BALTIMORE POLICE DEPARTMENT – EDUCATION AND TRAINING SECTION

LESSON PLAN

COURSE TITLE: Community Policing (In-Service)

LESSON TITLE: Module 2 – Community Policing: How We Got Here

PREPARED BY: **DATE:**

REVIEWED BY: **DATE:**

APPROVED BY: Gary Cordner **DATE: 4/30/2021**

TIME FRAME	PARAMETERS
Total Lesson Hours: 2 Day/Time: Day 1, 0900-1100	Audience: In-Service Sworn Number: *(Specify Max/Min if applicable)* Space(s): Community Collaboration Room, Community Center, or Academy Classroom

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES	ASSESSMENT TECHNIQUE
1. Through lecture and discussion, students will be able to discuss, to the satisfaction of the facilitator, strengths held and challenges faced by Baltimore communities. 2. Through discussion and a group activity, students will be able to describe, to the satisfaction of the facilitator, cultural, social, historical, and economic factors that affect people living in Baltimore neighborhoods.	1. Student responses in full-class discussion and written responses on questionnaire. 2. Student responses in group activity 3. Student responses in group activity

3. Through discussion and a group activity, students will be able, to the satisfaction of the facilitator, to analyze the forces impacting the relationship between Baltimore communities and the police over time.	

MPCTC OBJECTIVES

(Ensure all objectives mentioned here are also added to the "Instructor Notes" column where they are addressed in the lesson)

n/a

INSTRUCTOR MATERIALS

Lesson plan
PowerPoint
Community Report Template

EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES NEEDED

Classroom with grouped tables
Computer/projector or Smartboard
Internet access
Chart paper with tape

STUDENT HANDOUTS

Baltimore Redline Map

METHODS/TECHNIQUES

Lecture
Class discussion
Group exercises

REFERENCES

Cassie, Ron. 2020. "The Great Migration," *Baltimore Magazine* (February). Online at https://www.baltimoremagazine.com/section/historypolitics/the-great-migration/.

Fee, Elizabeth, Linda Shopes, and Linda Zeidman, eds. 1993. *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History*. Temple University Press.

Fenton, Justin. 2010. “City Rape Statistics, Investigations Draw Concern,” Baltimore Sun (June 27). Online at https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-md-ci-rapes-20100519-story.html.

Mitchell, Alexander D. 2017. *Baltimore Then and Now*. Pavilion Books.

Pietila, Antero. 2010. *Not in My Neighborhood: How Bigotry Shaped a Great American City*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Stebbins, Samuel and Grant Suneson. 2020. “25 Most Dangerous Cities in America.” *WallSt.com* (October 7). Online at https://247wallst.com/special-report/2020/10/07/25-most-dangerous-cities-in-america-6/6/.

U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division. 2016. *Investigation of the Baltimore City Police Department*. Online at https://www.justice.gov/crt/file/883296/download.

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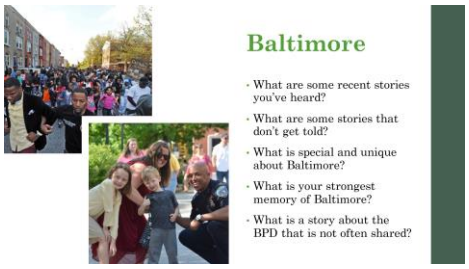
GENERAL COMMENTS

This is Lesson 2 of a 2-day course on community policing for in-service personnel.

LESSON PLAN: Community Policing (Module 2)

TITLE: Community Policing: How Did We Get Here?

PRESENTATION GUIDE	TRAINER NOTES
I. ANTICIPATORY SET Good morning. Let me introduce myself … We opened up today with an introduction to community policing, and the principles that will help the police and community members co-create the healthiest, most mutually beneficial relationship possible. One of the first steps to building toward that future relationship is understanding our collective past—the historical context that led us to this place. So, we are now going to deliver a very brief summary of a long history of Baltimore and its Police—a history that is still being written about us and *by* us.	**Time: 15 minutes** *The facilitators should briefly introduce themselves, including their police experience, relationships with the community, leadership roles in Baltimore, and any experience or expertise directly related to this training.* **Slide 1** 
When Baltimore is in the news, it is sometimes depicted as very one-dimensional. So, let's talk about the Baltimore that we know and love today. You all have a stack of cards at your seat. Please take five minutes to think about and respond in writing to the five questions you see here: What are some recent stories you've heard? What are some stories that don't get told? What is special and unique about Baltimore? What is your strongest memory of Baltimore? What is a story about the BPD that is not often shared? We'll ask that you share some of your responses with the group at the end of the five minutes. [Wait five minutes.]	**Slide 2**  *The attendees may be apprehensive about the content of the presentation based on the title. So, we want to prime participants for thinking positively and looking for the best in our current environments. The goal is to get*

