Poverty and Social Exclusion

May 8, 2012
Social Determinants of Health Conference
Johns Hopkins University
Racial Segregation, Neighborhoods and Health Inequity

May 8, 2012
Debra Furr-Holden, PhD
About Baltimore Neighborhoods

- (CitiStat & Baltimore City imap)
- 277 ecologically-defined neighborhoods
- 242 are residential
- 55 CSAs
- Correlate with residential experiences
- Vary greatly in by sociodemographics
- Baltimore has ‘unique’ neighborhoods
Why Study Environment/Neighborhoods?

Context matters
  • Social Cognitive Behavioral Model
  • Socially toxic environments

Environmental support for individual/group behavior
  • Opportunity Theory

Disorder breeds disorder
  • Disorder Theory and theories of neighborhood decay and decline (e.g. Broken Window Theory)

Unique Preventive Intervention Opportunities

Passion!
Estimated Life Expectancy at Birth by Neighborhood, Baltimore City, 2011
Racial Segregation in Baltimore

National Place Matters Health Equity Learning Community at the Health Policy Institute of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, and Equity Matters:

• Baltimore is the 13 most segregated City in America
  ➢ 85% of Baltimore communities are racially homogeneous
  ➢ Redlined communities map onto persistent poverty, lack of home ownership, poor educational outcomes, and poorest health outcomes

• Tools for Change are available, but current efforts are mostly within a health disparities/downstream framework
Health Disparities or Health Equity

**Health Disparities**
Differences

Individual and group differences are highlighted, controlling for, holding constant or removing the social context.

**Health Equity**
Equality/Inequality
Unfairness

Groups and individuals embedded within a social context. Focus is on the social determinants, systems, and structures.

Downstream

Upstream
Upstream and Downstream
Fruits versus roots

**Downstream Examples**
- Legal Needs
  - Legal services
- Physical Inactivity due to unsafe neighborhoods
  - Gym memberships
- Hypertension
  - Insurance
  - Individual/group education

**Upstream Examples**
- Racist police/legal practices or policies
- Research, evaluation, advocacy
- Concentrated poverty, racial & economic segregation
  - Housing policies (housing choice vouchers vs housing projects)
- Zoning policies and enforcement that impact health
  - Alcohol outlet density
  - Mixed land use
  - Food deserts
Tools for Change

Research

Practice

Evidence

Policy
Tools for Change

1. Common Ground

2. Health in all Policy

1. Health Impact Assessments
   - Housing
   - Education
   - Economic Development/Employment
Neighborhoods, Families and Children: Lessons from Housing Policy
Why Are Poor Minority Families Concentrated in Poor Areas?

- Cost and Fair Market Rent Limits
  - Some low poverty areas are off limits

- Discrimination

- Mobility is reactive and redundant
  - Families move in response to forces out of their control
  - Aspects of Section 8 (inspections, time limits, wait lists)
  - Very little information or experience in other kinds of neighborhoods leads families to believe they can survive anything
  - Prioritize unit quality over neighborhood quality
Figure 3: Housing Choice Voucher Households as % of African American Households

HCV Households as % of all Households (2007)


Legend:
- 0% - 1%
- 1.1% - 2%
- 2.1% - 3%
- 3.1% - 4%
- > 4%

Legend:
- 0.1% - 20%
- 20.1% - 60%
- > 60%

Data Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Figure 4: Housing Choice Voucher Households and Family Poverty Rate

HCV Households as % of all Households (2007)

Family Poverty (2000)

Legend
- 0% - 1%
- 1.1% - 2%
- 2.1% - 3%
- 3.1% - 4%
- > 4%

Legend
- 0% - 10%
- 10.1% - 25%
- > 25%

Data Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GAUTREAUX</th>
<th>MTO</th>
<th>THOMPSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Site</strong></td>
<td>Chicago, 1970s-1980s</td>
<td>Chicago, NY, Boston, LA, Baltimore, 1990s</td>
<td>Baltimore, 2000s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Origin</strong></td>
<td>Lawsuit</td>
<td>Federally funded demonstration</td>
<td>Lawsuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td>7000</td>
<td>1729 Exp 1209 Sect 8 1310 Controls=4248</td>
<td>2000 vouchers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Criteria and Moves</strong></td>
<td>&lt;=30% African American residents</td>
<td>&lt;=10% poverty rate</td>
<td>&lt;=10% Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ASSIGNED UNIT</td>
<td>CHOICE WITHIN TRACT</td>
<td>&lt;=30% Af-Am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;=5% sub hous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distance from origin</strong></td>
<td>suburb movers=25 miles</td>
<td>5-10 miles</td>
<td>CHOICE WITHIN TRACT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>city movers=7 miles</td>
<td></td>
<td>Up to 20 miles away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Follow Up</strong></td>
<td>Up to 15 years</td>
<td>4-7 Years, 10 year follow up in the field</td>
<td>Up to 7 years</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Figure 1. *Gautreaux* Mothers' Neighborhoods: Percent Poor, Percent Black, and Crime Rate in Origin, Placement, and Current Neighborhoods
• That was the worst experience that I ever experienced, living in an environment which made you feel trapped, caged, and worthless, just stuck into the atmosphere of absolutely no progress. It was a whole little community of pure dissatisfaction in everything. No one encouraged no one.—Tammy

• There is a lot of hurt, a lot of bleeding, a lot of everything [for people living around here]. People just don’t know, don't know.—Edith

