

Anti-Black Racism **Is Alive and Well in the U.S.:** ***here is the statistical evidence***

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Introduction – p1

Dr. King, the Civil Rights Movement, & the 1964 Civil Rights Act did not “END” Racism... They Simply Pushed It Under the Surface Where It Became More Insidious & Easier to Deny. (EXCERPT)

“Racial disparities persisted after the 1964 Civil Rights law was passed because discriminatory policies persisted under a patina of colorblindness.”

“The 1964 act ended up principally outlawing “intention to discriminate” in the present. Intent — not outcome — became the preferred proof of discrimination. Evidence of intent to create the racial disparity — like the “white only” sign — became the principal marker of discrimination, not the racial disparity itself, nor the absence of people of color. Americans quietly responded to the 1964 act by backing “race neutral” policies that were aimed at excluding black bodies. Racial disparity, meanwhile, was reinforced and reproduced in new forms.”

“The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not the beginning of the end of American racism. It was the beginning of our poisonous belief that America was ending racism.”

“Racism did not end — it progressed. Racism progressed when legislators did not repair the advantage that whites enjoyed from accumulated gains of past discrimination. Racism progressed when Americans refused to identify discrimination by outcome. Racism progressed when presumed discrimination had been eliminated, assumed equal opportunity had taken over, and figured that since blacks were still losing the race, the racial disparities must be their own fault. Racism progressed when Americans chose the law and order of inequality over the civil right of equality.”

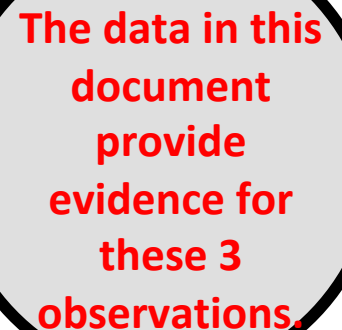
EXCERPTED FROM Kendi, Ibraham, “The Civil Rights Act was a victory against racism. But racists also won. The bill unleashed a poisonous idea: that America had defeated racism,” *The Washington Post*, July 2, 2017.

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Introduction – p2

REI's Groundwater Metaphor for Structural Racism:

- “If you have a lake in front of your house and one fish is floating belly-up dead, it makes sense to analyze the fish. What is wrong with it? Imagine the fish is one student failing in the education system. We'd ask: did it study hard enough? Is it getting the support it needs at home? But if you come out to that same lake and half the fish are floating belly-up dead, what should you do? This time you've got to analyze the lake. Imagine the lake is the education system and half the students are failing. This time we'd ask: might the system itself be causing such consistent, unacceptable outcomes for students? If so, how? Now... picture five lakes around your house, and in each and every lake half the fish are floating belly-up dead! What is it time to do? We say it's time to analyze the groundwater.”



The data in this document provide evidence for these 3 observations.

The Groundwater metaphor is based on 3 research observations:

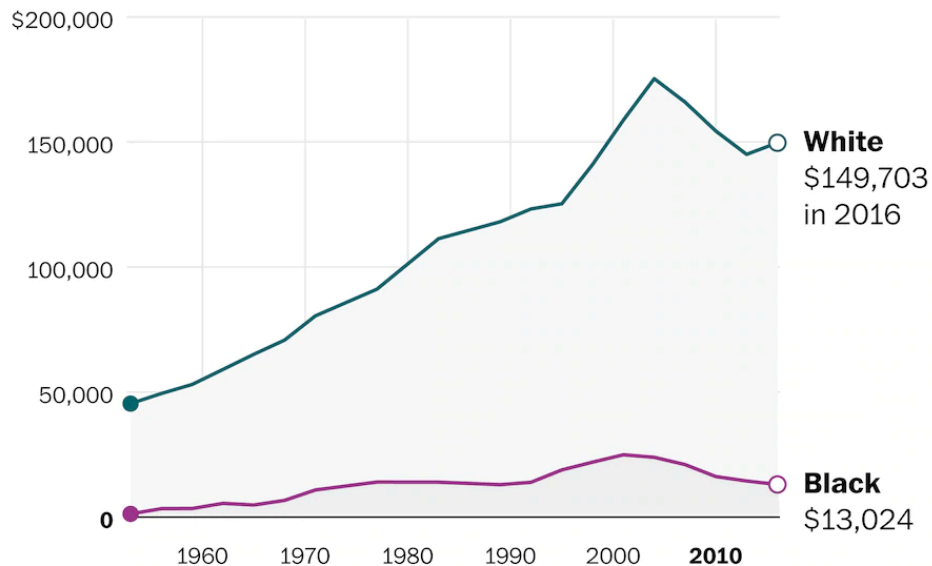
- 1) Racial inequity looks the same across systems;
- 2) Socio-economic difference does not explain racial inequity;
- 3) Inequities are caused by systems, regardless of people's culture or behavior.

Part 1:

Racial Disparities & Discrimination in Income and Wealth

White wealth surges; black wealth stagnates

Median household wealth, adjusted for inflation



Source: Historical Survey of Consumer Finances via Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis and University of Bonn economists Moritz Kuhn, Moritz Schularick and Ulrike I. Steins
THE WASHINGTON POST

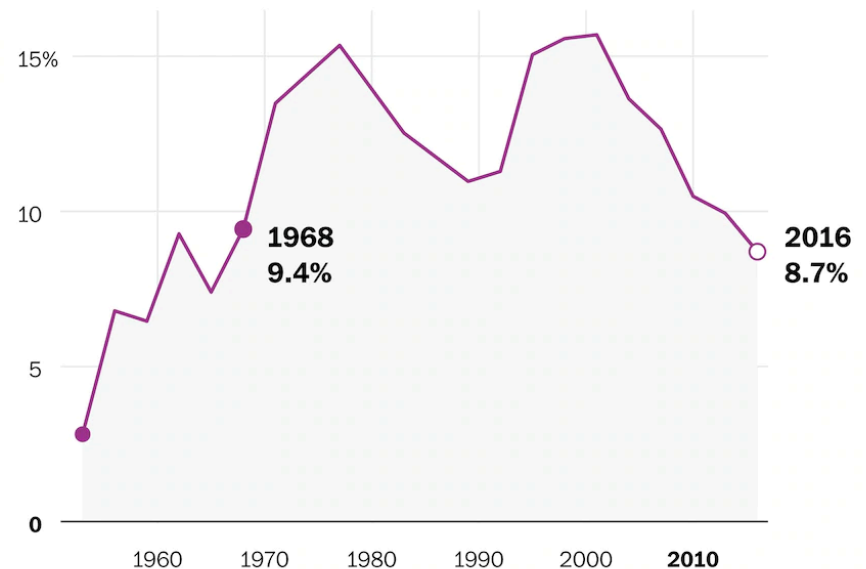
Van Dam, Andrew, "The black-white economic divide is as wide as it was in 1968," The Washington Post, June 4, 2020.

White wealth surges; black wealth stagnates.

The Black-White wealth gap is as wide as in the 1990s.

The black-white wealth gap is as wide as in the 1960s

Median black household wealth as a percentage of median white household wealth



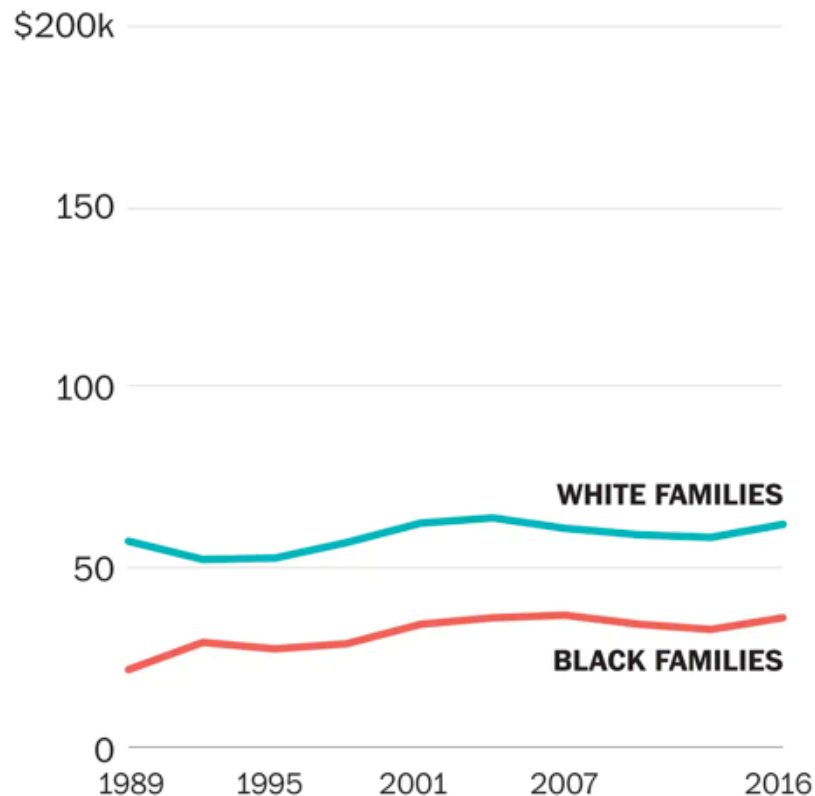
Source: Historical Survey of Consumer Finances via Minneapolis Fed and University of Bonn economists Moritz Kuhn, Moritz Schularick and Ulrike I. Steins
THE WASHINGTON POST

There is a persistent racial income gap and an even bigger racial wealth gap. Federal research shows in 2016, the **income** of the typical white family was roughly 1.7 times (almost twice) that of a typical black family, and the **wealth** of a typical white family was roughly 10 times that of a typical black family.