Ask: What are some recent stories you've heard?
Ask: What are some stories that don't get told?
Ask: What is special and unique about Baltimore?
Ask What is your strongest memory of Baltimore?
Ask: What is a story about the BPD that is not often shared?

Great. See, there are so many amazing things about Baltimore and about the BPD that aren't talked about as much as they could or should be.

Now, of course there are also many big challenges in Baltimore. In Module 1 we looked at some data on public trust, and saw that confidence in police has fallen nationally and is problematic here in Baltimore. Now, let's quickly look at a few other statistics about our city. We need to be candid about the quality of life for many people here in Baltimore.

Slide 3

Of course, one indicator is crime. You are all too familiar with that. In 2019, Baltimore ranked #4 among big cities in its violent crime rate. Only Memphis, St. Louis, and Detroit had higher violent crime rates. The rates for 2020 aren't available yet, but they probably haven't changed much.

Baltimore also ranks poorly on a variety of social, economic, and health indicators, as you can see on Slide 2. In comparison to the rest of Maryland and to the whole country:

- People don't live as long.
- Children start out with deficits
- Poverty and unemployment are high.
- Home ownership is low.

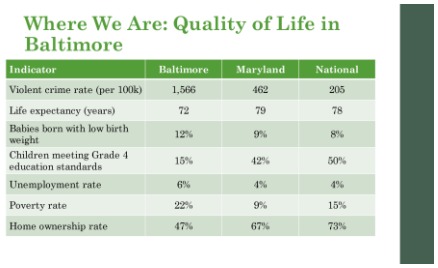
You deal with these conditions day in and day out. Baltimore's residents live with them, day in and day out. The question is, how did we get to this point?

participants to talk positively and reinforce that behavior in each other early in the session.

If participants are hesitant at first, feel free to offer examples of your own responses, or to ask a co-facilitator to respond.

Also feel free to ask one or two very brief follow-up or clarifying questions.

Slide 3



Slide 4 During this lesson, we'll mainly focus on two things: 1. Learning about historical issues affecting the residents and communities of Baltimore; and 2. Analyzing the role that police have played, nationally and here in Baltimore, that brings us to the situation we face today. In other words, how did we get here?	**Slide 4** 
II. INSTRUCTIONAL INPUT (CONTENT) So let us cover a bit of history – there's no other way to get an understanding of how we got here. Before we start, you should be aware that race is an important part of the history of policing and the history of Baltimore. So we'll be talking about it. Of course, talking about race is challenging for most of us. It can be emotional. **Slide 5** Shown on the slide is some advice for having "courageous conversations." Importantly, try not to get defensive, and don't expect that we'll all agree about everything. Remember, when we point out and criticize things that police have done, it's not about you personally. It's about the institution of policing, which, today, we're all a part of. The institution has had a history that has had a negative impact on some parts of the community, and the legacy of that history affects how many people look at police today. We need to be aware of it, even if we can't do anything to change what happened in the past.	**Time: 40 minutes** *Facilitators should carefully review the Instructor Notes at the end of the lesson plan. Some of that material has been incorporated here in instructional content, but familiarity with additional details will be necessary to deliver the lesson most effectively.* **Slide 5** 

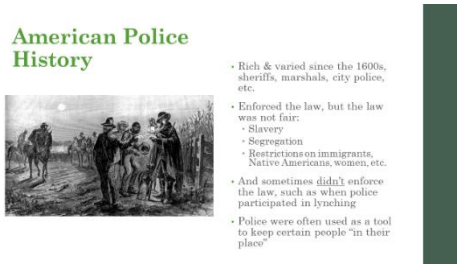
Slide 6

We aren't going to dwell on American police history, which many of you have probably studied before. It's a 400 year history, and lots of it is very positive. But it's also true that, right from the beginning, police were used to catch runaway slaves and return them to their owners, and to keep Native Americans and new immigrants "in their place."

