes that met the criteria on jobs, housing, and population, I used a geographic information system (GIS) to select any of the ZIPs that met the criteria but were entirely or almost entirely outside PFAs. I excluded these ZIPs (four of them); some ZIPs were included in which a majority of the area was outside a PFA, based on my assumption that the minority of area designated as a PFA might accommodate substantial amounts of development despite its small size.

#### ***B. Identifying federally assisted housing in and outside opportunity ZIPs***

The HUD Database of Assisted Housing<sup>22</sup> has latitude and longitude coordinates for most federally subsidized housing projects in Maryland. I used these coordinates to estimate the number of public housing projects in and outside opportunity ZIP codes in 1998.

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<sup>21</sup> See note 17 above regarding ZIP code 21093.

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999 (?). A Picture of Subsidized Households, 1998. Online resource at <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsq/statedata98/HUD4MD1.EXE>, available April 17, 2003.

Table 1. Non-impacted\* tracts by jurisdiction by number of voucher users in tract (1998), Baltimore Metropolitan Area, 2000

	Number of census tracts				Gross rent or rent asked less than \$710/month			
	Non-impacted		Impacted		Occupied units		Vacant for rent units	
	Vouchers in tract:		Vouchers in tract:		Vouchers in tract:		Vouchers in tract:	
	Up to 10	Over 10	Up to 10	Over 10	Up to 10	Over 10	Up to 10	Over 10
Total metro area	268	61	162	134	30,006	16,100	2,114	1,564
Total outside city	252	61	51	61	25,579	16,100	1,786	1,564
Anne Arundel	63	10	9	13	3,869	2,310	184	299
Baltimore County	112	23	35	34	13,714	8,120	973	785
Carroll	14	15	0	1	1,042	3,869	66	329
Harford	30	4	4	7	3,997	765	377	86
Howard**	27	7	2	5	2,308	768	136	24
Queen Anne	6	2	1	1	649	268	50	41
Baltimore City	16	0	111	73	4,427	0	327	0

Explanatory note: This table summarizes the availability of housing renting for less than the voucher payment standard (VPS) for metropolitan Baltimore. The HABC has adopted a VPS of 110% of HUD's Fair Market Rent (FMR). In 2000 the FMR was about \$650, translating to a VPS of about \$710.

\*\*Non-impacted\* tracts were those with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent as of 2000. These criteria are the same census criteria used in the consent decree, but they apply to the tracts as of 2000. Hence the tracts are not necessarily the same ones listed in the consent decree.

\*\*Howard County had an FMR of \$892 in 2000. This table therefore understates the number of apartments that would be available in Howard County and in the rest of the MSA.

Source: Housing data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3. Voucher users estimated from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsq/statedata98/HUD4MD2.EXE>

Table 2. Characteristics of housing opportunity ZIP codes, Baltimore MSAs, 2000

	ZIP Code totals			Percent in opportunity ZIPs
	Target	Other	Total	
Number of ZIP codes	43	107	150	28.7
Land area (sq miles)	912	1,708	2,621	34.8
Population	959,782	1,579,726	2,539,508	37.8
Total rentals	87,428	230,278	317,706	27.5
New rentals	15,184	16,716	31,900	47.6
Occupied rentals <VPS*	37,548	154,543	192,091	19.5
Vacant rentals	4,523	17,081	17,081	26.5
Percent vacant	5.2%	7.4%		
Vacant rentals <VPS*	2,633	14,579	17,212	15.3
Total owners	273,112	374,699	647,811	42.2
New owners	72,710	45,145	117,855	61.7
Total employment 1999	326,682	656,844	907,961	36.0
Total employment 1994	255,054	652,907	983,526	25.9
New employment 1994-99	71,628	3,937	75,565	94.8
Total establishments 1999	24,953	36,817	61,770	40.4
Total establishments 1994	22,093	37,240	59,333	37.2
New establishments 1994-99	2,860	-423	2,437	117.4

\*VPS: Voucher payment standard of \$710, 110% of 2000 fair market rent.

Criteria for opportunity ZIP codes

- Development density: exceeding the 30th percentile density of all ZIP codes in either jobs per square mile or persons per square mile in 1999/2000
- At least part of ZIP code inside state- and county-designated Priority Funding Areas (PFAs)
- Job growth: exceeding the median ZIP code level job growth in either percent or absolute terms between 1994 and 1999
- Average wage per job: less than \$40,000 (1.25 times the MSA average wage, 1999)
- Poverty: Fewer than 15 percent of residents below the poverty line
- Rental housing: Less than 50 percent of the housing stock rented
- Percent black in ZIP: Less than 30 percent of ZIP residents black or African American.

Sources:

U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3, ZIP code level data  
 U.S. Department of Commerce, 1994 ZIP Code Business Patterns, CD-ROM  
 U.S. Department of Commerce, 1999 ZIP Code Business Patterns, CD-ROM

Table 3. Public housing units inside and outside opportunity ZIP areas, Baltimore MSA, 1998

	Assisted units in opportunity tracts					Total
	Public housing	Section 8 new	Section 236	Other FHA	LIHTC	
Anne Arundel County	1,096	683	241		156	2,176
Baltimore city		150				150
Baltimore County		94	1,008			1,102
Carroll County		279	100		61	440
Harford County		447	1,045	284	182	1,958
Howard County		599	368	296	19	1,282
Queen Anne's County						
Total MSA	1,096	2,252	2,762	580	418	7,108
MSA outside City	1,096	2,102	2,762	580	418	6,958

	Assisted units: Total					Total
	Public housing	Section 8 new	Section 236	Other FHA	LIHTC	
Anne Arundel County	2,130	826	1,163	624	354	5,097
Baltimore city	16,235	5,160	5,180	1,940	1,792	30,307
Baltimore County		1,570	1,851	218	1,028	4,667
Carroll County		279	100		61	440
Harford County		477	1,045	284	202	2,008
Howard County		811	452	296	215	1,774
Queen Anne's County		58				58
Total units	18,365	9,181	9,791	3,362	3,652	44,351
MSA outside City	2,130	4,021	4,611	1,422	1,860	14,044

	Assisted units in opportunity tracts as percent of total					Total
	Public housing	Section 8 new	Section 236	Other FHA	LIHTC	
Anne Arundel County	51.5	82.7	20.7	0.0	44.1	42.7
Baltimore city	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Baltimore County	n.a.	6.0	54.5	0.0	0.0	23.6
Carroll County	n.a.	100.0	100.0	n.a.	100.0	100.0
Harford County	n.a.	93.7	100.0	100.0	90.1	97.5
Howard County	n.a.	73.9	81.4	100.0	8.8	72.3
Queen Anne's County	n.a.	0.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.0
Total MSA	6.0	24.5	28.2	17.3	11.4	16.0
MSA outside City	51.5	52.3	59.9	40.8	22.5	49.5

Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1999?. A Picture of Subsidized Households 1998. On-line resource, available: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/assthsq/statedata98/HUD4MD1.EXE>

Opportunity tracts identified using data from:  
 U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, SF3, ZIP code level data  
 U.S. Department of Commerce, 1994 ZIP Code Business Patterns, CD-ROM  
 U.S. Department of Commerce, 1999 ZIP Code Business Patterns, CD-ROM

Appendix Table A. Non-impacted tracts with median gross rent and number of units below FMR, Baltimore MSA, 2000

Anne Arundel County

Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710		Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent		Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
7011.01	425	65.6	4	0	7408.00	922	142.3	35	4
7011.02	953	147.1	66	26	7409.00	794	122.5	178	0
7012.00	941	145.2	74	17	7410.00	692	106.8	47	4
7013.00	744	114.8	79	20	7501.02	690	106.5	81	0
7014.00	817	126.1	23	0	7502.02	819	126.4	35	8
7021.00	907	140.0	74	0	7502.03	582	89.8	52	0
7022.01	977	150.8	34	0	7503.00	736	113.6	84	20
7022.02	1,021	157.6	68	0	7504.00	736	113.6	44	0
7022.03	592	91.4	43	4	7505.00	844	130.2	39	0
7023.00	962	148.5	19	0	7506.00	646	99.7	8	0
7024.01	721	111.3	30	0	7507.00	646	99.7	50	9
7024.02	990	152.8	230	0	7508.01	617	95.2	137	12
7026.01	1,069	165.0	92	0	7508.04	755	116.5	136	1
7026.02	1,110	171.3	32	0	7509.00	552	85.2	235	0
7027.00	1,009	155.7	35	0	7510.00	736	113.6	92	10
7064.01	798	123.1	275	13	7511.03	763	117.7	211	38
7067.00	1,164	179.6	16	7					
7070.01	932	143.8	17	0					
7070.02	1,012	156.2	32	4					
7080.00	659	101.7	149	0					
7301.00	791	122.1	127	0					
7303.00	1,038	160.2	0	5					
7304.01	809	124.8	105	24					
7304.02	697	107.6	588	79					
7305.02	705	108.8	330	67					
7305.04	833	128.5	200	9					
7306.01	1,139	175.8	0	0					
7306.03	628	96.9	53	0					
7306.04	1,400	216.0	3	0					
7307.00	988	152.5	41	0					
7308.00	1,029	158.8	30	0					
7309.01	925	142.7	24	0					
7309.02	1,153	177.9	12	0					
7310.01	812	125.3	189	10					
7310.02	1,084	167.3	6	0					
7311.01	997	153.9	14	0					
7311.02	928	143.2	5	0					
7311.03	996	153.7	12	0					
7312.01	1,168	180.2	28	0					
7312.02	725	111.9	98	8					
7312.03	816	125.9	69	0					
7312.04	886	136.7	32	0					
7313.03	947	146.1	29	0					
7313.06	743	114.7	102	0					
7313.07	876	135.2	52	8					
7313.08	719	111.0	63	5					
7313.09	812	125.3	117	0					
7313.10	868	134.0	62	0					
7313.11	704	108.6	149	0					
7402.01	672	103.7	550	62					
7402.02	813	125.5	25	0					
7402.03	938	144.8	22	0					
7403.03	663	102.3	47	0					
7404.00	0	0.0	0	0					
7406.01	902	139.2	31	0					
7406.03	855	131.9	15	0					
7407.00	1,024	158.0	93	9					

Appendix Table A. Non-impacted tracts with median gross rent and number of units below FMR, Baltimore MSA, 2000

Baltimore County									
Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710		Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent		Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
4001.00	1,008	155.6	149	3	4114.07	715	110.3	656	49
4002.00	650	100.3	345	27	4114.08	988	152.5	515	24
4004.00	769	118.7	74	0	4114.09	1,025	158.2	0	0
4005.00	1,043	161.0	12	0	4114.10	809	124.8	72	0
4006.00	580	89.5	379	8	4201.00	659	101.7	84	0
4007.01	667	102.9	358	56	4203.03	640	98.8	80	0
4007.02	565	87.2	151	20	4204.01	703	108.5	332	245
4010.00	715	110.3	178	6	4205.00	577	89.0	78	0
4014.00	431	66.5	24	0	4206.00	500	77.2	161	0
4015.03	801	123.6	64	21	4207.01	555	85.6	454	38
4022.02	768	118.5	12	0	4207.02	568	87.7	58	0
4035.00	809	124.8	70	0	4208.00	572	88.3	172	25
4036.01	813	125.5	79	8	4210.00	434	67.0	494	20
4036.02	884	136.4	47	17	4211.02	580	89.5	24	26
4037.01	733	113.1	349	8	4301.02	569	87.8	100	10
4037.02	990	152.8	124	0	4304.00	668	103.1	209	20
4038.01	657	101.4	18	0	4306.00	843	130.1	22	0
4038.02	775	119.6	0	0	4307.00	858	132.4	116	0
4038.03	700	108.0	35	0	4308.00	614	94.8	213	9
4041.00	725	111.9	381	16	4401.00	688	106.2	53	12
4042.01	665	102.6	547	68	4402.00	703	108.5	171	32
4044.01	601	92.7	800	63	4403.00	673	103.9	332	23
4044.02	907	140.0	29	0	4404.00	575	88.7	133	16
4045.01	713	110.0	340	18	4405.00	530	81.8	122	0
4045.02	619	95.5	249	16	4406.00	175	27.0	10	0
4046.00	936	144.4	46	0	4407.02	926	142.9	20	0
4048.00	621	95.8	20	0	4408.00	594	91.7	640	43
4049.00	725	111.9	9	0	4409.00	622	96.0	575	13
4050.00	732	113.0	55	0	4411.01	717	110.6	17	6
4060.00	634	97.8	64	1	4411.02	538	83.0	140	0
4070.00	625	96.5	125	9	4501.00	473	73.0	257	50
4081.00	869	134.1	131	9	4502.00	682	105.2	108	28
4082.00	625	96.5	27	0	4503.00	408	63.0	286	9
4083.01	896	138.3	10	2	4504.00	563	86.9	95	0
4083.02	1,234	190.4	7	0	4506.00	711	109.7	95	0
4085.02	804	124.1	120	0	4507.00	611	94.3	42	0
4085.03	678	104.6	537	0	4509.00	729	112.5	72	5
4085.05	693	106.9	236	0	4510.00	750	115.7	60	3
4085.07	738	113.9	1,121	116	4512.00	763	117.7	41	13
4086.01	1,042	160.8	17	0	4516.00	636	98.1	126	0
4086.02	1,400	216.0	0	0	4517.01	559	86.3	34	0
4087.02	840	129.6	106	2	4517.02	584	90.1	40	0
4087.03	785	121.1	132	18	4518.01	524	80.9	376	40
4087.04	1,283	198.0	0	0	4518.02	498	76.9	212	8
4088.00	715	110.3	147	21	4518.03	568	87.7	442	42
4089.00	597	92.1	112	7	4519.00	634	97.8	191	10
4101.00	835	128.9	30	0	4520.00	343	52.9	194	36
4102.00	936	144.4	16	0	4521.00	707	109.1	111	0
4111.01	346	53.4	14	0	4522.00	0	0.0	0	0
4111.02	460	71.0	53	1	4523.00	711	109.7	111	0
4112.01	971	149.8	0	0	4524.00	770	118.8	41	6
4112.02	1,314	202.8	36	0	4525.00	774	119.4	44	56
4113.02	475	73.3	38	0	4901.00	750	115.7	15	0
4113.03	809	124.8	242	26	4902.00	950	146.6	0	0
4113.04	921	142.1	2	4	4903.02	852	131.5	59	0
4113.06	925	142.7	99	22	4904.00	850	131.2	14	0
4113.07	802	123.8	97	3	4905.00	967	149.2	17	0
4114.04	823	127.0	13	0	4906.01	725	111.9	37	0
4114.06	547	84.4	43	0	4906.02	623	96.1	506	0