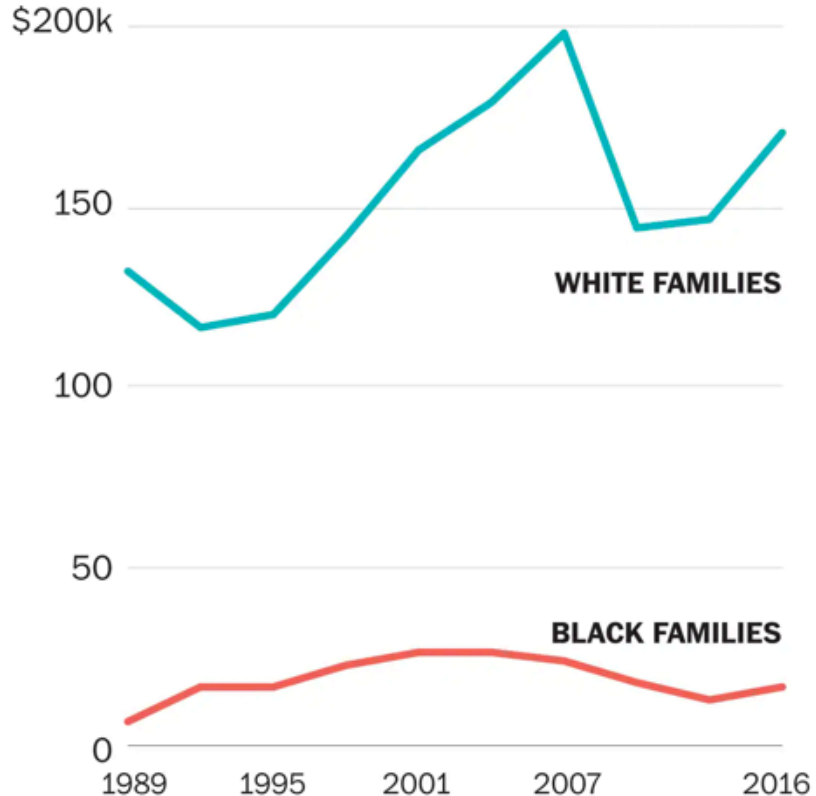
Racial income and wealth gaps

Median income and wealth of black and white families over time, in 2016 dollars

INCOME



WEALTH



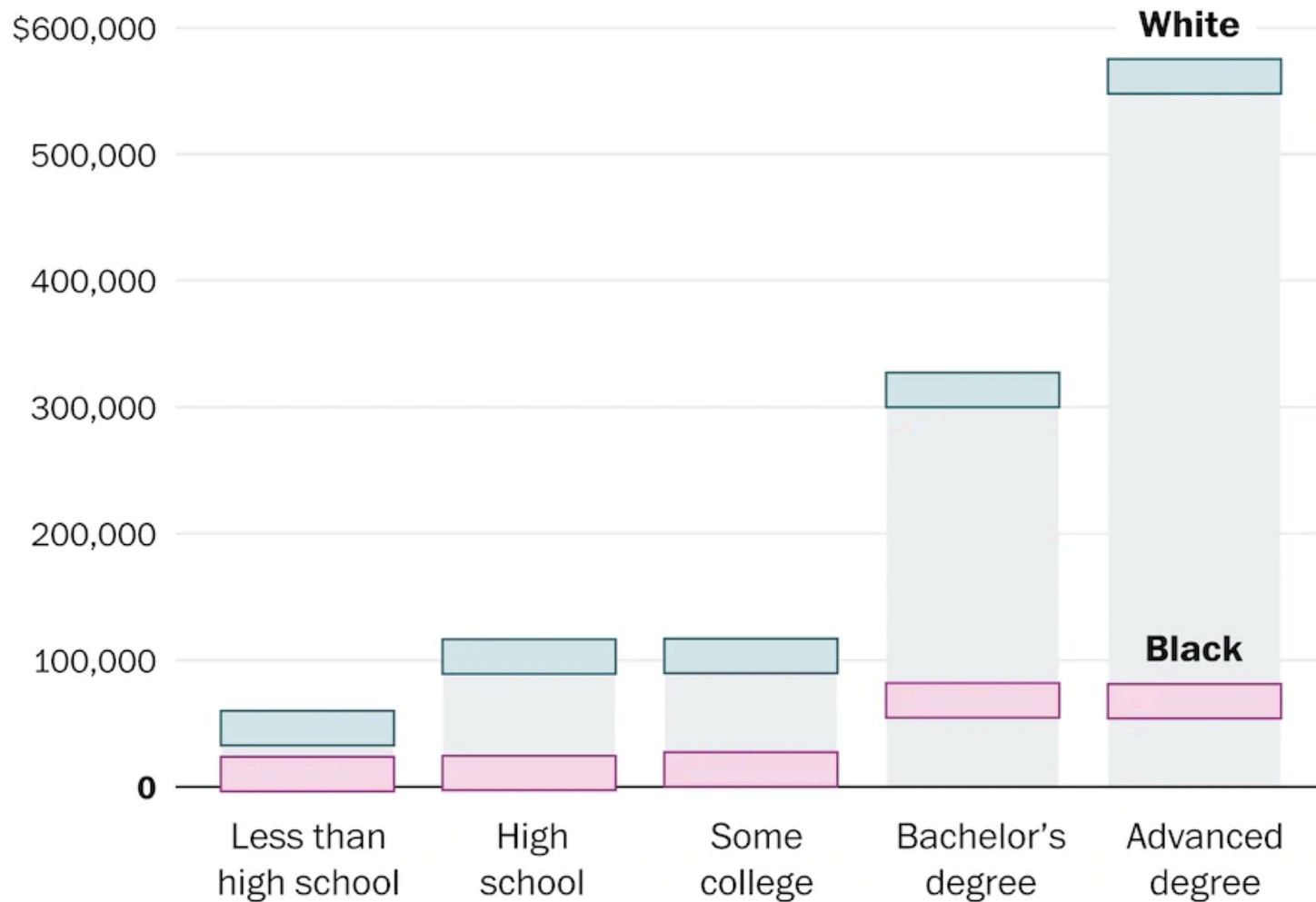
Sources: Survey of Consumer Finances

THE WASHINGTON POST

ing Inequity, 2020

At every education level, black wealth lags

Median household wealth by race and education level, 2016

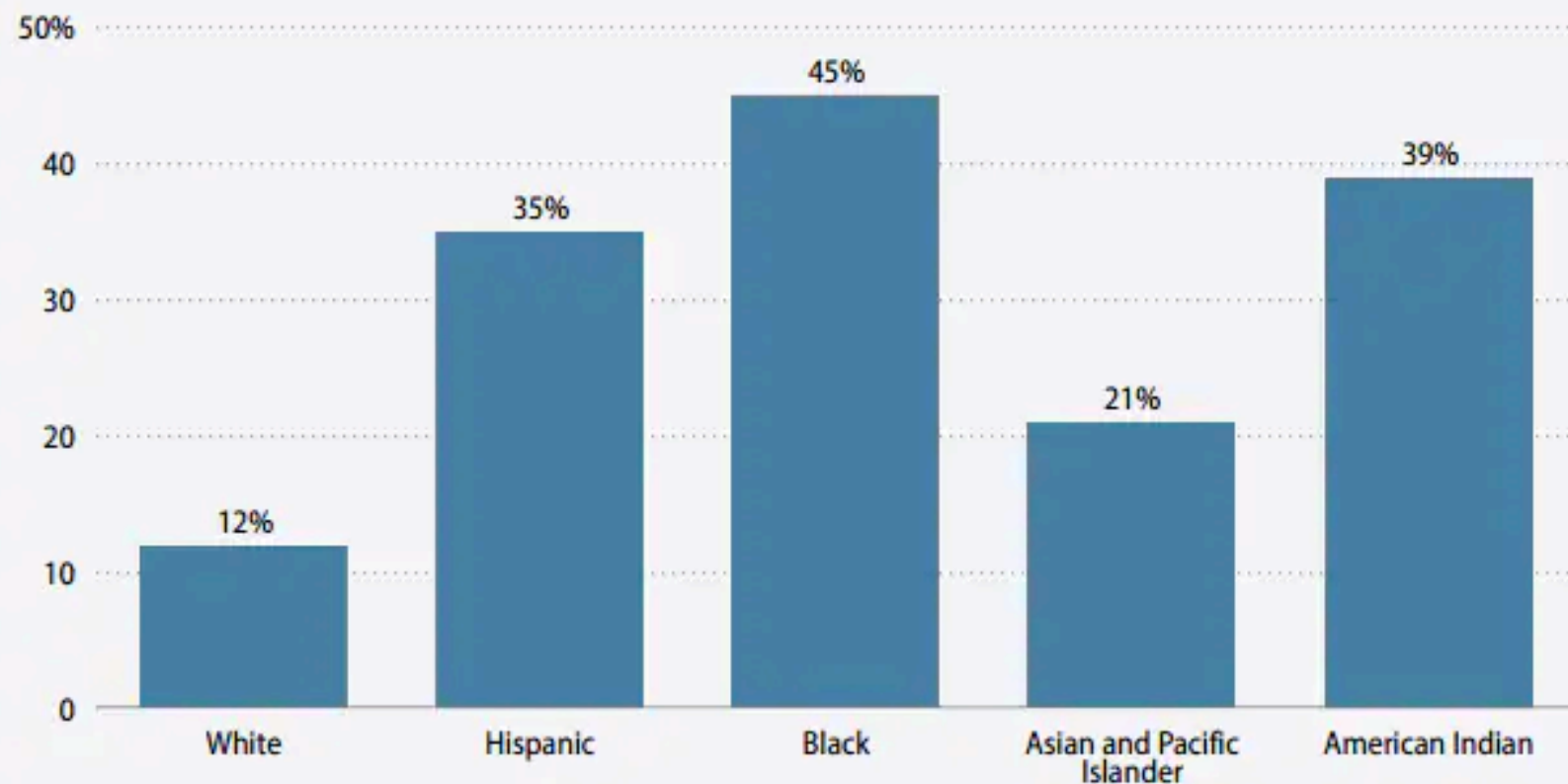


Source: Federal Reserve
THE WASHINGTON POST

Van Dam, Andrew, "The black-white economic divide is as wide as it was in 1968," The Washington Post, June 4, 2020.
uprooting Inequity, 2020

The effects of poverty on a child are multiplied when the child lives in an area of concentrated poverty. Poor African-American children are significantly more likely than poor white children to live areas of concentrated poverty.