Later, after slavery was abolished, we still had 100 years of segregation in this country, and who were called on to enforce those segregation laws? Police, of course. It's also true that we had close to 5,000 lynchings in our history. Many times, police participated, and other times they just stood by and didn't try to stop them from happening.

When we look back at this part of our policing history today, it's shameful. But it's part of our history nonetheless.

Slide 6

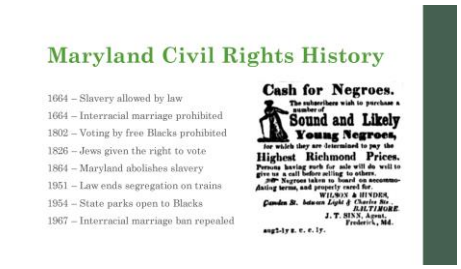


Slide 7

As you know, Maryland was one of the original colonies. It was founded on the principal of religious freedom – but that's not quite as commendable as it sounds. Only Christians were protected, with severe penalties for others.

It's also important to recognize that Maryland was a slave state. Maryland didn't abolish slavery until Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1864. After that, the state still had various forms of segregation, by law, into the 1950s and 60s.

Slide 7



Slide 8

Baltimore was founded in 1729 and became an incorporated city in 1796. By the 1820s it was the 3rd largest city in the country. The city became a major hub for railroads and shipping, largely because its port was much farther inland than Philadelphia or New York.

As the city's population grew, so did its borders. The

Slide 8

city's northern boundary was once located at Saratoga Street, with everything north of that being in Baltimore County. As the population began shifting toward the suburbs like Mount Washington, Highlandtown, and Canton, the city was able to expand until the state constitution was amended to prevent Baltimore from extending its boundaries any further. It was during this period that the wealthy residents of West Baltimore, mostly of German heritage, moved north and were replaced by African Americans.

Baltimore's population steadily increased until 1950, when it almost reached one million. Since then the population has been gradually decreasing, a condition shared with a lot of other older industrial cities in the U.S.

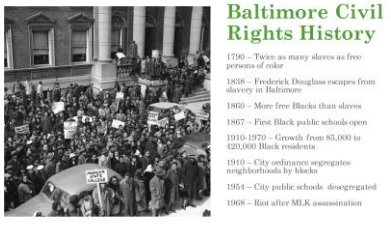
Slide 9

One thing to know is that Baltimore's Black community had been organized and vibrant since the city's beginnings, including churches, debating societies, musical groups, schools, unions, and more. After Emancipation and the Civil War, more Black Baltimoreans were able to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, principals, government workers and other types of professionals.

An important period in Baltimore's racial history was the Great Migration which began after the Emancipation Proclamation and continued to 1970. Many African Americans who lived in the South made their way to cities like Baltimore for better opportunities. As they competed with working class whites for jobs and for housing that had previously been reserved exclusively for white people, racial tensions repeatedly flared up in the form of riots. Competition was especially tense between Black residents and new immigrant communities that were not yet identified as white, such as people from Ireland and Italy.

Baltimore's Black population surged during the 1900s, with the city becoming majority Black in the 1970s.

Slide 9



However, schools were not desegregated until required by the Supreme Court in 1954. Even after that, various accommodations remained segregated, by law, into the 1960s.

Slide 10

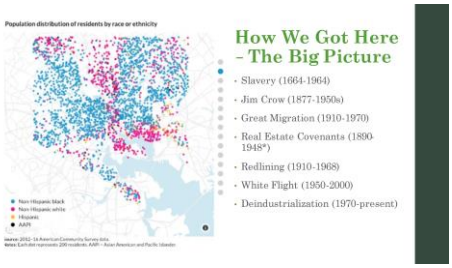
So we've quickly covered some of the timeline and details of Maryland and Baltimore history. With that in mind, this slide sums up the big picture of how Baltimore got to where we're at today, with its social and economic challenges.

We mentioned that shipping was a key element for Baltimore's early development and growth. Slave labor in the agricultural regions of Maryland, Virginia, and in other countries produced many of the raw materials shipped into Baltimore for manufacturing, refining, and or export, creating much of the region's wealth. Because of this reliance on slave labor, many Baltimoreans sympathized with the Confederacy even though Maryland was officially a pro-Union state.

