Opportunity Collaborative

BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BALTIMORE REGION

JUNE 2014

Baltimore Metropolitan Council

Study of Barriers to Employment Opportunities In
The Baltimore Region

The Opportunity Collaborative has been working since February of 2012 to develop cooperative strategies to address the challenges facing the Baltimore region. These strategies will be designed to reduce regional disparities and foster greater opportunity and success throughout the region. Ultimately, we hope that our efforts will inform policies and decisions that truly make for a greater Baltimore region.
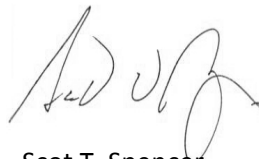
This report is the Opportunity Collaborative's second publication and a critical component of our efforts to develop a regional plan for sustainable development for the Baltimore region. In our first report, The Baltimore Regional Talent Development Pipeline Study, we forecasted job growth in targeted sectors for the next decade and recommended strategies to prepare our workforce to fill those jobs. In this study, we begin the process of addressing the myriad barriers that stand in our way. At the heart of our work is the goal of empowering all of our region's residents to tap into the social and economic opportunity in greater Baltimore. One necessary step in achieving our goal is an honest regional discussion about the obstacles people trying to access workforce opportunity face on a daily basis.

This study examines workforce barriers, not as individual impediments, but as an integrated network of challenges that require comprehensive, holistic and cooperative solutions. On their own, many barriers to employment seem manageable, but these barriers seldom operate in isolation. The barriers identified in this report function as a system, and we must design our solutions to respond in the same fashion. We hope that this report will be a tool for policy makers and decision makers throughout our region as we all work across silos to build a greater Baltimore.

We would like to thank the region's Workforce Investment Boards, community colleges, state agencies, and non-profit organizations that helped us shape this report. The Opportunity Collaborative operates through a process of inclusive cooperation and we are proud of the diverse partners who sit around our various tables. The strength of this study comes, in no small part, from the thoughtful and generous efforts of our members.

William H. Cole, IV
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For a Greater Baltimore Region.

Opportunity Collaborative

The Opportunity Collaborative is a coalition of local governments, state agencies and nonprofit organizations in the Baltimore region. This unique partnership was formed in 2012 to develop a Regional Plan for Sustainable Development. The plan will be published in early 2015 and will help all of our partners coordinate regional investments in housing, transportation and workforce development to connect all of our citizens to a prosperous future. **Consortium members include:**

The City of Annapolis • Anne Arundel County • Annie E. Casey Foundation • Associated Black Charities • Baltimore City • Baltimore County • Baltimore Integration Partnership • Baltimore Metropolitan Council • Baltimore Neighborhood Collaborative • Baltimore Regional Transportation Board • Citizens Planning & Housing Association, Inc. • Baltimore Regional Initiative Developing Genuine Equality (BRIDGE) • Central Maryland Transportation Alliance • Enterprise Community Partners • Greater Baltimore Committee • Innovative Housing Institute • Harford County • Howard County • Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development • Maryland Department of Planning • Maryland Department of Transportation • Morgan State University • University of Maryland National Center for Smart Growth • 1,000 Friends of Maryland

The Collaboration is funded by a Sustainable Communities Regional Planning Grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The work of the Collaborative is coordinated and staffed by the Baltimore Metropolitan Council.

Baltimore Metropolitan Council

The Baltimore Metropolitan Council (BMC) is the organization of the region's elected executives. BMC is committed to identifying regional interests and developing collaborative strategies, plans and programs which will improve the quality of life and economic vitality throughout the region. The BMC board of directors is composed of the mayor of Baltimore, the executives of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Harford and Howard counties and a member of the Carroll County Board of Commissioners.

BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BALTIMORE REGION

Final Report

Opportunity Collaborative

Prepared by

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Foreword

This study has collected foundational research to identify and analyze the barriers to employment opportunities that affect individuals in the Baltimore Region. The goals of the study are to determine the scope of barriers to employment opportunity, determine the degree to which selected barriers affect populations and demographic sub-populations of the region, and identify opportunities to reduce barriers to employment opportunity. The study is a supporting research step toward preparing a Regional Workforce Development Plan for the Baltimore Region. Information presented in the study will be used by the Workforce Committee to identify key areas of opportunity that will be the focus of Career Pathways to help low-income residents gain the education, skills, and other capacities necessary to connect to economic opportunities.

The study is based on a review of literature, interviews with workforce development managers, and a survey of over 1,000 active job seekers in the region. While many of the workforce programs target clients who are not currently in the talent pipeline, the survey focused exclusively on job seekers, not those who have dropped out of the job market or quit looking for work.

People Most Affected by Barriers to Employment Opportunity

	Racial/Ethnic Minorities		Lower-Skilled Adults		Women	Young People		People With a Disability	In Poverty	Region
	Black/African American	Other People of Color	No High School Diploma/GED	Only HS. Diploma	With Children Under Age 6	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Adults Over Age 16	Adults Over Age 16	All Adults Over Age 16
Size of Population										
Unemployment Rate	**15.8%**	**8.8%**	**20.4%**	**11.1%**	**11.5%**	**24.9%**	**18.2%**	**19.9%**	**38.7%**	**9.7%**
Labor Force Participation Rate	65.0%	71.3%	58.7%	66.5%	74.9%	39.4%	74.2%	45.7%	49.0%	67.7%
Population Over Age 16	605k	186k	124k	374k	131k	145k	192k	150k	171k	2,167k
Unemployed Population	62k	12k	15k	31k	11k	14k	26k	14k	32k	143k
Population Not Seeking Work	212k	53k	51k	92k	33k	88k	50k	81k	87k	700k

Major Barriers to Employment Opportunity

Education, Training & Skills Barriers

Many job seekers face four skill barriers to employment opportunity:
- **Basic Skills Barriers:** Poor math and reading skills or lack of a high school diploma/GED excludes workers from higher paying jobs.
- **Essential Skills Barriers:** Many workers lack skills in professionalism such as getting to work on time and professional work communication that affect their ability to maintain a job.
- **Computer Skills Barriers**: Workers who have low computer skills have more limited job opportunities.
- **Technical Skills Barriers**: Educational requirements are rising for many jobs with most jobs requiring some education and job skills training beyond a high school diploma.

Industry and Career Barriers

- There are practically no entry-level jobs for people with less than a Bachelor's degree that pay a family-supporting wage ($22 per hour).
- There are limited job and career opportunities that lead from entry-level jobs to mid-skill jobs (requiring less than a Bachelor's degree) that offer a living wage.
- The cost of college education or career training is high.
- New entrants to the job market and displaced workers report that they are are unsure what career they want to pursue. They also report that they don't know where to get training.
- Limited work experience keeps many workers, from obtaining their first job. This affects both young people and middle-aged adults who have little or no work experience.

Transportation & Housing Barriers

- Most Baltimore Region residents living in low-income neighborhoods can not effectively travel by public transportation to growing job centers in areas north and south of Baltimore City.
- Limited service schedules at off-peak times keep 2nd and 3rd shift workers from getting to work or getting home.
- The cost of public transportation is high as a percentage of income for low income residents.
- Lack of a driver's license excludes workers from many jobs in sectors like transportation, logistics and construction; other jobs require a drivers license for identification. Obtaining a driver's license is very challenging for low income people.
- A lack of permanent, affordable, quality housing keeps workers from maintaining a job and remaining out of poverty.

Social Barriers

- Many low income adults can not afford necessities to apply for a job such as a bus ticket or professional attire.
- Low income adults often face high costs of housing and transportation as a percentage of their average income.
- Criminal records exclude a fifth of job seekers from most job opportunities.
- Limited personal support systems lead to lower resilience when low-skilled or low-income people encounter a set-back. This can destabilize their progress when trying to move out of poverty.
- Health problems, mental health problems and addictions are a barrier for many individuals that may preclude their capacity for work.
- Social networks fall along racial and gender lines and influence who gets referred for a job opening.
- Transit travel times to child care, work, and other services can be prohibitively long.

Structural Racism

- Policies and practices that are rooted in structural racism limit hiring and career advancement opportunities for African Americans.
- Narrow recruiting practices at some employers do not target African American professional networks or educational institutions.
- In many workplaces, African Americans lack adequate mentoring, networking opportunities, and professional development or training opportunities leading to higher-level positions.
- Lower income communities that are predominantly African American have fewer resources and social and economic capital. These challenges create negative outcomes that manifest as lower performing schools, higher poverty, higher crime, and limited opportunities, placing individuals at a disadvantage from the start.
- Targeted law enforcement in lower-income and other communities of color ensure over-representation of African Americans in the criminal justice system, truncating their future employment opportunities.

System Limitations

- Workforce development is mainly funded through federal resources that are declining.
- Conflicting program requirements limit the extent to which workforce development staff can leverage multiple resources to help an individual.
- Program rules for TANF participants create a disincentive for recipients to earn higher incomes. If they progress in their career and earn more, they will lose benefits that can not be replaced at an incrementally higher wage.
- There is limited Adult Basic Education (ABE) to help individuals master basic math and reading skills needed to obtain their GED.
- Schools lack resources to offer GED classes for students up to age 21.
- Program requirements inadvertently discourage agencies from spending resources on people with multiple employment barriers.

See Endnotes for Sources.[i]

Executive Summary

The competition for jobs in the Baltimore Region increased dramatically in the last several years. Between 2005 and 2012, for every three new highly skilled individuals entering the labor market, one low skilled worker dropped out or was left unemployed. As a result, between 2007 and 2012, the number of Baltimore Region residents living below the federal poverty level increased by over 46,000 adults. Most of the region's low-skilled job seekers face multiple and complex barriers to employment opportunity that have been getting worse. These include:

- **A challenging job market:** Approximately 62% of job seekers report that they are unable to find a job that offers a living wage, 41% indicate that they have been laid off from a job and need new skills, and 49% indicate that the cost of obtaining the training or education they need is too high. The realities of the job market reflect the barriers: Over half (53%) of new jobs that are expected to be created between 2012 and 2020 will have *minimum* education requirements that are beyond a high school diploma and virtually all of the jobs that don't require at least some college education have average wages that are less than a living wage.[ii]

- **Interconnected social barriers**: Many of the region's job seekers have barriers that may appear manageable alone, but become difficult in combination with correlated barriers. For instance, nearly a quarter of job seekers (23%) report that they lack of a driver's license. A license is a requirement for many jobs in sectors like construction or transportation, but obtaining one is a complicated process, requiring proof of residence, proof of identity, vehicle insurance, and other requirements which may be difficult for individuals in transitional housing or without financial resources to afford.

- **Transportation and housing barriers:** A quarter (25%) of job seekers indicate that they can't get to jobs accessing public transportation and 23% face difficulties finding permanent housing. According to workforce development directors, most transportation problems are linked to the distance between where most low-skilled or low-income workers live (e.g. in Baltimore City) and where most new jobs are being created (outside the city). For parents, the transit travel times can be very long if they must first travel to child care and then again access transit to go to work. For some communities, such as the Cherry Hill neighbourhood, travel via public transit to nearby job centers like BWI airport requires travel times that exceed an hour and fifteen minutes. Less than a fifth of the region's jobs (18.2%) are transit-accessible to a Cherry Hill resident, and even fewer jobs are transit-accessible in the construction sector, in manufacturing, in transportation and logistics, in information technology, or in business services – sectors that are more likely to offer middle-skilled jobs that pay a family-supporting wage.

- **Barriers related to having a criminal record**: One in five job seekers in the Baltimore Region (21%) reported that they have a criminal record and that it is a barrier to employment. These individuals face a variety of barriers to getting hired due to company practices for security backround checks of new hires or because workers must obtain a security clearance for their job (e.g. a Transportation Worker Identification Credential (TWIC) Card or other government security credential is required at the Port of Baltimore and BWI).

- **Barriers caused by basic reading and and basic math skills deficiencies**: Undeniably, basic math and reading skills are a necessity for many jobs and they are a prerequisite for entering education programs that lead to higher paying jobs. In the survey of the region's job seekers, 30% of job seekers indicated that low math skills were a barrier to employment, 28% reported having difficulties with basic computer skills, 14% reported literacy problems as a barrier, and 13% reported that lack of a high school diploma was a barrier. Furthermore, workers without a high school diploma are much more likely to experience multiple barriers to employment opportunity, contributing to a disproportionately high unemployment rate and a low rate of labor force participation.