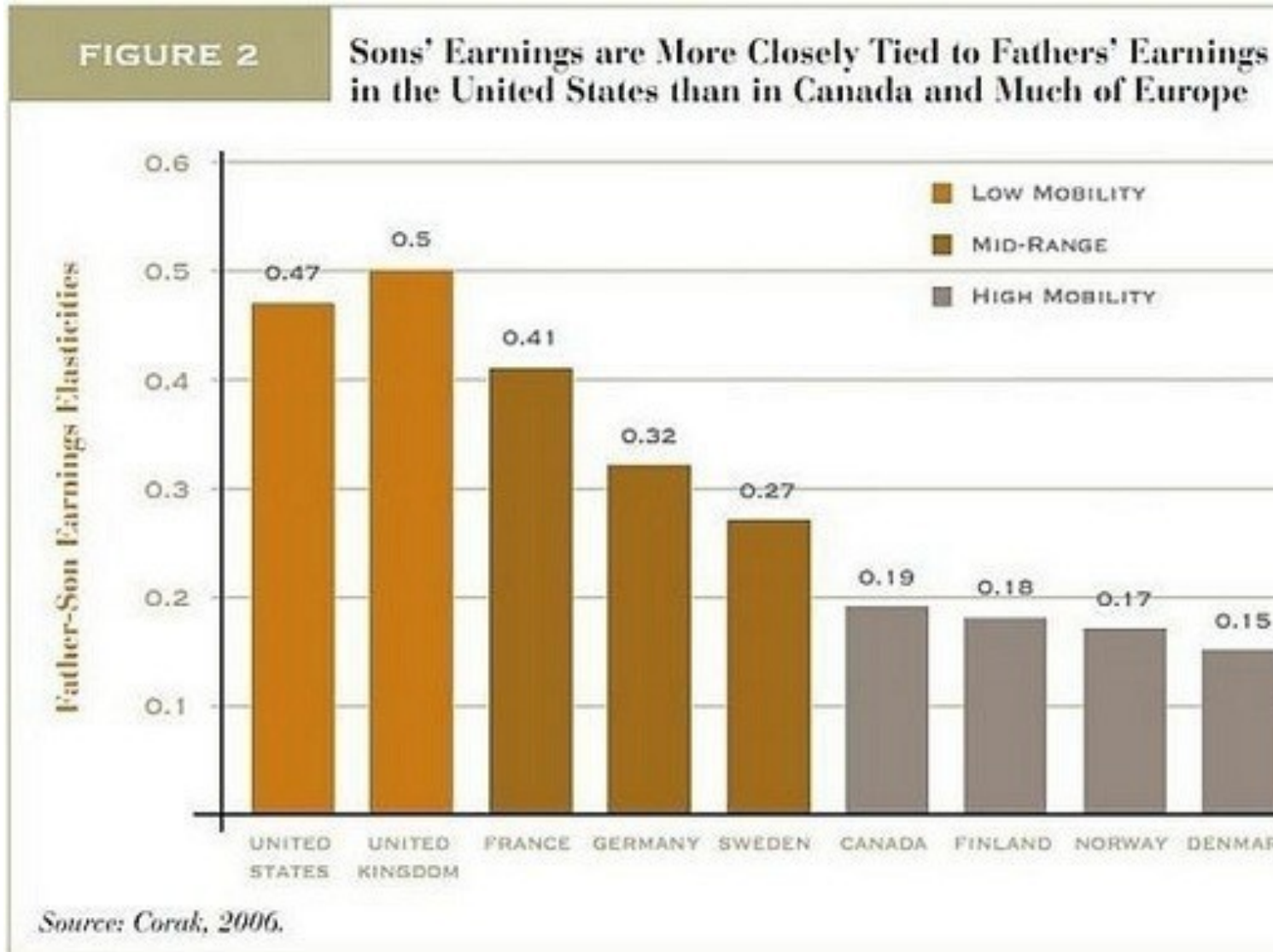
Percent of poor children living in areas of concentrated poverty, by race/ethnicity, 2006–2010 average



Note: "Concentrated poverty" is defined as a census tract with a poverty rate of 30 percent or higher.

Source: Kids Count (2012)

“Income Mobility” is a reflection of how much **equal opportunity** a society has—the ability of a child to rise to a higher socio-economic class than the one in which he/she was born (**the American Dream**). The higher bar in the graph below, the LESS mobility (equal opportunity) that country has; a son’s earnings are highly correlated not with their individual talents & efforts, but rather with what their father earned.



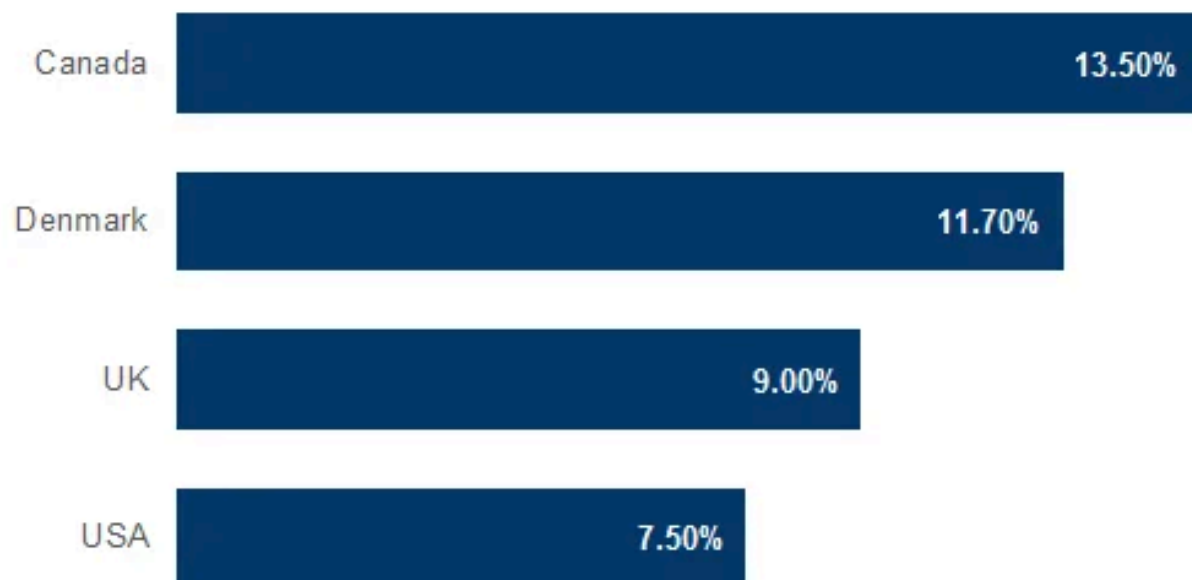
Income Mobility in the U.S. is significantly lower than in the majority of wealthy/developed nations.

We are no longer the land of the “American Dream”;

Increasingly, most Americans’ wealth is more a reflection of how wealthy their father was, rather than of their own talents and efforts.

The chances of achieving the “American Dream” of Upward Mobility are now lower in the U.S. than in any other economically developed nation,
and are twice as high in Canada than in the U.S.

Relative mobility is almost twice as high in Canada



■ Probability that a child born to parents in the bottom fifth of the income distribution reaches the top fifth