Appendix Table A. Non-impacted tracts with median gross rent and number of units below FMR, Baltimore MSA, 2000

**Baltimore County (continued)**

Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
4906.03	766	118.2	64	0
4907.01	2,001	308.8	1	0
4908.00	622	96.0	238	18
4910.00	1,077	166.2	0	0
4911.00	624	96.3	290	23
4912.01	744	114.8	72	0
4912.02	905	139.7	5	0
4915.00	552	85.2	486	34
4916.00	487	75.2	235	28
4917.01	694	107.1	422	24
4917.02	609	94.0	557	36
4919.00	644	99.4	55	3
4920.01	654	100.9	184	7
4920.02	741	114.4	129	10
4921.01	696	107.4	394	35
4921.02	758	117.0	38	0
4922.00	680	104.9	466	28

**Carroll County**

Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
5010.00	610	94.1	430	19
5020.00	708	109.3	78	12
5030.00	547	84.4	102	10
5041.00	719	111.0	50	0
5042.01	668	103.1	74	0
5042.02	636	98.1	92	24
5051.01	553	85.3	29	0
5051.02	586	90.4	66	5
5052.02	759	117.1	270	23
5052.03	413	63.7	65	2
5052.04	865	133.5	34	0
5061.00	514	79.3	161	0
5062.00	565	87.2	115	13
5075.00	519	80.1	177	0
5076.02	493	76.1	437	34
5077.01	837	129.2	274	64
5077.02	545	84.1	274	32
5078.01	619	95.5	803	58
5078.02	588	90.7	190	36
5081.00	654	100.9	195	23
5082.00	682	105.2	206	0
5090.00	646	99.7	115	0
5100.00	721	111.3	20	0
5110.00	632	97.5	133	12
5120.00	542	83.6	130	15
5130.00	744	114.8	132	9
5141.00	570	88.0	24	0
5142.01	730	112.7	47	0
5142.02	598	92.3	188	4

Appendix Table A. Non-impacted tracts with median gross rent and number of units below FMR, Baltimore MSA, 2000

**Harford County**

Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
3011.02	667	102.9	25	4
3011.03	908	140.1	41	8
3011.04	603	93.1	721	34
3012.01	498	76.9	10	14
3012.02	857	132.3	32	16
3012.03	871	134.4	47	15
3013.01	558	86.1	104	0
3014.01	656	101.2	528	79
3014.02	781	120.5	21	0
3016.02	664	102.5	162	0
3017.01	829	127.9	120	6
3017.02	825	127.3	116	25
3021.00	625	96.5	56	0
3022.00	865	133.5	30	0
3028.01	756	116.7	21	9
3031.00	813	125.5	74	0
3032.01	795	122.7	35	10
3032.02	724	111.7	238	52
3033.00	643	99.2	45	0
3034.00	681	105.1	43	0
3035.00	674	104.0	323	33
3036.02	950	146.6	13	0
3036.03	1,059	163.4	6	0
3036.04	632	97.5	644	20
3037.00	584	90.1	85	0
3038.00	709	109.4	425	55
3039.00	649	100.2	288	16
3041.00	742	114.5	64	25
3042.01	522	80.6	58	0
3042.02	875	135.0	38	0
3051.00	563	86.9	106	35
3052.00	526	81.2	118	7
3063.00	636	98.1	25	0
3064.00	668	103.1	100	0

**Howard County**

Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
6011.01	1,013	156.3	10	0
6011.02	959	148.0	108	0
6012.01	788	121.6	209	39
6012.02	1,017	156.9	25	23
6021.00	1,075	165.9	6	0
6022.00	829	127.9	121	6
6023.02	863	133.2	62	3
6023.03	1,722	265.7	3	0
6023.04	1,839	283.8	7	0
6023.05	1,031	159.1	15	0
6023.06	878	135.5	64	5
6027.00	843	130.1	14	0
6028.00	657	101.4	229	0
6029.00	702	108.3	632	30
6030.00	1,044	161.1	19	0
6040.01	747	115.3	37	0
6040.02	688	106.2	47	0
6051.01	900	138.9	25	0
6051.02	1,054	162.7	11	0
6054.01	972	150.0	100	15
6055.01	836	129.0	10	0
6055.02	968	149.4	44	0
6056.01	981	151.4	67	0
6056.02	974	150.3	138	1
6066.01	1,320	203.7	0	0
6067.01	1,420	219.1	6	0
6067.03	950	146.6	99	0
6067.04	756	116.7	401	8
6067.05	1,310	202.2	8	0
6068.02	1,120	172.8	17	0
6068.03	959	148.0	59	0
6068.04	969	149.5	24	1
6069.02	929	143.4	215	23
6069.03	819	126.4	244	7