- **Structural Racism**[iii]: Historically, structural racism has had an impact on our region, and through time and conscious effort the region has made positive strides. Yet, several studies have shown that structural racism continues to shape access to opportunity through policies, practices, and biases.   A 2013 study[iv] by the ACLU found that policies resulting in targeted law enforcement in communities of color result in over-representation of African Americans in the criminal justice system, truncating their future employment opportunities.   A 2012 study by the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission[v] found that unconscious biases and perceptions about African Americans continue to play a significant role in employment decisions in the federal sector. The same study found that African Americans lack adequate mentoring and networking opportunities for higher level and management positions and that insufficient training and development assignments perpetuate inequalities in skills and opportunities for African Americans. Other studies have found that hiring practices can reinforce racial inequalities; one study[vi] found that when two individuals with equal credentials apply to a job opening, a white applicant with a criminal history has a higher chance of a call back than a black applicant without one. These examples of institutional racism contribute to high unemployment and low career advancement outcomes for Blacks. African Americans represent just over a quarter (28%) of the region's working age population and account for nearly half (49%) of all unemployed people. A survey of job seekers performed for this study found that practically all of the aforementioned barriers to employment opportunity disproportionately affect Blacks. These indicators suggest that despite federal legislation in 1965 that made discrimination illegal, a complex array of historical, cultural, educational, institutional, and interpersonal dynamics continue to produce cumulative and chronic barriers for people of color. While structural racism operates alongside other factors like individual choices, behaviors and circumstances, political and economic structures, environment, and exploitation that also shape a person's access to opportunity – and is therefore difficult to isolate – these examples illustrate how structural racism operates in ways that directly affect people of color.

> "The term structural racism refers to a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity."
>
> - Structural Racism and Community Building, Aspen Institute, 2004

While the region's challenges and barriers to employment opportunity are increasing and more Baltimore residents are falling into poverty, the level of resources available to workforce development organizations is declining. In Baltimore City, funding from the federal Workforce Investment Act (WIA) that pays for the majority of services provided through the city's Employment One Stop Centers declined

by 52% between FY 2002 and FY 2012, dropping from $13.7 million to $6.6 million.[vii] Community-based programs for workforce development often face challenges expanding the reach of their programs due to the high costs of providing effective services. Maryland's new EARN grant program offers funding for industry-led training partnerships and the program is a step in the right direction, but beyond the EARN program there are no significantly large funds available from the state for workforce development.

In addition, the rules governing the use of resources that are available for workforce development have policy problems that make them difficult to leverage. Workforce development managers report that differences in eligibility requirements between WIA, Temporary Assistance Needy Families (TANF), Pell Grants, and other funding streams make it difficult to leverage multiple resources to help an individual. In the area of basic adult education, regulations can also make it difficult for schools to enroll students in a GED program. Currently in Maryland, a school that enrolls someone up to age 21 in a GED program is not allowed to count that individual in their Full Time Enrollment (FTE) total and receive funding for that enrollment. As a result, many schools do not offer GED options because they will not recoup any funding. If, however, schools were able to count these enrollments as part of their FTE, there is a potential to expand the level of Adult Basic Education available.

Five action areas are recommended to reduce the region's barriers to employment opportunity:

1. Implement a variety of sector-based workforce development strategies that offer a larger menu of pathways into family-supporting careers.
2. Increase the availability, awareness, and completion of Adult Basic Education (ABE) and GED preparation courses.
3. Improve the availability of transportation between low-income neighborhoods and high-growth job centers.
4. Eliminate unconscious and implicit biases and perceptions of people of color that support structural racism in the workplace and in communities.
5. Increase the level of resources available to industry and workforce development organizations.

Further detail on these recommendations is presented in the full report, providing stakeholders with guidance on how they may be implemented and further recommendations will be made in a forthcoming regional workforce development plan. Because Baltimore's barriers to employment opportunities are rooted in deep, structural issues that do not change easily, real change with these issues will not come without focused leadership, alignment of action plans, and increased resources. There are many opportunities for workforce development organizations, state and local governments, policy-makers, educational stakeholders, unions, churches and community organizations to show leadership and take action within each of the five action areas. A promise of a future Baltimore Region in which fair and equal opportunities are available to all will depend on the coordinated action and leadership of all of these players.

Life With Barriers to Employment Opportunity

At 725 Fallsway, near Downtown Baltimore, Our Daily Bread Employment Center provides meals for 700 to 1,000 people per day and accepts a select few men to enter Christopher Place Employment Academy, a live-in employment academy with 60 beds. With an outstanding program completion rate near 85% and an employment placement rate near 100%, Christopher Place prepares a few of Baltimore's disadvantaged men to overcome barriers to employment and success.

Following months of training in the program's highly structured environment, a group of 15 men, dressed in professional attire, recently sat down to discuss what they see as their top barriers to employment. Gary dropped out of high school and has been preparing for the GED exam over the past six months, taking math and reading classes in the afternoon, tutoring at night, and computer classes on the weekend. He hopes to pass the exam and enter a carpentry apprenticeship. Martin is thankful for the help he's received expunging his criminal record and learning how to talk about it with employers. With help, he's obtained his social security card, birth certificate, and drivers license to get prepared to apply for jobs. Successful anger management, money management, and professional work habits are goals for Robert. He acknowledges that it will be a continual challenge to take the bus early enough each day to get to work on time. Rodney is learning to use his whole day constructively as he recovers from years of drug addiction. DeShawn has completed a resume workshop and a pre-apprenticeship program and he is now polishing his interview skills. All of the men acknowledge that getting the job is just the first challenge they will face. Next will come the more difficult barriers that can threaten to destabilize the progress they have made – barriers like an unexpectedly high electric bill that blows their budget, or a family illness that takes them away from work. There are a lot of potential set backs these men will face while they struggle to make ends meet working low-wage entry-level jobs.

A few blocks away, My Sister's Place Women's Center provides homeless women and children with meals, showers, and a place to get mail and make phone calls. The center helps women overcome barriers to financial stability by helping them find affordable housing, get treatment for mental health issues, and access safety net programs. Most of the women in the program face a complex set of barriers to employment ranging from sporadic or nonexistent employment history, lack of funds to afford even a bus ticket for a job interview, or a criminal record that disqualifies them from most jobs that can support a family. For mothers, finding access to affordable, reliable, and safe childcare is an additional barrier – and those who rely on public transportation find it time consuming and frustrating to be away from their children as they travel for extra hours at off-peak times for a 2nd or 3rd shift job. Some of the women are not working and are living on SSI or SSDI income that comes with medical insurance –benefits that they will lose if they take a job that pays a minimum wage. At the same time, a low wage job does not pay enough to replace the benefits they will lose by taking the job, and many entry-level jobs available to these women offer few opportunities for advancement and limited opportunities to gain marketable work skills for higher paying positions. These complex barriers leave many of Baltimore's low-skilled men and women trapped in a cycle of poverty, despite hard work and determination. While homeless men and women face dire situations, the barriers that keep them from accessing employment opportunities are also affecting many Baltimore residents who are not homeless.

These barriers keep them stuck in low-wage jobs without upward mobility and keep many of Baltimore's residents from entering the employment pipeline at all.

The Bigger Picture: Baltimore Region Residents Experience Stark Disparities in Employment Outcomes

Statistics from the American Community Survey (ACS) highlight the stark disparities in the region's employment rates that fall along racial, educational, age-related lines. According to the ACS, in 2012, unemployment of people age 25 to 65 was 8.6%. Whites had a lower unemployment rate at 7.3%, while the unemployment rate for Blacks was more than twice as high at 15.8%. Unemployment rates were also higher than average for Hispanics and Latinos and people of multiple races. People of color represent a third of the region's population over age 16, but represent more than half of people unemployed. **African Americans, in particular, represent just over a quarter (28%) of the region's working age population and account for nearly half (49%) of all unemployed people.**

The differences in employment outcomes are further polarized by level of education. Individuals with a Bachelor's degree or higher had a low unemployment rate of 3.1% in 2012, enjoying much better employment opportunities than those with lower levels of educational attainment. By contrast, the unemployment rate for people with less than a high school diploma was 20.4%. Conditions were comparatively better for people with a high school diploma (11.1% unemployment), and people with some college or an associate's degree (9.7% unemployment), but unemployment rates for these individuals were still higher than the regional average. It is important to note that both education levels and race affect employment outcomes, but independently. While higher education results in better employment outcomes, at every educational level, unemployment for Whites is lower than unemployment for African Americans with comparable educational attainment.

Age and life phase also play a role in employment outcomes. According to the ACS, workers age 45 and older had lower unemployment rates, especially in the age 45 to 54 category, which had an unemployment rate of 6.4%. By comparison, workers age 20 to 24 had an 18.2% unemployment rate and young people age 16 to 19 had an unemployment rate of 24.9%. Unemployment rates for women age 20 to 65 are lower than unemployment rates for men (7.8% vs. 8.5%), except for mothers of young children; women with children under age six at home had an unemployment rate of 11.5%.

The Opportunity Gap is Widening

The disparities between Blacks and Whites, between younger and older workers, and between those with high and low levels of education have been longstanding, but the recession increased these differences, creating wider gaps in employment outcomes. In 2006, the unemployment rate for Whites was 4.2% and the unemployment rate for Blacks was 11.0% - a 6.9-point difference. After the recession, in 2012, unemployment among Whites had climbed to 7.3% but unemployment for Blacks increased to 15.8% - an 8.5-point difference.   Studies have linked these differences to racial biases of employers with Blacks being laid off first during a recession and blacks receiving fewer call-backs for interviews as whites
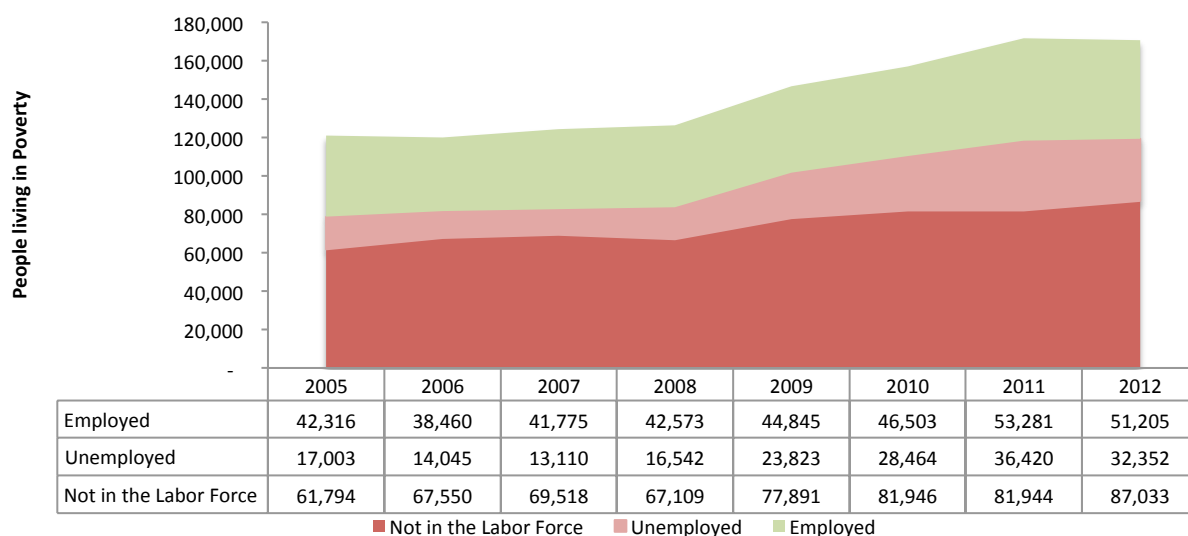
with comparable qualifications. [viii] The widening of disparities is more pronounced for people with lower levels of education. In 2006, the unemployment rate for people with less than a high school diploma was 9.7%; by 2012, the unemployment rate for these individuals had more than doubled, rising to 20.4%. The unemployment rate also increased for people with a Bachelor's degree or higher, but to a much lesser extent, increasing from 2.5% unemployment in 2006 to 3.9% in 2012. In effect, the disparity between people with high and low levels of education increased from a 7.2-point difference in 2006 to a 16.6-point difference in 2012.