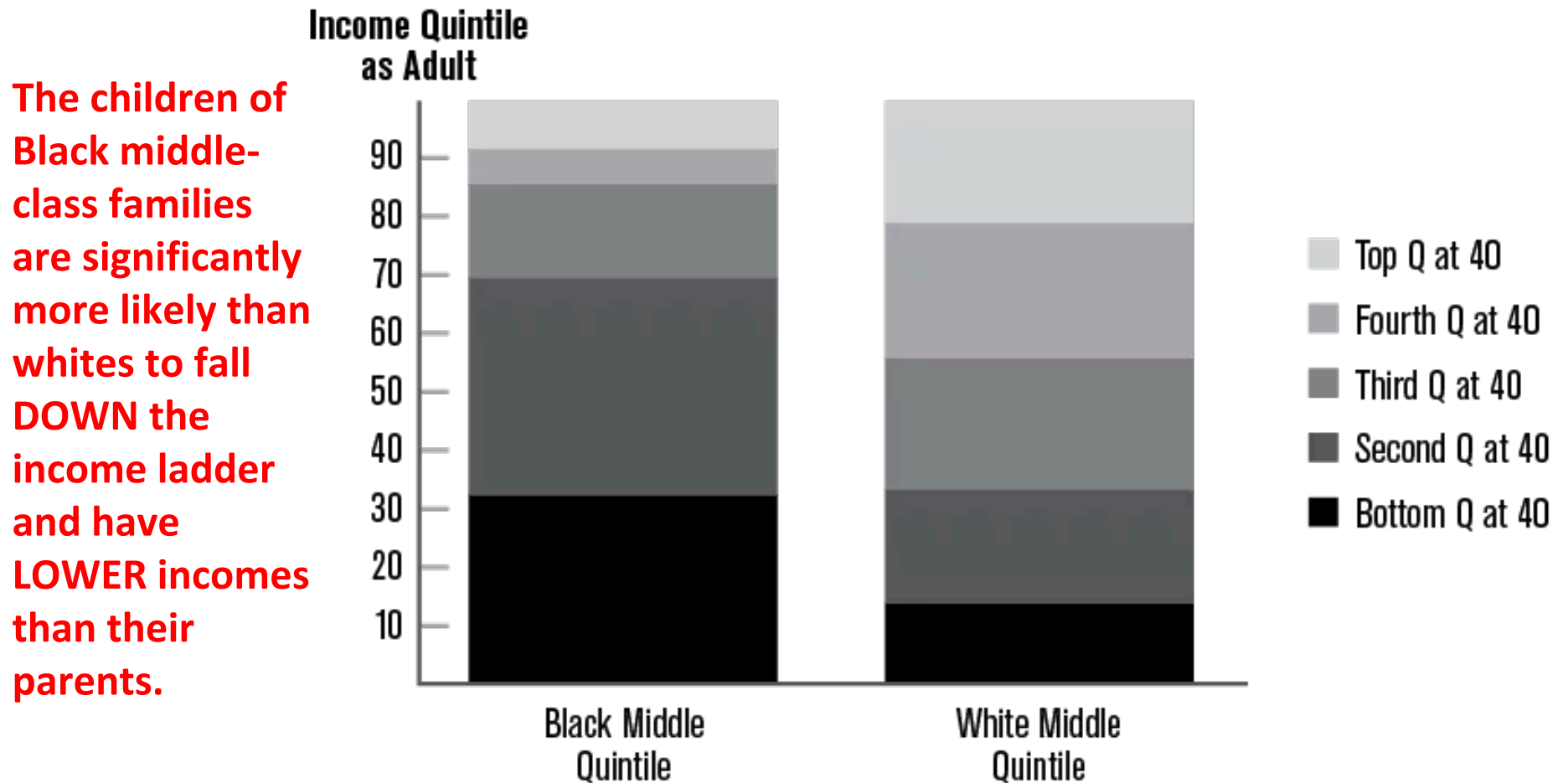
Sources: Chetty et al., "Where is the land of opportunity? The geography of intergenerational mobility in the United States" (USA); Blanden and Machin, "Up and down the generational income ladder in Britain: Past changes and future prospects," (UK); Boserup, Kopczuk, and Kreiner, "Intergenerational Wealth Mobility: Evidence from Danish Wealth Records of Three Generations," (Denmark); Corak and Heisz, "The intergenerational earnings and income mobility of Canadian men: Evidence from longitudinal tax data" (Canada)

A 2014 study by Harvard economists led by Raj Chetty found that **the chances of moving from the poorest fifth of the population to the wealthiest fifth were lower in the U.S. than in other economically developed nations.**

Chetty, Raj, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline and Emmanuel Saez, "Where is the Land of Opportunity? The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States," Quarterly Journal of Economics 129(4): 1553-1629, June 2014.

Black children born into middle-income families are twice as likely to be downwardly mobile as middle-income whites

FIGURE 3.3 MOST BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS KIDS ARE DOWNWARDLY MOBILE

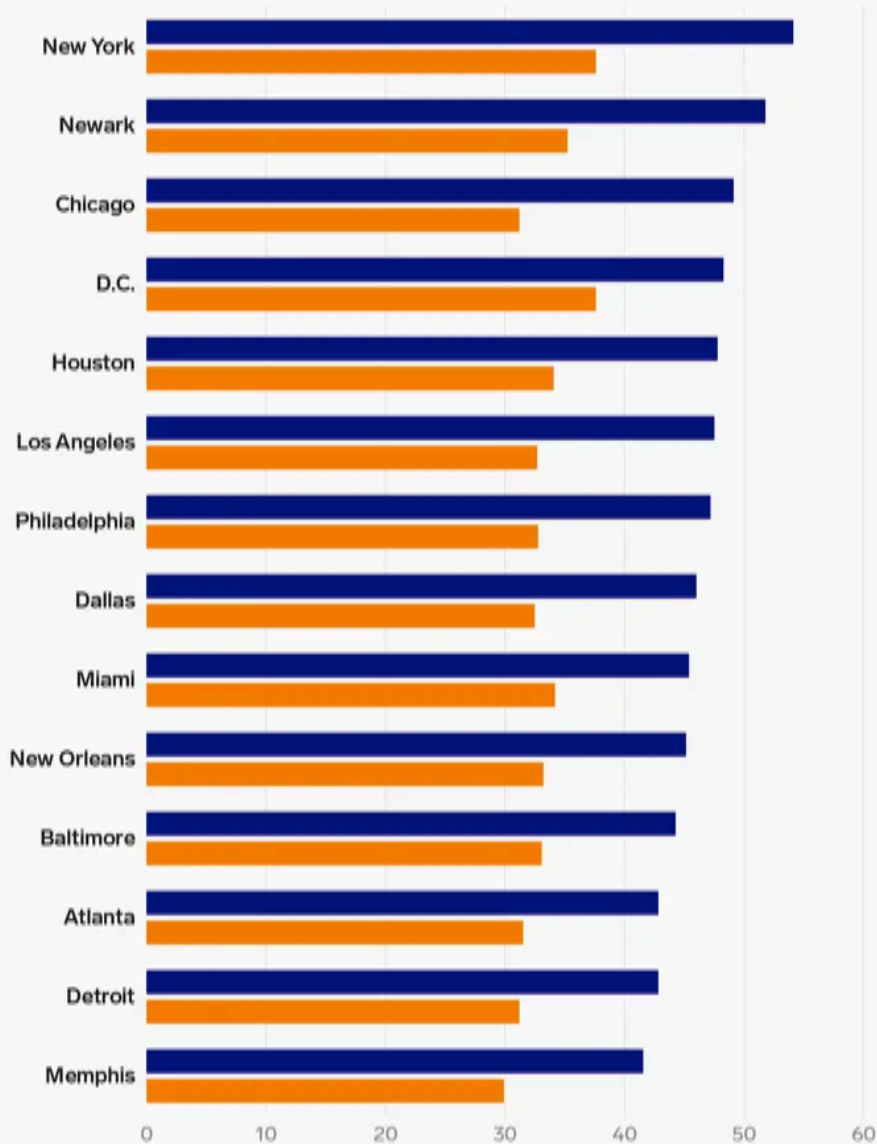


Source: Tabulations by Joanna Venator of Social Genome Model (Brookings and Urban Institute) results, based on data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979 and 1997 cohorts.

Upward income mobility, by city and race

■ White ■ Black

Household income ranking of children born into the 25th income percentile



Source: Opportunity Insights

BUSINESS INSIDER

“A key part of the **"American Dream"** is leaving your children in a better economic position than you were in, but **that dream is less attainable for Black Americans**”.

“In most large US cities, it's harder for black children from poorer families to move up the economic ladder than for white children from similarly low-income families”.

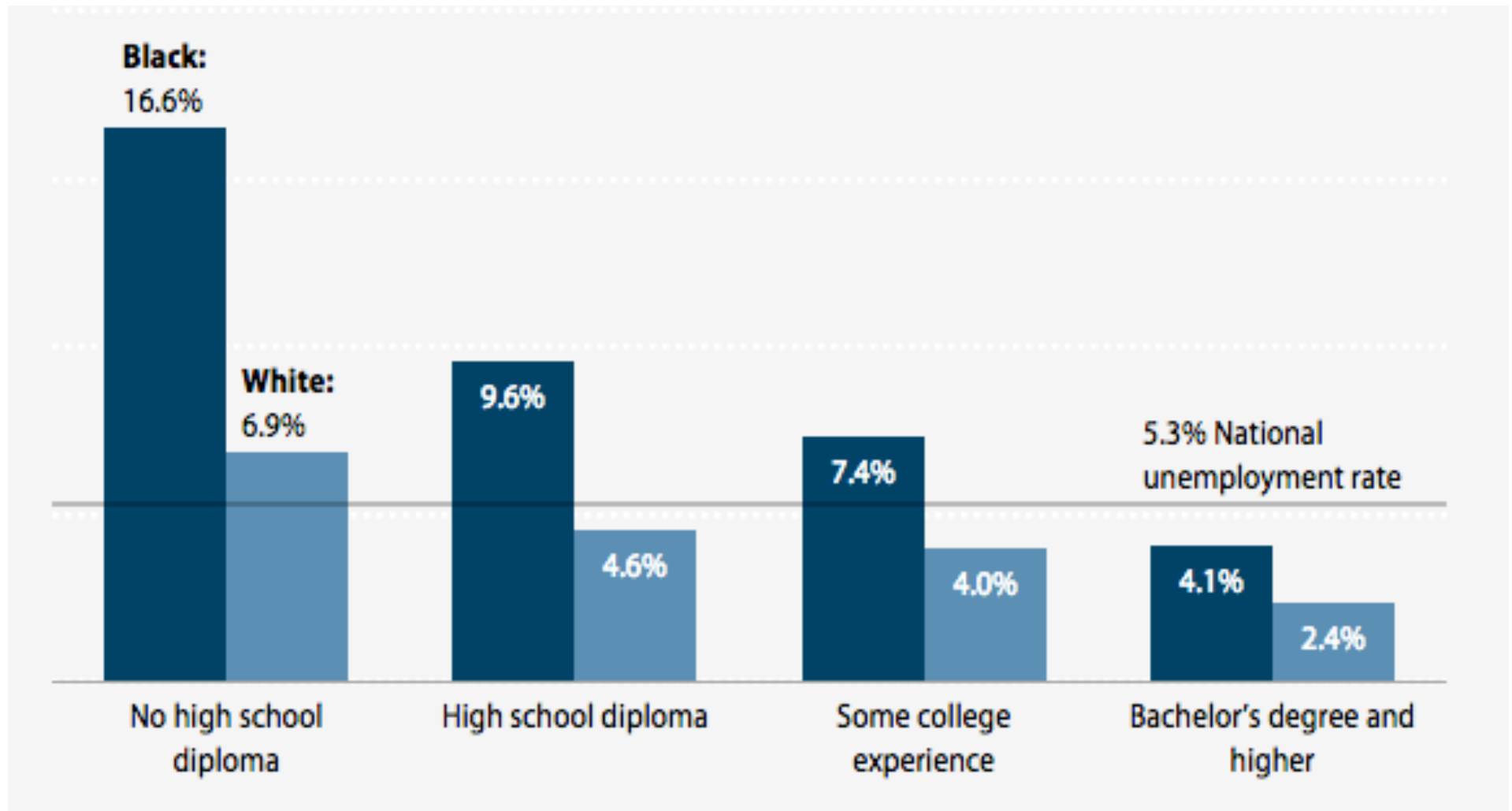
A 2014 study by economist Raj Chetty and Harvard University’s *Opportunity Insights* found that **“the children of white households in the bottom quarter of the income distribution were much more likely than children from Black households at the bottom to move up into a higher income bracket over their lives”.**