• [But] that’s one of the things that allowed me to continue to use drugs, ‘cause I was always looking at people that was worse than me, instead of looking at people that were better, that were doing better than me.—Rachel
When I first moved in the house, I just cried. I just really cried. I was like “Oh my God.... Now I can raise my family in the way I want to raise them,” you know? If I had not had that opportunity to go into the MTO program, I would not have known what it would have been like to live in a house in a positive environment[---]to see how middle class people live.... It just made me want that. –Peaches

[The MTO unit] wasn’t a high rise, it wasn’t like that. It was a single home... And it was grass. I could see grass, and I could see trees and birds and squirrels. But [in the housing project], it wasn’t nothing like that.... I had moved from night to day. So it was just, it was clean. The [project] was not clean.... I mean from me coming from [the projects] and being here like this, this is really nice. And you know, I know what, you know what, it gets better. It’s gonna get better.—Niecy

So moving up here, it’s a whole different atmosphere, the greenery, you living in a high-rise, you got a lot [of] cement. And there’s something to that effect in the psychology..., the hardness you get from all that concrete. The greenery, it softens you. It’s just so beautiful and peaceful, the space, the open space. You got more space. –Amy
Baltimore Thompson Program

- **Pre-Move Counseling**
  - Credit counseling
  - Move readiness preparation for private rental market
  - Suburban neighborhood tours

- **Landlord Outreach in Suburban Neighborhoods**

- **Post-Placement Counseling**
  - Multiple visits in first year to ensure families are adjusting

- **Second Move Counseling**

- **Counseling on School Choices in New Neighborhoods**
  - Parents shown how schools compare across areas
  - Staff work with parents to negotiate new school settings
Baltimore’s Thompson Program:

% Student Body Eligible for Free or Reduced Price Lunch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Range</th>
<th>Origin School</th>
<th>First Move School</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 10%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 30%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 50%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 80%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 80%</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Origin School
First Move School
Lessons from Mobility

- Improvements for women
  - mental health and happiness
  - Lower levels of obesity
  - decreased levels of diabetes

- Increased housing quality and satisfaction

- Reduction in neighborhood poverty

- Reduction in racial segregation (across generations)

- Increased access to better schools

- Delinquent behaviors of boys and girls are affected differently by moves to better neighborhoods

- Harder to significantly improve economic and educational outcomes, but this differs by program
Conclusions

- Mobility programs show promise, but community development programs are also needed
- It’s not free choice if preferences are constrained because of a legacy of discrimination and racism
- Social programs often met with resistance (e.g., busing /MTO)
  - Whites often ‘prefer’ not to live next to blacks
  - But how many whites have ever lived with black neighbors or attended schools with black peers?
- The irony is that very forces that cause white flight can certainly never be attenuated if people continue to be separated
- We can’t ever know each other if we give up working to provide opportunities to integrate by race and class
Urban Economic Development and Public Health: Vicious or Virtuous Circles?

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Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies
Bloomberg School of Public Health

Provost’s Symposium on the Social Determinants of Health
May 8, 2012
Both the **keys to** and **outcomes** of Baltimore City’s

1) **economic health** (widely shared prosperity) and its 2) **fiscal health** are:

- The physical and mental health of its residents, and
- Opportunities afforded them by their connections to each other and others around the world.

**Poverty and racism drive these relationships**

Credit to sources of insight and continuing learning:

Diane Bell McKoy and Adar Ayira, Associated Black Charities

Hathaway Ferebee, Safe and Sound Campaign

Margaret Williams, Maryland Family Network
High stress
Poor mental & physical health, incl. substance abuse

POVERTY

Weak connections to opportunities

Low incomes

• Limited ability to build wealth: Property, savings, business ownership
  • Limited residential mobility

NEXT GENERATION:
Social, emotional, physical, cognitive development

School readiness

Success in School

Limited employment prospects

Low educational attainment and/or H.S. dropout

Weak connections to labor market

Reinforced by institutionalized structural racism
Healthy Communities
- Anti-blight
- Public safety
- Preferred housing types
- Affordable housing
- Homeownership & rental opportunities
- Neighborhood retail and amenities

Business Growth
- Innovation
- Commercialization of discoveries
- Connections to markets, strategic partners
- Economic inclusion commitments for M/W/LBE
- Management assistance
- Entrepreneurship support
- Risk capital
- Networks

Workers’ Knowledge & Skills
- Family literacy
- Pre-conception health
- 0-3 child development
- Pre-K – 12 education
- Substance abuse treatment
- Ex-offender re-entry
- Higher education
- Skills training
- Asset building

CITY ECONOMIC HEALTH

The New Economic Development
POVERTY IS AT THE HEART OF BALTIMORE CITY’S STRUCTURAL FISCAL STRESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenue-Raising Capacity</th>
<th>Expenditure Need</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Low per capita income tax yield – half the State average (FY11)</td>
<td>• 27% of Maryland’s and half of the region’s poverty population lives in Baltimore City; 85% of children qualify for FARM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Low per capita property tax base – half the State average (FY11)</td>
<td>• 1% difference in poverty rate is related to 5.5% higher police costs and 4% higher fire costs, greater demand for recreation, housing, social services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Wealth (taxable income and property) per pupil is 54% of MD and Baltimore County levels (FY11)</td>
<td>• 1/3 higher # of children receiving special education services than state avg. Special education ~12% more costly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Revenues from corporate business taxes and sales taxes go to the State of Maryland

• High % of children & elderly