THE STATE OF THE INNER SUBURBS

An Examination of Suburban Baltimore, 1980 to 2000

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FOREWORD

The State of the Inner Suburbs is a project of the Center for Urban Environmental Research and Education (CUERE) at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC). It was made possible with funding from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. Although the research described in this article has been funded wholly or in part by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency through grant number R-82818201-0 to Andrew J. Miller, Ph.D., and through grant number CR83105801 to Claire Welty, Ph.D. (both of the Center for Urban Environmental Research and Education (CUERE) at University of Maryland, Baltimore County), it has not been subjected to the agency's required peer and policy review and therefore does not necessarily reflect the views of the agency and no official endorsement should be inferred.

CUERE's mission is to advance the understanding of the environmental, social and economic consequences of the transformation of the urban landscape through research, conferences and symposia, support of university teaching programs, and assistance to K-12 education. CUERE fosters interdisciplinary approaches to environmental science, engineering, and public policy.

The CUERE research team includes environmental engineers, social and natural scientists, and policy analysts. The center's research agenda focuses on relationships among natural and socioeconomic processes that occur in urban environments and their impact on public policy. The center is equipped with meeting facilities; integrated analytical, educational, and research laboratories; and state-of-the-art computer and geographic information systems.

This report blends well with our mission by exploring the changes in the society, economy, and environment of Baltimore's inner suburbs. It is an important follow-up and extension to our report, *The State of the Baltimore Region: A Baseline Report for a New Century* that was published in 2002.

The members of the CUERE staff that authored *The State of the Inner Suburbs: An Examination of Suburban Baltimore, 1980 to 2000* are Bernadette Hanlon and Thomas J. Vicino, both researchers and doctoral students in public policy at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Other people that deserve special thanks for their contributions, comments, and insights include:

> Mike McGuire and Joe Gibson for mapping and GIS support; Royce Hanson, Donald F. Norris, and John Rennie Short for their insight and valuable comments; Amy Rynes for her planning expertise and suggestions on the policy implications of our findings; and Claire Welty for her ongoing support of the research ideas that went into finalizing this report.

Since CUERE's inception, the center has been involved in a number of research projects, including but not limited to research on the impact of urbanization on rural Maryland; defining and measuring urban sprawl; establishing the influence of land use patterns and environmental factors on urban ecosystems; and assessing the use of LIDAR for modeling urban floods.

Further information on CUERE's history and research projects can be found on its Web site: www.umbc.edu/cuere

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Baltimore's inner suburbs are experiencing problems of socioeconomic decline normally associated with central cities. In the last two decades, many of these older suburbs have witnessed increased poverty, declines in household income, and are struggling to cope with the problems of an aging population and local infrastructure. Fast-developing suburbs on the outer fringe of the Baltimore metropolitan area are far outpacing these older suburbs on a variety of measures, including school performance, housing values, wages, and population growth. The inner suburbs are negatively affected by recent transformations in the local and regional economy, a housing market that favors the outer suburbs, and a shrinking fiscal base. Public policies aimed at revitalization of the existing physical, economic, and social infrastructure in these older communities are an efficient allocation of regional resources. Such revitalization will reduce sprawling development in the outer fringes of the metropolitan area; preserve the region's natural environment; and create viable, healthy, and livable communities for local residents.

The State of the Inner Suburbs reports on the demographic, economic, and land use changes in the inner suburbs of the Baltimore region from 1980 to 2000, focusing on the comparison between inner suburbs, outer suburbs, and Baltimore City. It begins with a working definition of inner and outer suburbs, identifying 21 inner suburbs in the Baltimore metropolitan area. This report found that:

- Many of the inner suburbs experienced little population growth or decline but displayed evidence of a stagnating population from 1980 to 2000;
- The inner suburbs that experienced an annual net loss in population from 1995 to 2000 are communities that relied heavily on Baltimore's manufacturing industries;
- Baltimore's inner suburbs are aging without a younger generation to replace the elderly;
- All inner suburbs lost white population and gained minority population from 1980 to 2000. However, despite this diversification, the inner suburbs are highly segregated;
- Baltimore's inner suburbs witnessed an increase in the proportion of poor people within its boundaries from 1980 to 2000, unlike either Baltimore City or the outer suburbs;
- The majority of Baltimore's inner suburbs had median household incomes at lower levels than the regional household income level, indicating these suburbs are falling behind the rest of the metropolitan area;
- In the 1990s the value of houses in the inner suburbs plummeted below their 1980 values, reaching a low of $114,759 by 2000;
- The inner suburbs are home to some of the region's most affordable housing units in the Baltimore metropolitan area. Yet, residents in these communities are increasingly priced out of the market. Some 26 percent (49,151 households) in the inner suburbs lack affordable housing. Similarly, 24 percent (76,935 households) in the outer suburbs lack affordable housing. In both inner and outer suburbs, a disproportionate number of low-income residents experience a housing burden;
- The tradition of home ownership is prevalent for most income groups residing in the inner suburbs of Baltimore. Despite the challenges of declining incomes, increased poverty, and unemployment, inner suburban residents still manage to own their own homes, a marked sign of potential stability in these suburban communities;
- The inner suburbs are important places of economic activity with areas of strategic, industrial importance located along the waterfront and major roadways. However, with deindustrialization, economic activity in the inner suburbs has declined. The results have been the abandonment of previously manufacturing properties in much of Baltimore County's southeast and southwest;
- In the inner suburbs, manufacturing employment declined from 53,000 workers to 25,000 workers from 1980 to 2000;
- Employment in services has increased in all inner suburbs from 1980 to 2000. Some inner suburbs have higher rates of service employment than others. The inner suburbs with the highest rates of service employment are also the inner suburbs that have the highest median household incomes and lowest poverty levels. Coping with transformations in the local economy has proven beneficial to these communities;
- There is a disparity in wages between workers in the inner and outer suburbs;
- Males and females in the outer suburbs participate in the labor force in greater numbers than in the inner suburbs. Thirteen percent fewer females from the inner suburbs participate in the labor force as compared to outer suburbs. In every inner suburb except for Catonsville, Edgemere, Linthicum, and Towson, blacks participate in the labor force at higher rates than whites. This reflects the dual occurrence of an aging of the white population and an influx of younger blacks to the inner suburbs;

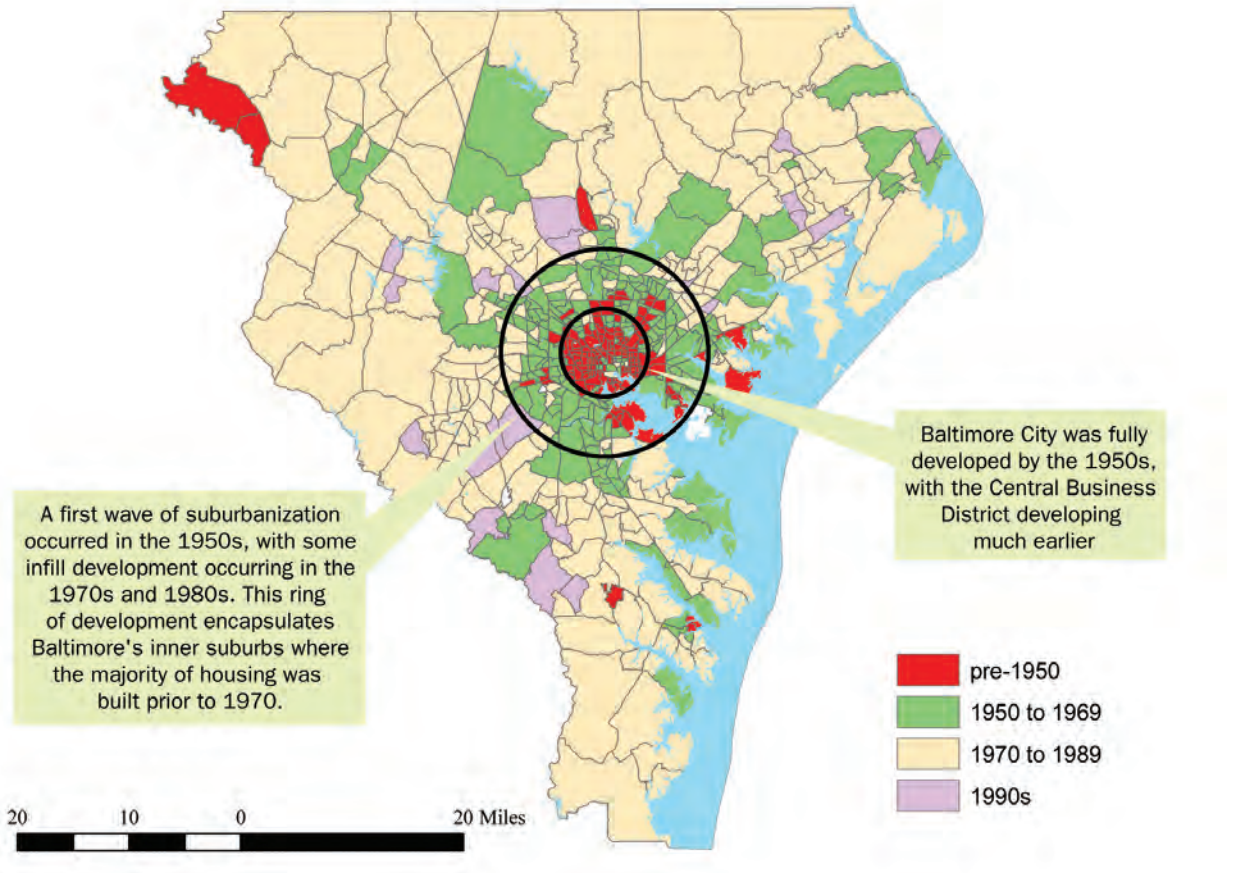
- Thirty-two percent of all students in Baltimore's inner suburbs receive free and reduced price lunches. This is over twice as many students than in the outer suburbs;
- Students in public schools in the inner suburbs are out-performed by students in the outer suburbs. Thirty-five percent of all tested students in the outer suburbs passed the advanced test in fifth grade reading compared to 26 percent of tested students in the inner suburbs and 7 percent in Baltimore City. Similarly, 27 percent of tested tenth grade students in the inner suburbs are considered advanced readers compared to 38 percent of tenth graders in the outer suburbs;
- Those inner suburbs with high median household incomes, low poverty rates and high house values are also inner suburbs with the biggest, most attractive housing, and the least industrial in terms of land use.

The indicators presented in this report raise important policy implications for the stability of Baltimore's inner suburbs. Among these implications is the importance of planning and investment to re-establish Baltimore's inner suburbs as strategic, economic, residential, and commercial centers in the region. Baltimore's inner suburbs have many advantages that include accessibility and proximity to the central city, good transportation networks, the waterfront, affordable housing, and land available for revitalization. On the political front, the Baltimore region has an advantage over highly fragmented metropolitan areas since only two local governments—Baltimore County and Anne Arundel County—have jurisdictional responsibility for all the inner suburbs in the region. This facilitates the coordination of revitalization activities. Baltimore County has taken advantage of this opportunity with the creation of the Office of Community Conservation and community renaissance programming. However, local jurisdictions alone cannot turn these communities around. The inner suburbs also need a commitment from state and federal government. Recognizing there is socioeconomic decline among Baltimore's inner suburbs is the first step in obtaining this commitment, and this report is the first to examine this problem in the context of the Baltimore region.

1. DEFINING THE INNER SUBURBS OF BALTIMORE

Before describing the socioeconomic changes and physical condition of Baltimore's inner suburbs, it is important to identify their location in the urban landscape. Inner suburbs, by their nature, are located near the central city and are the oldest suburbs in the metropolitan area. We use spatial and temporal components—age of the local housing stock and distance to Baltimore City—to identify inner suburbs in the Baltimore metropolitan area.

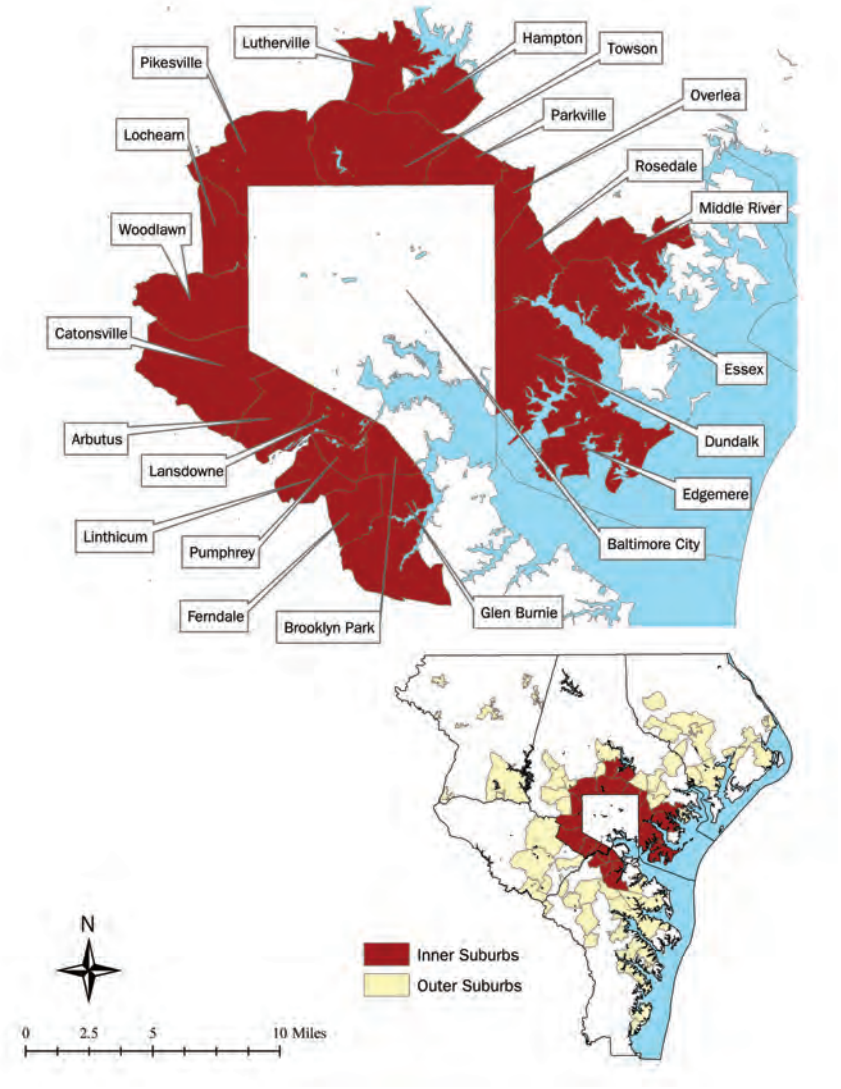
Figure 1. Median Age of Housing by Census Tract, Baltimore Region, 2000



Inner suburbs are places that witnessed the first wave of mass suburbanization after World War II. The older, tract housing developed during the 1950s and 1960s is a typical element of inner suburbs, and in the case of Baltimore, housing built even earlier is also characteristic of these places. By 1956, 86 percent of the Baltimore metropolitan area's housing was being built in the suburbs. By 1960, 48 percent of the population in the region was living in the suburbs.

To explain the spatial and temporal components of our definition, we need to explain the data used for our analysis in this report. To begin, the Baltimore region is composed of five large counties and few municipalities. While the lack of incorporated municipalities in the Baltimore region makes it difficult to identify suburban communities, there are suburban place boundaries defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. According to the census, there are three types of places: Census Designated Places (CDP), consolidated cities, and incorporated places. CDP boundaries are delineated to collect data on unincorporated areas with concentrations of population, housing, and commercial sites, and a degree of local identity. We define the boundaries of the inner suburbs of Baltimore by using this place-level geography. Every inner suburb in the Baltimore region is classified as a census designated place. Census designated place boundaries are established in cooperation with the local and state officials, and resources are allocated to these suburbs through local planning and community programming. Therefore, defining inner suburbs by these boundaries has important political implications and is influential in determining the suburban communities that are eligible to receive resources to combat decline.

Figure 2. Baltimore's Inner and Outer Suburbs



Data Source: U.S. Census Tiger Line Files, 2000

Using census designated place boundaries, we identified 21 inner suburbs in Baltimore. We chose these 21 suburban places using two criteria. First, we classified the place as an inner suburb if the place shared a boundary with the central city, regardless of the age of housing. Although we focused on the spatial component for city-bordering places, the vast majority of the housing stock in all but one place was built before the 1970s.

Second, suburban places with a shared boundary to another suburban place, which is adjacent to the central city, were classified as an inner suburb if more than 50 percent of the housing stock was built before 1970. Using our spatial and temporal criteria, we found that in the case of Baltimore, inner suburbs lie within eight miles of the border of the central city.

The 21 inner suburbs we identified comprise 23 percent of the total number of suburban places in the Baltimore region. All share a border with the central city except for Edgemere, Ferndale, Essex, Hampton, Linthicum, and Middle River. However, these six suburban places were included because over half of the housing stock in each was built before 1970.