Shayanne Gal/Business Insider, with data from Chetty, Raj, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline, and Emmanuel Saez. 2014. “Where is the Land of Opportunity: The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129 (4): 1553-1623.
Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Part 2:

Racial Disparities & Discrimination in Employment

Black unemployment is significantly higher than white unemployment even when taking educational attainment into account (2015). (The “unemployed” **only** include those actively seeking a job)

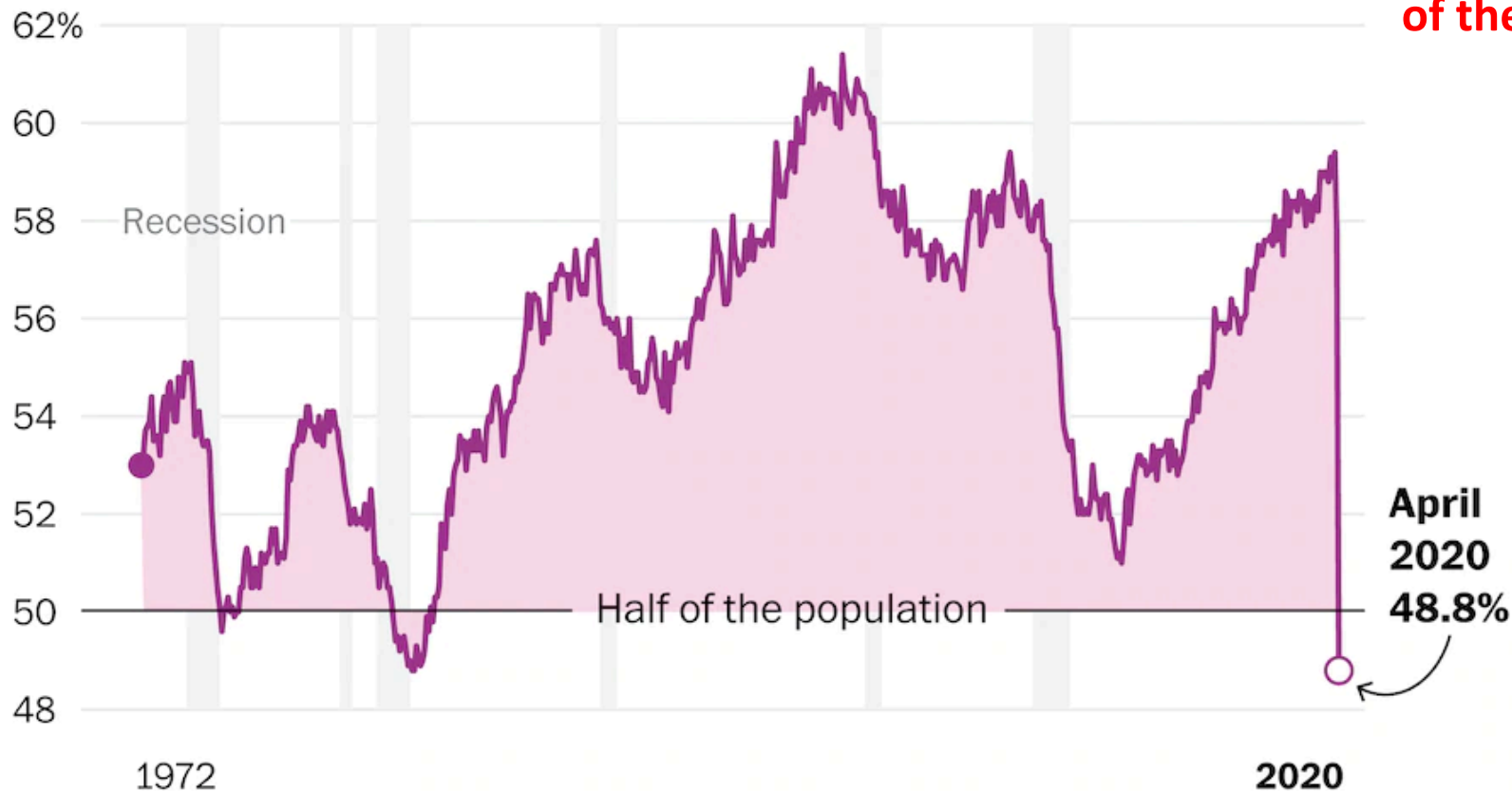


Source: EPI based on monthly Current Population Survey data. The 12-month averages include data for December 2014 through November 2015 and is calculated for people age 25 or older.

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Fewer than half of black adults are now employed

U.S. black employment as a share of the black adult population



African-Americans are being disproportionately affected by the economic effects of the pandemic.

Note: Seasonally adjusted

Source: Labor Department via FRED

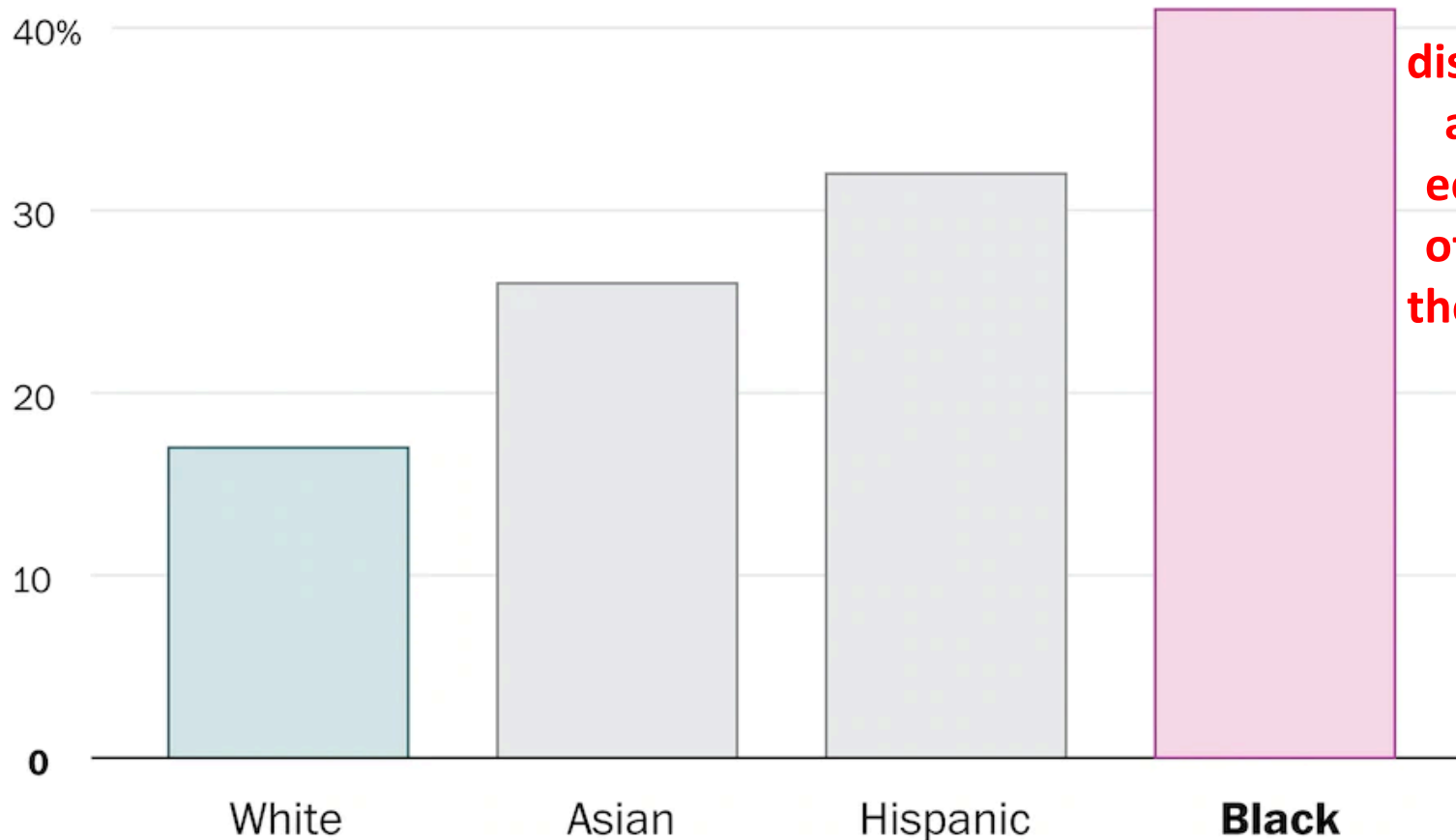
THE WASHINGTON POST

Van Dam, Andrew, "The black-white economic divide is as wide as it was in 1968," The Washington Post, June 4, 2020.

ting Inequity, 2020

Black small businesses hit twice as hard as white ones

U.S. small business owners and self-employed workers who weren't working in April 2020, shown as a share of February's total



Black small businesses are being disproportionately affected by the economic effects of the pandemic: they have been hit twice as hard.