As the recession took hold – two trends placed new pressures on low skilled workers: First, the number of jobs available declined; and second, financial pressures led a growing percentage of workers with *high* levels of education to enter the labor force and begin seeking work. These two trends sharply increased the competition between high skilled and low skilled candidates for a shrinking number of jobs. Between 2005 and 2012, the labor force participation rate for workers with some college increased from 80.9% to 82.1%, and the participation rate for workers with a Bachelor's degree and higher increased from 86.4% to 89.0%. As a result, between 2005 and 2012, the number of high skilled labor market participants age 25 to 65 who had some college education increased by over 104,000 workers (increasing from a labor force of 749,300 workers in 2005 to 853,600 workers in 2012). Concurrently, more low skilled workers become unemployed while the labor force participation for workers with less than a high school diploma declined from 64.3% in 2005 to 58.7% in 2012. The combination of rising unemployment and declining labor force participation meant that the number of lower skilled adults with a high school diploma or less, who are unemployed or not seeking work, increased by nearly 29,000 individuals. **In effect, for every three new highly skilled individuals entering the labor market, one low skilled worker dropped out or was left unemployed. These trends have resulted in a growing number of people in the Baltimore Region who are living below the federal poverty level** (Figure 1).

Figure 1 Baltimore's Growing Poverty: People in Baltimore Living Below the Federal Poverty Level by Employment Status. (Employed, Unemployed, and Not Participating in the Labor Force)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Employed	42,316	38,460	41,775	42,573	44,845	46,503	53,281	51,205
Unemployed	17,003	14,045	13,110	16,542	23,823	28,464	36,420	32,352
Not in the Labor Force	61,794	67,550	69,518	67,109	77,891	81,946	81,944	87,033

■ Not in the Labor Force   ■ Unemployed   ■ Employed

Source: American Community Survey, Annual Estimates

In the five years between 2007 and 2012, the number of adults living below the federal poverty level grew from 124,400 individuals to 170,600 individuals – an increase of 46,200. The figures reflect not just an increase in poverty, but also an increase in the working poor. In 2007, 55.9% of people living below the poverty line were not seeking work. By 2012, this figure had dropped to 51.0% as a growing number of people living below the poverty level sought work. Despite their intentions, the unemployment rate for people living in poverty grew from 23.9% in 2007 to 38.7% in 2012, a worrisome indicator that many people in the region are increasingly cut off from employment opportunities.

Complex Barriers Keep Many Baltimore Residents from Accessing Employment Opportunities

The barriers that keep many of Baltimore's residents from gaining access to family-supporting careers are interconnected and complex. Workforce development managers are quick to point out that people who come through their doors usually face multiple barriers to employment and a survey of over 1,000 job seekers in the Baltimore region found that the majority (82%) of job seekers face at least three barriers to employment and more than half of job seekers (55%) report facing six or more barriers (Figure 2).

Figure 2 Ranking of Barriers to Employment Opportunity – Percentage of Job Seekers Encountering Barriers and Percentage of Workers Who Rate Each Barrier as a "Major" Barrier (Score of 4 or 5 on a 5-point scale), Baltimore Region

Source: Survey of Job Seekers in the Baltimore Region, 2013, n=1037. Responses are weighted by demographic and geographic variables from the American Community Survey 5-year Estimates 2012.

Industry and Career Barriers

According to job seekers, some of the top barriers they face are linked to a changing job market and the high costs of obtaining the skills or credentials needed to participate in it. Approximately 62% of job seekers report that they are unable to find a job that offers a living wage, 41% indicate that they have been laid off from a job and need new skills, and 49% indicate that the cost of obtaining the training or education they need is too high. The realities of the job market reflect the barriers: Over half (53%) of new jobs that are expected to be created between 2012 and 2020 will have *minimum* education requirements that are beyond a high school diploma and virtually all of the jobs that don't require at least some college education have average wages that are less than a living wage.[ix] Industry sectors such as healthcare and manufacturing have traditionally offered middle-skilled jobs, but are shifting toward jobs with higher educational requirements (i.e. In the healthcare sector, well-paid jobs for registered nurses who have completed a two-year or three-year educational program are being replaced with jobs that require a four-year Bachelor's of Nursing degree).[x] Many displaced workers who have been laid off require re-training or education before being able to move into a job that offers comparable wages to the one that is lost; but if the job seeker has difficulties with basic math, basic literacy, or basic computer skills, the prospect of returning to school may seem unattainable. In addition, the cost of training can be a limiting factor: the tuition for training programs at the region's private career schools and community colleges range from a few hundred to tens of thousands of dollars - costs that may seem too high for the one third (32%) of the region's job seekers who indicate that they are unable to afford basic work necessities such as a bus ticket, work boots, or professional work clothes.

Interconnected Social Barriers

Many of the region's job seekers have barriers that may appear manageable alone, but become difficult in combination with correlated barriers. For instance, nearly a quarter of job seekers (23%) report that they lack of a driver's license. A license is a requirement for many jobs in sectors like construction or transportation[xi] but obtaining one is a complicated process. In addition to other requirements, applicants for a driver's license must provide proof of residence and proof of identity. They must also complete a standardized Maryland MVA approved driver education course, complete supervised driving experience, gain access to a vehicle and have car insurance.[xii] For someone without a permanent residence (a barrier for 23% of job seekers), without a car, and without means to purchase insurance or pay for a drivers education course (32% of job seekers can't afford professional clothing, a bus ticket, or basic needs to apply for work), these requirements can discourage them from trying to obtain a drivers license at all. Of course these challenges are further complicated for workers who have lower English language proficiency, which represent a growing component of the Region's population. [xiii]

Criminal Backgrounds

One in five job seekers in the Baltimore Region (21%) reported that their criminal record is a barrier to employment. These individuals face a variety of barriers to getting hired. First, after September 11th, 2001, heightened security measures led employers that are linked to hospitals, airports, ports, and other institutions to implement heightened security measures, requiring a criminal background screening in order to work at these sites. Despite recent EEOC guidance prohibiting the practice, some companies have formal or informal practices that include a blanket no-hire policy for people with a criminal

background, regardless of the type of conviction, when the offence happened, or the person's track record of change. While employers like Johns Hopkins operate long-established programs to hire formerly incarcerated people, many employers don't hire workers with a criminal history, either out of fear of negligent hiring lawsuits, or because workers must obtain a security clearance for their job (e.g. a Transportation Worker Identification Credential (TWIC) Card or other government security credential). Workforce development managers report that many employers perform an online case search on applicants' criminal history that may return misdemeanors or non-convictions that "look like trouble" and effectively disqualify applicants. While many workforce development programs help their clients to remove non-convictions from their record, felony convictions ineligible for removal and remain on a person's record forever.

It is also important to note that criminal records disproportionately affect Blacks, and the problem is more rooted in structural racism than it is behavior. Drug-related convictions are an entry point to the criminal justice system for many non-violent offenders and arrests for marijuana possession in Maryland increased dramatically by 34% between 2001 and 2010. While Blacks and Whites use marijuana at comparable rates, between 2001 and 2010, the number of Black arrests increased by 5,614 — but White arrests increased by only 371. Arrests of Blacks for marijuana possession occurred at higher rates than Whites in every county in Maryland, regardless of the percentage of the county that is Black.[xiv]   Targeted law enforcement in lower-income and other communities of color ensure over-representation of African Americans in the criminal justice system, truncating their future employment opportunities. The job search process after incarceration is much more challenging for Blacks than Whites. Studies have shown that Whites *with* a criminal record are more likely to receive a call-back for a job than Blacks *without* a criminal record.[xv] The combination of a criminal record and an implicit hiring bias is a particularly difficult barrier to overcome, leaving formerly incarcerated Blacks with considerably fewer jobs available to them, and even fewer jobs that pay a family-supporting wage.

Figure 3 Percentage of Job Applicants Receiving a Call Back: Blacks and Whites With and Without a Criminal Record
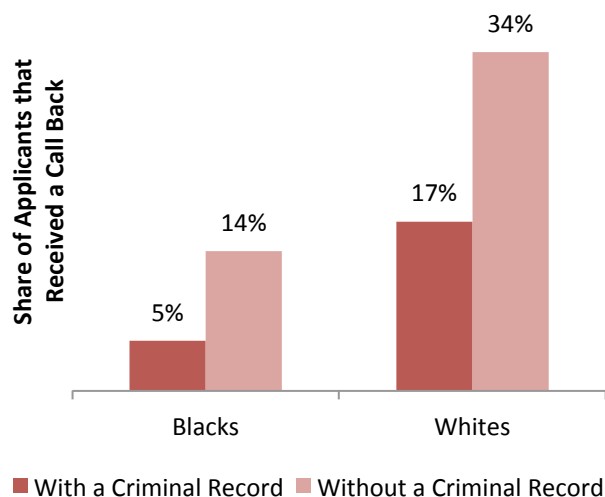
Source: The Mark of a Criminal Record, American Journal of Sociology (Pager, Volume 108 Number 5 (March 2003): pg. 937). Note: Figures are based on surveys in the Midwest but results have been reproduced in subsequent studies in other states.

Transportation and Housing Barriers

Transportation and housing barriers present additional challenges for residents who depend on public transportation to get to work. A quarter (25%) of job seekers indicate that they can't get to jobs accessing public transportation and 23% face difficulties finding permanent housing. According to

workforce development directors, most transportation problems are linked to the distance between where most low-skilled or low-income workers live (e.g. in Baltimore City) and where most new jobs are being created (outside the city). For parents, the transit travel times can be very long if they must first travel to child care and then again access transit to go to work. According to the Baltimore Regional Talent Development Pipeline Study, 85% of all new jobs that will be created in the region between 2012 and 2020 are expected to be outside of Baltimore City, but growing job centers north of Baltimore City and along the Baltimore-Washington corridor are not well served by the public transportation. For example, Figures 4 and 5 depict areas of the region that are transit-accessible to a resident of the Cherry Hill, a neighbourhood where 76% of households do not own a car.[xvi] Travel to nearby job centers, such as the areas near BWI airport and along the I-95 corridor (See Figure 6), requires travel times that exceed an hour and fifteen minutes. Less than a fifth of the region's jobs (18.2%) are transit-accessible to a Cherry Hill resident, and even fewer jobs are transit-accessible in the construction sector, in manufacturing, in transportation and logistics, in information technology, or in business services – sectors that are more likely to offer middle-skilled jobs that pay a family-supporting wage (Table 1). For Cherry Hill residents, a 2nd or 3rd shift job at BWI or at other job centers is effectively inaccessible because even if they take a long travel time (over 75 minutes) to work via public transportation, they often are unable to get home late at night and must wait until regular bus service resumes in the morning. While barriers related to the journey to work are typically understood as transportation problems, they can also be understood from a housing perspective. Housing advocates would argue that a lack of affordable housing in regional near the region's growing job centers effectively leaves workers cut off from access to these opportunities.

Table 1 Transit-Accessible Jobs for Cherry Hill Residents, Priority Sectors, 2010

Sector	Total Jobs in Each Sector within a 75 Minute Travel Time via Public Transportation	Share of Jobs in the Baltimore Region that are Transit-Accessible to Cherry Hill Residents
Construction*	12,082	13.0%
Manufacturing	13,550	13.8%
Transportation, Logistics, and Warehousing	14,299	15.6%
Information Technology**	6,911	16.4%
Business Services	17,339	16.4%
Healthcare	30,478	21.7%
Total Jobs in Priority Sectors	92,416	17.2%
Total Jobs, Baltimore Region (All Sectors)	225,570	18.2%