In this report, all suburban places that are not classified as inner suburbs are classified as outer suburbs. Overall, our sample contains 71 outer suburbs and 21 inner suburbs for the Baltimore region. Data from Census Summary File Three and HUD's *State of the Cities Datasystem* was used to analyze these suburbs.

2. STAGNATING POPULATION: Population Change in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs

The population of all places in the Baltimore region was 2,109,064 in 2000, an increase of 226,315 people (or 10 percent) since 1980. This population growth can be attributed to growth of the outer suburbs, since population declined in Baltimore City and remained static in the inner suburbs from 1980 to 2000.

Some of Baltimore's inner suburbs experienced population declines from 1980 to 2000. For instance, Dundalk lost a total of 8,987 people during the 1980s and 1990s. Similarly, Parkville, Lutherville, and Middle River witnessed population declines, although not as extreme as Dundalk. Many of the inner suburbs experienced little population growth or decline but displayed evidence of a stagnating population. For instance, Arbutus, Edgemere, Hampton, Pumphrey, Lansdowne, and Linthicum have seen little population change since 1980. Inner suburbs that have experienced population growth are limited to Catonsville and Woodlawn. Much of the growth in Woodlawn is attributed to a growing black population.

Figure 3. Population Change in Metropolitan Baltimore, 1980 to 2000

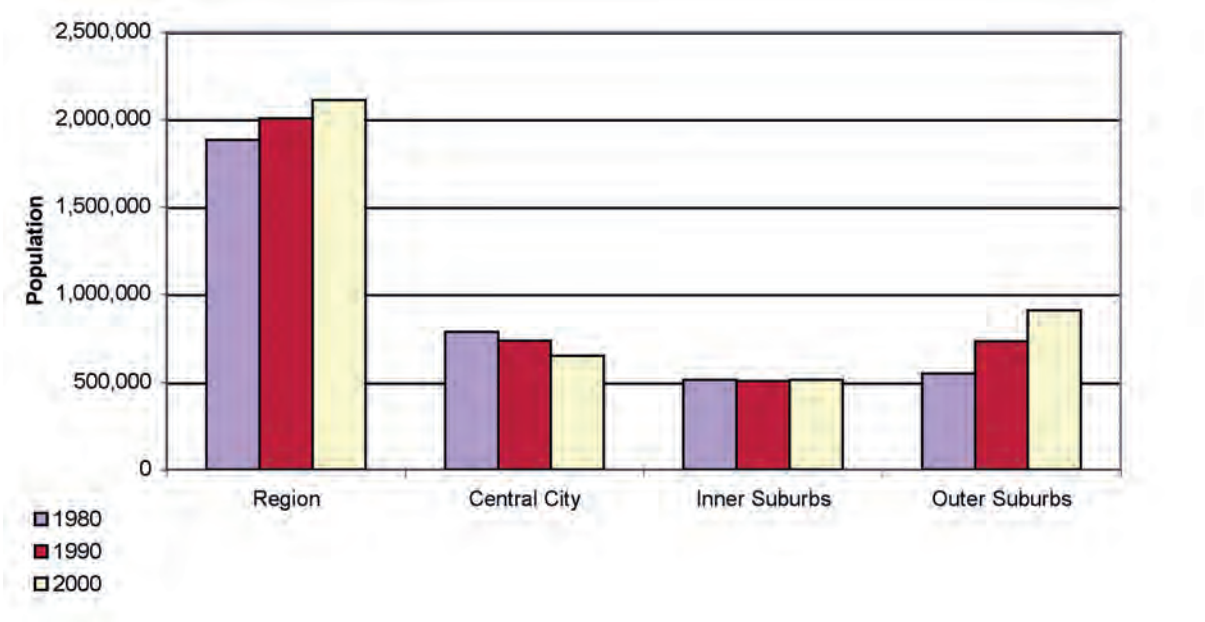
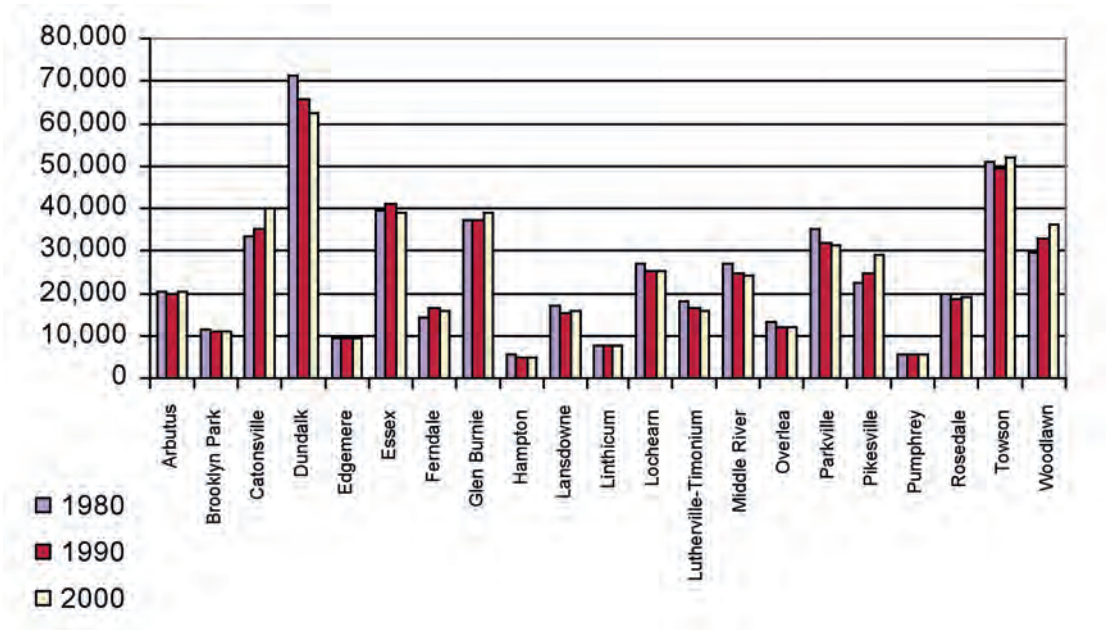


Figure 4. Population Change in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 1980 to 2000

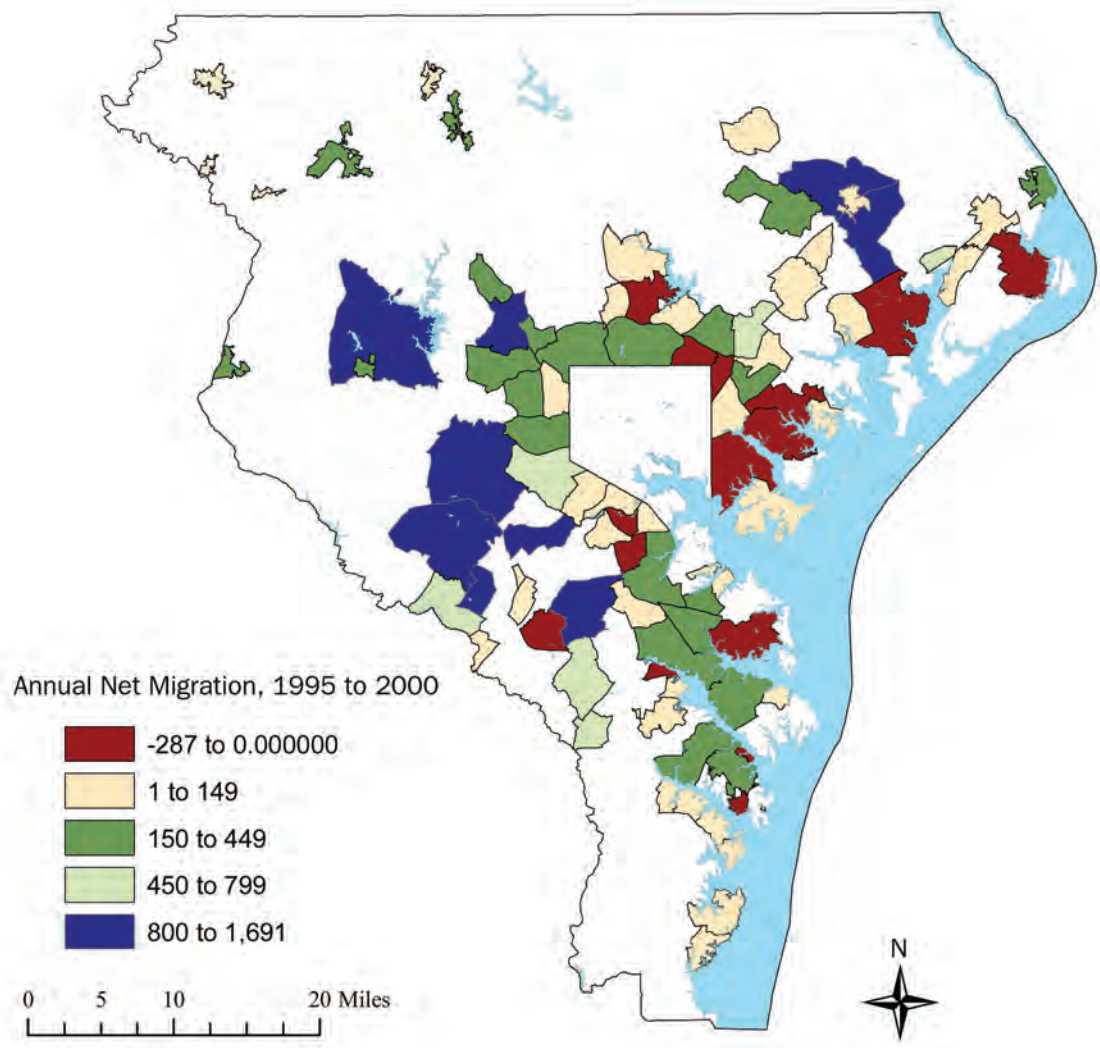


An important element of population change is the flow of population into and out of a place. Some places in the Baltimore region attracted new residents and some lost residents to other places in the region, county, state, or overseas during the last half of the 1990s.

The places that experienced an annual net loss in population include many of the inner suburbs that relied heavily on Baltimore's manufacturing industries. For instance, more residents left the suburbs of Dundalk, Middle River, and Essex than entered in the later half of the 1990s. Dundalk experienced a net loss of 287 people annually during this period and a departure of 3,781 residents during this same period. In Middle River and Essex, the annual net loss was not as severe, with Middle River losing 24 residents annually, while Essex lost 123 people each year from 1995 to 2000.

The inner suburbs that experienced net gains in population from 1995 to 2000 include suburbs just north and northwest of Baltimore City. These include the suburbs of Woodlawn, Pikesville, and Towson. Pikesville experienced the most dramatic net gains in population with an influx of 423 people annually from 1995 to 2000. Many of these in-migrants came from outside the United States, with 1,777 foreign-born people entering this suburb in the later 1990s. In the case of Woodlawn, the net gains in population can be attributed to the in-migration of black families. Woodlawn lost 2,607 residents between 1995 and 2000—mostly white residents—but gained 2,919 people during this same period.

Figure 5. Annual Net Migration in Baltimore's Suburbs, 1995 to 2000



The suburbs with the most substantial net population gains include many of the outer suburbs of the Baltimore region. Outer suburbs such as Columbia, Ellicott City, and Belair grew substantially in the late 1990s. The suburbs of Belair—Belair town, Belair North and Belair South—saw a net annual gain of 2,452 residents. For every person that left Belair town and suburbs, more than two people entered. Columbia, like Belair, witnessed a net gain of 1,250 people annually, and Ellicott City a net gain of 1,435 people annually in the late 1990s. These suburbs are growing at a rapid pace, far out-pacing any growth in Baltimore's inner suburbs. Overall, the inner suburbs are struggling to retain population.

3. THE AGING POPULATION:
Changes in Age Structure in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs

Baltimore's inner suburbs are aging. Since 1980, inner suburban areas as a whole have witnessed a 44 percent increase—nearly 80,000 residents—in the number of residents aged over 65 years. Conversely, residents aged under 18 decreased by 3 percent, and residents aged 18 to 64 decreased by 7 percent. The population of Baltimore's inner suburbs is aging without successive generations to replace previous ones.

The population over 65 has increased in all inner suburbs since 1980 with the exception of Arbutus. Arbutus has "aged in place." That is, there has been little-to-no change in any of the age cohorts.

Four inner suburbs have experienced growth in all age cohorts, but that growth has been the greatest for residents over 65. Catonsville, Ferndale, Pikesville, and Woodlawn each experienced overall growth. In Lutherville and Middle River, the growth of the elderly population outpaced all other age cohorts by on average four times. In Catonsville, growth was evenly distributed among all ages.

Figure 6. Net Population Change By Age Cohort, 1980 to 2000

Place	Under 18	18 to 64	Over 65
Arbutus	0%	1%	-4%
Brooklyn Park	8%	-16%	31%
Catonsville	23%	16%	29%
Dundalk	-16%	-23%	67%
Essex	-1%	-8%	51%
Ferndale	4%	8%	79%
Glen Burnie	-7%	1%	71%
Lansdowne	-10%	-9%	40%
Lochearn	-8%	-13%	53%
Lutherville	-23%	-26%	95%
Middle River	-21%	-16%	101%
Overlea	-13%	-13%	34%
Parkville	-11%	-18%	23%
Pikesville	24%	16%	81%
Rosedale	-10%	-14%	97%
Towson	0%	1%	6%
Woodlawn	34%	16%	38%
All Inner Suburbs	**-3%**	**-7%**	**44%**

In Dundalk, Lutherville, Middle River, and Rosedale, not only has the population over 65 increased the most, but the size of the younger generation population has also decreased the most. On average, residents under 64 decreased by more than one fifth, while the elderly population increased by almost 10,000.

Figure 7. Net Population Change By Age Cohort, 1980 to 2000

Place	Under 18	18 to 64	Over 65	Total
Arbutus	5	81	-133	-47
Brooklyn Park	215	-1207	424	-568
Catonsville	1461	3298	1786	6545
Dundalk	-2757	-10674	4441	-8990
Essex	-56	-2197	1757	-496
Ferndale	148	710	877	1735
Glen Burnie	-743	254	2082	1593
Lansdowne	-507	-995	467	-1035
Lochearn	-518	-2299	1199	-1618
Lutherville	-937	-3129	1802	-2264
Middle River	-1616	-2810	1578	-2848
Overlea	-384	-1102	517	-969
Parkville	-859	-4224	961	-4122
Pikesville	1073	2240	3068	6381
Rosedale	-497	-1846	1592	-751
Towson	-7	178	584	755
Woodlawn	2474	3151	1047	6672
All Inner Suburbs	**-3505**	**-20571**	**24049**	**-27**

Since 1990, a distinct aging pattern among the white and black population in suburban Baltimore emerged. The aging of the inner suburban white population is much more pronounced than the aging of the black population. In the past decade alone, there was a net loss of 46,646 persons under 64 in Baltimore's inner suburbs. The majority of the population loss was in the 18 to 64 age cohort, about 15 percent of the overall loss. In contrast, black inner suburban residents have migrated to these places in large numbers. The inner suburbs witnessed a net increase of 36,562 black residents, or an increase of 40 percent since 1990.

Figure 8. Age Structure Summary in Suburban Baltimore, 1990 to 2000

		White	Black
Inner Suburbs	Under 18	-8%	87%
	18 to 64	-15%	56%
	Over 65	1%	78%
Outer Suburbs	Under 18	12%	68%
	18 to 64	7%	57%
	Over 65	40%	105%

Moreover, most of the population increases in the black suburban population occurred among residents 18 to 64, with significant increases in the child population as well. While the black inner suburban elderly population increased 78 percent, the absolute number is small, some 2,655 residents.

In comparison, Baltimore's outer suburbs have witnessed marked population growth since 1990, and the age structure reflects that growth. The outer suburban population is significantly younger, and it is aging at a slower rate than the inner suburban population. The black outer suburban population grew dramatically, adding some 57,639 residents in the last decade. Among both whites and blacks, the 18 to 64 age cohort is the largest, and the child cohort grew at approximately the same rate for whites and blacks during the 1990s. The white elderly population is approximately five times the size than the black elderly population. Since the white population has lived in the outer suburbs longer than the black population, these trends are not surprising.

Figure 9. Age Restructuring, Summary 1990 to 2000

		White	Black
Inner Suburbs	Under 18	-6,580	13,413
	18 to 64	-40,887	20,494
	Over 65	821	2,655
Outer Suburbs	Under 18	18,098	18,600
	18 to 64	27,986	35,021
	Over 65	21,200	4,018

This age restructuring creates an environment, especially in these at-risk inner suburbs, whereby the social and economic needs of communities change as they age. The vitality and future health of inner suburban communities depends, in part, on the influx of a younger generation. The elderly require services that necessitate an adequate tax base. Younger workers are needed to ensure the fiscal health of local jurisdictions to help provide for the elderly in their declining years.