Source: Labor Department data analyzed by Robert Fairlie of the University of California, Santa Cruz

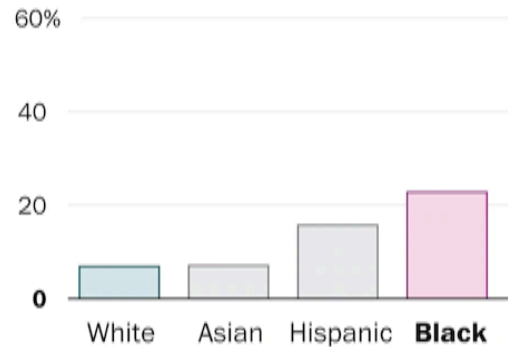
THE WASHINGTON POST

Van Dam, Andrew, "The black-white economic divide is as wide as it was in 1968," The Washington Post, June 4, 2020.
Upcoming Inequity, 2020

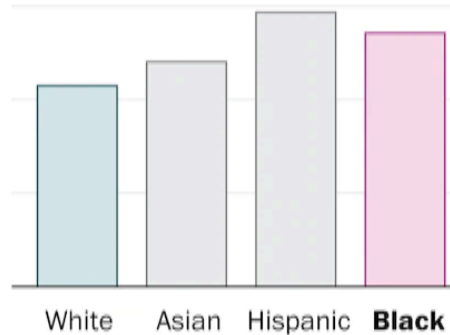
Consequences of the pandemic, by race or ethnicity

Average for three weeks from April 23 to May 21, 2020

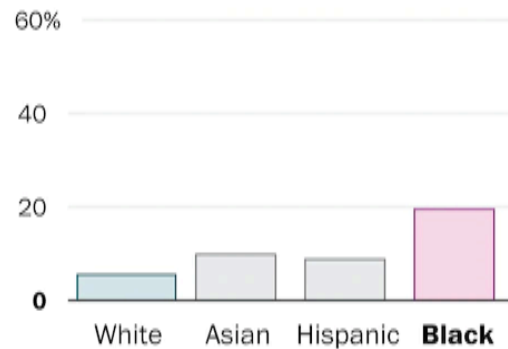
Often/sometimes don't have food



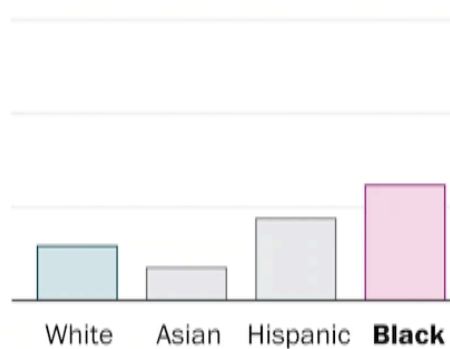
Have lost income since March



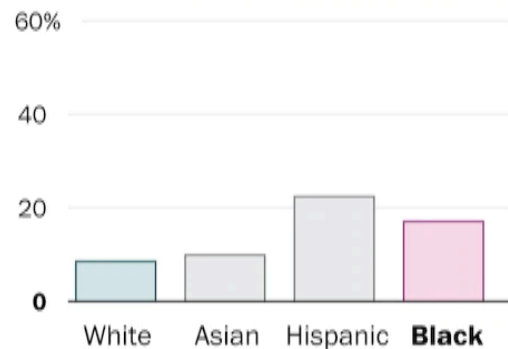
Missed a mortgage payment



Missed a rent payment



Don't have insurance



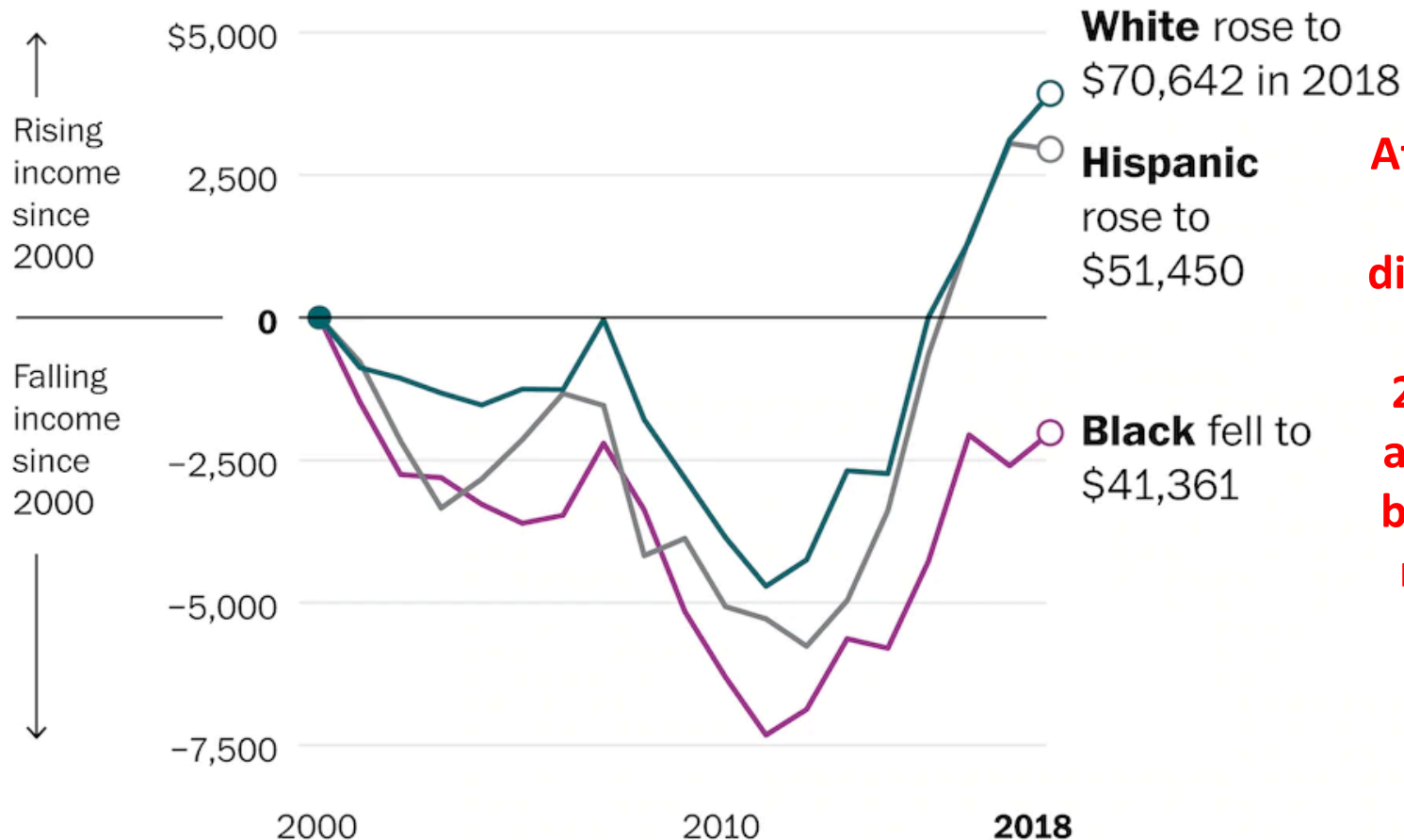
Source: Census Bureau's Household Pulse Survey
THE WASHINGTON POST

African-Americans are being disproportionately affected by the economic effects of the pandemic.

Van Dam, Andrew, "The black-white economic divide is as wide as it was in 1968," The Washington Post, June 4, 2020
Upstream Inequity, 2020

Black Americans still earn less than they did in 2000

Change in median income since the year 2000, adjusted for inflation



African-Americans were disproportionately affected by the 2000s recession, and have still not been able to fully recover from it.

Note: Shown in constant 2018 dollars; methodology changed in 2013 and multiple values have been averaged within each year when available; the white category doesn't include those of Hispanic origin.
Source: Census Bureau

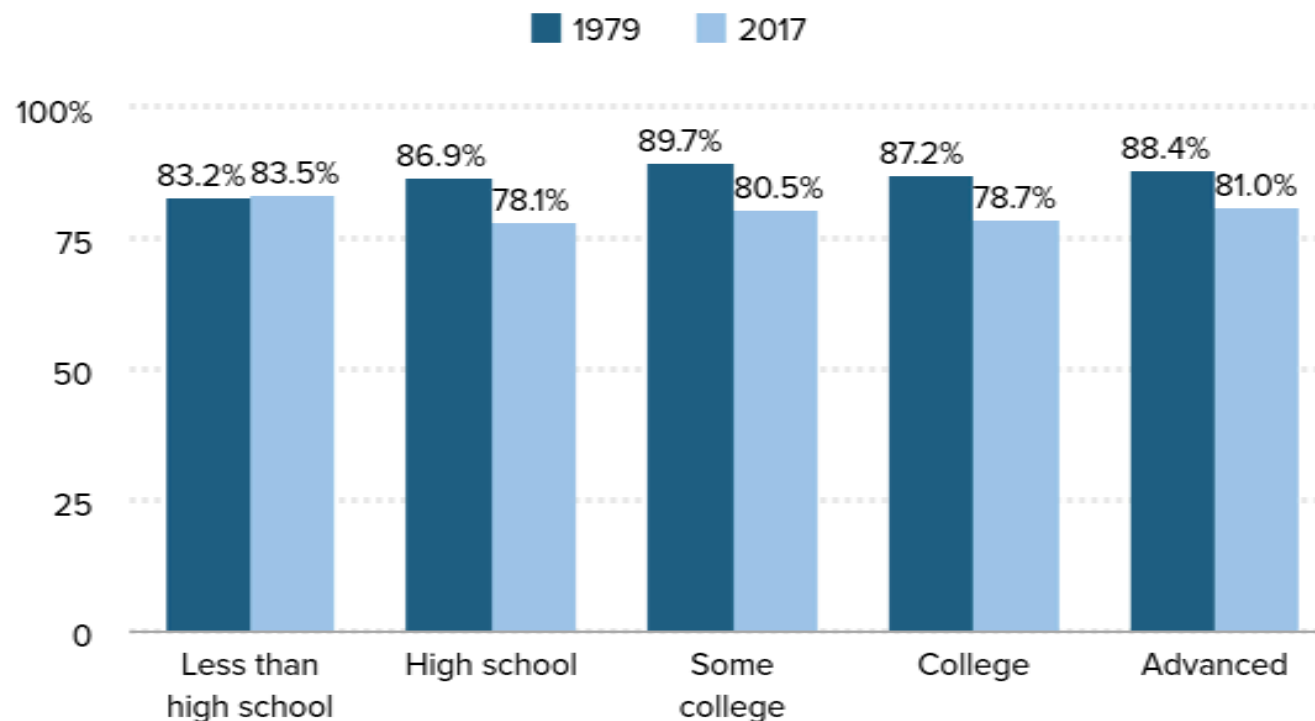
THE WASHINGTON POST

Van Dam, Andrew,
"The black-white
economic divide is as
wide as it was in 1968,"
The Washington Post,
June 4, 2020
Upcoming Equity, 2020