Source: Infogroup Database 2010. Sectors are defined in the Baltimore Regional Talent Development Pipeline Study and six priority sectors are defined as those with the largest number of mid-skilled jobs that offer a family-supporting wage. *Figures for construction show jobs at construction companies, where the construction company office is within 75 minutes travel time by public transportation. The actual construction sites may be located elsewhere in the city. **Figures for the information technology sector reflect jobs at companies that are in the IT field. Additional IT jobs are available at companies in other sectors (e.g. IT services within a manufacturing company).
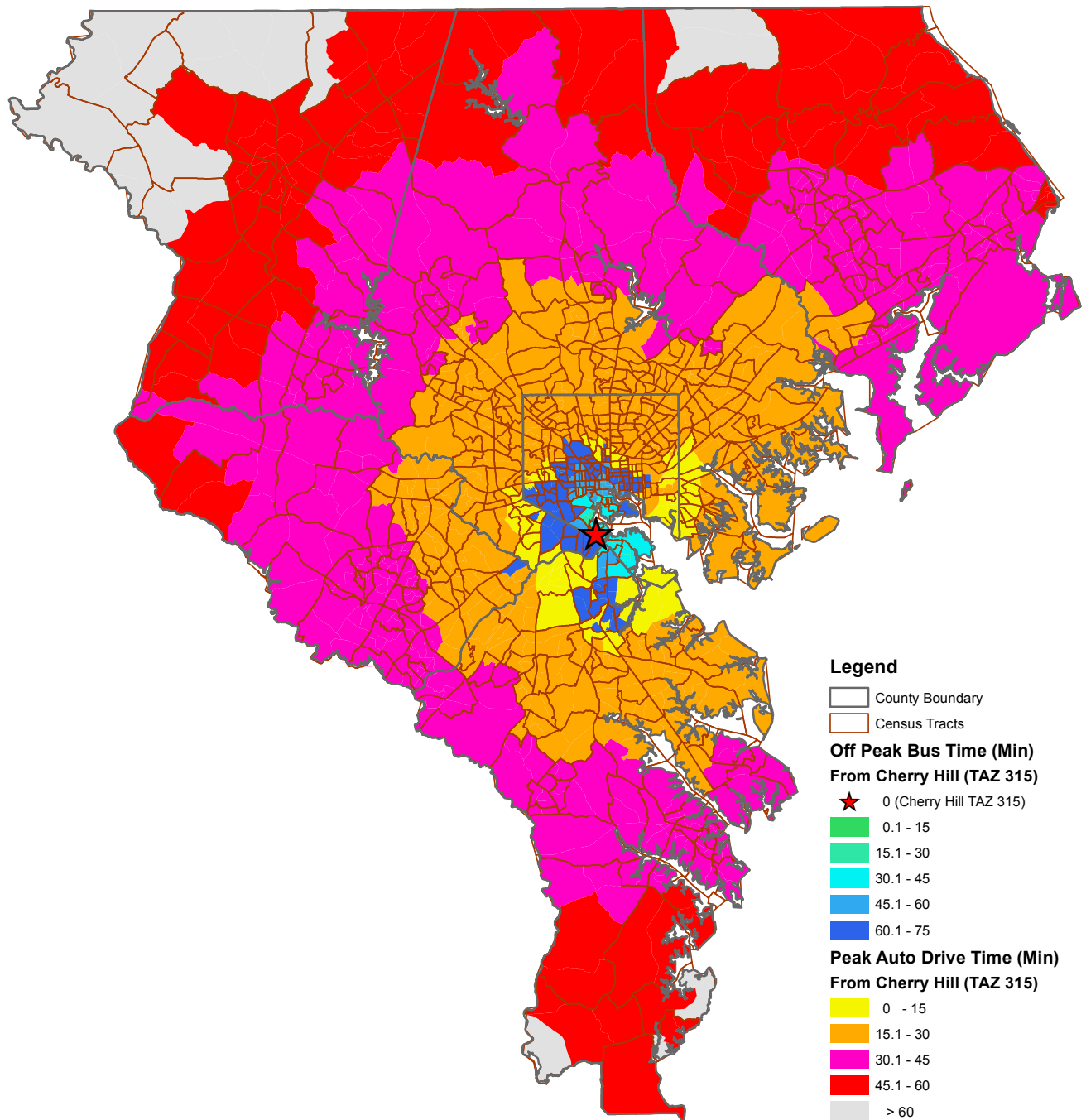
Basic Math and Reading Skills Deficiencies

Undeniably, basic math and reading skills are a necessity for many jobs and they are a prerequisite for entering education programs that lead to higher paying jobs. In interviews, workforce development directors in the region reported that low levels of literacy, lack of basic math skills (e.g. problems working with fractions), poor written communication skills, and a lack of high school education were

some of the top barriers their clients face. In the survey of the region's job seekers, 30% of job seekers indicated that low math skills were a barrier to employment, 28% reported difficulties with basic computer skills, 14% reported literacy problems as a barrier, and 13% reported that lack of a high school diploma was a barrier. Furthermore, workers without a high school diploma are much more likely to experience multiple barriers to employment opportunity, contributing to a disproportionately high unemployment rate and a low rate of labor force participation.
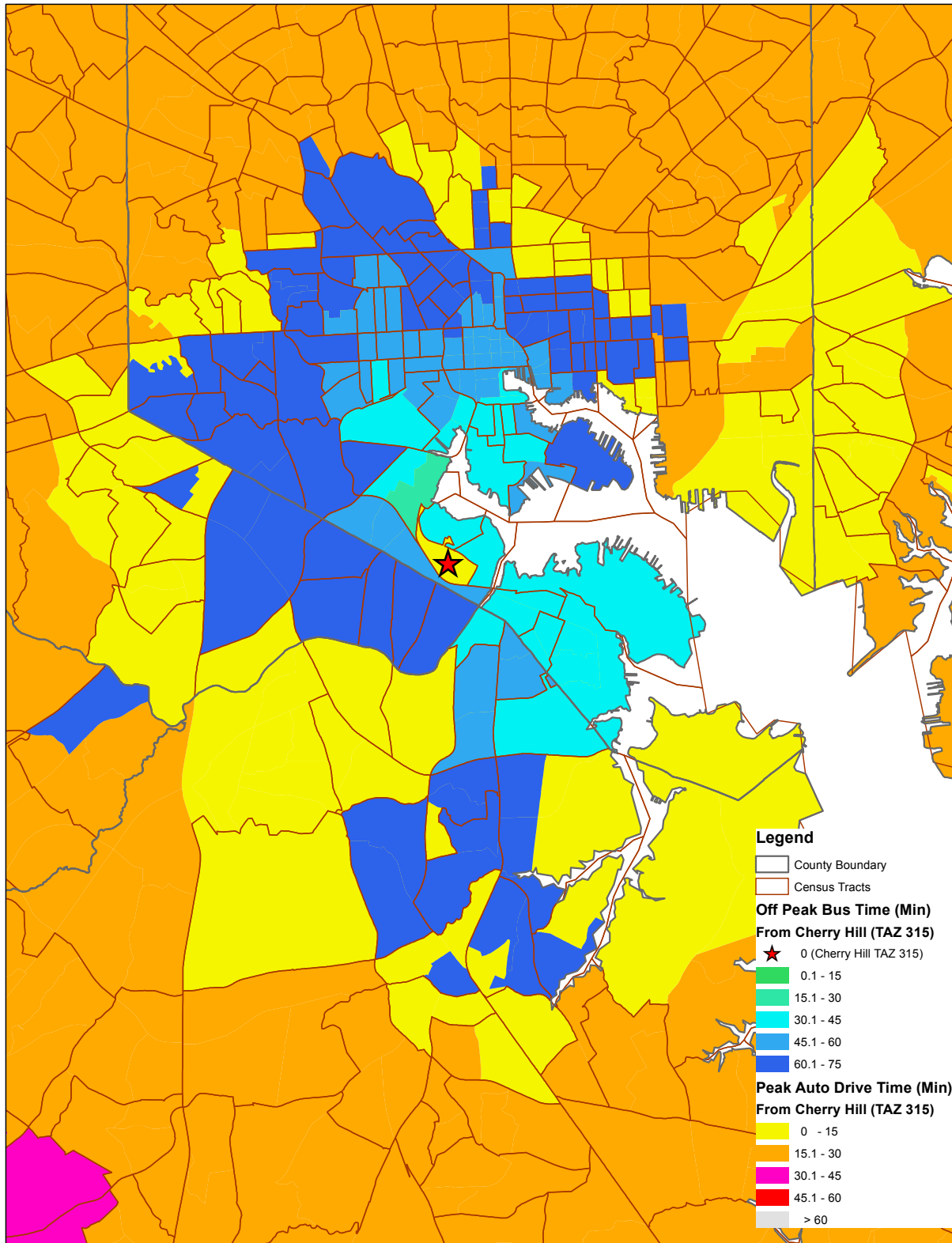
Figure 4 Areas that are Accessible to Residents of the Cherry Hill Neighborhood (2010 Transportation Analysis Zone 315): Transit Times by Public Transportation (Green - Blue Tones) and by Car (Yellow-Red Tones)

Legend

County Boundary
Census Tracts

Off Peak Bus Time (Min)
From Cherry Hill (TAZ 315)
★ 0 (Cherry Hill TAZ 315)
0.1 - 15
15.1 - 30
30.1 - 45
45.1 - 60
60.1 - 75

Peak Auto Drive Time (Min)
From Cherry Hill (TAZ 315)
0 - 15
15.1 - 30
30.1 - 45
45.1 - 60
> 60

Source: BMC Travel Model, Analysis by Sabra Wang and Associates

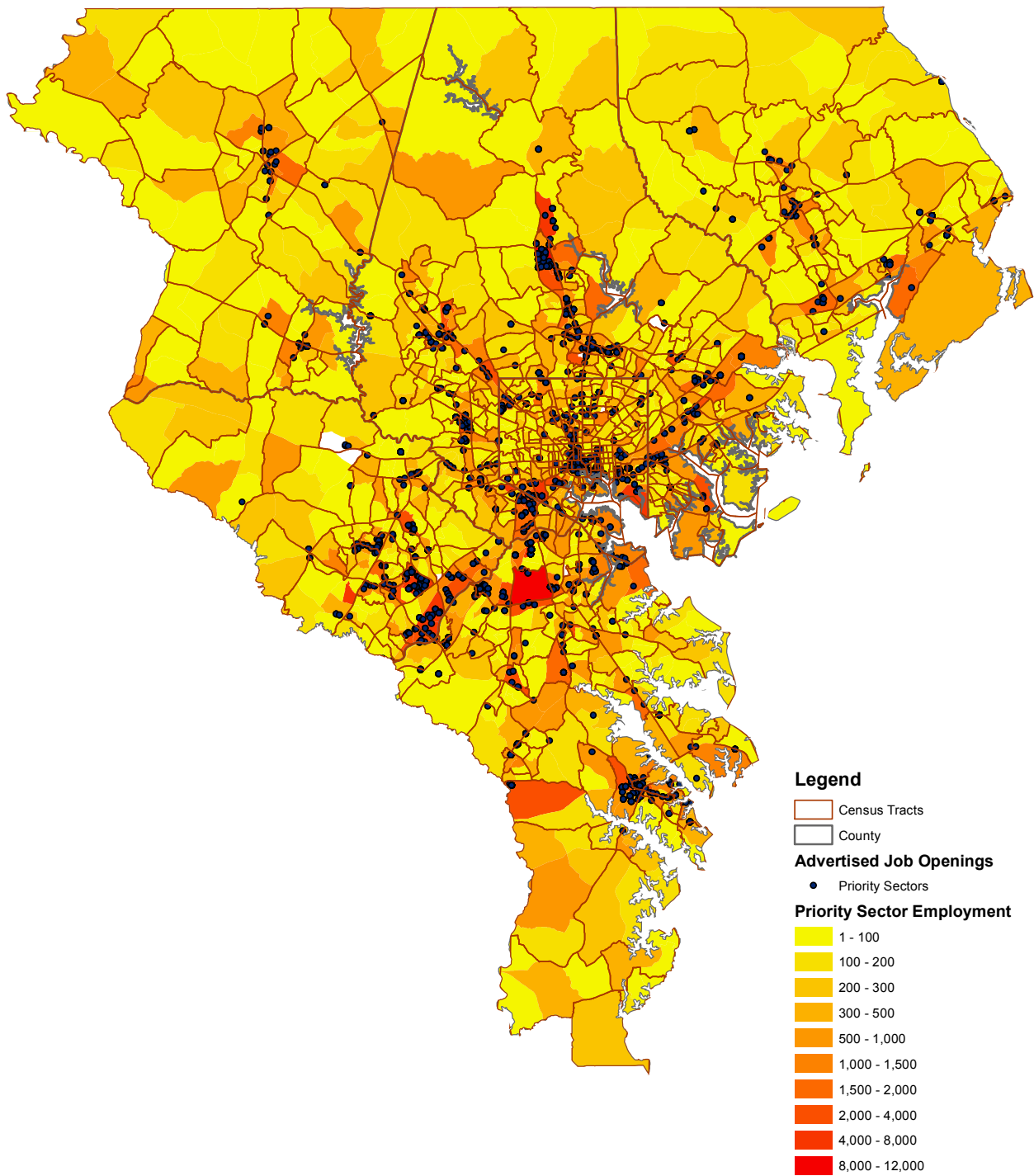BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BALTIMORE REGION

Figure 5 Areas that are Accessible to Residents of the Cherry Hill Neighborhood (2010 Transportation Analysis Zone 315): Transit Times by Public Transportation (Green - Blue Tones) and by Car (Yellow-Red Tones)

Source: BMC Travel Model, Analysis by Sabra Wang and Associates

Figure 6 Total Jobs and Locations of Job Openings in Priority Sectors, Baltimore Region

Legend

☐ Census Tracts

☐ County

Advertised Job Openings

• Priority Sectors

Priority Sector Employment

|	
	1 - 100
	100 - 200
	200 - 300
	300 - 500
	500 - 1,000
	1,000 - 1,500
	1,500 - 2,000
	2,000 - 4,000
	4,000 - 8,000
	8,000 - 12,000

Source: BMC Travel Model, RDA Global Job Vacancy Database. Analysis by Sabra Wang and Associates. Priority Sectors include manufacturing, construction, healthcare, transportation and logistics, information technology, and business services.