The legacies of almost 300 years of slavery and then Jim Crow segregation were reinforced in Baltimore by a combination of city ordinance, redlining, and real estate covenants. When successful Black families moved into the houses on the West Side that whites had lived in previously, Baltimore's city council answered by pioneering the white block/Black block ordinance. The first in the nation, this local law required that new residents on a block maintain the racial dominance on that block. The entire city was broken up into white blocks and Black blocks. Black community members could not move into majority white blocks nor could white community members move into majority black blocks. Residential segregation was the law and did not happen by chance.

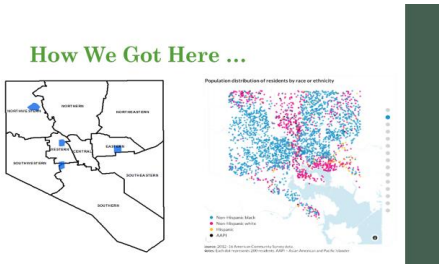
Now let's watch a 6-minute video that explains how redlining and real estate covenants reinforced segregation in Baltimore, and what the implications were.

Slide 10



The video is linked to the "Butterfly" map. Play it from the 0:13 mark to the 6:02 mark. The URL is https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O5FBJyqfoLM

As you just saw, unfair housing practices, including redlining, had ripple effects on schools, health, crime, and on family wealth. According to one study, today, average Black family wealth in the U.S. is only about 15% of White family wealth. The direct result of those housing practices in Baltimore is what you see on the map. The reddish "L" are white neighborhoods, mostly affluent, while the blue "butterfly" is made up of Black neighborhoods. Baltimore neighborhoods remain largely segregated to this day. What this means, today, is that lots of people in Baltimore are stuck in challenged, sub-standard, segregated neighborhoods – stuck in the sense that they wouldn't necessarily choose to live there, but forces of history and social structures have blocked other options. And being stuck means worse educational opportunities, less access to health care, higher rates of crime, and so forth. Which just keeps feeding on itself, of course. One additional factor is that the economic base of Baltimore City has been shifting due to de-industrialization. Basically, a lot of well-paying blue-collar jobs disappeared over time. These were jobs traditionally filled by people climbing the rungs of the economic ladder. Some of the blue-collar jobs were replaced by white-collar jobs requiring advanced education, and some by service-sector jobs with lower pay and, often, no benefits. To a substantial degree, opportunities for upward mobility for average city residents, White and Black, were blocked.	

Slide 11 **ASK**: Now look at the Butterfly Map in context of police districts. How does the map help explain Baltimore from a policing perspective?	**Slide 11**  *Look for:* • *The Eastern & Western Districts are at the base of the butterfly wings.* • *Large portions of the NW, NE, and SW make up the rest of the wings.*
Slide 12 We've gone over a lot of history in one hour. Let's take a 10-minute break.	**Slide 12**  **Break: 10 minutes**
Slide 13 Now let's shift our attention back to police. Think about the history we just went over. What was the role of police in that history? **ASK:** What was the role of police in slavery?	**Time: 40 minutes** **Slide 13**  *Look for:* • *Early police did slave patrols,*

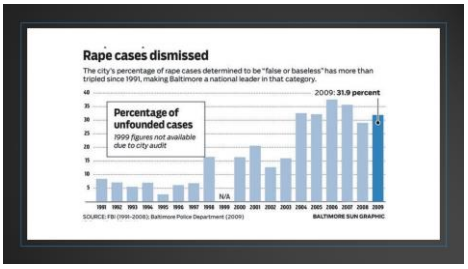
	watching for escaping slaves. These slave patrols were one of the earliest forms of policing in the U.S. ● *Police served the interests of slave owners, not slaves.*
Earlier we mentioned that the engine of Baltimore's economy in the 18th and 19th centuries was shipping, and that Maryland was a slave state, although it was not a member of the confederacy. Those facts are important because they are related to the two principal origins of policing in the United States. In the north, especially in mercantile cities like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, night watches were established to protect property used in trade. In the 19th century they evolved into police forces that were largely used to protect factories and industrial property from labor disruptions and violence—breaking strikes and quelling riots. In the south, night watches evolved into slave patrols that pursued runaways and returned them to slavery. Sheriffs were the principal agents of enforcing segregation in the south. So you see, Baltimore didn't have one version of early police. It had all of the above. As a segregated, industrial city with a major port in a slaveholding state on the border between north and south, Baltimore's diverse communities have had complex relationships with law enforcement for centuries.	
Slide 14	**Slide 14**
ASK: One aspect of history that we didn't discuss earlier was lynching. What role did the police play in lynching?	 *Look for:* ● *Sometimes the police*