4. THE RISE OF SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES:
The Changing Family Structure in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs

Since 1980, there have been marked changes in the composition of household families with children. The most prevalent trend is the shift from married-parent families to single-parent families. Twenty-five years ago, two-parent families headed three quarters of family households in the Baltimore region; single-parent families comprised one quarter of all households. Some two decades later, the region witnessed a 9 percent change in family structure to reflect a third of all families headed by single parents and two-thirds headed by married parents. Moreover, the region experienced a loss of approximately 16,000 married parents while gaining some 25,000 single parents.

Figure 10. Family Structure, 1980 to 2000
Single Parents in the Baltimore Region

	1980		2000		1980-2000
Urban Place	**Number**	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**	**Percent Change**
Central City	41,141	45%	40,052	61%	16%
Inner Suburbs	11,291	17%	19,866	34%	17%
Outer Suburbs	13,042	16%	30,198	24%	8%
Region	66,986	27%	91,850	36%	9%

The pattern of family restructuring is most pervasive in Baltimore's inner suburbs, where increases in single-parent families as a proportion of the population grew by 17 percent—faster than any other area in the entire region. Just over one-third of all families in the inner suburbs are by headed by single parents, whereas two decades ago, less than a fifth of families were single parents. Conversely, there are 14,582 fewer married parents in the suburbs.

Figure 11. Family Structure, 1980 to 2000
Married Parents in the Baltimore Region

	1980		2000		1980-2000
Urban Place	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Percent Change
Central City	50,698	55%	25,717	39%	16%
Inner Suburbs	53,796	83%	39,214	66%	17%
Outer Suburbs	69,779	84%	93.963	76%	8%
Region	176,625	73%	160,911	64%	9%

The outer suburban areas of Baltimore have also experienced a turnover in family structure, but that change has been less dramatic. More than three-quarters of parents are married in the outer suburbs, a marked contrast from the inner suburbs where two-thirds of parents are married. While there is some debate over whether or not marriage reduces poverty, areas with high rates of female-headed households tend to be less stable.

5. MORE DIVERSE BUT SEGREGATED: Race and Ethnicity in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs

There was an increase in minority populations in all urban places in the Baltimore region from 1980 to 2000. The largest increases in the percentage of the black population were in Baltimore City and the inner suburbs—10 percent in both. The inner suburbs have a slightly higher percentage of blacks (18 percent) than the outer suburbs (16 percent). The percent of Hispanics is greatest in the outer suburbs, although not by much. The total number of Hispanics in the inner suburbs of Baltimore is only 9,576 compared to 22,564 in the outer suburbs. However, the number of Hispanics living in the Baltimore region as a whole is small—45,502 in 2000. In terms of the foreign born, the statistics are similar. As with the Hispanic population, the percentage of foreign born has increased in all places in the region, with the greatest increase in the outer suburbs.

Figure 12. Racial Diversity in the Baltimore Region by Urban Form, 1980 to 2000

White		Black		Hispanic		Foreign Born	
Population 2000	Population Change	Population 2000	Population Change	Population 2000	Population Change	Population 2000	Population Change
Inner							
76%	**-15%**	**18%**	**+10%**	**1.9%**	**+1.1%**	**6%**	**+2%**
Outer Suburbs							
75%	**-11%**	**16%**	**+5%**	**2.5%**	**+1.3%**	**7%**	**+3%**
City							
31%	**-13%**	**64%**	**+10%**	**1.7%**	**+0.7%**	**5%**	**+2%**

There was a change in the racial composition of Baltimore's inner suburbs from 1980 to 2000. All inner suburbs lost white population during this period. In some inner suburbs, the out-migration or expiring of white population was quite dramatic. For instance, in Woodlawn, the white population declined from 85 percent in 1980 to only 38 percent in 2000; at the same time the black population increased from 11 percent in 1980 to over half of all residents by 2000. Similarly, in Lochearn, traditionally a black suburb, the percentage of black residents was 50 percent in 1980 and climbed to 78 percent by 2000. Both Woodlawn and Lochearn are Baltimore's black, inner suburbs.

While the percentage of black and other minority populations entering Baltimore's inner suburbs are on the rise, the inner suburbs of Baltimore are still highly segregated by race. Brooklyn Park, Linthicum, Hampton, Edgemere, and Dundalk, while witnessing increases in minority populations, are still predominantly white with between 89 percent and 94 percent of white residents in 2000. Some inner suburbs have experienced more diversity than others. The black populations of Parkville, Lansdowne, and Rosedale grew by 19 percent, 18 percent, and 17 percent respectively from 1980 to 2000.

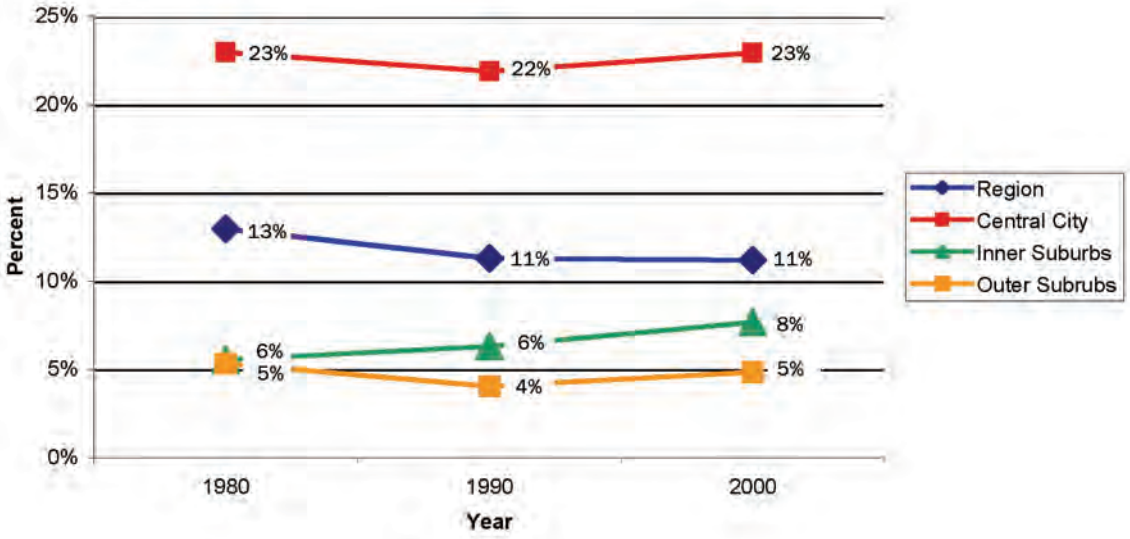
Figure 13. Percentage of Population by Race and Ethnicity in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 1980 to 2000

Inner Suburb	White			Black			Hispanic			Foreign Born		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Arbutus	94%	90%	84%	3%	4%	6%	0.8%	1.2%	1.5%	0.8%	1.2%	1.5%
Brooklyn Park	99%	96%	91%	1%	1%	4%	0.2%	1.6%	1.6%	0.2%	1.6%	1.6%
Catonsville	90%	88%	81%	9%	9%	12%	0.5%	0.9%	1.9%	0.5%	0.9%	1.9%
Dundalk	93%	92%	89%	5%	6%	7%	0.5%	0.8%	1.5%	0.5%	0.8%	1.5%
Edgemere	94%	93%	93%	5%	5%	5%	0.5%	1.4%	0.7%	0.5%	1.4%	0.7%
Essex	95%	90%	74%	3%	8%	21%	0.5%	1.1%	2.3%	0.5%	1.1%	2.3%
Ferndale	94%	87%	76%	4%	8%	15%	0.4%	1.4%	3.1%	0.4%	1.4%	3.1%
Glen Burnie	89%	86%	80%	9%	11%	13%	1.0%	1.0%	2.5%	1.0%	1.0%	2.5%
Hampton	91%	90%	90%	0%	1%	1%	4.3%	1.7%	1.5%	4.3%	1.7%	1.5%
Lansdowne	95%	92%	74%	3%	5%	18%	0.4%	1.2%	3.5%	0.4%	1.2%	3.5%
Linthicum	98%	95%	94%	1%	2%	2%	0.4%	0.7%	0.9%	0.4%	0.7%	0.9%
Lochearn	50%	31%	18%	49%	67%	78%	0.6%	0.8%	1.5%	0.6%	0.8%	1.5%
Lutherville	94%	92%	89%	1%	1%	3%	1.5%	1.5%	1.2%	1.5%	1.5%	1.2%
Middle River	94%	93%	82%	3%	5%	13%	0.8%	0.3%	1.9%	0.8%	0.3%	1.9%
Overlea	97%	96%	87%	1%	2%	9%	0.8%	0.6%	1.4%	0.8%	0.6%	1.4%
Parkville	92%	84%	73%	6%	12%	22%	0.8%	1.8%	1.7%	0.8%	1.8%	1.7%
Pikesville	96%	95%	85%	3%	3%	8%	0.7%	0.7%	1.5%	0.7%	0.7%	1.5%
Pumphrey	79%	82%	78%	17%	16%	16%	0.8%	0.5%	1.7%	0.8%	0.5%	1.7%
Rosedale	91%	87%	74%	7%	11%	21%	0.5%	0.5%	1.4%	0.5%	0.5%	1.4%
Towson	95%	93%	86%	2%	4%	7%	0.9%	1.1%	1.9%	0.9%	1.1%	1.9%
Woodlawn	85%	70%	38%	11%	24%	51%	0.7%	1.4%	2.4%	0.7%	1.4%	2.4%

6. THE GEOGRAPHY OF RICH AND POOR:
Economic Segregation in the Baltimore Region

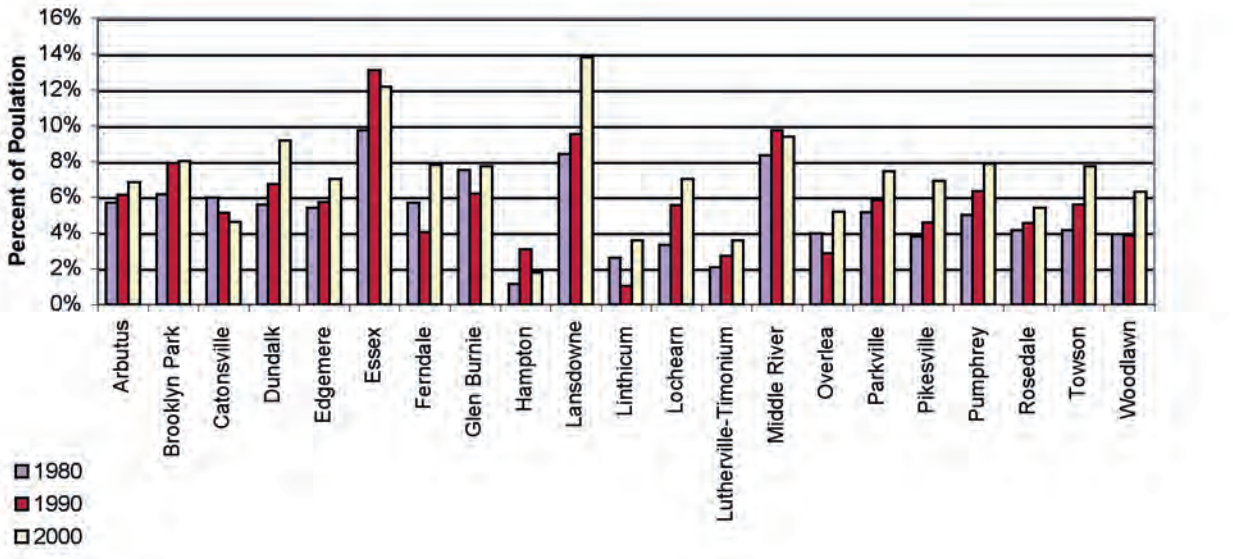
The population in poverty in both the inner and outer suburbs of Baltimore has increased since 1980, with almost 85,000 poor people in Baltimore's suburbs. In 1980, 6 percent of the population of Baltimore's inner suburbs lived in poverty, rising to 8 percent in 2000. While the number of poor people in the outer suburbs rose from 1980 to 2000, the proportion of the population living in poverty actually declined from 6 percent in 1980 to 5 percent in 2000.

Figure 14. Poverty in Metropolitan Baltimore, 1980 to 2000



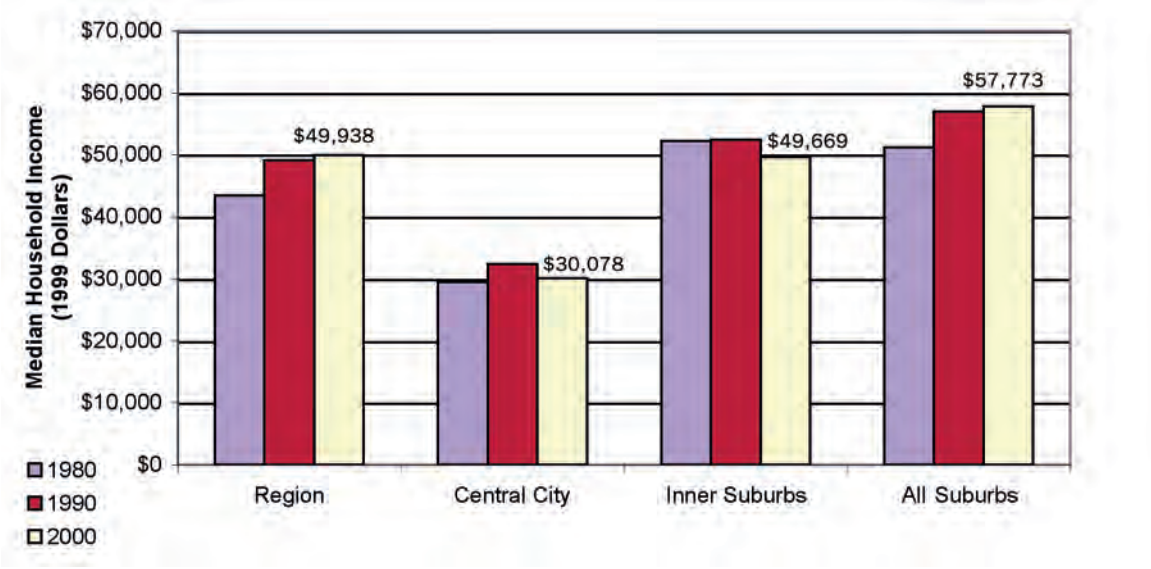
The percentage of poor people in Baltimore City remained at 23 percent from 1980 to 2000. Baltimore's inner suburbs are the only urban form that has witnessed an increase in the proportion of poor people within its boundaries.

Figure 15. Poverty in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 1980 to 2000



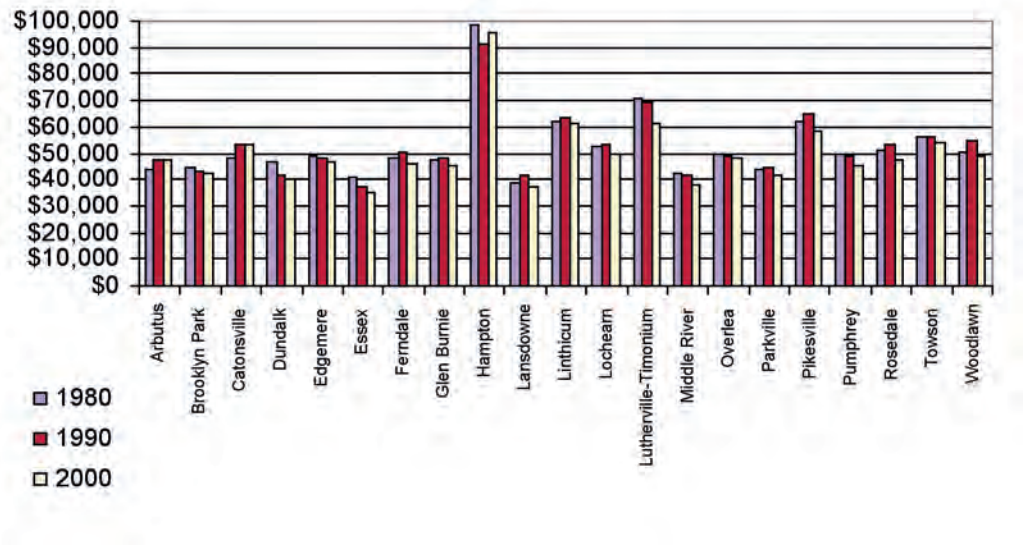
While the inner suburbs as a whole have experienced increases in poverty since 1980, the changes in poverty levels vary among inner suburbs. Lansdowne had the highest poverty rate—14 percent—among all inner suburbs in 2000. Essex was not far behind with a poverty rate of 12 percent in 2000. All Baltimore's inner suburbs experienced poverty increases, except for Catonsville and Hampton. This increase was most pronounced in Dundalk, Lansdowne, and Woodlawn, with increases of between 2 percent and 5 percent in the 1990s alone. Some inner suburbs—Hampton, Linthicum, and Lutherville—have very low poverty rates compared to some of the previously industrialized suburbs of Essex, Middle River, Rosedale, and Dundalk.

Figure 16. Median Household Income in Metropolitan Baltimore, 1980 to 2000



The median household income in Baltimore's inner suburbs was $49,669 in 2000, a decline from $52,168 in 1980. In comparison, the outer suburbs have experienced an increase in median household income from $51,153 in 1980 to $57,773 in 2000. The central city lags behind all suburbs with a median household income of $30,078 in 2000.