In addition to the direct barrier of not possessing a high school diploma or GED (a prerequisite for many jobs), 70% of individuals without a high school diploma report that they face difficulties finding a job that covers basic living expenses, 65% report that they have difficulties with basic math, 58% report facing difficulties using technology and computers, 54% lack a driver's license, and 53% have problems affording education or job training. Over 40% of these individuals report that they face other barriers such as lack of work experience, difficulties finding permanent housing, difficulties due to a criminal record, difficulties affording basic items needed for work such as work clothes or fare for a bus ticket, and lack of knowledge of where to obtain training or education or what career they might want to pursue. While at least 40% of individuals without a high school diploma struggle with these barriers, less than 15% of workers with a Bachelor's degree or higher experience these same barriers (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Selected Barriers to Employment Opportunity, By Level of Educational Attainment (Share of Job Seekers Reporting Each Barrier)
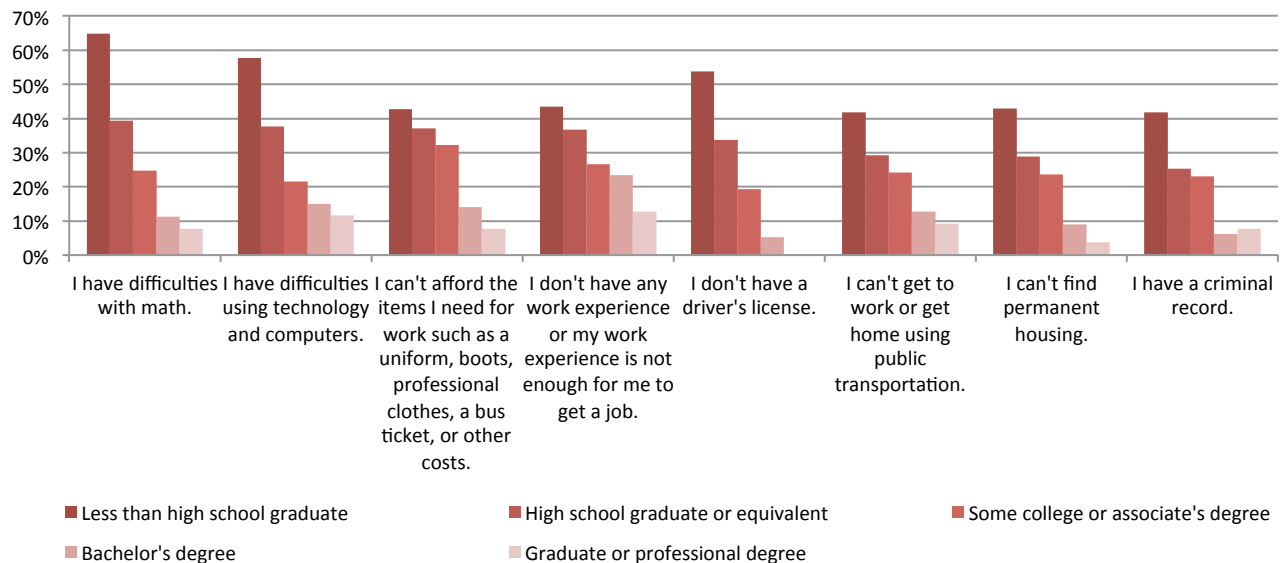
Source: Survey of Baltimore Region Job Seekers, Responses are unweighted.

Structural and Institutional Racism

Several studies have documented how structural racism and institutional racism are causes for lower employment opportunities for people of color.[xvii] The term *structural racism* describes the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics – historical, cultural, educational, institutional, and interpersonal – that routinely advantage whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color. Structural racism operates underneath and across society, permeating history, culture and institutions through established laws, policies, and practices within an institution, which systematically reflect, produce and maintain racial inequalities in U.S. society to the advantage

"The term structural racism refers to a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity."

- Structural Racism and Community Building, Aspen Institute, 2004

of whites and the disadvantage of other races.

The term *institutional racism* refers to *discrimination* without *prejudice*. Discrimination in employment, while made illegal through federal legislation in 1964, continues to play a subtle but powerful role in limiting employment opportunity in the recruitment and hiring process,[xviii] and businesses and organizations can unintentionally discriminate by applying **policies and practices** that perpetuate past inequalities.   The effects of institutional racism can be seen in racialized employment outcomes – such as high unemployment for blacks - as well as in the barriers that different groups face. A comparison of barriers reported by Blacks and Whites reveals that Blacks are more likely to encounter a greater number of socioeconomic barriers than Whites: Blacks are more likely than Whites to leverage public transportation[xix] and therefore are impacted to a greater extent if jobs are not transit-accessible. As mentioned earlier, a criminal record is a more prevalent barrier for Baltimore's Black residents - approximately 27% of black job seekers in the region reported that a criminal background is a barrier - versus 17% of Whites. Blacks are more likely than Whites to face other barriers such as problems finding permanent housing, lack of a driver's license, lower educational attainment, and problems affording child care or child support (Figure 8).   By comparison, Whites are more likely to report barriers related to career planning, such as difficulties deciding on a career path and difficulties affording training. While in principle these challenges should be similar for Blacks and Whites, the disparity suggests that Whites may consider a wider variety of career options, including options requiring more extensive (and more costly) training and education.

Figure 8 Barriers to Employment Opportunity, Whites vs. Blacks (Percentage of Job Seekers Encountering Barriers)
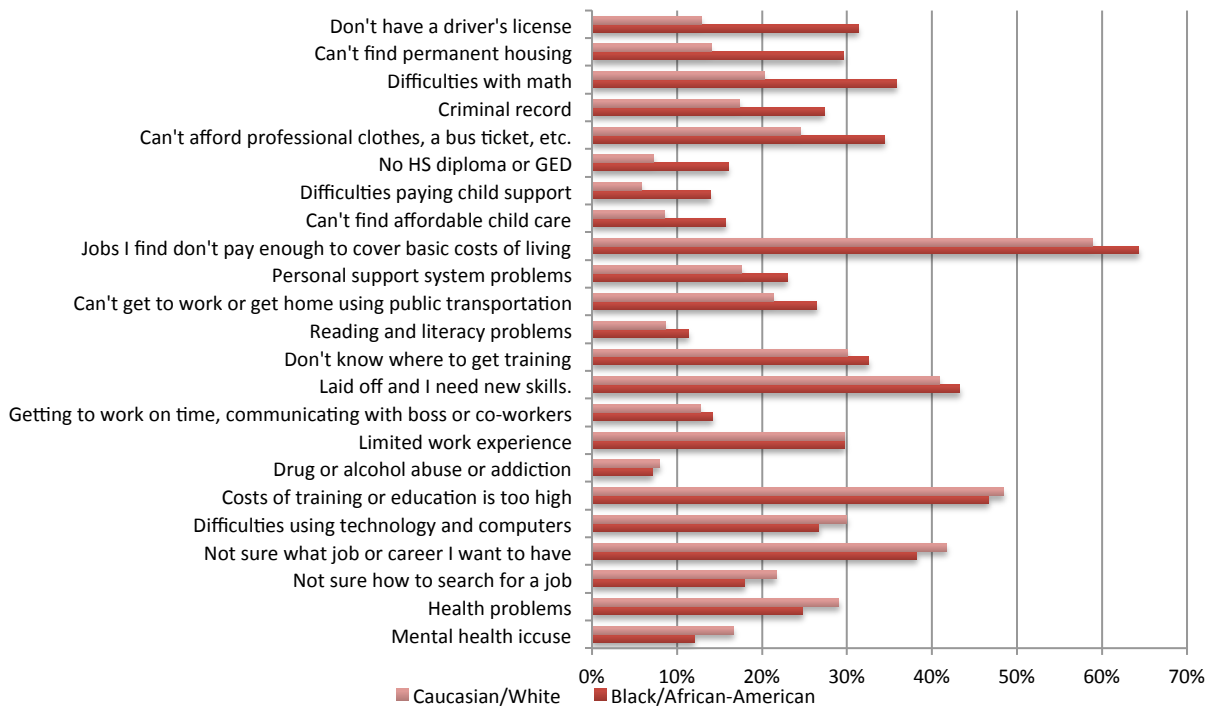
Source: Survey of Individuals (Job Seekers) in the Baltimore Region, 2013, n=1037. Responses are weighted by demographic and geographic variables from the American Community Survey 5-year Estimates 2012.

Structural and institutional racism also creates obstacles that hinder equal *advancement* opportunities through unconscious biases and perceptions about African Americans and other people of color. Recent studies, such as a 2013 study of employment in the federal government, provide fresh evidence that African Americans are not considered, groomed, or selected for high-level positions because of stereotypical views or unconscious bias that those positions are considered nontraditional for African Americans.[xx] Evidence from the Baltimore Opportunity Mapping Report shows that the roots of structural racism go deeper than the workplace – starting with disparities between predominately white and predominantly minority communities. Baltimore's minority neighborhoods have comparatively low school performance, low educational attainment, greater health risks, and higher crime risk.[xxi] In addition, social networks - that often fall along racial, gender, and class lines – restrict some of the employment opportunities that are available to people of color. Several studies have shown how social networks influence employment outcomes through referrals from friends and family. Social networks also shape awareness and perceptions of the types of careers that are available and can lead those who live in low-income communities to have limited ideas on the careers they can have.

Limited Workforce Development System Resources

While trends show that more Baltimore residents are falling into poverty, the resources that are available to help workers to overcome barriers to employment opportunity are declining. The kinds of support offered by programs at My Sister's Place Women's Center and Christopher Place Employment Academy (described at the start of this report), help individuals to bridge gaps and overcome barriers – but the costs of these services are high ($16,000 per resident per year at Christopher Place). If every adult in the Baltimore Region who is living in poverty were to receive services that are comparable to Christopher Place, the total cost would exceed $2.7 billion per year. The funding that is actually available is considerably more modest and it is declining. In Baltimore City, funding from the federal Workforce Investment Act (WIA) pays for the majority of services provided through the city's Employment One Stop Centers. This funding has declined by 52% between FY 2002 and FY 2012, dropping from $13.7 million to $6.6 million.[xxii] Maryland's new EARN grant program offers funding for industry-led training partnerships and the program is a step in the right direction. Beyond the EARN program, however, there are no significantly large funds available from the state for workforce development.

In addition, the tools and resources that are available for workforce development have policy problems that make them difficult to leverage. Workforce development managers report that differences in eligibility requirements between WIA, Temporary Assistance Needy Families (TANF), Pell Grants, and other funding streams make it difficult to leverage multiple resources to help an individual. Stringent program requirements mean that participants must spend a significant amount of "agency time" going between different agencies in order to obtain the documentation (i.e. proof of age, social security number, proof of citizenship or a right to work, registration for selective service, and other documentation that is needed to qualify for services). Participants in the TANF program are effectively discouraged from making much progress in their career because if they earn above a threshold, they will lose some benefits that cannot be replaced by income they earn. The WIA regulations also make it difficult for workforce development organizations to serve people with multiple or severe barriers to

employment. In order to continue to receive federal funding, WIA-funded service providers must meet performance measures that are based on the wages and the employment retention rates of clients admitted to the program. Those performance measures must be met for several quarters following a job placement and service provider agencies that do not meet program requirements cannot continue to receive federal funding. As a result, agency staffers are sometimes forced to consider whether a person with multiple barriers to employment should be admitted to the program because if they lose their job, they will bring down the agency's performance measures. If the WIA program were to offer a waiver to exclude a portion of participants from the calculation of performance measures, agency staff would have greater flexibility to serve people with multiple barriers with less concern about whether helping those individuals will pose a risk to the organization's performance metrics.