The Wage Gap Between Black and White Workers has increased over time

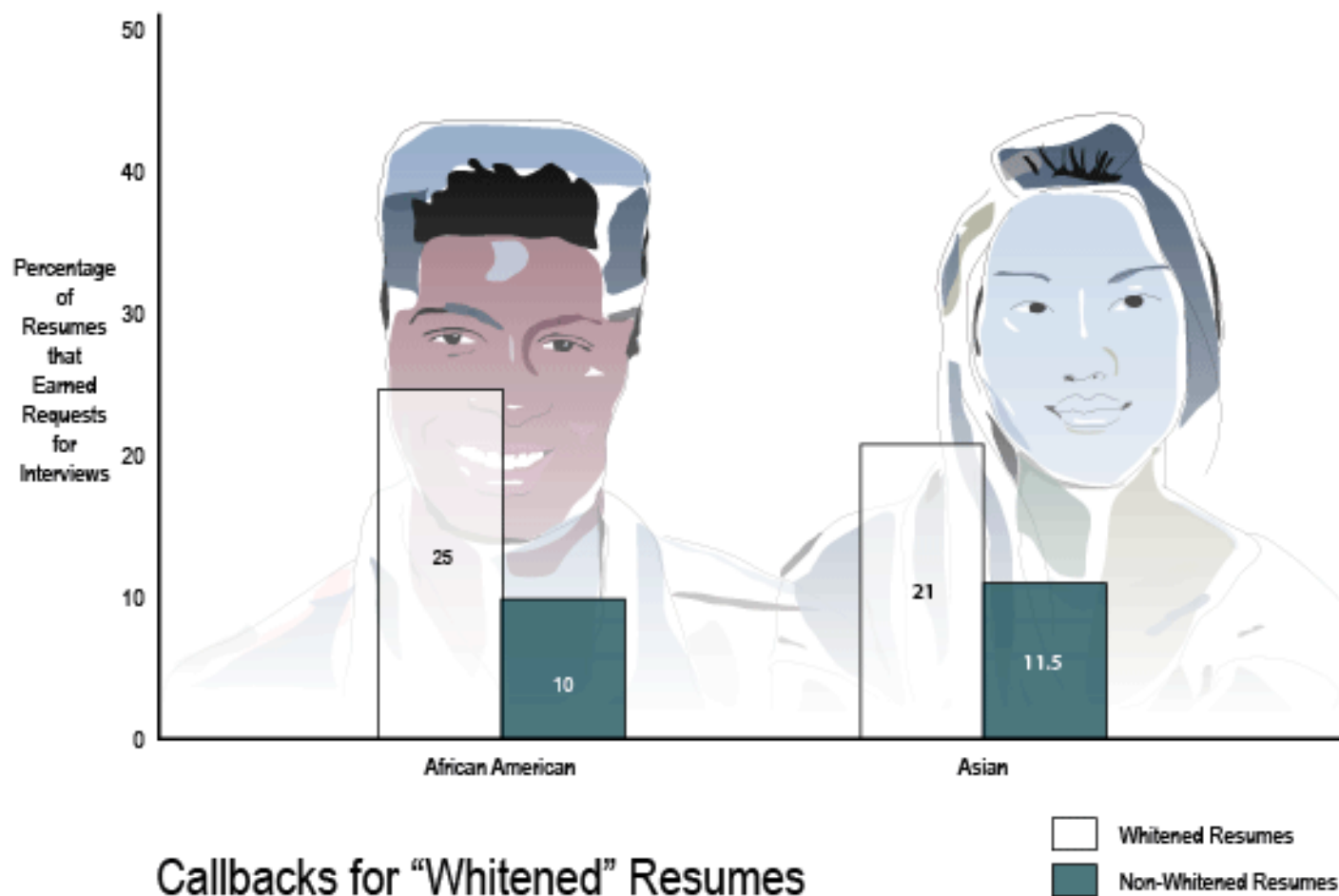
In addition to having higher rates of unemployment than whites with the same level of education, black workers are also paid less than white workers on average, even after controlling for level of education.

Black-white wage ratio, by education, 1979 and 2017



This growth of the black-white wage gap since 1979 is due partly to 1) limited wage growth among middle- and low-wage workers (where African Americans are overrepresented) and 2) above average growth among the highest wage workers (where African Americans are underrepresented), BUT ALSO: **3) growing racial inequality in hiring, pay, and opportunities for promotion.**

Minorities Who 'Whiten' Job Resumes Get More Interviews. In this 2-year study (Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik & Jun, *Administrative Science Quarterly Journal*, Sep 2016), researchers sent out matched résumé pairs in response to real job postings and found that **25% of black candidates received callbacks from their “whitened” resumes, while only 10% got calls when they left in details that revealed their race.** This also occurred when the job posting included a pro-diversity statement.

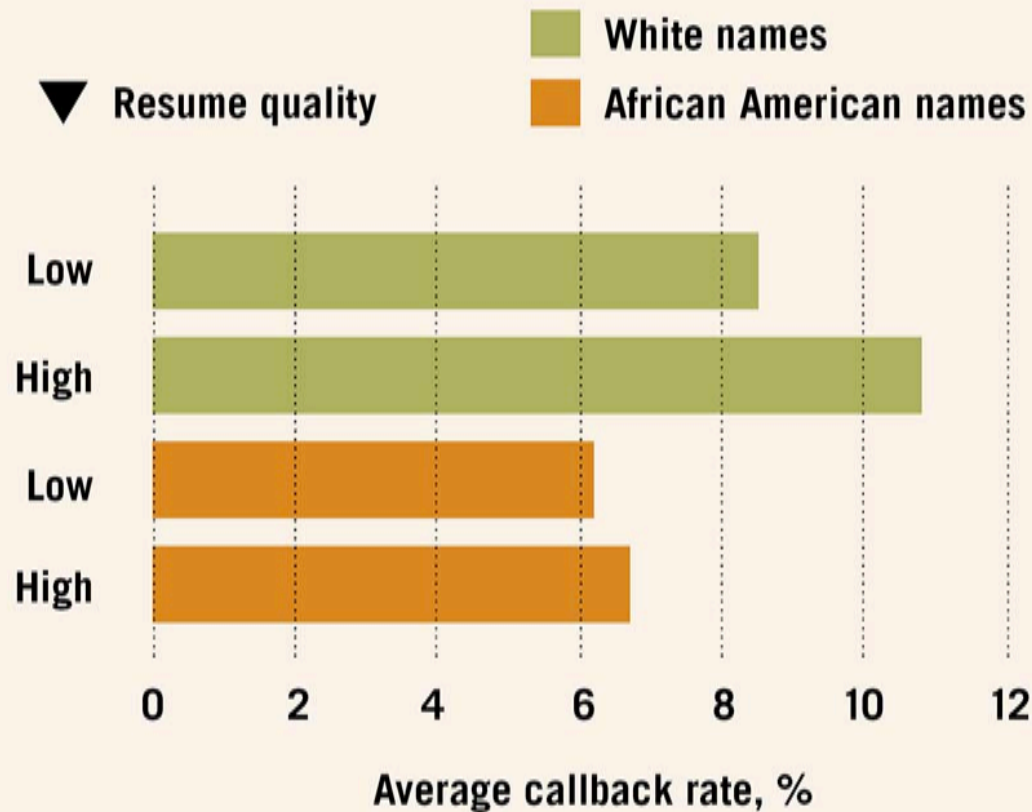


“Examples of “**resume whitening**” included changing the name on their application materials to make them sound “more white,” omitting references to membership in organizations that could reveal their race or ethnicity, and “emphasizing experiences that signaled whiteness or assimilation into ‘white culture’,” according to the study.

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Racism in a resume

Job applicants with African American–sounding names got fewer callbacks.



Source: Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004

Racial Discrimination in Employment/Hiring

These were the exact same fake resumes—the researchers just changed the names from white names to black names.

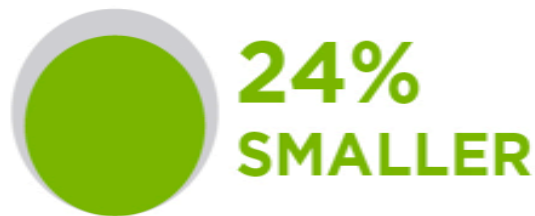
(Note: this is a 2004 study)

Racial Bias in Philanthropic Funding: Nonprofits Led by People of Color Win Less Grant Money, and With More Strings Attached

A May 2020 joint study by the The Bridgespan Group and Echoing Green concluded that if philanthropists wish to improve their impact on the social change issues they care about, it is essential that they need to grant more of their funds to nonprofit leaders of color, as “these leaders often bring strategies that intimately understand the racialized experiences of communities of color and the issues these communities face”.