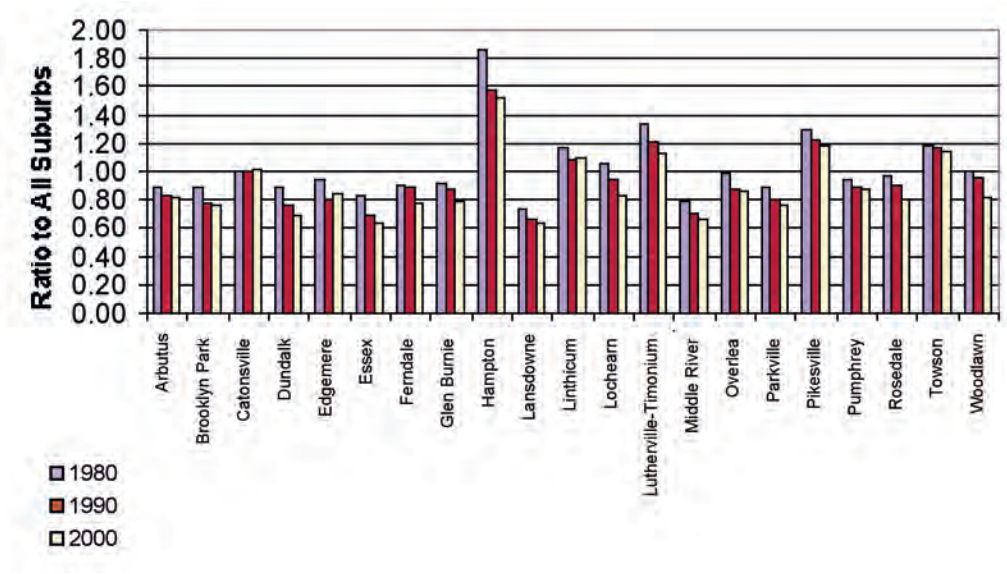
Figure 17. Median Household Income in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 1980 to 2000



Changes in and levels of median household income vary among inner suburbs. The inner suburb with the highest median household income is Hampton, a median household income of $95,000 in 2000. This contrasts dramatically with the median household income of Essex, less than $35,000 in 2000. This illustrates the income disparity among inner suburbs. The inner suburbs with the lowest median household incomes are Dundalk, Essex, Lansdowne, Middle River, and Parkville, suburbs that have experienced declines in manufacturing employment and an increase in the elderly population in recent decades.

An interesting and important method of analyzing the income status of suburban areas is to compare income levels of individual suburbs to the income level of the metropolitan area as a whole. The median household income of a particular inner suburb is compared to the regional median household income in the form of a ratio. If the median household income in the inner suburb is exactly the same as the regional median household income, the ratio is one. A number lower than one indicates that the inner suburb median household income is less than the regional median household income, and a ratio greater than one, the opposite.

Figure 18. Income Ratios for Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 1980 to 2000



There are a number of inner suburbs whose median household income is greater than the regional value. For instance, Hampton's median household income in 2000 was over 40 percent higher than the regional median household income. In comparison, Lansdowne's median household income was almost 40 percent below the regional median household income. Catonsville has a median household income on par with the region as a whole. The majority of Baltimore's inner suburbs had median household incomes at lower levels than the regional income level, indicating these suburbs are falling behind the rest of the metropolitan area.

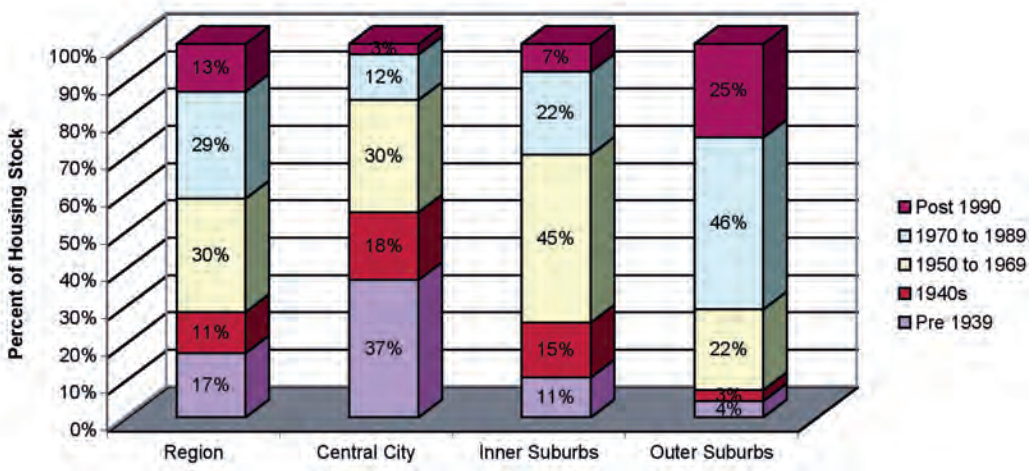
7. THE HOUSING DILEMMA: Housing in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs

There are six main factors that characterize the nature of the housing market in the region and, more specifically, Baltimore's inner suburbs: age, size, value, style, affordability, and tenure. Each factor is reviewed in turn.

Housing Age

Housing age is an important diagnostic measure for the quality of life in a community. In the Baltimore region, half of the housing stock was built prior to 1970, and about one-third was built during the 1970s and 1980s. Yet among the suburban areas, there are marked differences in the age of the housing stock. The inner suburbs are considerably older than the rest of the suburbs. Just under one-third of the outer suburbs' housing stock was built before 1970, compared to over two-thirds of the housing stock in the inner suburbs. It is also important to note that about one-third of the housing stock in the inner suburbs is very old— built prior to 1950 while the amount of pre-1950 housing in the outer suburbs is negligible.

Figure 19. Housing Stock Age in Metropolitan Baltimore, 2000



An examination of the variation of housing age within the inner suburbs reveals that the houses in many communities are much older than the averages indicate. For instance, the majority of houses in every inner suburb (except for Pikesville) were built before 1970. The pre-1950s housing stock makes up at least one-third of all housing in the suburbs of Arbutus, Brooklyn Park, Catonsville, Dundalk, Edgemere, and Overlea. And with the exception of Catonsville and Pikesville, new housing (post-1990) remains 10 percent or less of the entire housing stock in the inner suburbs.

The age of the housing stock is an important factor for assessing socioeconomic decline. Older housing requires more maintenance and, without adequate market demand and investment, can lead to the housing deterioration and the decline of suburban communities.

Housing Size

The size of the housing structure is another important characteristic that can impact the value and market desirability of a house. Approximately half of all housing units in the Baltimore region have between four and six rooms, while just over one-third of the houses have seven rooms or more. The inner suburbs' houses are considerably smaller than the outer suburbs' houses. About half of the houses in the inner suburbs have six or fewer rooms, while in the outer suburbs, nearly half of the houses have more than six rooms. Among the inner suburbs, there are houses that are extremely small compared to today's standards. Ten suburbs (Arbutus, Catonsville, Edgemere, Essex, Glen Burnie, Middle River, Parkville, Pikesville, Towson, and Woodlawn) all have at least 10 percent of their housing stock with fewer than three rooms. Overall, there are 24,405 housing units in Baltimore's inner suburbs that have less than three rooms. Additionally, seven suburbs (Dundalk, Edgemere, Essex, Glen Burnie, Lansdowne, Middle River, and Parkville) have housing stocks where about 70 percent of the entire stock has six or fewer rooms.

Figure 20. Age of Housing Stock in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 2000

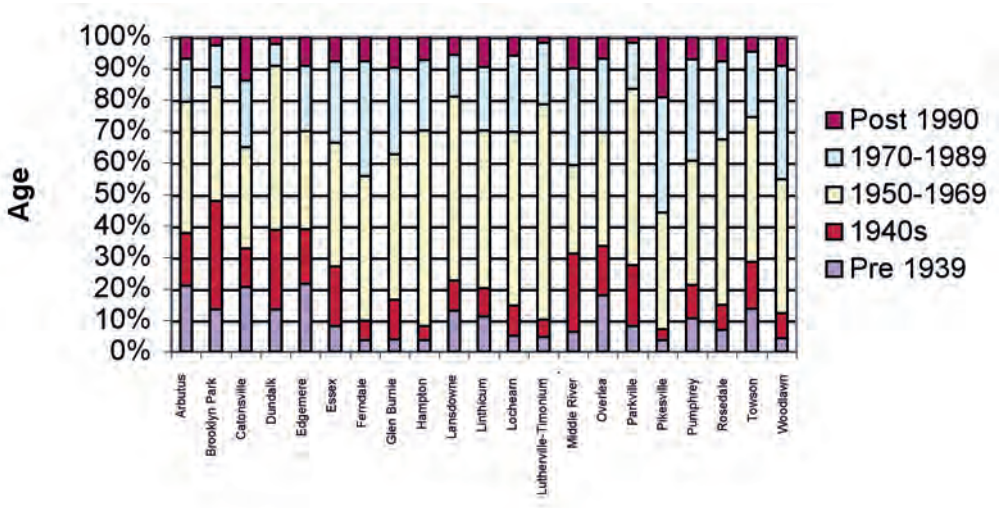
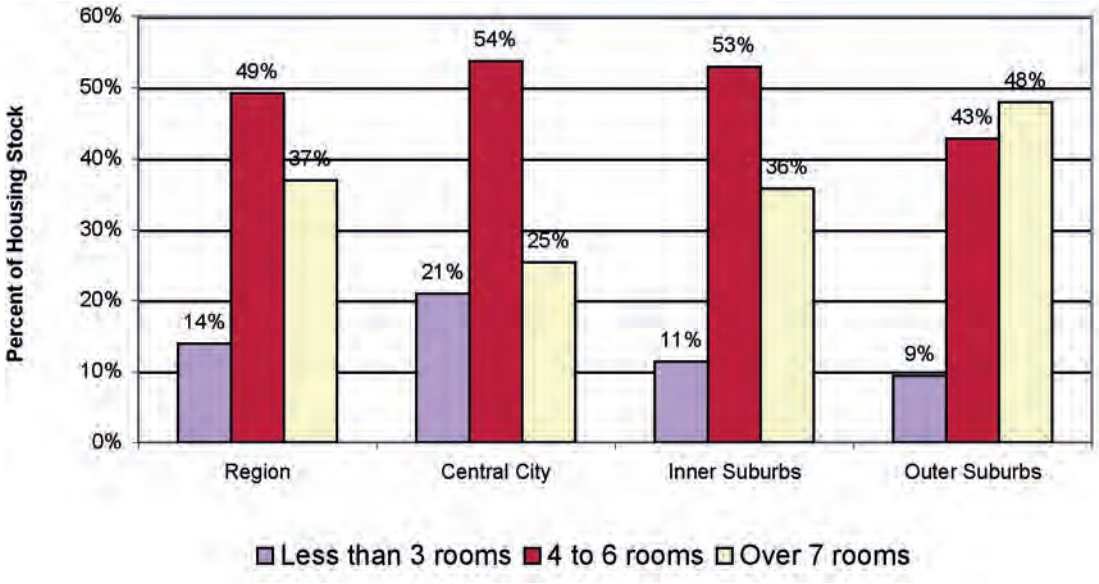


Figure 21. Size of Housing Structure in Metropolitan Baltimore, 2000



The inner suburbs also contain the majority of the region's smallest housing units. The western and eastern inner suburbs bordering Baltimore City house the bulk of units less than 1,500 square feet. For example, Arbutus and Lochearn on the western suburban fringe and Dundalk, Essex, Middle River, Overlea, and Parkville on the eastern suburban fringe all contain virtually no housing units over 1,500 square feet. In contrast, the northern suburban fringe, notably Pikesville, Towson, Lutherville, and Hampton tend to house larger units, some as big as 5,000 square feet. Above all, Hampton's housing stock is the most homogenous. It is the only inner suburb that has practically no housing units below 1,500 square feet.

Figure 22. The Size of Residential Properties in Baltimore County, 2003

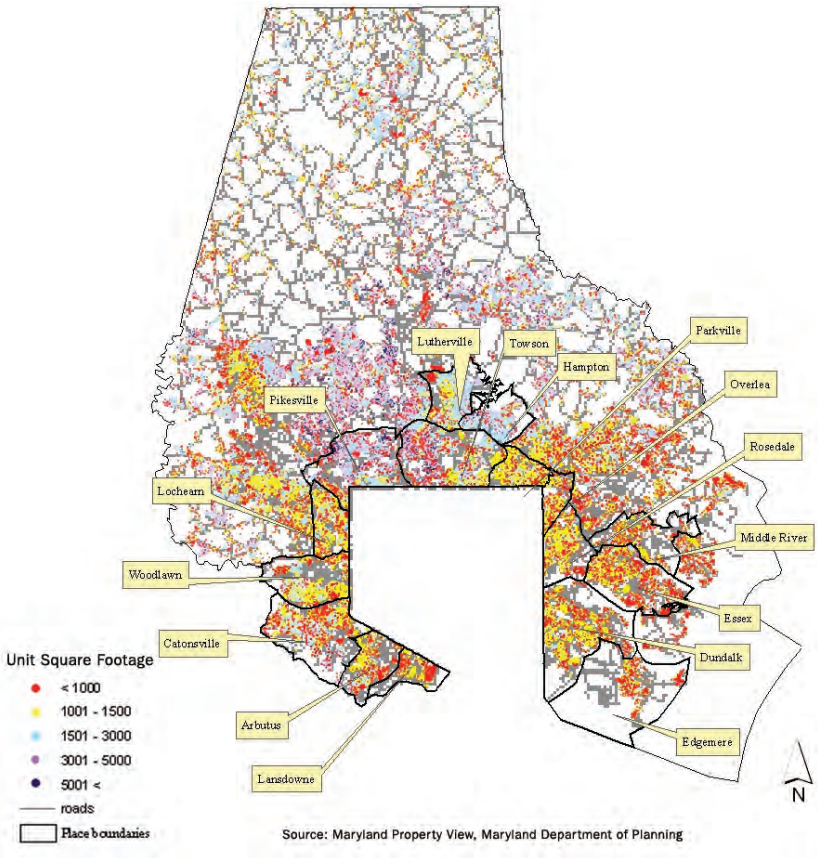
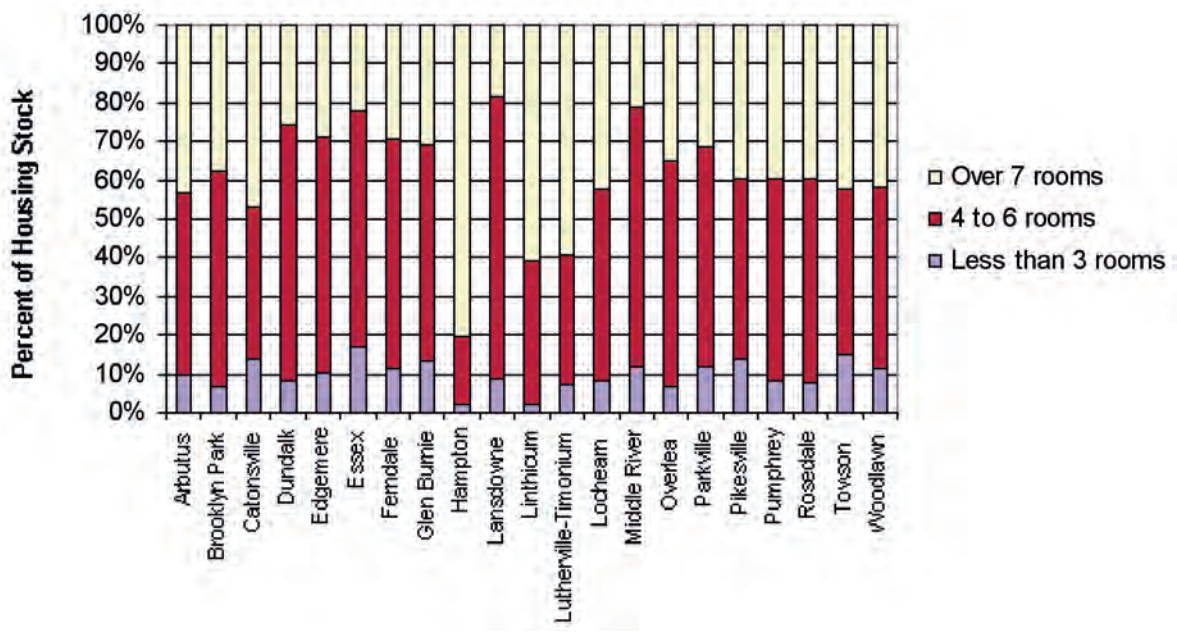


Figure 23. Size of Housing Structure in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 2000



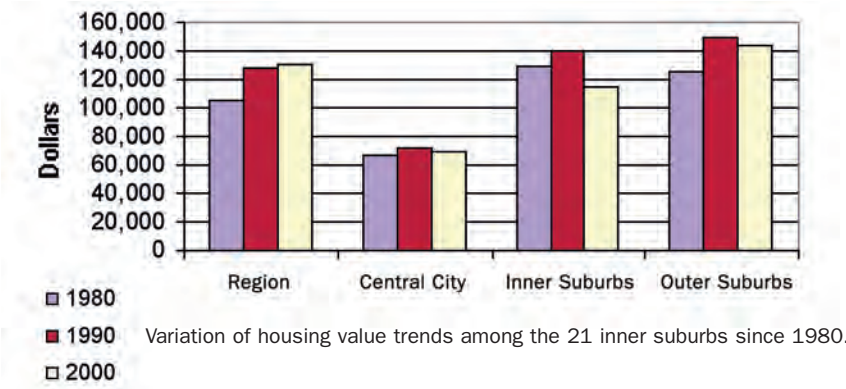
The patterns of housing development also closely follow the Urban-Rural Demarcation Line, Baltimore County's growth boundary. This growth control targets urban development toward the center and areas surrounding Baltimore City. It mandates that rural zoning apply to areas outside the boundary. All of Baltimore's inner suburbs fall within this demarcation line.