In the area of basic adult education, regulations can also make it difficult for schools to enroll students in a GED program. Currently in Maryland, a school that enrolls someone up to age 21 in a GED program is not allowed to count that individual in their Full Time Enrollment (FTE) total and receive funding for that enrollment. As a result, many schools do not offer GED options because they will not recoup any funding. If schools were able to count these enrollments as part of their FTE, there is a potential to expand the level of Adult Basic Education available. Other methods of delivering Adult Basic Education, such as adult education charter schools in Washington DC, could expand the availability of ABE while concurrently offering job skills training and other services. According to a 2008 study, the State of Maryland loses about $193 million in tax revenues each year as a result of the state's high school dropouts,[xxiii] funds that can be recouped if changes were to enable more people to obtain a GED.

The Good News

Despite all the barriers that affect access to employment opportunities, the region is making some progress in reducing barriers. While high school drop out rates in the region remain high, there is good news that they have been declining while the overall level of educational attainment in the region has seen incremental improvement. Between 2005 and 2012, the number of individuals age 25 to 65 living in the region that have less than a high school level of education dropped from 139,000 to 125,500, while the number of individuals in all higher categories of educational attainment has increased.[xxiv] This shift can have dramatic impacts on workers because those with a high school diploma or equivalent have average earnings that are 44% higher than the earnings of workers without a high school diploma.[xxv] Although racial income gaps remain, education levels mitigate those disparities.

The region also benefits from a large number of workforce development organizations that help workers to overcome some of these specific barriers to employment opportunities. Organizations such as Vehicles for Change help low-income families to get access to a car to get to work. A portion of the region's formerly incarcerated residents have found jobs thanks to the work of advocacy groups like the Job Opportunities Task Force, workforce development organizations like the Jericho Re-Entry Program and employers like Johns Hopkins Hospital. Organizations like STRIVE Baltimore help unemployed people master essential skills for workplace communication, customer service, and work-readiness. Organizations like Associated Black Charities have long been an investor in workforce training and have been helping citizens, policy makers, corporations, nonprofit organizations and investors to understand how structural and institutional racism limits outcomes for people of color. Career training
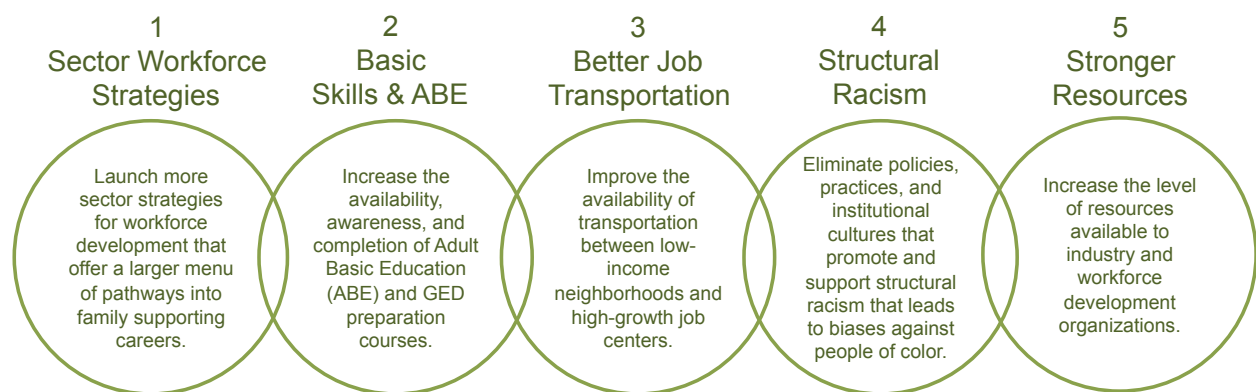
organizations such as Biotechnical Institute of Maryland, the Baltimore Alliance for Careers in Healthcare, Humanim, the Caroline Center, Associated Builders and Contractors, Civic Works, Goodwill, Movable Feast, Baltimore Building and Construction Trades Council, and other unions and organizations offer education and training that leads to higher paid careers. Many of these organizations partner with one another to offer a broader scope of services to help clients overcome barriers and more resources.

Action Areas to Reduce Barriers to Employment Opportunities

While those with lower levels of education have always faced more barriers, the great recession has made those challenges much more difficult, stretching the resources of workforce development organizations and leaving many cut off from opportunity. More than ever, the Baltimore Region needs to take coordinated action to help those who have dropped out of the employment pipeline to find on-ramps, encourage those who have low education to achieve higher education and technical skills, and give those with racial, financial, social, and transportation barriers an opportunity to work into a family-supporting career. If the employment pipeline is going to make a difference in the region's poverty problems, it must address barriers like criminal records, childcare issues, financial instability, and mental health in a systematic way that helps individuals overcome multiple barriers. In addition more must be done to help workers overcome the top two barriers: lack of mid-skilled jobs that pay a family-supporting wage and the high cost of education and training.

There are five action areas that offer the promise of significantly reducing these long-standing and difficult barriers to employment, and increasing access to need-based aid to academic programs and noncredit training.

Figure 9 Action Areas to Reduce Barriers to Employment Opportunity

1 Sector Workforce Strategies	2 Basic Skills & ABE	3 Better Job Transportation	4 Structural Racism	5 Stronger Resources
Launch more sector strategies for workforce development that offer a larger menu of pathways into family supporting careers.	Increase the availability, awareness, and completion of Adult Basic Education (ABE) and GED preparation courses.	Improve the availability of transportation between low-income neighborhoods and high-growth job centers.	Eliminate policies, practices, and institutional cultures that promote and support structural racism that leads to biases against people of color.	Increase the level of resources available to industry and workforce development organizations.

1. Implement a variety of sector strategies for workforce development that offer a larger menu of pathways into family-supporting careers.

Most of the workforce development service providers interviewed in this study offer a broad scope[xxvi] of services designed to help individuals in many populations to overcome barriers, but interviews with workforce development managers suggests that there is not a shared understanding of the careers that are available to low-income and low-skilled workers in the region. Many of the workforce development

managers found it difficult to say which industries offer the best career opportunities to low-skilled workers, youth, or the other populations they serve. The lack of shared understanding of the region's best opportunities for low-income and low-skilled workers reflects the general scarcity of mid-skilled jobs in the region, a fact documented in the Baltimore Regional Talent Pipeline Study (2013). As a result, many of the workforce development organizations offering placement services have developed partnerships with individual employers that have niche needs for low-skilled workers, rather than pursuing a broader sector-level approach. The job placement focus is sometimes limited to transitional jobs designed to help clients gain work experience, or return to work as quickly as possible, without a clear pathway to a sustainable career. While this strategy meets the immediate need for employment, it leaves workers with few options for upward career mobility and places them at risk of becoming frustrated with a dead end job that they may eventually quit. Those that do may have gained work experience but often have not obtained labor market skills or credentials that help them to find their next job.
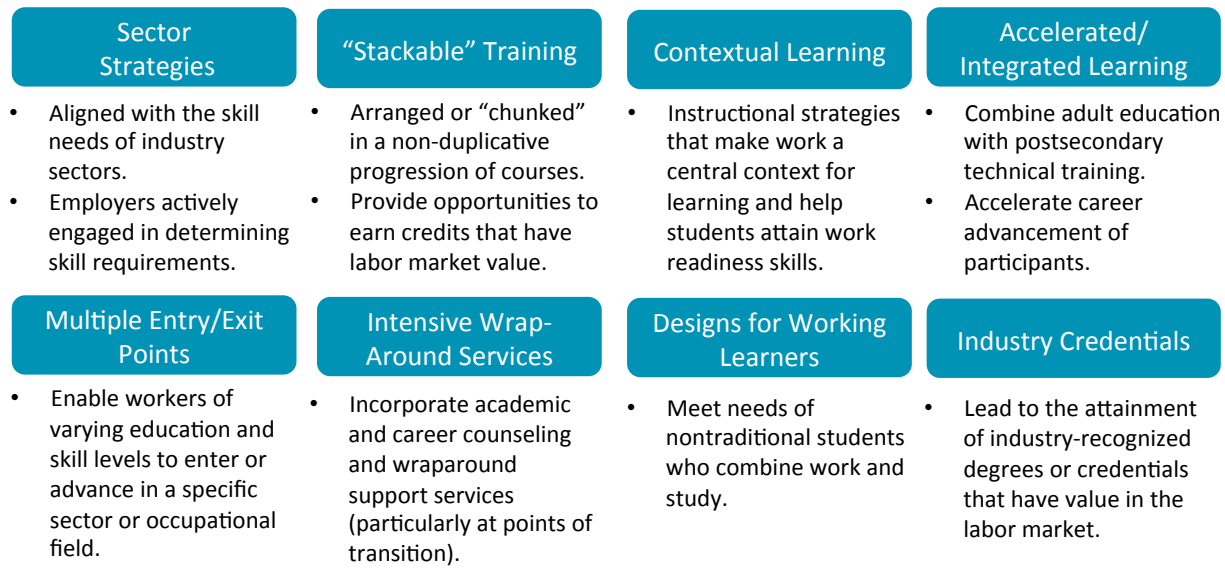
Career Pathways approaches to workforce development (Figure 10) use sector strategies as the cornerstone for workforce development, helping workers attain the technical skills needed to progress into family-supporting careers, while simplifying the training and education process and providing comprehensive wrap-around support services. Several exemplary workforce training providers in the region (i.e. Caroline Center programs for CNAs and pharmacy technicians, Civic Works Center for Green Careers, BioTechnical Institute of Maryland, etc.) have embraced a sector-based approach to workforce development and sector strategies are particularly well-suited to address several of the top barriers to employment opportunity that are reported by the region's job seekers, including:

- Problems finding a job offering wages that cover basic living expenses.
- Lack of knowledge of available training programs.
- Problems affording career training.
- Difficulties obtaining new skills after being laid off from a job.

A growing body of research has demonstrated that sector-based approaches offer several benefits to help workers move into sustainable careers. A two year tracking study of participants in sector-based programs[xxvii] found that participants in sector-focused training programs were more likely to work in the two years after entering the program, were more likely to work consistently, were more likely to earn significantly higher incomes, and were more likely to work in jobs offering benefits than those in a control group (Note: most of the earnings gains took place in the second year of employment).

Figure 10 Career Pathways Snapshot

Career pathways offer a clear sequence of education and training courses and credentials that are built around:

Sector Strategies	"Stackable" Training	Contextual Learning	Accelerated/ Integrated Learning
• Aligned with the skill needs of industry sectors. • Employers actively engaged in determining skill requirements.	• Arranged or "chunked" in a non-duplicative progression of courses. • Provide opportunities to earn credits that have labor market value.	• Instructional strategies that make work a central context for learning and help students attain work readiness skills.	• Combine adult education with postsecondary technical training. • Accelerate career advancement of participants.
Multiple Entry/Exit Points	**Intensive Wrap-Around Services**	**Designs for Working Learners**	**Industry Credentials**
• Enable workers of varying education and skill levels to enter or advance in a specific sector or occupational field.	• Incorporate academic and career counseling and wraparound support services (particularly at points of transition).	• Meet needs of nontraditional students who combine work and study.	• Lead to the attainment of industry-recognized degrees or credentials that have value in the labor market.

Source: The Promise of Career Pathways, June 2012

In order to be successful with sector-based strategies, workforce development organizations must go beyond understanding the needs of the worker and must master a "dual customer" approach – addressing the needs of both workers and employers. Most successful sector strategies programs have a clear focus on making local companies and industries more competitive and are created in close partnership with employers who are substantively involved in the program's design and implementation. At the same time, low-skilled workers acquire labor market skills, obtain improved income, receive benefits, and enjoy more continuous employment and career mobility.

Baltimore's industry-based employment training organizations have been successful, but there are few of them, focusing on a few niche industry segments. In order to serve a larger number of low skilled adults, more sector strategies are needed in a larger variety of sectors and careers. In addition, sector strategies can be extended into the public sector, with a focus on infrastructure projects such as the proposed Red Line that can be leveraged to create an employment pipeline that includes job skills training.   Beyond these approaches, the state can consider policies to provide need-based funding to help adults to attain the technical certifications, credentials, or degrees that have demonstrated labor market value for the region's growth sectors, increasing opportunities to work in higher-paid jobs.

A broader set of effective sector strategies can also create an economic development opportunity for the region. Business surveys[xxviii] have shown that the availability of a highly skilled workforce is the top criteria used by businesses when selecting a location for future operations. By creating a supply of highly skilled and work-ready talent, the Baltimore region can leverage sector-based strategies to become better positioned to attract more businesses, in particular targeting businesses that require workers in skilled occupations.