Appendix Table A. Non-impacted tracts with median gross rent and number of units below FMR, Baltimore MSA, 2000

**Queen Anne's County**

Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
8102.00	477	73.6	115	12
8103.00	612	94.4	176	19
8104.00	558	86.1	171	37
8105.00	452	69.8	211	3
8106.00	807	124.5	56	5
8108.00	923	142.4	42	11
8109.00	868	134.0	49	0
8110.00	834	128.7	97	4

**Baltimore City**

Tract	Median gross rent 2000		Units renting <\$710	
	Median	Pct of FMR	Occupied	Vacant for rent
203.00	831	128.2	340	7
1003.00	0	0.0	0	0
1307.00	531	81.9	1,083	38
2401.00	542	83.6	153	23
2402.00	1,408	217.3	39	12
2403.00	976	150.6	108	0
2501.03	476	73.5	656	57
2704.02	533	82.3	279	58
2705.01	568	87.7	140	10
2705.02	543	83.8	437	29
2707.03	547	84.4	142	21
2712.00	599	92.4	276	20
2713.00	733	113.1	151	29
2714.00	720	111.1	255	15
2715.01	722	111.4	310	8
2715.03	814	125.6	58	0

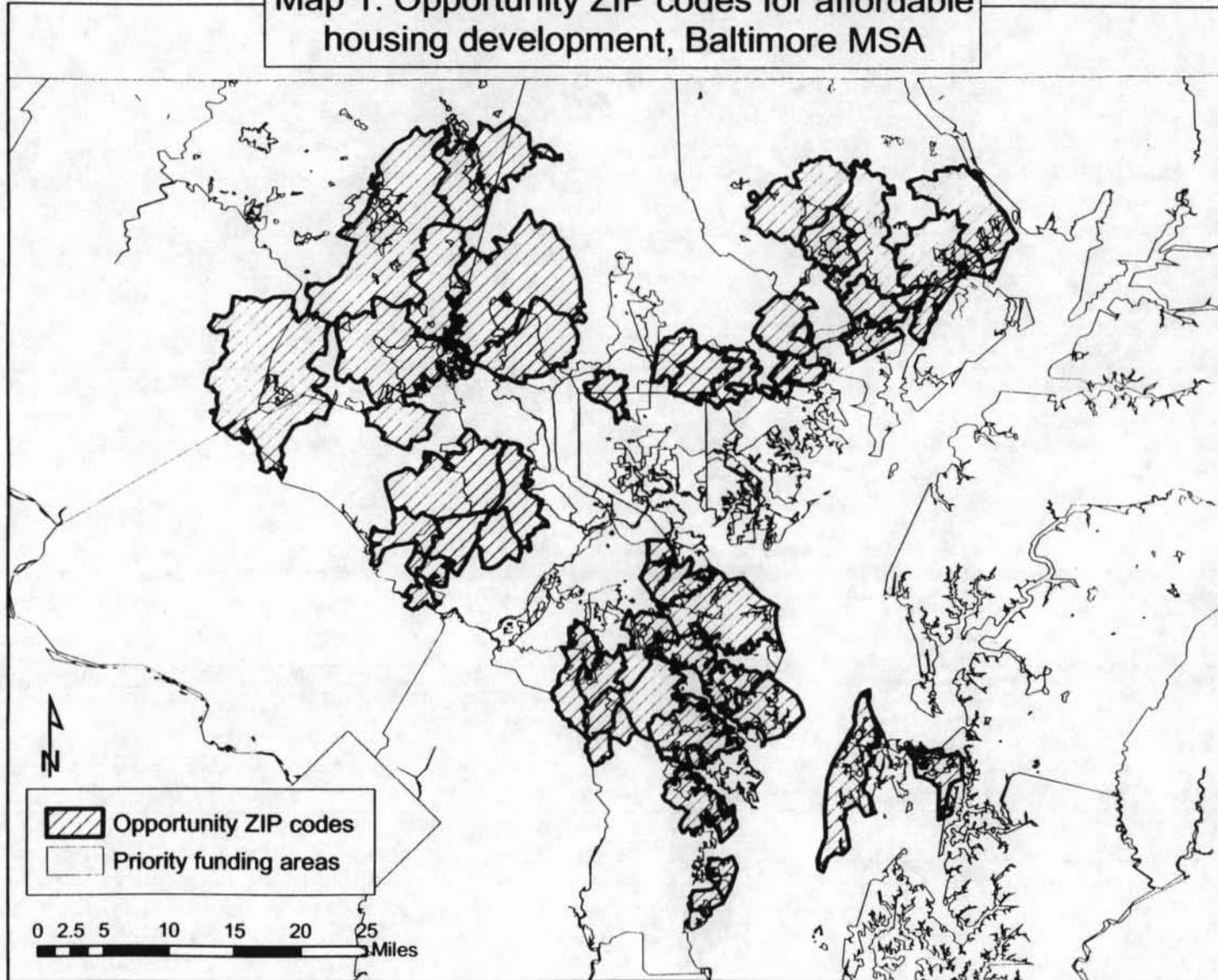
Explanatory note: This table summarizes the availability of housing renting for less than the voucher payment standard (VPS) for metropolitan Baltimore. The HABC has adopted a VPS of 110% of HUD's Fair Market Rent (FMR). In 2000 the FMR was about \$650, translating to a VPS of about \$710.

\*\*Non-impacted" tracts were those with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent as of 2000. These criteria are the same census criteria used in the consent decree, but they apply to the tracts as of 2000. Hence the tracts are not necessarily the same ones listed in the consent decree.

Howard County had an FMR of \$892 in 2000. This table therefore understates the number of apartments that would be available in Howard County and in the rest of the MSA.

Source: Housing data from U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2002. 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3.

Map 1. Opportunity ZIP codes for affordable housing development, Baltimore MSA



**The Ghettoization of Hollander Ridge's Family Housing Relocates**

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Report to the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Maryland  
April 28, 2003

The Ghettoization of Hollander Ridge's Family Housing Relocatees  
Rolf Pendall  
Associate Professor  
Cornell University

April 28, 2003

### Summary

Hollander Ridge, a 1000-unit housing development at the eastern edge of Baltimore City, was imploded in July 2000. The large majority of families who were relocated from Hollander Ridge were relocated to high-poverty census tracts<sup>1</sup> in which the majority of residents were black.