In short, the inner suburbs contain most of the smallest houses in suburban Baltimore. This is a challenge for communities, making it difficult to attract and retain middle-class families who desire the larger homes of today's market.

Housing Values

The effects of the age and size of the housing stock in the Baltimore region is reflected in the changes in median housing values over the last two decades. House values were about equal ($120,000) in 1980 for both the inner and outer suburbs. Homes in the suburbs as a whole were worth more than the regional housing value ($104,000) in 1980. But these trends changed. During the 1980s, houses in the inner suburbs witnessed a modest gain of $6,000 while houses in the outer suburbs gained some $20,000 in value. These gains in the inner suburbs fell far behind the gains for the entire region as well. Although the region gained value slightly during the 1990s, the value of houses in the inner suburbs plummeted below their 1980 values, reaching a low of $114,759 by 2000.

Figure 24. Housing Values in Baltimore Region, 1980 to 2000



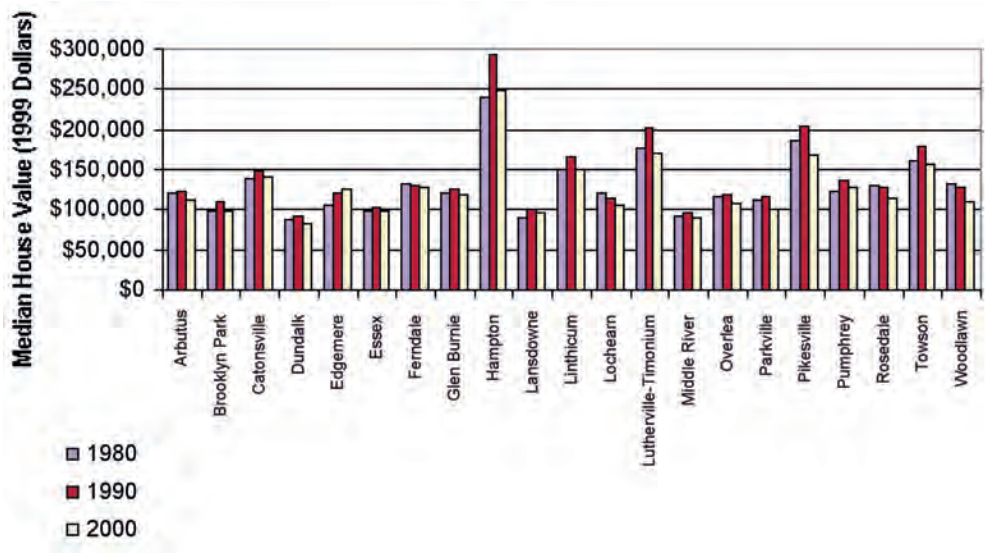
Variation of housing value trends among the 21 inner suburbs since 1980.

Only four suburbs had median values worth at least $200,000 during this time period (Hampton, Lutherville-Timonium, Pikesville, and Towson). Despite these higher values, Pikesville and Towson lost significant house value during the 1990s. In contrast, five suburbs (Dundalk, Essex, Lansdowne, Middle River, and Parkville) had house values less than $100,000 in 2000. Most important, every inner suburb, except for Catonsville and Lansdowne, had housing values in 2000 that were worth less than their 1980 values.

Housing Affordability

The national housing boom has impacted the real estate market in Baltimore's suburbs. The median sales price for a house in the region was $215,000 in 2005, which is a 25 percent increase from last year. Likewise, fair market rents in the region have soared in recent years. HUD fair market rent for 2005 is $847 for a two-bedroom apartment in the metropolitan area. This represents a $248 increase, or nearly 30 percent increase over the past decade. In contrast, personal incomes have not kept up with the rising costs of housing. For example, between 2002 and 2003 there was a 21 percent increase in the fair market rent in the region while regional median household income only rose by 2 percent during this same period. In other words, the average household's outlay for housing expense has outpaced the intake of income ten-fold. Thus, the cost of living has increased more than personal incomes – paving the way for a regional housing market that fails to produce sufficient levels of affordable housing.

Figure 25. Median Housing Value in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 1980 to 2000



Among residents of suburban Baltimore, there are marked differences in housing affordability. The inner suburbs are home to some of the region's most affordable housing units in the Baltimore metropolitan area. Yet, residents in these communities are increasingly priced out of the market and can no longer afford the very housing units they occupy. Some 26 percent (49,151 households) in the inner suburbs lack affordable housing. Similarly, 24 percent (76,935 households) in the outer suburbs lack affordable housing. Among homeowners, about one fifth lack affordable housing in suburban Baltimore. Among renters, just over one-third lack affordable housing. In both inner and outer suburbs, a disproportionate number of low-income residents experience a housing burden. Among lower income suburban renters (earning less than $34,000), half lack affordable housing, and among very low income renters (earning less than $19,000), over 80 percent lack affordable housing. These trends are apparent in all suburbs in Baltimore regardless of location, reinforcing the notion that housing affordability issues are regional in nature.

Figure 26. Fair Market Rent in Baltimore PMSA, 1996 to 2005

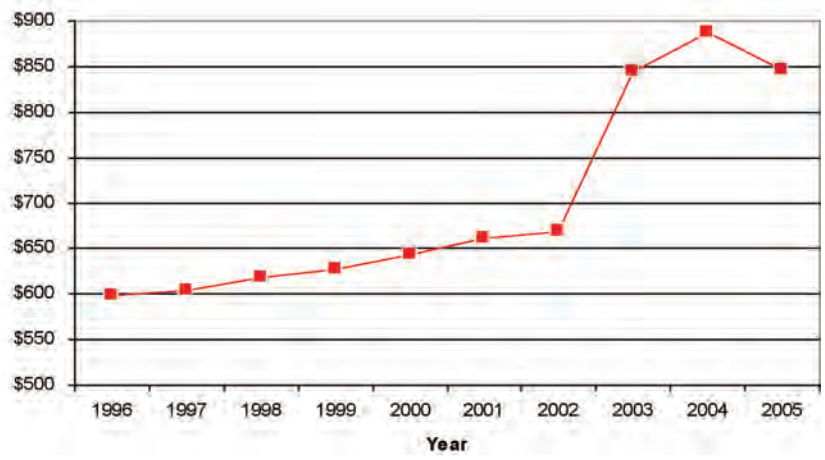


Figure 27. Housing Burden in Baltimore's Census Defined Places, 2000

OWNER BURDEN

	Number	Percent
Inner Suburbs	25,332	20%
Outer Suburbs	45,987	21%
Total Suburban	71,319	21%

RENTER BURDEN

	Number	Percent
Inner Suburbs	23,819	36%
Outer Suburbs	30,948	32%
Total Suburban	54,767	33%

SUMMARY

	Number	Percent
Total Suburban Renters	54,767	33%
Total Suburban Owners	71,319	21%
Total Suburbs	126,086	25%

Housing Style

A number of different housing types and styles characterize the housing stock in the inner suburbs. The initial postwar housing boom produced a series of rowhouses in older, industrial areas like Dundalk, Middle River, and Essex on the East side, and Brooklyn Park, Lansdowne, and Arbutus on the West side. Early suburban developers in Baltimore took advantage of the benefits of mass production, popularized by the Levitt brothers. They built upon the Baltimore City tradition of the rowhouse, an icon of Baltimore housing architecture.

Figure 28. Housing Stock in Lansdowne, 2004

The houses in Lansdowne typify the tract developments that were built in the 1950s and 1960s. These houses are small, attached row houses with few bedrooms, a tiny yard and front porch. They are typically brick, although the architectural style is not as intricate or charming as the brick rowhouses in Baltimore City. Meanwhile, the square, flat roof, and lack of windows and surrounding trees makes for a less attractive housing stock and neighborhood than found in other suburbs.

Figure 29. Housing Stock in Catonsville, 2004

In Catonsville, for instance, the Victorian-style housing is more marketable to middle-class suburban families. The houses in this inner suburb are larger, with often sizeable yards on tree-lined streets. Typically detached houses, Catonsville has some beautiful homes that, being older, require some maintenance. However, the investment is seen as worthwhile with the current structures and architecture.

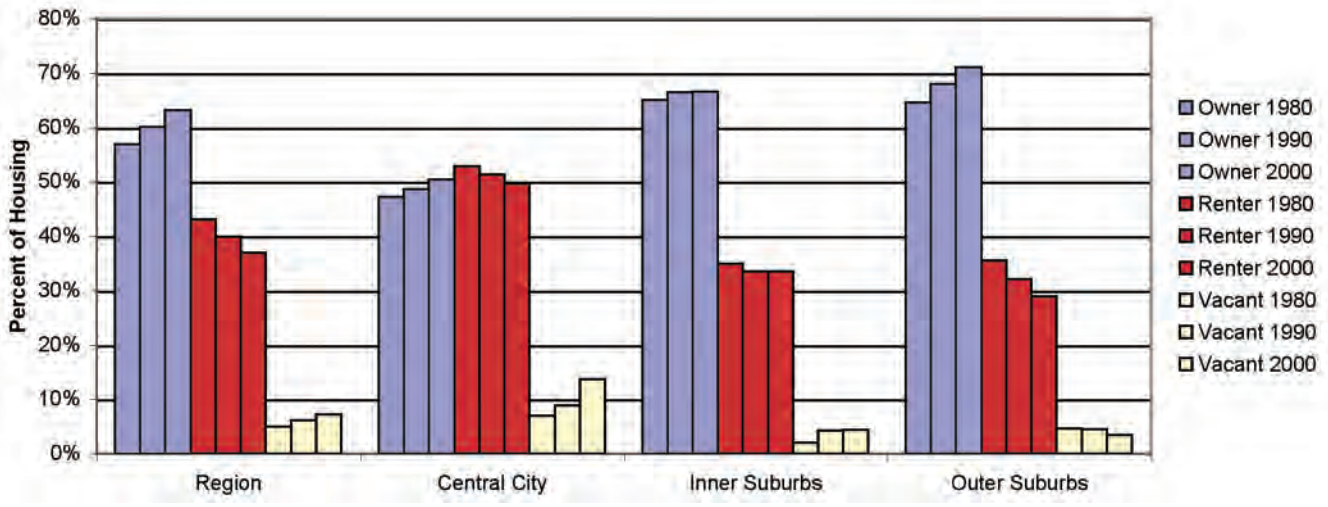
Figure 30. Housing Stock in Turners Station, Dundalk, 2004

While other inner suburbs such as Turners Station, Dundalk have detached housing, these homes are smaller than in Catonsville, have less yard-space, and are often on busy streets. Well-maintained, these houses can attract a lower middle-class family, or serve as a starter home for a middle-class couple.

Housing Tenure

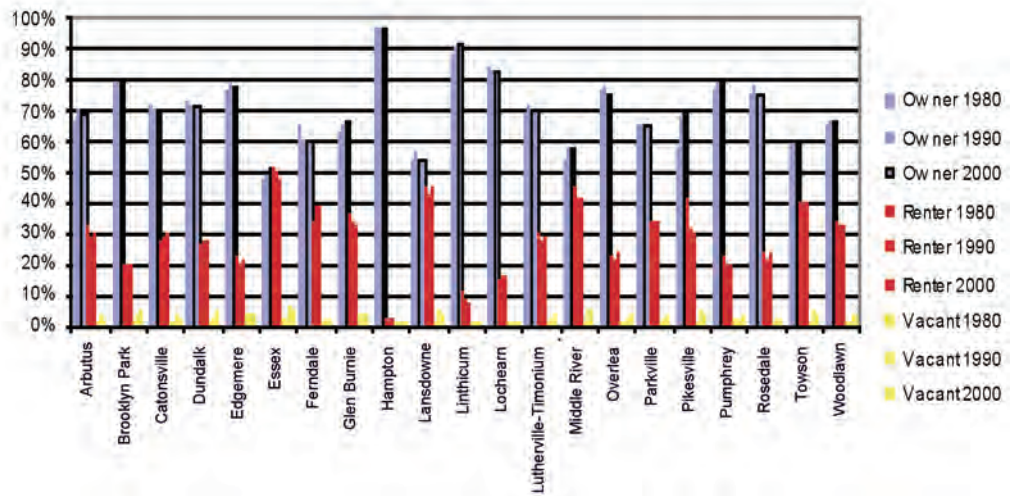
Last, there are several important trends since 1980 that have occurred in housing tenure. In general, housing officials favor three specific trends in tenure: 1) increasing homeownership rates, 2) decreasing rentership rates, and 3) decreasing vacant housing. In the Baltimore region, these trends are evident in the region as a whole, the central city, and the outer suburbs. Home ownership rates have increased and rentership rates have decreased since 1980 in the region, the central city, and the outer suburbs. In contrast, homeownership and rentership have fixed or leveled off, while housing vacancy has increased. Overall, home ownership rates increased from 65 percent (128,886 owners) to 71 percent (251,781 owners) since 1980. Rentership rates decreased from 35 percent to 29 percent, yet the number of renters increased from 70,887 to 102,609. Vacancy of housing units steadily increased since 1980, from 1 percent (11,000 units) to 4 percent (14,522) of all units.

Figure 31. Housing Tenure in Metropolitan Baltimore, 1980 to 2000



There are four diverse trends among housing tenure changes in the inner suburbs. First, there are especially high home ownership rates (over 70 percent) among the suburbs of Brooklyn Park, Catonsville, Dundalk, Edgemere, Overlea, Pumphrey, and Rosedale, but almost all of those rates decreased from their 1990 levels. Second, low home ownership rates (below 60 percent) and high rentership rates (over 40 percent) are prevalent in the three inner suburbs of Essex, Lansdowne, and Middle River. Third, four suburbs—Brooklyn Park, Edgemere, Overlea, and Pumphrey—have low rentership rates of about 20 percent. Fourth, housing vacancy rates were above the suburban average (four percent) in the inner suburbs of Dundalk, Essex, Lansdowne, and Middle River.

Figure 32. Housing Tenure in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 1980 to 2000

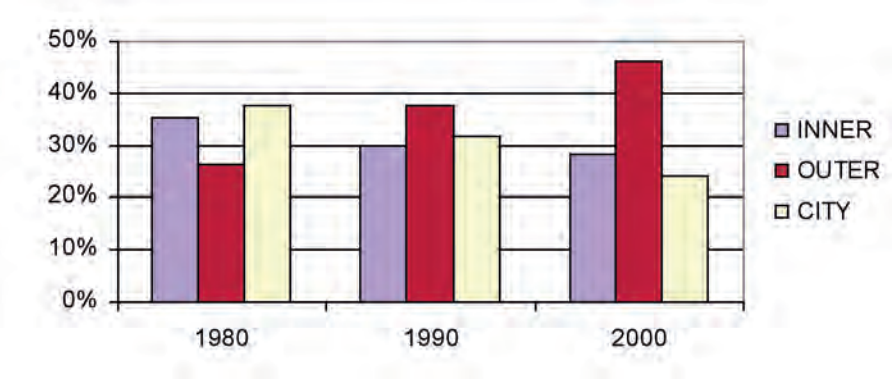


It is important to note that the tradition of home ownership is prevalent for most income groups residing in the inner suburbs of Baltimore. Despite the challenges of declining incomes, increased poverty, and unemployment, inner suburban residents still manage to own their own homes, a marked sign of stability in these suburban communities.