2. Increase the availability, awareness, and completion of Adult Basic Education (ABE) and GED preparation courses.

A high school diploma or GED is a first step to better earnings and more should be done to expand the number of available slots in adult basic education and GED preparation courses. This could be accomplished in several ways:

- One option is through increases in funding to high schools by allowing them to count young adults enrolled in GED classes as part of their FTE.
- Another option could be to leverage adult education charter schools, following an innovative approach used in the District of Columbia. The D.C. Public Charter School Board has approved seven adult charter schools in the District which serve students ages 16 and up and receive public funds of up to $14,000 per student. Some adult education charter schools provide a combination of basic adult education to prepare for the GED while concurrently receiving job skills training and support services that increase student success.
- Another option may be to increase the level of funding available to existing ABE providers such as community colleges in order to increase the number of people who have access to ABE.

Regardless of the policy used, Baltimore's talent pipeline will not lift workers out of poverty without a more robust delivery of adult basic education leading to a high school diploma or GED. ABE programs that combine education with sector-based job skills training and essential support services are more likely to see higher student success and effectively reduce poverty. In addition, more must also be done to encourage participation in ABE. Currently there is no online resource identifying all the locations where ABE is offered throughout the region. Such a resource can be a first step toward connecting those outside the talent pipeline with education opportunities. In addition, community groups, churches, and other organizations can play a critical role in engaging those outside the talent development pipeline to connect low-income people in Baltimore to on-ramps to opportunity.

3. Improve the availability of transportation between low-income neighborhoods and high-growth job centers.

Jobs in manufacturing, transportation and logistics, business services, information technology jobs, and jobs in healthcare offer some of the best opportunities for family-supporting careers, but some of the region's top job centers for these jobs are not accessible to workers in lower-income neighborhoods. Again, there are several ways the region can effectively address this problem:

- More can be done to strengthen programs that provide low-income adults with access to a vehicle.
- In addition, the state can reevaluate policies that make driving difficult for low-income families. These barriers can include the high cost of mandatory driver's education and high cost of insurance, particularly in urban areas.   States like California and Washington have introduced programs that help low-income families obtain affordable auto insurance. Since its initial pilot project that began in 2000, California's Low Cost Automobile Insurance Program has resulted in over 75,000 insurance assignments for low-income families in the state.[xxix]

- The MTA can consider adjustments to public transit services to increase connectivity of public transportation between low-income neighborhoods and job centers, including at off-peak times.
- Several case studies[xxx] have shown how transit districts have taken a leading role in implementing industry-funded programs to transport workers to jobs. In one case, (Tyson Foods in Beaumont Texas), the employer covers all operating costs after fares have been deducted for 55 passenger coach service used by 200-250 workers traveling daily to and from the work site. Programs such as this one can also combine benefits offered through the Maryland Commuter Tax Credit program, which offers Maryland employers a credit for 50 percent of the eligible costs of providing commuter benefits (including costs of a company vanpool), up to a maximum of $50 per month per participating employee.
- Transit-oriented development policies can help ensure that long-term development in the region evolves by design. Development policies should assure connectivity of lower-income neighborhoods to job centers. They should also increase the availability of affordable housing in neighborhoods that are close to growing job centers.

4. Eliminate policies, practices, and institutional cultures that promote and support structural racism that leads to biases against people of color.

Strategies available to reduce structural racism can span workplace strategies and community strategies. Workplace strategies may include:

- Fostering much higher awareness of racial disparities in the workplace: This may be done indirectly through strategies like encouraging journalists to report figures that compare outcomes for Whites and people of color.
- Better awareness of racialized outcomes can also be brought about through direct engagement with the private sector to raise awareness of employment discrimination issues. Implicit racial biases are unconscious and they may remain even when they are brought to our conscious understanding, but bringing the to our consciousness gives us an opportunity to combat them and helps us to become more comfortable acknowledging their reality.
- There are opportunities to improve recruitment, hiring, and advancement practices at all employers. This can be done by encouraging stronger recruitment from historically African American professional networks and educational institutions, tracking racial information on applications and hire rates (to identify potential implicit biases), and stronger HR practices that encourage companies to create fair and equal advancement opportunities. Larger employers such as the public sector, educational institutions, and hospitals are more likely to have well-developed human resources policies that reduce employment discrimination, but more should be done to give all businesses the resources to not only ensure equal opportunities, but to also reduce implicit racial biases.
- Policy advocacy approaches can also be used to increase access to opportunities for marginalized populations.

Lower income communities that are predominantly African American have fewer resources and social and economic capital. These challenges create negative outcomes that manifest as lower performing

schools, higher poverty, higher crime, and limited opportunities, placing individuals at a disadvantage from the start. Community-based interventions will be needed to address both the causes of inequality and the outcomes. This includes confronting structural racism in neighborhoods and in housing by:

- Encouraging development policies that increase racial diversity in neighborhoods,
- Increasing resources available to underperforming schools in lower income neighborhoods,
- Encouraging transit-oriented development that provides lower income neighborhoods with rapid and direct connection to and from growing job centers, and
- Increasing access to support resources including post-incarceration job placement, affordable child care, affordable auto insurance for low-income families, mental health services and other resources.

5. Increase the level of resources available to industry and workforce development organizations.

Workforce organizations face limited and declining resources and without a means of accessing resources, it will be difficult to reverse the trend of more and more Baltimore Region residents falling into poverty. Programs serving people with criminal records, programs combining GED preparation with technical skills, and programs that help individuals overcome multiple barriers should be strengthened. The Baltimore Region has a tremendous level of expertise in the field of social development and reduction of poverty - some of the nation's largest and best equipped workforce development organizations are located in the Baltimore Region, and these organizations are well equipped to work with sectors to implement dual-client partnerships that serve the needs of both employers and the needs of low-income adults. But the costs of successful programs are high. The Maryland EARN grant is a bold first step toward encouraging the formation of these partnerships but more resources will be needed to move these types of programs to scale. The state and funders should also consider models like the DC Adult Education Charter Schools, which give community-based workforce development organizations the resources to simultaneously address work skills training, provide adult basic education leading to a GED, and support services needed for clients to achieve success.

Conclusion: A Call for Leadership

Baltimore's barriers to employment opportunities are rooted in deep, structural issues that do not change easily. Real change with these issues will not come without focused leadership, alignment of action plans, and increased resources. There are many opportunities for workforce development organizations, state and local governments, educational stakeholders, unions, churches and community organizations to show leadership and take action within each of the five action areas.

It has been said that the things that change are the things that get measured. A system that monitors key performance indicators and reports progress toward stated goals can help the region's community organizations, workforce development stakeholders, economic development partners, and businesses to track progress and make adjustments as needed. Such a tracking and reporting system can build on the region's historical track record of collaboration among stakeholders, identifying areas where

organizations can make adjustments or work together to more effectively reduce barriers. Such partnerships can combine sector-based workforce development practices with strategies to raise awareness of structural racism, reducing its impact.

A promise of a future Baltimore Region in which fair and equal opportunities are available to all will depend on enduring leadership and shared commitment.

Methodology

This study of barriers to employment opportunities is based on a multi-part methodology that includes:

(1) A literature review of documented barriers to employment opportunity in the Baltimore Region,
(2) A set of qualitative interviews with over 30 selected program managers at workforce training service providers, employers, and individuals facing barriers to employment, and
(3) A large sample survey of 1,036 individuals from the region conducted during June and July of 2013 among job seekers or individuals, seeking services through job training and workforce development organizations in the region.

Participants in the qualitative interviews were selected based on recommendations from the workforce committee and availability of respondents. These interviews explored barriers to employment and identified how those barriers are affecting target populations. Approaches that are being used to overcome barriers were discussed and the interviewer solicited input on what government, employers, and other stakeholders could do to help individuals overcome barriers.

The information in the qualitative interviews revealed a set of barriers to employment opportunities that are most common to individuals in the region. The information shared in the qualitative interviews was used to develop a survey questionnaire that measured the degree to which individuals are affected by each barrier. Analysis of the survey data have been combined with statistical analysis of the labour force to determine the impact that barriers are having on different populations and to determine which barriers should be prioritized to increase the level of opportunity and prosperity enjoyed by all Baltimore region residents.

The online survey was distributed through paper surveys and online and was in the field from June 2 through August 8th 2013. The high level of response was achieved through collaboration with over 40 workforce development and job training organizations in the region. Unless where otherwise stated, responses have been weighted to reflect the regional distribution of workers by geography (county), by age, and by race.

To support analysis of barriers to employment opportunity, respondents were asked to indicate whether they are affected by 23 common barriers to employment opportunity that had been identified through the qualitative interviews. If the stated barrier affects them, they were asked to rate the barrier on a scale from 1 to 5. A rating of 1 indicated that the barrier was a minor problem and a rating of 5 indicated that the barrier was a major problem. In the findings reported, two measures have been presented: (1) the percentage of individuals indicating that they are impacted by the barrier (Rating of 1 to 5) and (2) the percentage of individuals indicating that the barrier is a major problem (Rating of 4 or 5).

Table 2 Summary Statistics of Survey Responses

Demographic Category	Responses (n)	Share of Responses
Age Category		
Under 15	1	0.1%
15 to 24 years	129	12.5%
25 to 34 years	237	22.9%
35 to 44 years	170	16.4%
45 to 54 years	247	23.8%
55 to 64 years	171	16.5%
65 and over	37	3.6%
Unreported	44	4.2%
Race		
Asian	32	3.1%
Black/African-American	560	54.1%
Caucasian/White	362	34.9%
Hispanic or Latino	26	2.5%
Native American/Alaska Native	3	0.3%
Other/Multi-Racial	19	1.8%
Decline to Respond	34	3.3%
Sex		
Female	544	52.5%
Male	458	44.2%
Unreported	34	3.3%
Educational Attainment		
1. Less than 9th grade	14	1.4%
2. 9th to 12th grade, no diploma	83	8.0%
3. High school graduate, GED, or alternative	285	27.5%
4. Some college, no degree	348	33.6%
5. Associate's degree	56	5.4%
6. Bachelor's degree	119	11.5%
7. Graduate or professional degree	81	7.8%
Unreported	50	4.8%
Place of Residence		
Anne Arundel County	52	5.0%
Baltimore City	323	31.2%
Baltimore County	134	12.9%
Carroll County	32	3.1%
Harford County	253	24.4%
Howard County	164	15.8%
Unreported / Outside Region	78	7.5%
Place of Current Employment		
Anne Arundel County	41	4.0%
Baltimore City	62	6.0%
Baltimore County	69	6.7%
Carroll County	2	0.2%
Harford County	63	6.1%
Howard County	51	4.9%
Outside Region	41	4.0%
Unemployed	707	68.2%
Current Employment Status		
Unemployed	787	76.0%
Under-employed (employed, but looking for a job with better wages, more hours or better working conditions)	66	6.4%
Employed full-time	83	8.0%
Employed part-time	67	6.5%
Other employment status (e.g. student, disabled)	15	1.4%
Unreported	18	1.7%
Total	*1036*	*100.0%*

Table 3 Place of Residence vs. Place of Employment, All Survey Respondents

Place of Residence:	Anne Arundel County	Baltimore City	Baltimore County	Carroll County	Harford County	Howard County	Outside Region	Unreported	Grand Total
Place of Employment:									
Anne Arundel County	20	12	2	2		3	2		41
Baltimore City	1	42	10		2	6		1	62
Baltimore County	1	9	41	1	10	4	2	1	69
Carroll County				2					2
Harford County		4	1	1	54	1	1	1	63
Howard County	4	11	7			20	6	3	51
Outside Region		5	9		6	9	8	4	41
Unemployed	26	240	64	26	181	121	28	21	707
Grand Total	**52**	**323**	**134**	**32**	**253**	**164**	**47**	**31**	**1036**

Table 4 Place of Residence vs. Age of Respondent, All Survey Responses

Place of Residence:	Anne Arundel County	Baltimore City	Baltimore County	Carroll County	Harford County	Howard County	Outside Region	Unreported	Grand Total
Age Cohort:									
10 to 14 years		1							1
15 to 19 years		4	1	1	8				14
20 to 24 years	4	57	18	3	18	8	4	3	115
25 to 29 years	5	59	22	1	22	11	10	2	132
30 to 34 years	5	34	14	5	26	16	2	3	105
35 to 39 years	6	29	9	4	21	13	4	3	89
40 to 44 years	5	22	8	3	24	14	3	2	81
45 to 49 years	6	31	15	5	32	26	6	3	124
50 to 54 years	5	27	15	2	34	30	4	6	123
55 to 59 years	8	35	9	6	29	20	10	1	118
60 to 64 years	2	13	9	2	13	11	2	1	53
65 to 69 years	4	1	3		11	4		2	25
70 to 74 years	1	1	2		4	2			10
75 to 79 years	1					1			2
Unreported		9	9		11	8	2	5	44
Grand Total	**52**	**323**	**134**	**32**	**253**	**164**	**47**	**31**	**1036**