Records available from the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC) show relocation addresses for 248 families who were relocated from Hollander Ridge, 114 of whom were relocated to other assisted housing and 134 of whom were provided Section 8 housing vouchers. This analysis shows that these assisted households did not attain residence in low-poverty tracts with low shares of black residents. Among the tenants who moved to other assisted units, usually family public housing projects, 90 percent were relocated to census tracts in which at least 60 percent of the households were black, and 91 percent were relocated to high-poverty tracts. Among those who received Section 8 assistance, 70 percent lived in tracts with at least 60 percent black residents, and 60 percent lived in high-poverty tracts. In short, even those families that had the "freedom" conferred by Section 8 vouchers did not escape ghetto conditions.

Moreover, practically none of these tenants—with or without vouchers—moved to tracts with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent. Only one of the families that moved to an assisted housing unit was located in such a census tract, and only two of the voucher households found housing in a low-poverty census tract with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents.

These outcomes make it clear that the HABC continued to operate its programs in ways that result in the concentration of assisted tenants in ghetto neighborhoods at least into the late 1990s.

### Methods and findings

I identified 134 tenants who had been relocated from Hollander Ridge family dwellings to other sites using Section 8 vouchers and 114 tenants who were relocated to other assisted housing units. These tenants were all those living outside the senior-citizen building at 2000 O'Dell who were identified as receiving Section 8 relocation assistance. I address-matched these tenants' records with Census TIGER files to create a point-based latitude-longitude map of the tenants' locations and merged the point file with census tract data. Two of the 134 Section 8 tenants had addresses (recorded as being in the vicinity of Baltimore) that were not possible to match with appropriate

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<sup>1</sup> High-poverty tracts have poverty rates of at least 20 percent; extreme-poverty tracts have rates exceeding 40 percent; low-poverty tracts have poverty rates below 10 percent.

street addresses in the latest (2000) Census TIGER files. Coordinates were assigned for all the tenants who were relocated to other assisted housing units.

**Nearly 80 percent of relocated families lived in tracts in which over 60 percent of residents were black in 2000.** Among the 114 families who moved to other assisted projects, 90 percent moved to tracts in which over 60 percent of households were black, and 82 percent moved to tracts where over 80 percent of residents were black. Seventy percent of Hollander Ridge's relocated Section 8 families who went to lived in tracts with at least 60 percent black residents. Over 40 percent of the Section 8 households—56 families—lived in tracts where over 80 percent of residents were black (Map 1).

**Nearly three-quarters of relocated families lived in high-poverty tracts.** Over 90 percent of the 114 families who relocated from Hollander Ridge to other assisted units lived in high-poverty tracts, and 66 percent of the 114 families lived in extreme-poverty tracts. Nearly 60 percent of the 132 Section 8 families lived in high-poverty tracts. Thirteen families with Section 8 assistance, nearly 10 percent of all Section 8 families relocated from Hollander Ridge, lived in extreme poverty census tracts (Map 2).

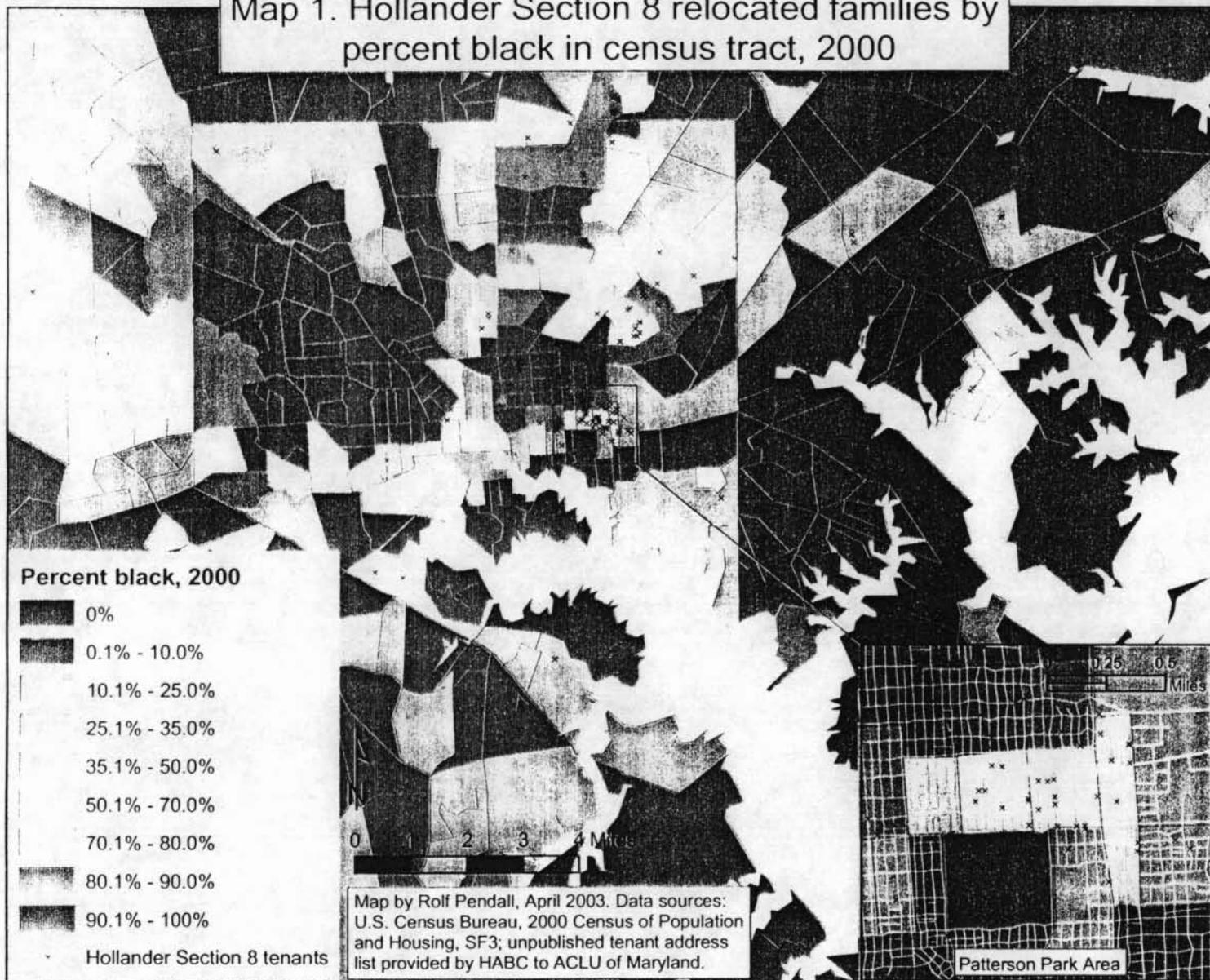
**Only three families moved to tracts with fewer than 25.9 percent black residents and poverty rates below 10 percent.** One of these families moved to another assisted housing project; two moved to private-sector housing with Section 8 assistance. Fifteen families moved into tracts with fewer than 25 percent black residents, but nine of these families lived in tracts with poverty rates between 10 and 20 percent and three in a tract whose poverty rate exceeded 30 percent. Only 10 families lived in low-poverty tracts, but four of them were in a majority-black tract.