	participated in killing Blacks who had not been given a trial. ● *Other times, police looked the other way and didn't try to prevent the lynching, and didn't investigate it afterwards.*
Slide 15 This photo is from Alabama in 1963. Notice the K-9 tactics. Also notice that everybody in the picture is African-American except the two white police officers. **ASK**: What was the role of police during segregation?	**Slide 15**  *Look for:* ● *Police enforced segregation laws.* ● *Police arrested Black people who were exercising their Constitutional rights related to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, voting, accommodations, etc.*
Slide 16 **ASK**: What was the role of the police in the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s?	**Slide 16**  *Look for:* ● *Police often forcibly interrupted peaceful protest.* ● *Police arrested Black people who were exercising*

	their 1st Amendment and other Constitutional rights.
Slide 17	**Slide 17** 
ASK: Looking back, we would say that the police were often on the wrong side of history. Why did they do what they did?	*Look for:* ● *They accepted the values of the dominant group in society.* ● *They enforced the law on behalf of the dominant group.*
ASK: What do you think are the consequences of this history, today?	*Look for:* *Because of this history, many people don't trust the police*
You might be thinking, but this is old history. And much of it is. But it happened, and when police do things today that look unfair, whether it occurs here in Baltimore or somewhere else, it reinforces what people have heard from their parents and grandparents. What does this mean for you? You can't change the past. But you should be aware of the memories and feelings of people who know about this past. Those are every bit as real as your memories and feelings. And, of course, you should do everything possible to demonstrate that we don't do things that way anymore. **Explain**: So if you look closely at the picture on this slide, it is Congressman John Lewis being beaten by the police. He was 25 years old at the time. It was "Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965 at the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama.	

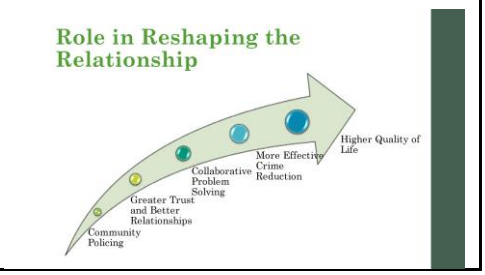
This information can help give us a perspective on why many people have such strong feelings about how policing is done in their community.	
Slide 18 That is Amelia Boynton-Robinson who was beaten unconscious by the Alabama State Police during that same civil rights march. She helped organize the march for both voter rights and because the Alabama State Police had recently beaten and shot dead a church deacon Jimmie Lee Jackson the month before while he was marching for voter rights.	**Slide 18** 
Slide 19 Here's the aftermath as the Alabama State Police leave.	**Slide 19** 
Now let's turn our attention to more recent history.	
Slide 20	**Slide 20** 
ASK: Where do the Rodney King and George Floyd incidents fit in the kind of history we've been talking	*Look for:* ● *They seem to be modern*

about? **Slide 21** Baltimore police have their own history of abusing their authority. We need to acknowledge that how we've policed this city has sometimes fit into the kind of historical patterns we've been talking about. Most of you weren't in the BPD in the late 1990s, but at that time we started implementing a zero-tolerance approach to quality of life offenses in an effort to deal with drugs and violent crime. The pressure was on to clear corners. Officers conducted tens of thousands of unconstitutional stops and weapons pat-downs, and made over 100,000 arrests in one year, 2004, mostly for loitering, trespassing, disorderly, etc. With a population of 641,000 in 2004, this equates to Baltimore Police arresting one-sixth of the city's population in just one year! Of course, one of the questions is whether zero-tolerance worked to reduce serious crime. **Slide 22** Here's what homicide numbers looked like in Baltimore over 27 years, including the zero-tolerance era in the late 1990s and early 2000s. **ASK**: What do you think were the short-term and long-term effects of that zero-tolerance strategy?	*examples of police having no regard for the rights of minority people.* ● *They are examples of police using violence against Black men.* **Slide 21**  **Slide 22**  *Look for:* ● *Homicides dropped by about 10% from 1999 to 2000, but then stayed flat through 2007.*