Table 5 Place of Residence vs. Race, All Survey Responses

Place of Residence:	Anne Arundel County	Baltimore City	Baltimore County	Carroll County	Harford County	Howard County	Outside Region	Unreported	Grand Total
Asian		3	7	1	6	13	1	1	32
Black/African-American	22	278	79	4	86	49	23	19	560
Caucasian/White	29	20	41	27	133	89	18	5	362
Hispanic or Latino	1	3	3		10	3	5	1	26
Native American/Alaska Native						3			3
Other/Multi-Racial		12	1		4	2			19
Decline to Respond		7	3		14	5		5	34
Grand Total	52	323	134	32	253	164	47	31	1036

Table 6 Place of Residence vs. Educational Attainment, All Survey Responses

Place of Residence:	Anne Arundel County	Baltimore City	Baltimore County	Carroll County	Harford County	Howard County	Outside Region	Un-reported	Grand Total
1. Less than 9th grade	1	7	2		2	1	1		14
2. 9th to 12th grade, no diploma	6	40	6	2	20	5	4		83
3. High school graduate, GED, or alternative	18	95	36	7	82	25	16	6	285
4. Some college, no degree	13	119	42	11	95	46	13	9	348
5. Associate's degree	1	12	9	3	16	9	5	1	56
6. Bachelor's degree	5	24	21	2	19	42	4	2	119
7. Graduate or professional degree	2	11	16	4	16	29	2	1	81
Unreported	6	15	2	3	3	7	2	12	50
Grand Total	**52**	**323**	**134**	**32**	**253**	**164**	**47**	**31**	**1036**

Table 7 Race vs. Educational Attainment, All Survey Responses

Row Labels	Asian	Black/ African-American	Caucasian / White	Decline to Respond	Hispanic or Latino	Native American/ Alaska Native	Other/ Multi-Racial	Grand Total
1. Less than 9th grade		7	6		1			14
2. 9th to 12th grade, no diploma	1	63	15	1	2		1	83
3. High school graduate, GED, or alternative	6	157	112	4	6			285
4. Some college, no degree	5	203	108	13	8	1	10	348
5. Associate's degree	1	27	19	5	1	1	2	56
6. Bachelor's degree	11	45	52	2	6	1	2	119
7. Graduate or professional degree	5	32	37	3	1		3	81
Unreported	3	26	13	6	1		1	50
Grand Total	**32**	**560**	**362**	**34**	**26**	**3**	**19**	**1036**

Survey Questionnaire

The results of this survey will be used to design a better workforce development plan for the Baltimore Region. Our goal is to better understand barriers to employment opportunity for workers in the Baltimore Region. Your answers will be completely anonymous and confidential and will not be shared with anyone. Please answer the following questions as honestly as you can. Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

1. In what year were you born?

2. Please select your race/ethnicity. (Select all that apply)

☐ Asian

☐ Black/African-American

☐ Caucasian/White

☐ Hispanic or Latino

☐ Native American/Alaska Native

☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

☐ Other/Multi-Racial

☐ Decline to Respond

3. What is your gender?

◯ Male

◯ Female

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (Check the highest level you have completed)

◯ Elementary School

◯ Middle School

◯ Some High School

◯ High School Diploma

◯ GED

◯ Completed job training, career certification/license or apprenticeship

○ Some college education

○ Associate's degree

○ Bachelor's degree

○ Above a Bachelor's degree

5. Would you be willing to provide the street name and zip code where you live? The information you provide will be held in strict confidence, and will be used to assist the Baltimore Regional Workforce Development Planning Committee in improving access to employment opportunities for underserved communities in the Baltimore Metropolitan Area.

Street Name (Optional):

Zip Code:

6. What is the location where you live?

○ Baltimore City

○ Baltimore County

○ Anne Arundel County

○ Carroll County

○ Harford County

○ Howard County

○ I live somewhere else (Please describe) Please enter an 'other' value for this selection:

7. What is the location where you work?

○ Baltimore City

○ Baltimore County

○ Anne Arundel County

○ Carroll County

○ Harford County

○ Howard County

○ I work somewhere else (Please describe) Please enter an 'other' value for this selection.

8. What is your current work status? (Check all that apply.)

☐ Unemployed or currently not working

☐ Under-employed (employed, but looking for a job with better wages, more hours or better working conditions)

☐ Employed part-time

☐ Employed full-time

☐ Other employment status (please specify) Please enter an 'other' value for this selection.

9. Below is a list of barriers to employment opportunity. For each barrier, please state whether it affects you. If so, rate the problem on a scale of 1 to 5. (Mark 1 if it is a minor problem and mark 5 if it is major problem.)

	Not a problem	Minor problem (1)	Somewhat of a problem (2)	Moderate problem (3)	Large problem (4)	Major problem (5)
I can't get to work or get home using public transportation.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have difficulties with math.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have difficulties with reading and literacy.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I don't have a high school diploma or GED.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have a criminal record.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have had a problem with drug or alcohol abuse or addiction.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can't find dependable or affordable child care.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can't find permanent housing.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I sometimes have problems at work due	○	○	○	○	○	○

	Not a problem	Minor problem (1)	Somewhat of a problem (2)	Moderate problem (3)	Large problem (4)	Major problem (5)
to things like getting to work on time, communicating with my boss, or communicating with co-workers.						
I don't have any work experience or my work experience is not enough for me to get a job.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have some mental health issues.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have problems in my personal support system.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have difficulties using technology and computers.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can't afford the items I need for work such as a uniform, boots, professional clothes, a bus ticket, or other costs.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I don't have a driver's license.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have some health problems.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I'm not sure how to search for a job.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can't find a job.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I'm not sure what job or career I want to have.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have difficulties paying child support (the cost is too high).	○	○	○	○	○	○
The jobs I find don't pay enough to cover my basic costs of living.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can't get the training or education I need because I don't know where I can get it.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can't get the training or education I need because the cost is too high.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have been laid off and I need new	○	○	○	○	○	○

	Not a problem	Minor problem (1)	Somewhat of a problem (2)	Moderate problem (3)	Large problem (4)	Major problem (5)
skills.						
Some other problem (please describe & rate)	○	○	○	○	○	○
	○	○	○	○	○	○
	○	○	○	○	○	○
	○	○	○	○	○	○
	○	○	○	○	○	○
	○	○	○	○	○	○

End Notes

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[i] Sources: American Community Survey 2012 Annual Estimates, Baltimore Region, including Baltimore City, Baltimore County, Harford County, Anne Arundel County, Howard County and Carroll County. Figures for lower-skilled adults reflect the population age 25 to 65. Barriers identified through interviews with workforce development managers and employers as well as a survey of job seekers in the Baltimore Region. Notes: Figures for each demographic group are reported separately, but individuals may be counted in more than one category. For instance, a black mother will be counted in both the "Black/African American" category and the "Women with Children Under Age 6" category. Unemployment rate is calculated as the ration of [Unemployed Population] / ([Unemployed Population] + [Employed Population]). The population not seeking work is not used in the calculation of unemployment rate and represents additional population who is not seeking work in the job market. Workers who become discouraged may stop actively seeking work. If they do, they are no longer counted in the unemployed population and are instead counted in the population not seeking work.

[ii] See Baltimore Regional Talent Development Pipeline Study, 2013

[iii] Structural Racism is defined as "a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity." (Structural Racism and Community Building, Aspen Institute, 2004)

[iv] See The Maryland War on Marijuana in Black and White, ACLU

[v] See EEOC African American Workgroup Report (2012), Last Accessed December 2013 at http://www.eeoc.gov/federal/reports/aawg.cfm

[vi] Source: The Mark of a Criminal Record, American Journal of Sociology (Pager, Volume 108 Number 5 (March 2003): pg. 937). Note: Figures are based on surveys in the Midwest but results have been reproduced in subsequent studies in other states.

[vii] See Investing in Baltimore's Workforce: Leveraging Opportunity and Moving to Scale, March 2012, Job Opportunities Task Force, Baltimore Integration Partnership. Last Accessed December 2013 at http://www.jotf.org/Portals/0/jotf/publications/Issue%20Brief%20March%202012%20final%20for%20web(2).pdf

[viii] See Last hired, first fired? Black-White Unemployment and the Business Cycle (Couch and Fairlie)

[ix] See Baltimore Regional Talent Development Pipeline Study, 2013

[x] See Interviews with healthcare employers, October, 2013

[xi] A driver's license may is required as identification for some jobs and many of the region's jobs require a car to travel to work within a reasonable commute time.

[xii] See Maryland Rookie Driver Program: http://www.mva.maryland.gov/Driver-Services/Rookie-Driver/bgeneral.htm

[xiii] The rate of foreign immigration to Baltimore more than doubled in the 2000-2010 period. In the 1990s, Baltimore City added about 6,000 immigrants; during the 2000s, more than 14,000 foreign-born people arrived. See "Immigrants key to reaching mayor's population goal. Foreign-born residents necessary for growth, experts say" (Steve Kilar, The Baltimore Sun, January 07, 2012).

[xiv] See The Maryland War on Marijuana in Black and White, ACLU

[xv] See The Mark of a Criminal Record, American Journal of Sociology (Pager, Volume 108 Number 5 (March 2003): pg. 937). Last Accessed January 2014 at http://www.princeton.edu/~pager/pager_ajs.pdf

[xvi] Source: BMC Travel Model, Census 2010. According to the BMC Travel Model, 1,146 households in the Cherry Hill Neighborhood are zero-car households.

[xvii] See Structural Racism and Community Building, Aspen Institute, 2004

[xviii] See Expanding Baltimore's Black Middle Class (Job Opportunities Task Force and Associated Black Charities, Issue Briefing 2010)

[xix] In the most recent national study of transportation ridership statistics (2007) from on-board surveys, Blacks represented 33% of all public transportation riders. In the same year, Blacks represented 11.4% of the US Labor force. See Labor Force Characteristics by Race 2007 (http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsrace2007.pdf) and A Profile of Public Transportation Passenger Demographics and Travel Characteristics Reported in On-Board Surveys (APTA, 2007).

[xx] See EEOC African American Workgroup Report (2012), Last Accessed December 2013 at http://www.eeoc.gov/federal/reports/aawg.cfm

[xxi] See Opportunity Mapping for the Baltimore Regional Plan for Sustainable Development for detailed maps on access to opportunity and see Race Policy and Power: Dismantling Structural Racism, Grassroots Policy Project for a more complete discussion of geography, social conditions and race.

[xxii] See Investing in Baltimore's Workforce: Leveraging Opportunity and Moving to Scale, March 2012, Job Opportunities Task Force, Baltimore Integration Partnership. Last Accessed December 2013 at
http://www.jotf.org/Portals/0/jotf/publications/Issue%20Brief%20March%202012%20final%20for%20web(2).pdf
[xxiii] The High Cost of Maryland's Dropout Rate (Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice and the Maryland Public Policy Institute, 2008)
[xxiv] American Community Survey, Baltimore-Towson MSA
[xxv] Source: American Community Survey, 2007-2011 5-year estimates show that annual earnings with just a high school diploma were of $33,665 versus median annual earnings of $23,425 without a high school diploma.
[xxvi] Services that are typically offered include life skills training (e.g. communication and professionalism skills), basic skills training (math and literacy), individual case management, career planning, job search/ job placement services, and other services or referrals to help workers overcome specific human services barriers such as child care, transportation, and funding for basic job needs (work clothes, bus fare, etc.).
[xxvii] See Job Training that Works, Public/Private Ventures (2009). Last Accessed September, 2013 at
http://www.insightcced.org/uploads/nnsp/job-training-that-works.pdf
[xxviii] DCI Winning Strategies, 2011
[xxix] See California's Low Cost Automobile Insurance Program Annual Reports, Last Accessed January 2014 at:
http://www.insurance.ca.gov/0100-consumers/0060-information-guides/0010-automobile/lca/upload/CLCAReport2013.pdf
[xxx] Success Stories of Employer-Sponsored Transportation Programs. Last Accessed December 2013 at
http://www.ctaa.org/webmodules/webarticles/articlefiles/SuccessStoriesEmpTranspPrograms.pdf

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