**There is evidence of Section 8 families' clustering in the Patterson Park Section 8 "ghetto."** Thirty of the 132 matched addresses were in four census tracts north and east of Patterson Park (tracts 102, 601, 602, and 2610). These four census tracts did not have the extreme concentration of black residents that many of the other tracts did: 17 percent, 64 percent, 66 percent, and 42 percent, respectively (Map 1, inset). Tract 102, immediately east of Patterson Park, has a poverty rate of 13.2 percent; the other three tracts are high-poverty tracts with poverty rates ranging from 22 to 37 percent poverty (Map 2, inset).

**The overwhelming majority of the Section 8 families moved into housing in Baltimore City.** Over 85 percent of the Section 8 families had addresses in Baltimore City. Only 18 of the 132 Section 8 families (about 14 percent) lived in Baltimore County. None of the tenants moved beyond Baltimore County.

**Tenants who moved to Baltimore County did not usually secure housing in low-poverty tracts or in tracts with low shares of black residents.** Twenty-three tenants moved to Baltimore County, five of them to other assisted units and 18 with Section 8 vouchers. Seventeen these families lived in tracts where over 30 percent of residents were black, and 11 of these families lived in majority-black tracts. Sixteen of the 23 tenants who moved to the county lived in tracts whose poverty rates exceeded 10 percent, and two lived in tracts definable as high-poverty tracts.

Map 1. Hollander Section 8 relocated families by percent black in census tract, 2000



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**Education**

1995 Ph.D., City and Regional Planning, University of California at Berkeley.

1989 M.S., Community and Regional Planning, The University of Texas at Austin.

1989 M.A., Latin American Studies, The University of Texas at Austin.

1984 B.A., summa cum laude, Kenyon College, Ohio, anthropology and sociology.

**Professional and Teaching Experience**

2002–: Associate Professor, City and Regional Planning, Cornell University. Courses and workshops in areas including planning methods, land use planning, affordable housing. (Detailed teaching record available on request.)

1998–2002: Assistant Professor, City and Regional Planning, Cornell University.

1995–1997: Assistant Professor, Graduate Curriculum in Community Planning and Area Development, University of Rhode Island. Additional courses in environmental planning.

1989–1992: Director of Housing, Bay Area Council, San Francisco.

**Awards and Honors**

- Burnham Kelly Distinguished Teaching Award, College of Architecture, Art, and Planning, Cornell University, May 2001
- Co-Instructor for CRP 558 Workshop (Fall 1999), Comprehensive Planning for Dryden, New York, whose report was honored with Outstanding Student Project Award, American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP), Spring 2001, and the Upstate New York Chapter of the American Planning Association, September 2000

**Professional Society Memberships**

2001- Member, American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP)

1993- Member, American Planning Association; currently affiliated with Upstate New York chapter

## **Publications and Research: Detailed Report**

### **A. Publications**

#### **Chapters**

- Pendall, Rolf. Forthcoming. "Growth management regimes and sprawl in metropolitan America," forthcoming in *Managing Urban Change: Urban Sustainability Issues in East Asia, North America and Europe*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Pendall, Rolf. Forthcoming. "Does density exacerbate income segregation? Evidence from U.S. metropolitan areas, 1980-1990," forthcoming in *Desegregating the City: Space and Inequality in Global Perspective*, David P. Varady, Editor. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research.
- Pendall, Rolf. 1995. "Comparing CEQA with environmental impact analysis and assessment requirements in other states," Chapter 3, pp. 41-82 in Landis, John D., Rolf Pendall, Robert Olshansky, and William Huang, *Fixing CEQA: Options and Opportunities for Reforming the California Environmental Quality Act*. 2 vol. Berkeley: California Policy Seminar.
- Pendall, Rolf and John Landis. 1995. "Fixing CEQA," Chapter 6, pp. 173-200 in Landis, John D., Rolf Pendall, Robert Olshansky, and William Huang, *Fixing CEQA: Options and Opportunities for Reforming the California Environmental Quality Act*. 2 vol. Berkeley: California Policy Seminar.
- Landis, John and Rolf Pendall. 1995. "Introduction and review of past CEQA reform efforts," Chapter 1, pp. 1-14 in Landis, John D., Rolf Pendall, Robert Olshansky, and William Huang, *Fixing CEQA: Options and Opportunities for Reforming the California Environmental Quality Act*. 2 vol. Berkeley: California Policy Seminar.

#### **Refereed articles**

- Pendall, Rolf, Ronald M. Wolanski, and Douglas McGovern. 2002. "Property rights in state legislatures: Rural-urban differences in support for state anti-takings bills." *Journal of Rural Studies* 18: 19-33.
- Pendall, Rolf. 2001. "Municipal plans, state mandates, and property rights: Lessons from Maine." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21(2): 154-165.
- Pendall, Rolf. 2000. "Why voucher and certificate users live in distressed neighborhoods." *Housing Policy Debate* 11(4): 881-910.
- Pendall, Rolf. 2000. "Local land-use regulation and the chain of exclusion." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 66(2): 125-142.
- Pendall, Rolf. 1999. "Opposition to housing: NIMBY and beyond." *Urban Affairs Review* 35(1): 112-136.
- Pendall, Rolf. 1999. "Do land-use controls cause sprawl?" *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 26(4): 555-57.
- Pendall, Rolf. 1998. "Problems and prospects in local environmental assessment: Lessons from the United States." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 41(1): 5-23.
- Pendall, Rolf. 1994. "Getting to the nonpoint: Planning for runoff." *Berkeley Planning Journal* 9: 39-60.

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Pendall, Rolf. 1993. "Progressive cities, critical practice: Toward a meeting of the twain." *Berkeley Planning Journal* 8: 116-27.

#### ***Invited Book Reviews***

Pendall, Rolf. 2003. "The Limitless City: A Primer on the Sprawl Debate." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 69(1): 99.

Pendall, Rolf. 2000. "Bay Cities and Water Politics." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 66(3): 336-337.

#### ***Non-peer reviewed articles***

Pendall, Rolf. 1996. "Environmental impact assessment: The state of the states, and some issues for local government." *Environmental Planning Quarterly* 13:3, 9-14.