	● *The lowest years for homicide actually came along about 10 years after zero-tolerance.* ● *Thousands of residents were illegally stopped each year.* ● *Thousands of residents got fines, warrants, and criminal records for minor offenses.* ● *It created a lot of resentment toward police and damaged public trust.*
Slide 23 A different issue surfaced in 2010, when Justin Fenton of the Baltimore Sun reported BPD was classifying 30% of rape reports as unfounded, which was 5 times the national average.	**Slide 23** 
ASK: What do you notice about the data regarding BPD's rape cases on the chart?	*Look for:* ● *The number of cases identified as "false" more than doubled from 2003 to 2004, and then stayed high.*
ASK: Why is this significant?	*Look for:* ● *The change in statistics seems unrealistic or suspicious*
ASK: Who can explain what was really happening with these cases?	*Look for:* ● *Command was pressuring investigators to downgrade rape reports* ● *Many cases were classified as unfounded* ● *Victims were being treated unfairly/poorly*

This phenomenon fits into the pattern we've been talking about, since most of these rape victims who weren't treated properly by BPD were on the lower end of the socio-economic ladder, and most were women of color. This issue was another big hit to public trust. It showed BPD treating victims poorly, and it also raised questions about whether BPD could be trusted to tell the truth about crime in the city.	
Slide 24 We'll mention 3 significant stories from the last decade that have affected public trust. Since they're more recent, you're more likely to be familiar with these. ● Freddie Gray in 2015 ● Gun Trace Task Force in 2016-2017 ● Harlem Park Lockdown in 2017	**Slide 24** 
ASK: Can someone explain what happened in the Freddie Gray case?	*Look for:* *Freddie Gray was arrested after a foot chase, for having an illegal knife. He was injured during transportation to booking and later died. There was a serious riot after his funeral. Officers involved in his arrest and transportation were criminally charged but found not guilty. The city settled a civil suit for $6.4 million*
ASK: What would you do differently this time?	*Look for:* ● *Secure him properly in the transport vehicle* ● *Be better prepared for civil disorder in the aftermath*
ASK: How does policy now direct us differently so	*Look for:* ● *Policy now requires us to*

that, if followed, the outcome would likely be different?	*properly secure arrested persons during transportation, and equipment has been upgraded* ● *We are better prepared, through policy and training, for policing of lawful and unlawful assemblies*
Let's discuss the GTTF scandal. **ASK:** Who can explain what occurred with GTTF?	*Look for:* *The GTTF was a special BPD unit targeting guns and drugs. They were productive, but it turned out they were robbing and extorting drug dealers, selling drugs themselves, and routinely lying in reports and testimony. So far, 11 officers have pled guilty or been convicted; others are awaiting their fate, and the city is settling a multitude of civil suits to the tune of millions of dollars.*
ASK: What significance does this have in regards to the public's trust with our police department?	*Look for:* ● *It was corruption* ● *It was abuse of authority* ● *It questions whether BPD is serious about holding itself accountable* ● *Even though it was one special unit, it likely tarnishes the whole department in the eyes of the public*
Let's move on to the Harlem Park Lockdown. **ASK:** Can someone please summarize this incident for me?	*Look for:* *The Harlem Park Lockdown occurred when BPD Detective Sean Suiter was found to have been shot and killed with his service*

	weapon. A 6-block area was "locked down" for 6 days. Residents felt trapped in their homes and indiscriminately stopped and questioned whenever they went out. Their feeling was "BPD wouldn't do this in Roland Park."
ASK: What would you do differently this time regarding Harlem Park?	*Look for:* ● *Treat the neighborhood and its residents more respectfully* ● *Strike a better balance between the need to conduct a thorough investigation and the rights of residents and other people* *Play the 2-minute news clip. It's linked to the upper right-hand picture in the slide. The URL is https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62gMzgd_7D8*
ASK: What do you think is the net effect of these recent events?	*Look for:* ● *They reinforce, for many residents, that BPD can't be trusted, isn't honest, and doesn't treat all people fairly.*
ASK: So, is the situation hopeless?	*Look for:* ● *It's tough, but it's not hopeless.*
Slide 25 Remember what we saw in Module 1 – the two themes that came out of focus groups with city residents were: ● **Respect** – residents want police to show more respect for people in voluntary contacts, calls, stops, and arrests.	**Slide 25** 

● **Community interaction** – residents want police to interact more with residents, get more involved, walk foot patrols, and get to know neighborhoods better. We can do that. And also remember that other cities have faced tough problems too, and have used community policing to make progress in rebuilding public trust.	
III. EVALUATION/CLOSURE As we wrap up, consider the implications of what we have talked about this morning. It's our job at BPD to do our part in creating a better relationship with all the people of Baltimore. We can't undo what's happened in the past. But we can make sure that we treat people with respect and fairness, and that we tackle crime and disorder in a more thoughtful way, working together with the community. After lunch, we'll turn our attention to BPD's Community Policing Plan, including basic components related to engagement and problem solving.	**Time: 5 minutes** **Lunch Break: 1 hour**

Instructor Notes: These notes provide some additional background information that can help instructors be well prepared for this lesson.