8. WHERE ARE THE WORKERS AND JOBS?
Economic Transformations in the Baltimore Region

The percent of the Baltimore region's manufacturing workers that reside in the inner and outer suburbs as well as Baltimore City in 1980, 1990, and 2000 are shown below

Figure 33. Percent of Regional Manufacturing Employment, 1980-2000

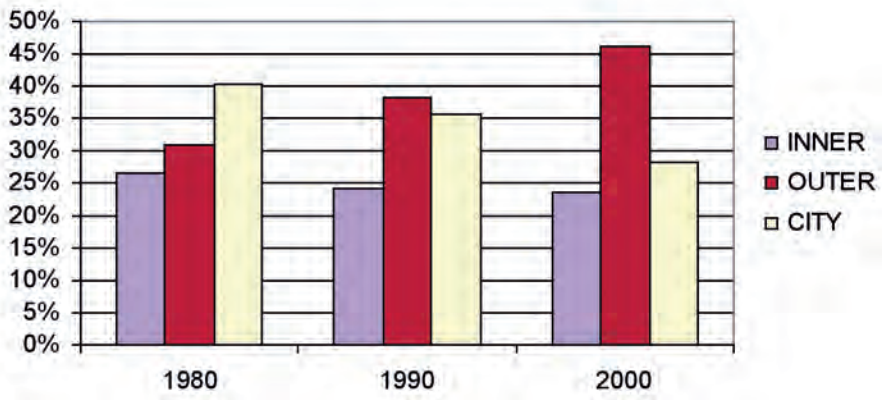


Manufacturing workers are more likely to reside in the outer suburbs than in either the inner suburbs or Baltimore's central city. In 2000, 45 percent of all manufacturing workers in the entire region resided in the outer suburbs compared to 27 percent in the inner suburbs and less than 25 percent in the city. This is a dramatic change from 1980 when only 26 percent of regional manufacturing workers resided in the outer suburbs compared with 36 percent in the city and 35 percent in the inner suburbs.

Similarly, the outer suburbs had the highest proportion of all regional service workers in 2000 with 45 percent of all service workers in the region residing in the outer suburbs. This is an increase of 15 percent since 1980. In comparison, the proportion of service workers from the region residing in the central city declined from 40 percent in 1980 to 28 percent in 2000. The inner suburbs have remained relatively stable in this regard with the proportion of regional service workers residing in the inner suburbs declining slightly from 2 percent in 1980 to 24 percent in 2000.

This spatial distribution of the region's workers in part reflects the rapid population growth of the outer suburbs. However, it also suggests that the outer suburbs are now home to a variety of economic and business activities that employ local residents.

Figure 34. Percent of Regional Service Employment, 1980 to 2000



The map describes the number of workers by place of employment within census tracts in the Baltimore region in 2000.

There are a number of areas of concentrated employment, with a major focus of employment in the downtown area of Baltimore City. However, there has been employment dispersion from Baltimore City to the outer suburbs with many workers now commuting to urban centers such as Columbia, Cockeysville, Linthicum, Owings Mills, Annapolis, and the military complexes of Fort Meade and Aberdeen Proving Ground.

The inner suburbs are still important places of economic activity with areas of strategic, industrial importance located along the waterfront and major roadways. However, with deindustrialization, economic activity in the inner suburbs has declined. The results have been the abandonment of previous manufacturing properties in much of Baltimore County's southeast and southwest. Currently, there are 583 acres of vacant, industrial land in Baltimore County, much of it in inner suburban communities. Reinvestment in these areas is required to enhance the local economy and provide much needed employment to inner suburban residents.

Figure 35. Employment Centers in the Baltimore Region, 2000

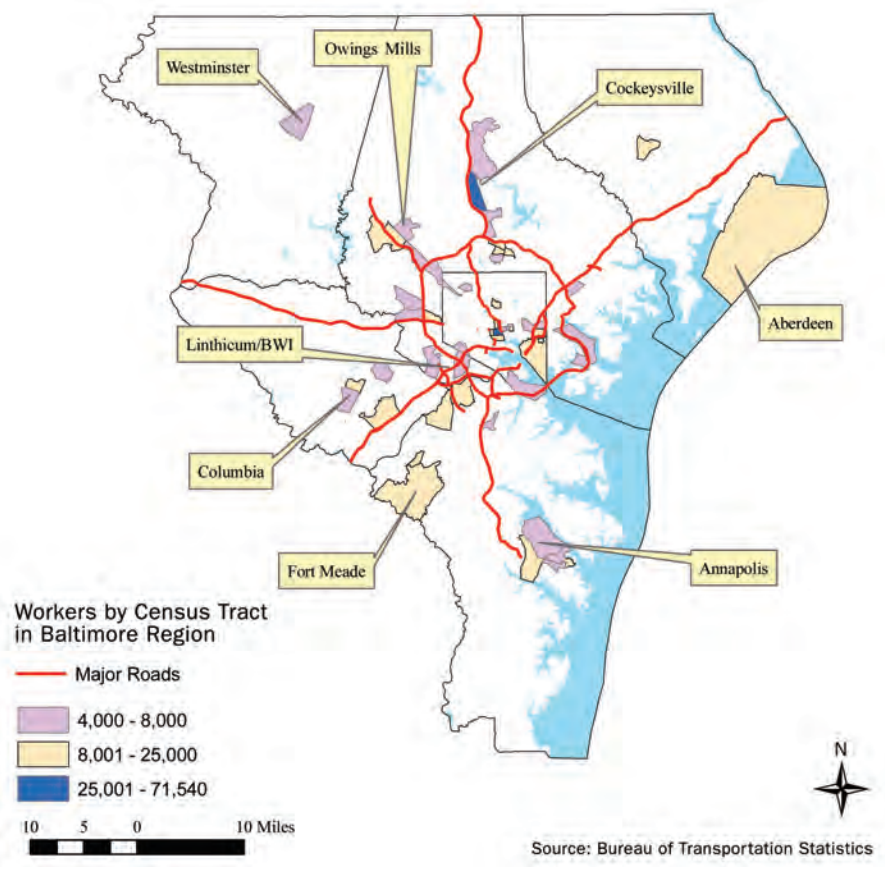
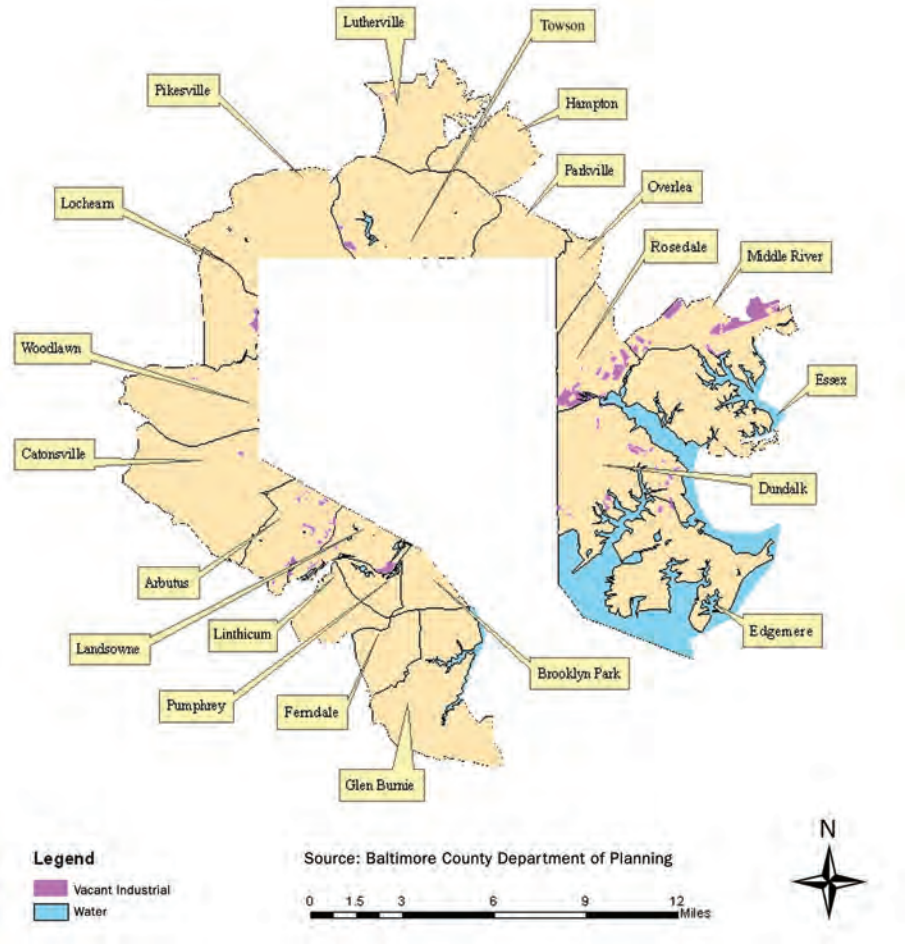


Figure 36. Undeveloped Industrial Land in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs



Manufacturing employment in both the inner suburbs and Baltimore City has declined drastically in recent decades. The number of manufacturing workers in Baltimore City declined from 58,000 workers in 1980 to 22,000 workers in 2000. In the inner suburbs, there was a similar occurrence as manufacturing employment declined from 53,000 workers to 25,000 workers from 1980 to 2000. In comparison, the number of manufacturing workers residing in the outer suburbs actually increased slightly from 40,000 in 1980 to 42,000 in 2000.

Service employment among residents of the outer suburbs has grown dramatically in the last two decades. In 2000, 190,000 service workers lived in the outer suburbs compared to fewer than 80,000 in 1980. The number of service workers residing in the central city and inner suburbs has also grown, reflecting the changing economy. However, this growth in service employment in the inner suburbs is less dramatic—a growth of 40,000 service jobs. These service jobs have offset some of the decline in manufacturing employment.

Figure 37. Manufacturing Employment in Baltimore Region, 1980 to 2000

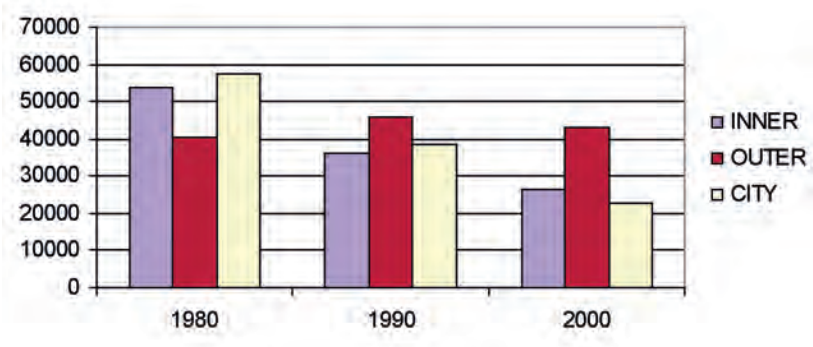
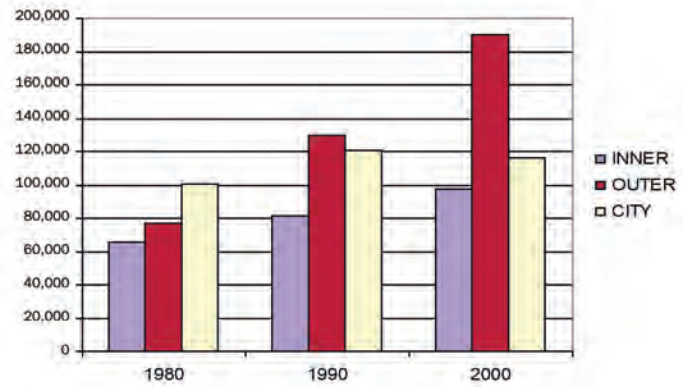
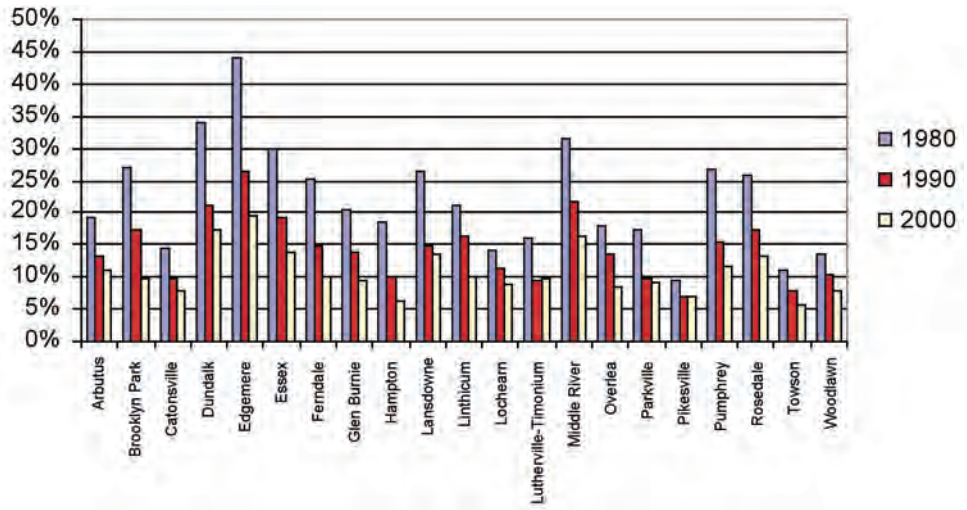


Figure 38. Service Employment in Baltimore Region, 1980 to 2000



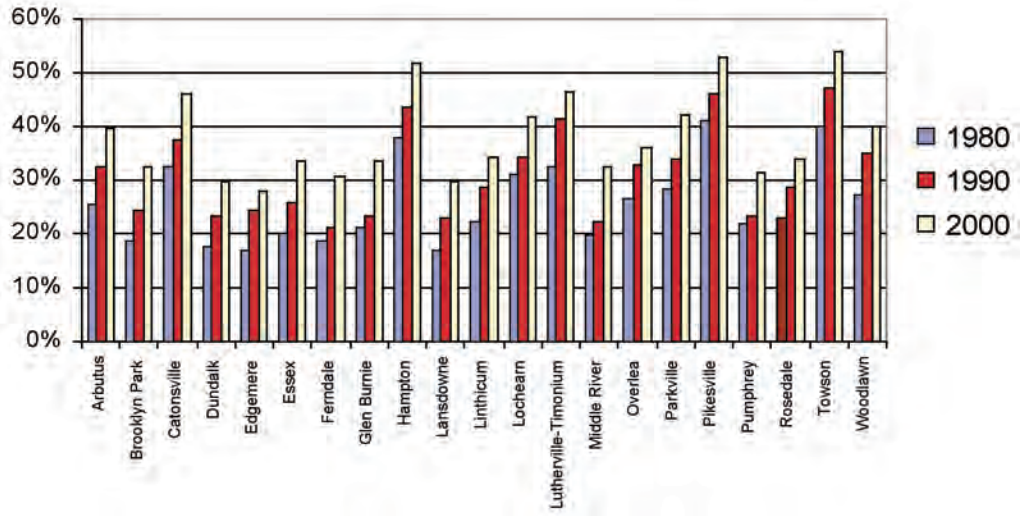
The changes in employment levels in both services and manufacturing varies among inner suburbs, with some inner suburbs coping better than others with the changing economy.

Figure 39. Manufacturing Employment in Inner Suburbs of Baltimore, 1980 to 2000



While manufacturing employment has declined in all Baltimore's inner suburbs, the most dramatic declines have occurred in Edgemere, Dundalk, Middle River, Essex, Lansdowne, and Brooklyn Park. Edgemere experienced a 20 percent decline in manufacturing employment from 1980 to 2000, with Essex, Middle River, and Lansdowne not far behind at 14 percent, 16 percent, and 14 percent respectively during this same period.

Figure 40. Services Employment in Inner Suburbs of Baltimore, 1980 to 2000

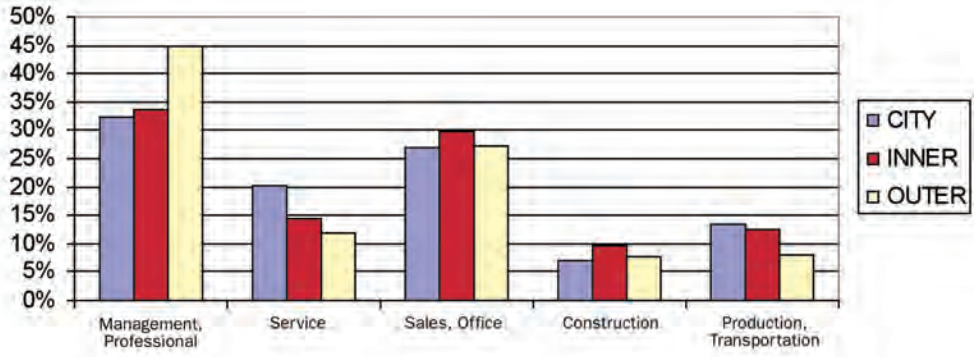


Meanwhile, employment in services has increased in all inner suburbs from 1980 to 2000. Some inner suburbs have higher rates of service employment than others with suburbs such as Hampton, Pikesville, Towson, and Catonsville have rates of 52 percent, 53 percent, 54 percent, and 46 percent respectively in 2000. The inner suburbs with the highest rates of service employment are also the suburbs that have the highest median household incomes and lowest poverty levels. Coping with the transformations in the local economy has proven beneficial to these communities.

The occupational status of local workers is the result of the changing economy and varies spatially throughout the region. Almost half of all workers in the outer suburbs are managers or professionals. This is a higher percentage than workers residing in Baltimore City and the inner suburbs, although the managerial and professional occupations are the most popular of all occupations among residents in these places.

Baltimore City has the highest percentage of workers employed in services with 20 percent of its work force in service industries. Among all urban forms, the inner suburbs have the highest percentage of workers employed in both construction and sales. These suburbs also have a higher percentage (12 percent) employed in production and transportation employment than the outer suburbs.