Pendall, Rolf. 1995. "Growth controls and affordable housing: Results from a national survey." *PAS Memo*, July.

Pendall, Rolf. 1994. "Land availability and zoning: Indications from a national survey." *On the Ground* 1:1 (Fall), 19-20.

#### ***Reports***

Ewing, Reid, Rolf Pendall, and Don Chen. 2002. *Measuring Sprawl and its Impact*. Washington, DC: Smart Growth America.

Pendall, Rolf, William Fulton, and Jonathan Martin. 2002. *Holding the Line: Urban Containment in the United States*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy.

Nelson, Arthur C., Rolf Pendall, Gerrit Knaap, and Casey Dawkins. 2002. *The Link Between Growth Management and Housing Affordability: The Academic Evidence*. Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy and Smart Growth America.

Fulton, William, Rolf Pendall, Mai T. Nguyen, and Alicia Harrison. 2001. *Who Sprawls Most? How Growth Patterns Differ Across the U.S.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy.

Owen O'Neil, Tom Davidson, Rolf Pendall, and Howard Foster. 1995. "Final Report: Economic Development Recommendations for the Washington County Regional Planning Council," prepared for the Washington County (Rhode Island) Regional Planning Council.

Pendall, Rolf. 1993. *Myths & Facts about Affordable and High-Density Housing*, a publication of the California Planning Roundtable.

Pendall, Rolf. 1993. *Paths To Approval*, a publication of the Bay Area Council, San Francisco.

Pendall, Rolf. 1993. *The Residential Approval Process: Development Regulation in the Bay Area*, a publication of the Bay Area Council, San Francisco.

Pendall, Rolf and Andrew Wheat. 1988. *Planificación de base y concertación multisectorial: Experiencias micro regionales en el Perú*. Lima, Peru: PEPDMEES.

#### ***Papers Presented at Recent Professional Meetings***

Pendall, Rolf, Yizhao Yang, Robert Lane, and Daesik Kim. 2002. Fragmentation and rural sprawl: "Thinning counties" and the Tiebout Hypothesis. Paper presented at "Waters and Shores," 43rd annual conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Baltimore, MD, November.

Rolf Pendall

- Nelson, Arthur C., Rolf Pendall, Gerrit Knaap, and Casey Dawkins. 2001. Growth Management and Housing Affordability. Paper read at *Affordable Housing, Civil Rights, and the Regional Agenda*, Harvard University Civil Rights Project/Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, November 16, 2001.
- Pendall, Rolf. 2001. Growth Management Regimes and Sprawl in Metropolitan America. Paper read at *New Approaches to Land Management for Sustainable Urban Regions*, Department of Urban Engineering, University of Tokyo Tokyo, Japan, October 29-31, 2001.
- Pendall, Rolf. 2001. Exploring connections between density, sprawl, and segregation by race and income in U.S. metropolitan areas, 1980-1990. Paper read at *Segregation in the City: Forces, Consequences, Policy Responses*, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 28.
- Pendall, Rolf, William B. Fulton, and Alicia Harrison. 2000. Losing ground to sprawl? Density trends in metropolitan America. Paper read at *Fair Growth: Connecting Sprawl, Smart Growth, and Social Equity*, November 1, 2000, at Atlanta, Georgia.
- Pendall, Rolf, William W. Goldsmith, and Ann-Margaret Esnard. 2000. "Thinning Rochester: Yesterday's Solutions, Today's Urban Sprawl." Paper presented at *The Thinning Metropolis*, conference at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, September.
- Pendall, Rolf, Kristin Guild, and Ryan Harris. 1999. "Septic Systems, Rural Roads, and Exurbanization: Lessons about Infrastructure and Sprawl from Rhode Island. Paper presented at "Rebuilding Nature's Metropolis," 41st annual conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Chicago, IL, October.

## **B. Funded Research and Grants**

- Brookings Institution, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy. "Upstate Growth Trends Project." July 2002-February 2003. \$10,000.
- Brookings Institution, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy. "Survey of Local Land Use Regulations." July 2002-May 2003. \$32,900.
- National Science Foundation, Biocomplexity Program. "Biocomplexity: Physical, Biological, and Human Interactions Shaping the Ecosystems of Freshwater Bays And Lagoons." Investigators: Mark Bain, Natural Resources, Cornell University; Edwin A. Cowen, Civil & Environmental Engineering, Cornell University; Daniel P. Loucks, Civil & Environmental Engineering, Cornell University; Nelson Hairston Jr., Ecology & Evolutionary Biology, Cornell University; Rolf J. Pendall, City & Regional Planning, Cornell University; Donald Leopold, SUNY College of Environmental Science & Forestry; Charles Driscoll, Civil and Environmental Engineering, Syracuse University; Stephen Ellner, Ecology & Evolutionary Biology, Cornell University. October 2000-September 2005. \$3 million.
- US Department of Agriculture, National Research Initiative. "Smarter Growth in Thinning Counties." September 2000-August 2003. \$98,000.
- Great Lakes Protection Fund. "Hydroecology and Conservation Mapping: A Tool for Community Planning around the Great Lakes of New York," with Mark Bain (PI), D. Peter Loucks, Rebecca Schneider, and Marcia Meixler, all Cornell University, 10/99-12/2002. \$205,000.
- Surface Transportation Policy Project/Rutgers University. "Sprawl Indicators Project." May 2000-September 2001. \$9,000. **Complete.**

- US Department of Agriculture, Fund for Rural America. "New Tools to Guide Land Use Change in Rural Watersheds," with Arthur Gold (URI) and Timothy Tyrrell (URI). January 1998-December 2001. \$365,000. **Complete.**
- Tompkins County, New York. "Vital Communities Initiative Impact Study." August 2001-January 2002. \$3000. **Complete.**
- Solimar Research Associates/Brookings Institution. "Urban Growth Boundary Literature Review." December 2000-December 2001. \$17,000. **Complete.**
- City of Rochester, New York. "South Genesee River Corridor Study." September 2000-June 2001. \$30,000. **Complete.**
- Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. "The Thinning Metropolis: Land Use, Land Values, and Population Decline in Mid-sized Cities of the U.S. Heartland," with William W. Goldsmith (PI) and Ann-Margaret Esnard, September 1999-August 2000. \$35,000. **Complete.**
- Town of Dryden, New York. "Comprehensive Plan Study." Fall 1999. \$5000. **Complete.**
- Action, Inc. "An Advanced On-Site Wastewater Treatment and Management Scoping Study: Assessment of Short-Term Opportunities and Long-Run Potential," January 1997-December 1997. \$10,000. **Complete.**
- University of Rhode Island Foundation. "Environmental Protection and Racial Integration: The Suburban Development Balancing Act." Faculty Assistance Fund, Summer 1996. \$750. **Complete.**
- Rhode Island Agricultural Experiment Station. "Roots of the Property-Rights Movement: A National Study of Land Use, Ownership, and Regulation." October 1996-December 1997. \$56,000. **Complete.**