Many people don't know the story of how Baltimore came to look and feel the way that it does. A decade before the Civil War began, Baltimore was one of the largest and most successful cities in the United States. Only New York was larger. Its economy was based principally in shipping and trade. That's an important point to remember for later. Shipping was the most important element of the Baltimore economy.

The vast majority of residents were working class families living in small rowhomes.

Slave labor in the agricultural regions of Maryland, Virginia, and in other countries produced many of the raw materials shipped into Baltimore for manufacturing, refining, and or export, creating much of the region's wealth. Because of the reliance on slave labor many Baltimoreans sympathized with the Confederacy even though Maryland was officially a pro-Union state.

Another important period in Baltimore's racial history is the Great Migration which began after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed and continued to 1970. Many African Americans who lived in the South made their way to cities like Baltimore for better opportunities. They competed with working class whites for jobs and for housing that had previously been reserved exclusively for white people, racial tensions would repeatedly flare up in the form of riots. Competition would be especially tense between Black residents and new immigrant communities that were not yet identified as white, such as people from Ireland and Italy.

As the city's population grew, so did its borders. The city's northern boundary was once located at Saratoga Street, with everything north of that street being suburbs in Baltimore County. As the population began shifting toward the suburbs like Mount Washington, Highlandtown, and Canton, tensions also grew between residents of "the city" and residents of "the county," until the state constitution was amended to prevent Baltimore from extending its boundaries any further. It was during this period that the wealthy residents of West Baltimore, mostly of German heritage, moved north and were replaced by African Americans. More than 50% of Black Baltimoreans lived on the west side of town.

The deep harbor and the businesses that benefitted from the water and rail shipping continued to attract large employers to Baltimore and the diverse people that wanted those good paying jobs through the 1950's.

Baltimore's neighborhoods as we know them today have been largely shaped by public policy and private actions that explicitly exploited or excluded African Americans, Jewish people, and other minorities.

Baltimore's African American community had been organized and vibrant since the city's

beginnings: Black churches, debating societies, musical groups, schools, unions, and more. After the Civil War, more Black Baltimoreans were able to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, principals, government workers and other types of professionals.

Their economic success allowed them to move into the houses on the West Side that whites had lived in previously. Baltimore's city council answered their economic success by pioneering the white block/Black block ordinance. The first in the nation, this local law required that new residents on a block maintain the racial dominance on that block. The entire city was broken up into white blocks and Black blocks. Black community members could not move into majority white blocks nor could white community members move into majority black blocks. Residential segregation was the law and did not happen by chance.

The law was found unconstitutional in 1917. By that time, however, developers had begun another discriminatory practice: restrictive covenants that kept Black and sometimes Jewish residents out of new suburbs like Roland Park, Guilford, Homeland and Old Northwood. That practice was found to be unconstitutional in 1948.

In the first half of the 20th century, Baltimore's Black residents were largely restricted to certain neighborhoods on the West and East sides. Neighborhoods became segregated by policy decisions and by law, not by resident choice. Baltimore's neighborhoods remain largely segregated today because of these laws and policies that were first implemented generations ago. Wilson Park and Morgan Park, two new Black developments, were the exceptions to this trend. Black residents were also kept out of the growing suburban neighborhoods sprinting up around the urban core.

During this time, the federal government produced the infamous redlining maps. You can see here on this map that neighborhoods were color-coded by the "amount of risk" related to home loans and home insurance and other financial products. A major "risk" factor was often the amount of Black people living in the neighborhood. And here in Baltimore, the number of Jewish residents was also considered a risk factor.