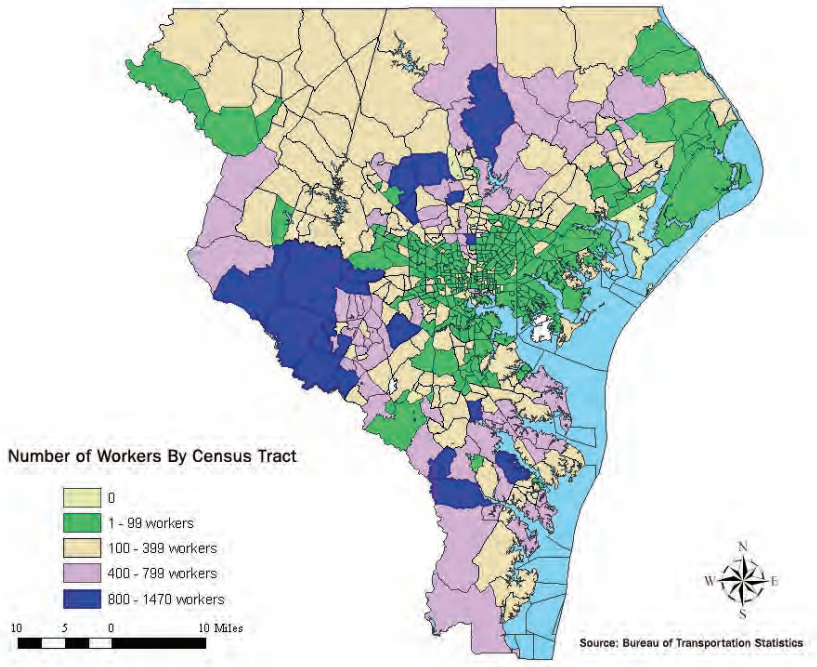
Figure 41. Occupational Status for Workers in Baltimore Region, 2000



The earnings of workers vary within and between occupations. The map presents information on the percent of workers within a census tract that earned more than $75,000 in 1999.

Less than 10 percent of workers in the majority of census tracts in Baltimore City and the inner suburbs earned more than $75,000 in 1999. A high percentage of workers in the inner suburbs just north of Baltimore City, Towson and Pikesville, earned more than $75,000 a year in 1999. In comparison, workers in areas of Baltimore City and particularly the southeast of Baltimore County earned less than the workers residing in inner suburbs such as Catonsville and outer suburbs of Columbia and Ellicott City.

Figure 42. Workers Earning More Than $75,000 in Baltimore Region, 1999



9. WHO'S WORKING?

Labor Force Participation in the Baltimore Region

The labor force participation rate measures the number of civilian workers over age 16 who are currently employed or seeking employment. In the Baltimore metropolitan area, the regional labor force participation rate was 66 percent in 2000. In suburban Baltimore, the rates were slightly higher; 72 percent and 71 percent in the outer and inner suburbs respectively.

There are clear differences in labor-force participation among males and females, and place matters. On all measures, males and females in the outer suburbs participate in the labor force in greater numbers than in the inner suburbs. The disparity is lowest among males between outer and inner suburbs. It is greatest between suburban females. Thirteen percent fewer females from the inner suburbs participate in the labor force as compared to outer suburbs.

Figure 43. Labor Force Participation by Gender in Metropolitan Baltimore, 2000

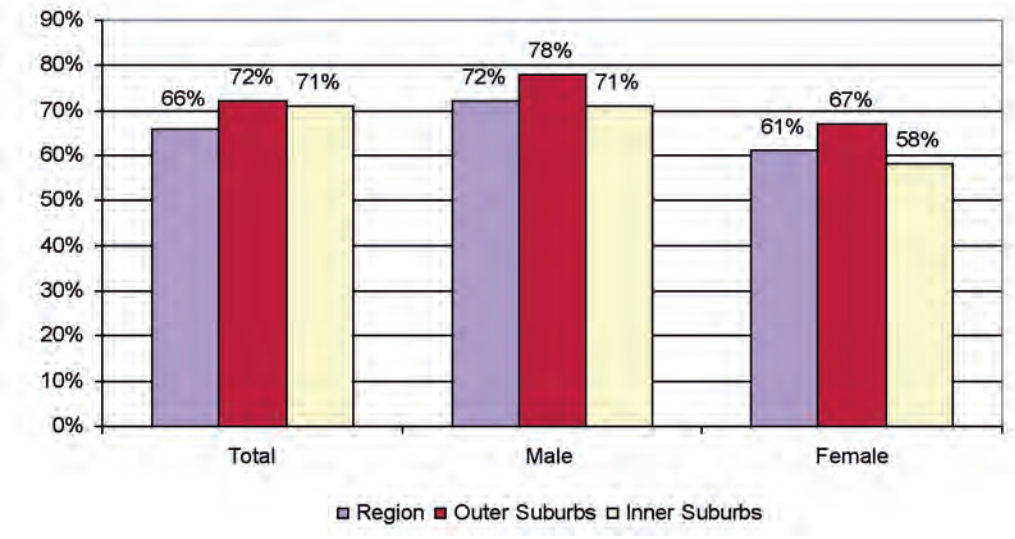
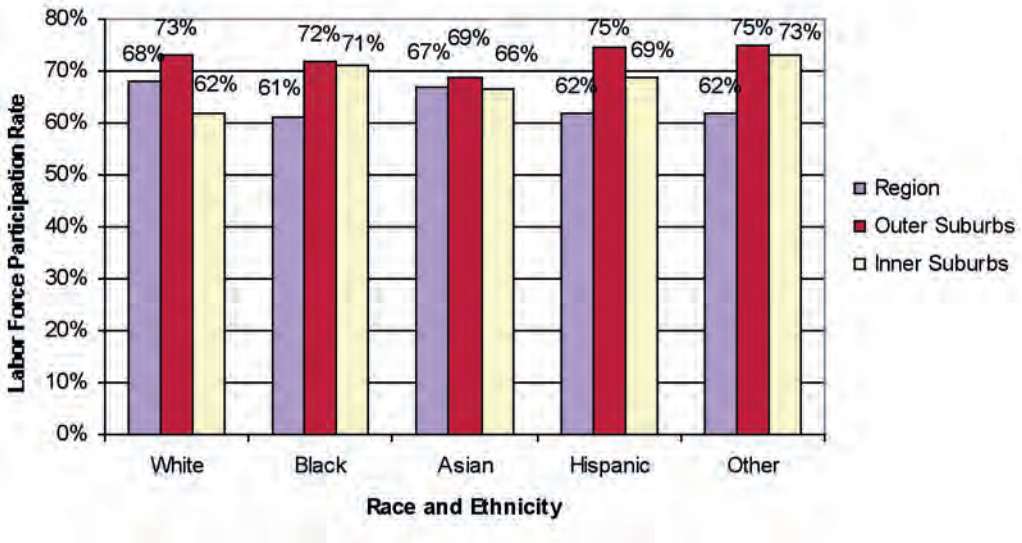


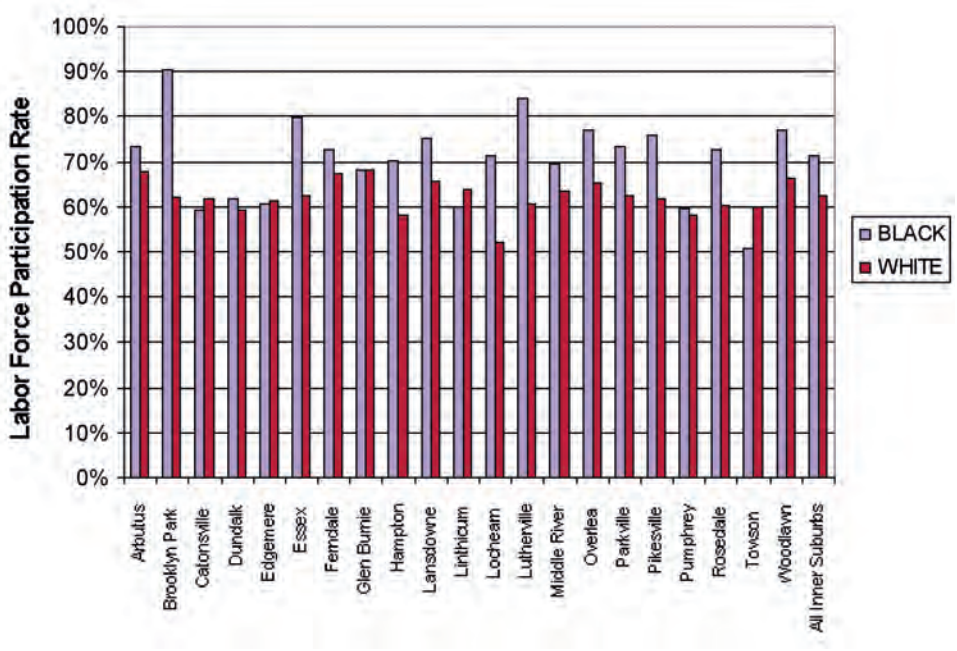
Figure 44. Labor Force Participation by Race in Metropolitan Baltimore, 2000



Labor-force participation also varies significantly by race and ethnicity, and place still matters. In the inner suburbs, blacks, Asians, Hispanics, and other races all have higher participation rates in the labor force. In the outer suburbs, there is little variation among races and ethnicities; over 70 percent of each group participates in the labor force.

Among Baltimore's inner suburbs, two trends prevail above all others. First, in every inner suburb except for Catonsville, Edgemere, Linthicum, and Towson, blacks participate in the labor force at higher rates than whites. Second, the difference between black and white participation rates is substantial. In nine inner suburbs (Brooklyn Park, Essex, Hampton, Lochearn, Lutherville, Overlea, Parkville, Pikesville, and Rosedale), blacks participate at rates of at least 10 percent or higher than whites. The disparity is most revealing in Brooklyn Park and Lutherville, where blacks participate at rates of 23 and 29 percent, respectively, over whites. In only three inner suburbs, Catonsville, Dundalk, and Edgemere, blacks and whites participate at nearly equal rates of 60 percent.

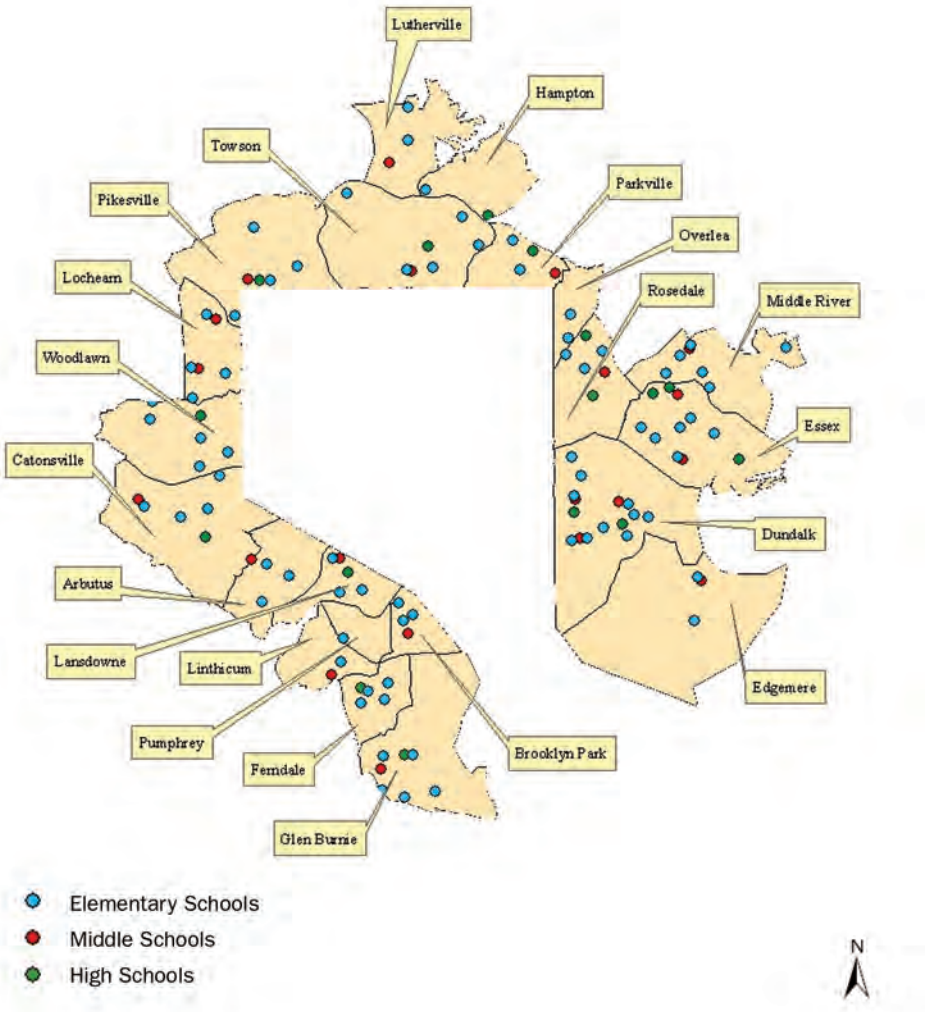
Figure 45. Labor Force Participation Rate by Race in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 2000



These labor-force trends are related to patterns of aging and migration of the population. Blacks are increasingly more economically mobile, and they have largely settled in Baltimore's inner suburbs. Similarly, blacks that settle in the inner suburbs are younger. In contrast, the white population in the inner suburbs has stagnated, and in some cases, has shrunk dramatically. This is the result of two ongoing demographic trends among white inner suburb residents. First, they are aging at faster rates than people in both Baltimore City and the outer suburbs. Second, younger generations have not replaced the aging population. Thus, a racial and social transformation has occurred in Baltimore's inner suburbs since 1980. Blacks have replaced subsequent generations in the inner suburbs. They participate in larger numbers in the labor force, and these disparities between whites and blacks are likely to continue as the white population ages.

10. WHO'S LEFT BEHIND?
Education in the Baltimore Region

Figure 46. Public Schools in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 2003



There are a total of 166 public schools in the inner suburbs, and the map indicates their spatial distribution.

A total of 392,994 students were enrolled in the public school system in the Baltimore Region in 2003. Of those enrolled, almost 95,000 students were enrolled in Baltimore City public schools; almost 76,000 in the inner suburban public schools and more than 222,000 in the public schools in the outer suburbs.

An indicator of poverty among students in the public school system is their eligibility and receipt of free and reduced-price lunches. Seventy percent of all students in the Baltimore City Public School System received free and reduced-price lunches. This is the highest percentage among all urban forms in the region. However, Baltimore's inner suburbs have the next highest percentage with 32 percent of all students in these places receiving free and reduced-price lunches. Over twice as many students in the inner suburbs received free and reduced-price lunches than students in the outer suburbs.

Figure 47. Students Eligible for Free and Reduced Price Lunch 2003

	Percent of Students	Total Number of Students
City	70%	65,757
Inner	32%	24,625
Outer	14%	31,615
All suburbs	19%	56,240
Region	31%	121,997

The high-school drop-out rate also varies between Baltimore City, the inner suburbs, and the outer suburbs, although the difference between the inner and outer suburbs is only 1 percent. Baltimore City has the highest high-school drop-out rate at 10 percent, followed by the inner suburbs at 3 percent.

Figure 48. High School Drop-Out Rate in the Baltimore Region, 2003

	Drop-Out Rate	Number of Students Who Drop Out	Total Number of High School Students
City	10%	2,938	28,070
Inner	3%	870	26,682
Outer	2%	1,722	73,031

In terms of school performance, the public schools in the outer suburbs out-perform all other schools in the region.

Figure 49. School Performance in the Baltimore Region, 2003 (Based on the Maryland School Assessment)

	5th Grade Reading			10th Grade Reading		
Urban Form	Advanced	Proficient	Basic	Advanced	Proficient	Basic
Baltimore City	7%	37%	56%	8%	20%	71%
Inner suburbs	26%	40%	32%	27%	31%	41%
Outer Suburbs	35%	42%	22%	38%	34%	28%
All Suburbs	32%	42%	25%	35%	33%	32%
Region	26%	40%	32%	29%	30%	41%

The results of advanced testing of students in the outer suburbs, when compared to Baltimore City and the inner suburbs, suggest there is a disparity in school performance among urban places in the Baltimore Region. Thirty-five percent of all tested students in the outer suburbs passed the advanced test in fifth grade reading compared to 26 percent of tested students in the inner suburbs and 7 percent in Baltimore City. Similarly, 27 percent of tested tenth grade students in the inner suburbs are considered advanced readers compared to 38 percent of tenth graders in the outer suburbs.

11. URBAN LANDSCAPES:
Land Use Patterns in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs

Baltimore's inner suburbs can be characterized by several distinct patterns of land use. The suburban landscape immediately surrounding Baltimore City is largely residential, with pockets of industrial, institutional, and green spaces. Residential parcels account for 40 percent of the inner suburban land use.