**C. Works in which my publications were cited**

- Bagsal, Ophelia B. and Joseph Villareal. 2001. Who should run the housing voucher program? A reform proposal—Comment. *Housing Policy Debate* 12 (2): 263-281.
- Bauder, H. 2002. Neighbourhood effects and cultural exclusion. *Urban Studies* 39 (1): 85-93.
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- Durchslag, Melvyn R. Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co., seventy-five years later: This is not your father's zoning ordinance. *Case Western Reserve Law Review* 51: 645-661.
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- Fulton, William. 2001. Comment on J. Terrence Farris's "The barriers to using urban infill development to achieve smart growth." *Housing Policy Debate* 12 (1): 41-45.

- Gabriel, Stuart A., Joe P. Matthey, and William L. Wascher. 1999. House price differentials and dynamics: Evidence from the Los Angeles and San Francisco Metropolitan areas. *Economic Review - Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco*, Issue 1: 3-22.
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- Grant, Jill. 2002. Mixed use in theory and practice: Canadian experience with implementing a planning principle. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 68 (1): 71-84.
- Grengs, Joseph. 2002. Does public transit counteract the segregation of carless households? Measuring spatial patterns of accessibility. *Transportation Research Record* (1753): 3-10.
- Jennings, Stephanie A. and Roberto Quercia. 2001. Who should run the housing voucher program? A reform proposal—Comment. *Housing Policy Debate* 12 (2): 291-298.
- Johnson, M.P. 2001. Environmental impacts of urban sprawl: a survey of the literature and proposed research agenda. *Environment and Planning A* 33 (4): 717-735.
- Katz, Bruce J. and Margery A. Turner. 2001. Who should run the housing voucher program? A reform proposal. *Housing Policy Debate* 12 (2): 239-263.
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- Knaap, Gerrit J. and Lewis D. Hopkins. 2001. The inventory approach to urban growth boundaries. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 67 (3): 314-326.
- Krumholz, Norman. 2001. From the Commission. *Planning* 67 (2): 41.
- Oakley, D. 2002. Housing homeless people: Local mobilization of federal resources to fight NIMBYism. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24 (1): 97-116.
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- Olshansky, Robert B. 1996. Evaluation of the California Environmental Quality Act. *Environmental Management* 20 (1): 11-23.
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- Theobald, David M. 2001. Land-use dynamics beyond the American urban fringe. *Geographical Review* 91 (3): 544-564.
- Visser, James A. 2002. Understanding local government cooperation in urban regions: Toward a cultural model of interlocal relations. *American Review of Public Administration* 32 (1): 40-65.
- Witten, Jonathan Douglas. 2001. Carrying capacity and the comprehensive plan: Establishing and defending limits to growth. *Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review* 28 (4): 583-608.
- Wolsink, M. 2000. Wind power and the NIMBY myth: institutional capacity and the limited significance of public support. *Renewable Energy* 21 (1): 49-64.
- Zateman, Sunia, Debra Gross, and Marlene Kalenak. 2001. Who should run the housing voucher program? A reform proposal—Comment. *Housing Policy Debate* 12 (2): 283-290.

## Service

### A. Internal Service (Cornell only)

#### *Departmental Contributions and Committee Assignments*

- 2000-02 Ph.D. Admissions Committee
- 1998- Master of Regional Planning Admissions committee
- 1998- Curriculum and Petitions committee
- 1998-99 World Wide Web committee

#### *Contributions to the University Community*

- 2001- Member, University Hearing Board
- 2000 Organizer, Thinning Metropolis conference, Cornell University
- 1998 Respondent, Green Cities, Garden Cities, and Beyond conference, Cornell University.

### B. External Service

#### *Organizations and Memberships*

- 2001- Member, Expansion Committee, Greenstar Cooperative Market, Ithaca
- 1997- Resource Team Member, "Treasure Valley Institute," growth management summit meeting of Boise, Idaho area mayors and county commissioners
- 1997- Member, Junior Faculty Mentoring Committee, Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning
- 1995-97 Member, South Kingstown (RI) Growth Management Working Group

#### *Service Learning Courses*

- 2001-02 Faculty instructor, City and Regional Planning Workshop: Tompkins County Vital Communities Initiative, greater Ithaca, New York.
- 2000-01 Faculty instructor, City and Regional Planning Workshop: South Genesee River Corridor Study, City of Rochester, New York
- 1999 Faculty instructor (co-instructor), City and Regional Planning Workshop: Background material for a comprehensive plan, Town of Dryden, New York
- 1998 Faculty instructor, City and Regional Planning Workshop: Background material for a comprehensive plan, Danby, New York
- 1996 Co-advisor for the preparation of a vision plan for Aquidneck Island, sponsored by the Coastal Resources Center. A project carried out by the Comprehensive Planning Studio in the Department of Community Planning.

#### *Selected Recent Guest Lectures, Presentations, and Panels*

- 2001 Presentation, "Sprawl and Segregation," Fannie Mae Foundation, Washington, DC, May 1.
- 2001 Panelist, "Fair Growth," session sponsored by the Fannie Mae Foundation at the annual conference of the American Planning Association, New Orleans

Rolf Pendall

- 2001 Panelist, "Ethics in Planning," session at the annual conference of the American Planning Association, New Orleans
- 2000 Presentation, "Land Use Tools," Danby, NY, sponsored by Town of Danby
- 2000 Presentation, "Pros and Cons of Zoning," Candor, NY, sponsored by Tioga County Planning Department
- 2000 Presentation, Tax Base Sharing, Resource Sharing Committee, Tompkins County

**C. Peer-Review Activities**

*Journal of the American Planning Association*

*Journal of Environmental Management and Planning*

*Journal of Planning Education and Research*

*Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*

*International Regional Science Review*

New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, Comparative Risk Project

STATEMENT OF COMPENSATION  
ROLF PENDALL

To date, Dr. Pendall has worked approximately 250 hours on the preparation of reports for the American Civil Liberties Foundation of Maryland. At the report-preparation rate of \$100 per hour, this totals \$25,000. This figure does not include expenses.