Race was a prominent factor of redlining, but it wasn't the only one. So, the map won't be completely divided by race, but there are clear trends. While the Wilson Park and Morgan Park developments were labeled blue just like older sections of Roland Park, the vast majority of neighborhoods with lots of non-white people were typically labeled red and high risk. Most neighborhoods that excluded non-white residents were labeled green and blue, indicating low risk. This intentional and planned disinvestment in Black neighborhoods, made it virtually impossible to get a loan to buy or improve a property in the red areas with a mortgage. It also became difficult to start or insure a business in red areas.

It's important to note that some white neighborhoods with older housing stock—such as South Baltimore—were labeled red as well. Redlining wasn't exclusive to Black and Jewish neighborhoods. But while white neighborhoods with older housing suffered similar fates to most Black neighborhoods, white *residents* had many options available if they wished to move out of redlined neighborhoods. Black residents, even those with means however, had far fewer options until the Fair Housing Act of 1968. And while many of the tactics restricting Black residents' options have been made illegal, subprime lending and other predatory financial practices against Black and non-white Hispanic people have been documented in the present day—reducing the value of properties and making it more expensive for minorities to buy or improve homes and businesses.

Wells Fargo, for example, paid more than $175 million in a 2012 settlement for charging Black and Hispanic borrowers higher fees and mortgage rates than white borrowers with similar qualifications, and for giving Black and Hispanic borrowers subprime mortgages when they qualified for traditional ones.

By the 1950's suburbanization was in full swing, and white families were moving to the suburbs, using government loan programs that excluded people of color. As people began moving to suburbs like Baltimore County and Anne Arundel County, businesses like banks and retail stores followed. And so did the jobs, with large manufacturers moving to suburban industrial parks near interstate highway exchanges. The jobs that didn't move to the suburbs left the country altogether, with manufacturing firms outsourcing factory work to foreign markets.

These factors and others combined to make fewer jobs available for Baltimore residents without college educations, and those jobs that were left were more expensive and difficult to reach so far away from city neighborhoods. The counties surrounding Baltimore became whiter and wealthier while Baltimore City's proportion of African American residents skyrocketed. At the same time, the overall population and economic opportunities in the city plummeted.

This is a map of Baltimore that depicts the distribution of Baltimore residents by race. The blue dots represent non-Hispanic Black residents. The pink dots represent non-Hispanic white residents, the yellow dots are Hispanic residents of any race, and the black dots represent Asian American and Pacific Islander residents.

Visualized this way, you can see what researchers call the "white 'L'" and the "Black butterfly".

We learned that redlining and other discriminatory policies and practices made it much more difficult to invest in minority neighborhoods—oftentimes making it nearly impossible to get

affordable financing for purchasing or improving a home or business. Take a look at these maps of investments in residential and commercial real estate in Baltimore by neighborhood.

Dr. Lawrence Brown explained that the mostly white neighborhoods in the shape of an "L" accumulated structural advantages from Baltimore's history of hyper-segregation and racist laws and policies while the mostly Black neighborhoods in the shape of a butterfly accumulated structural disadvantages due to those same forces. He described Baltimore's hyper-segregation as "the root cause of racial inequity, crime, health inequities/disparities, and civil unrest."

Earlier we mentioned that the engine of Baltimore's economy in the 18th and 19th centuries was shipping, and that Maryland was a slave state, although it was not a member of the confederacy. Those facts are important because they are related to the two principal origins of policing in the United States.

In the north, especially in mercantile cities New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, night watches were established to protect property used in trade. In the 19th century, police forces were used to protect factories and industrial property from labor disruptions and violence—breaking strikes and quelling riots.

In the south, night watches evolved into slave patrols that pursued runaways and returned them to slavery. Sheriffs were the principal agents of enforcing segregation.

So you see, Baltimore didn't have one version of early police. It had all of the above. As a segregated, industrial city with a major port in a slaveholding state on the border between north and south, Baltimore's diverse communities have had complex relationships with law enforcement for centuries.

Some of the distrust of law enforcement in communities of color and among working class people stems from these histories of valuing some lives less than others, valuing lives less than industrial profits, and even valuing lives only as lives*tock*. And the police were used to enforce those interests.

And while historical bases of the relationship between the community and the police are felt more than they're really known, contemporary depictions of the police and Baltimore are often front of mind.

The death of Freddie Gray in 2015 was obviously a major turning point in the relationship between the police and community. Without rehashing a play-by-play of the events during this period, we want to share some perspective from both sides of the relationship about how their lives and relationships have changed since Mr. Gray's death.