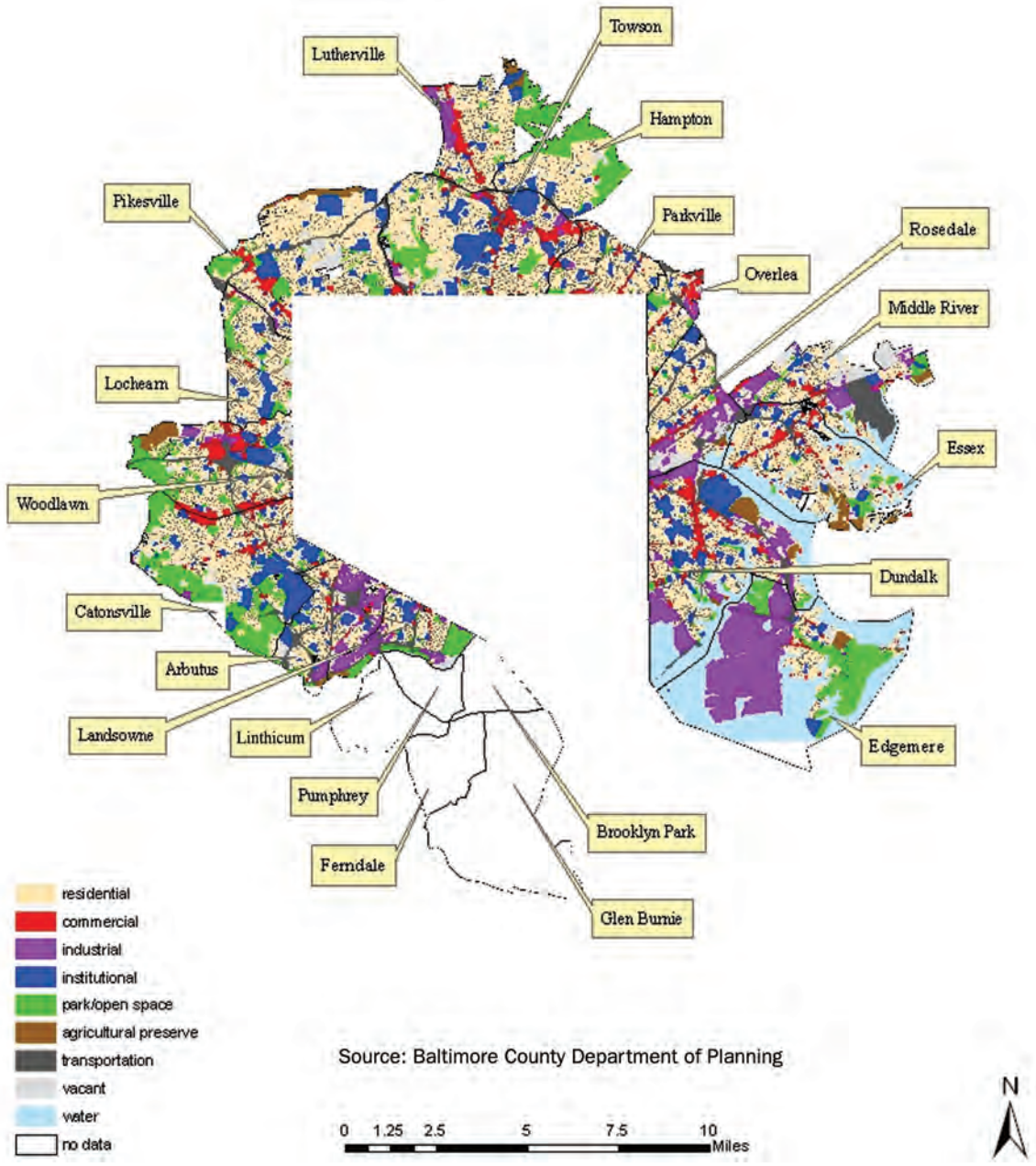
Figure 50. Land Use in Baltimore County, 2003

Land Use	Acres	Percent of Total
Residential	3,243	40%
Commercial	418	5%
Industrial	697	9%
Institutional	828	10%
Park/Open Space	905	11%
Agricultural Preserve	159	2%
Transportation	1,243	15%
Vacant	583	7%
Water	984	N/A
Total Land	8,076	100%

The next largest use is transportation, which accounts for 15 percent of the land. Some of the Baltimore region's largest transportation networks and uses are located in the inner suburbs. For instance, roadways such as the Baltimore Beltway (I-695), Interstate 95, Interstate 895, and a multitude of secondary streets connect suburban Baltimore with the greater metropolitan area. Also, the Baltimore Metro (subway), the Light Rail, and bus routes provide transit options throughout the inner suburbs.

Pockets of dense commercial, industrial, and vacant parcels are located on the northern and eastern suburban fringes of the region. Many of the region's institutions are housed in Baltimore's inner suburbs, including five major universities, three community college campuses, 166 public schools, and a variety of regional hospitals.

Figure 51. Land Use in Baltimore's Inner Suburbs, 2003



This report reviews the land use patterns of three typical inner suburbs of Baltimore.

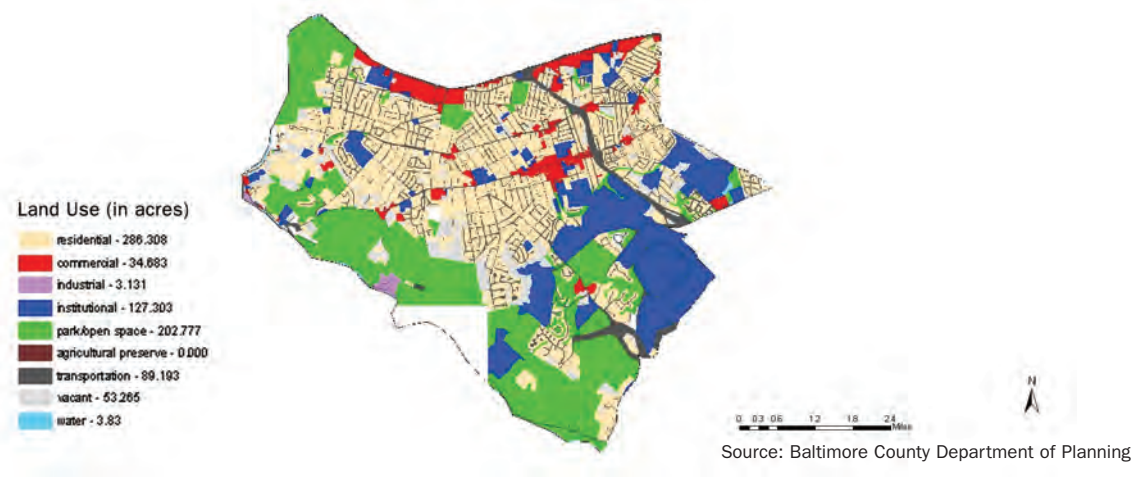
Catonsville

Situated in the southwestern section of Baltimore County, and sharing a political border with Baltimore City, Catonsville was initially a residential enclave during the suburban streetcar era. During the postwar years, the suburb grew substantially, and its land uses became varied. Spanning approximately three square miles, Catonsville's predominant land use is residential. There are 286 acres—just over one third of the land—dedicated to residential uses. Additionally, one quarter of the land in Catonsville is used for park and open space, providing some 200 acres of tree-lined streets and recreational parks.

Catonsville is also home to substantial institutional land uses, namely campuses of higher education. Sixteen percent of the land is used for these purposes. Both the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC) and the Community College of Baltimore County at Catonsville (CCBC) are located here, in addition to six public schools and Spring Grove Hospital.

Commercial properties, about 5 percent of the land use, are scattered throughout the suburb along the major transportation routes. There is virtually no industrial or vacant land.

Figure 52. Land Use in Catonsville, 2003

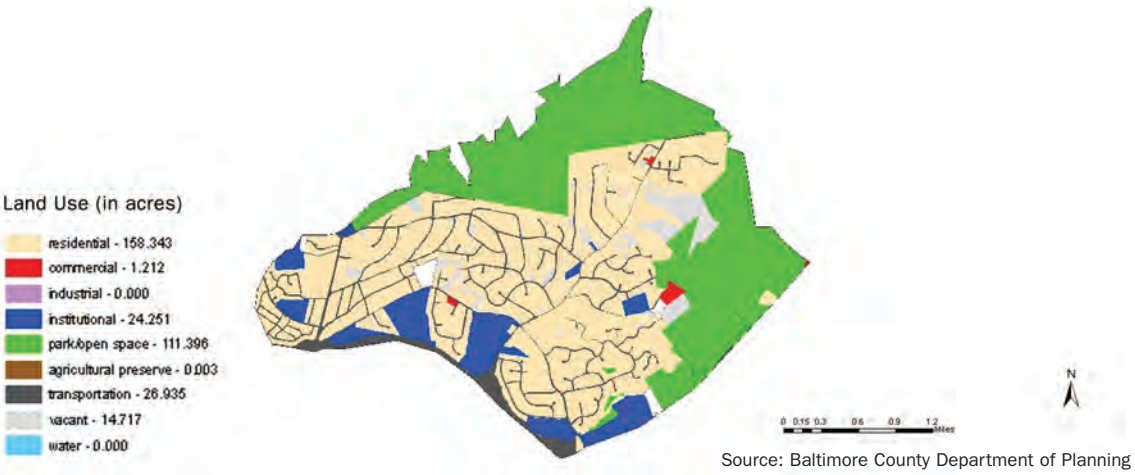


Source: Baltimore County Department of Planning

Hampton

Nestled just north of the Baltimore Beltway (I-695), Hampton can be classified strictly as a residential suburb. Housing developments are largely comprised of single-family units covering approximately half of the suburb. Fully one-third (111 acres) of the suburb is dedicated to park and open spaces, enhancing residential life in a green environment and lush landscape. Institutional uses are minuscule; public schools are scattered along the southern section of Hampton. Only three commercial parcels exist, and there is no industrial property.

Figure 53. Land Use in Hampton, 2003



Source: Baltimore County Department of Planning

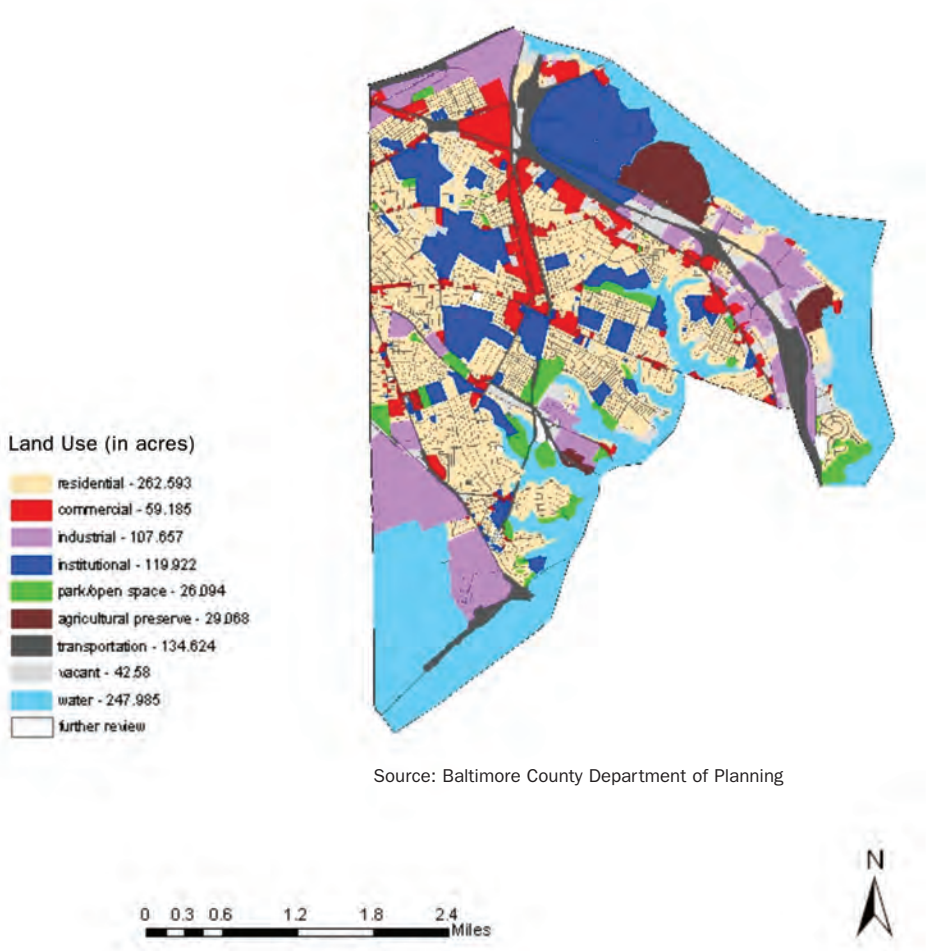
Dundalk

Situated directly to the south and east of Baltimore City, Dundalk historically served as both an industrial and residential hub for Baltimore heavy manufacturing. About one-third of the land is residential, and multiple other land uses are scattered throughout the residential sections. Most commercial parcels follow Dundalk Avenue; they constitute 8 percent of the land. Industrial and institutional uses each comprise 15 percent of the land. Dundalk houses multiple public schools, hospitals, and a campus for CCBC. Industrial parcels abut residential sectors throughout Dundalk.

Dundalk's transportation network covers approximately 17 percent of the land. Several major interstate highways pass through the suburb. Interstate 895 and the Baltimore Beltway cross through Dundalk.

The suburb's built environment is stark compared to Hampton and Catonsville. Open and park space comprises less than 3 percent of the land, albeit a large parcel of agricultural preserve. Five percent of land is vacant. Yet Dundalk is uniquely situated because there are some 10 miles of coastline on the Chesapeake Bay.

Figure 54. Land Use in Dundalk, 2003



Source: Baltimore County Department of Planning

12. IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

The indicators presented in this report raise several important public policy issues for the stability of Baltimore's inner suburbs. Policies employed to improve these suburban places should consider the following:

- The inner suburbs have unique qualities that can be enhanced and "marketed"

Baltimore's inner suburbs have the advantage of a "ready-made" infrastructure of sewer, roads, and reusable urban land. The inner suburbs have vacant land that is available for redevelopment in areas where the transportation networks are established and well-linked to Baltimore City and other employment centers in the Baltimore-Washington corridor. Many of Baltimore's inner suburbs also have access to the waterfront—a prime location for residential and commercial properties. These unique assets can be enhanced and "marketed" in an effort to ensure the future stability of the inner suburbs.

- Reinvestment in Baltimore's inner suburbs promotes sustainable development and Maryland's "smart growth" principles

All of Baltimore's inner suburbs are located in "priority funding areas." These areas delineate the boundaries for eligibility in Maryland Smart Growth programs such as Community Legacy and Neighborhood Partnership Program. The goal is to reduce the negative impacts of suburban sprawl (such as loss of open space, environmental degradation, and traffic congestion) by creating incentives to invest and redevelop neighborhoods and employment centers near existing urbanized areas. Policies that might help promote and further sustainable development include programs that:

1) Encourage Marylander's to live near their work

2) Offer incentives to attract and retain businesses in and around the urban core

3) Provide home ownership incentives for residential locations in the inner suburbs

- The inner suburbs contain some of the most affordable housing units in the Baltimore metropolitan area

The housing stock in most of Baltimore's inner suburbs remains the most affordable in the region. This is an asset that planners and policymakers can exploit. Since the Baltimore-Washington area is one of the tightest and most expensive housing markets in the nation, the inner suburbs might fare well by marketing the affordability of its housing stock. In a market where many new families, especially service workers in industries like teaching, police, firefighting, and nursing lack affordable housing, the housing stock in the inner suburbs may serve these individuals well as new starter homes.

- The current housing stock in many inner suburbs is struggling to compete in today's housing market

The housing stock in many of the inner suburbs is not competitive in today's regional housing market. Many of the houses and properties are small, both in terms of square footage, room size, and surrounding acreage. Planning strategies might be employed to increase the marketability of some housing stock. For example, consolidating houses (i.e., two adjoining houses can become one) may be feasible with "buy-in" and political support from the local communities. Discovering ways to enhance the marketability of the local housing stock will prevent destabilization of many communities in Baltimore's inner suburbs. However, these strategies should be employed in ways that do not price current residents out of the market since housing affordability, particularly among low income families, is a problem.

- The struggling school system in the inner suburbs has important implications for overall stability

The schools located in Baltimore's outer suburbs are out-performing all other schools in the region. This not only benefits outer suburban children, but it also makes these suburbs attractive to young families. Baltimore's inner suburbs need to employ strategies that improve the local school system for the benefit of all children.

- Inner suburbs are finding it difficult to cope with regional economic transformation

Many inner suburbs suffered disproportionately from the decline in manufacturing. Efforts to encourage industry and commerce to redevelop vacant industrial land and provide employment to local residents should be encouraged.

- Racial segregation among Baltimore's inner suburbs affects their stability

The Baltimore region is highly segregated by race, and the inner suburbs are no exception. Racially segregated neighborhoods undermine the socioeconomic stability of communities and create an exclusionary environment. Policies that promote residential integration should be pursued.

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