However, the study found that “compared to white-led nonprofits, the black-led organizations this study analyzed had revenues 24 percent smaller. And when it comes to unrestricted funding – i.e. funding and grants that come with no strings attached – black-led organizations’ funding streams are 76 percent smaller”.

On average the **revenues** of the Black-led organizations are



than their white-led counterparts

The **unrestricted net assets** of the Black-led organizations are



than their white-led counterparts

Racial Equity in Philanthropy

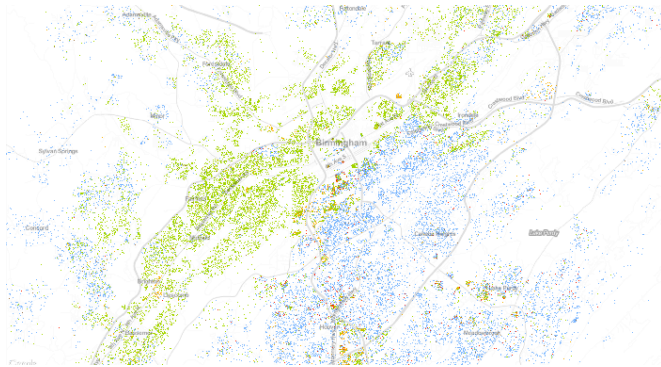
Part 3:

Racial Disparities & Discrimination in Housing

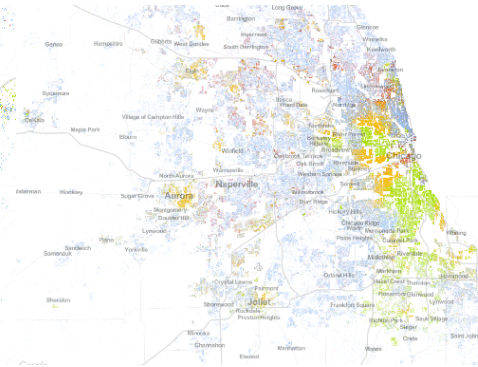
Racial Segregation is alive & well and feeds the racial wealth gap & racism

Key to the “racial dot maps”: **Blue**=White; **Green**=Black; **Yellow**=Hispanic; **Red**=Asian; **Brown** other.
2010 Census data.

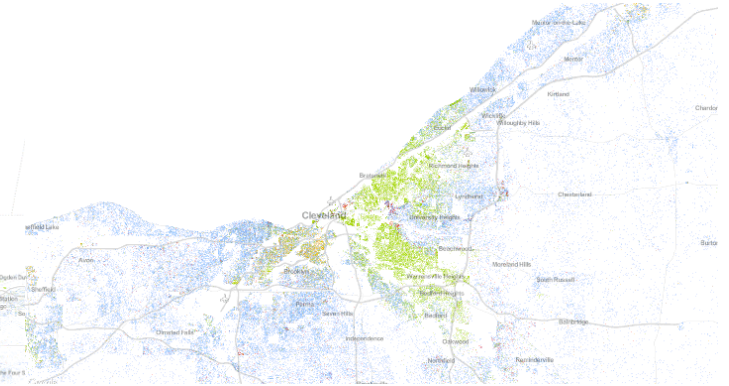
Birmingham-Hoover, Alabama



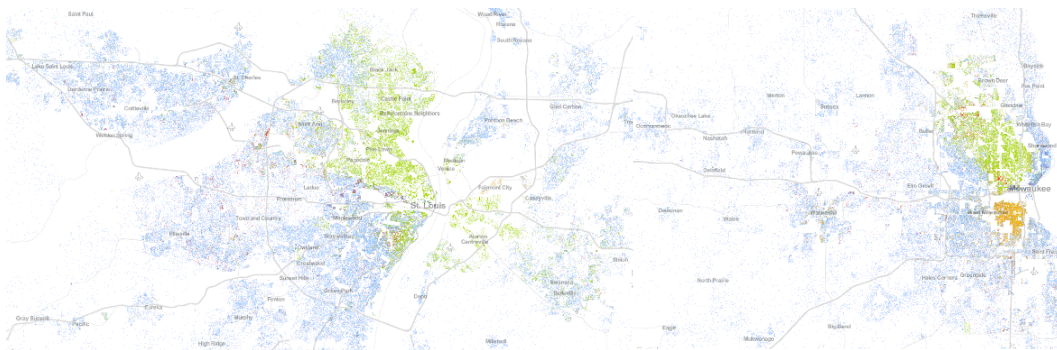
Chicago metro area



Cleveland metro, Ohio



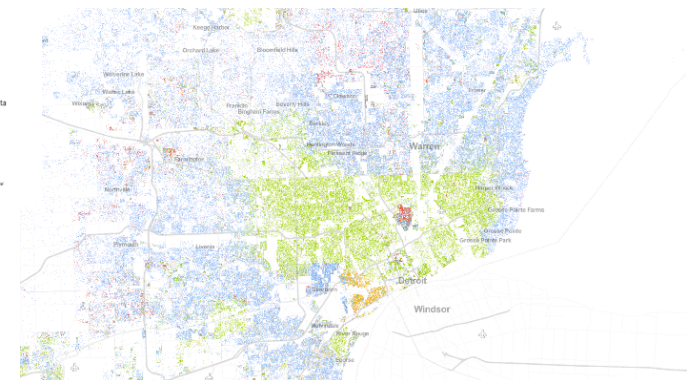
St. Louis, Missouri-Illinois



Milwaukee metro area



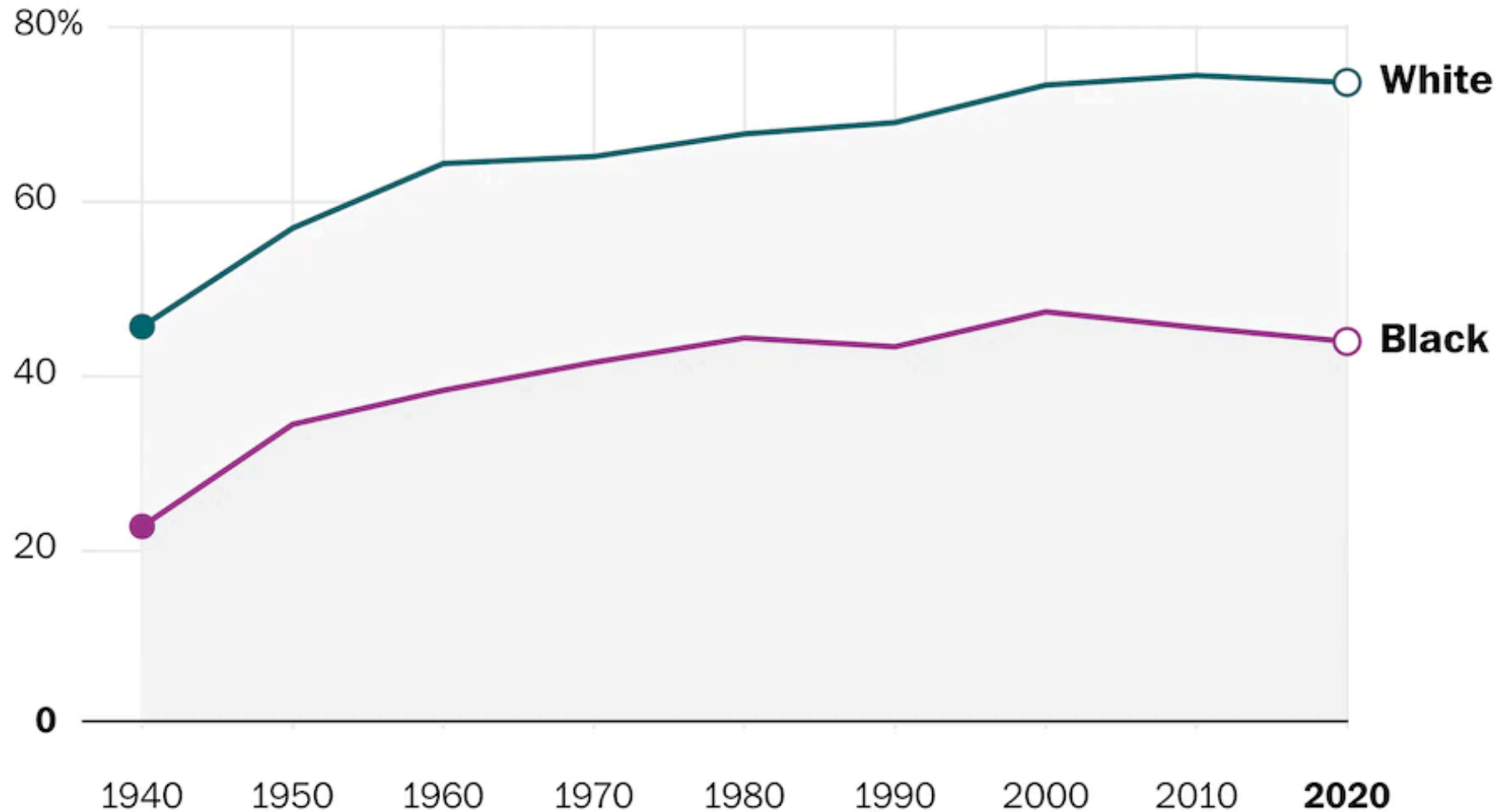
Detroit metro area



Source: Weldon Cooper Center For Public Service/Screenshot By Harrison Jacobs. Using 2010 Census data.

Black homeownership is in retreat

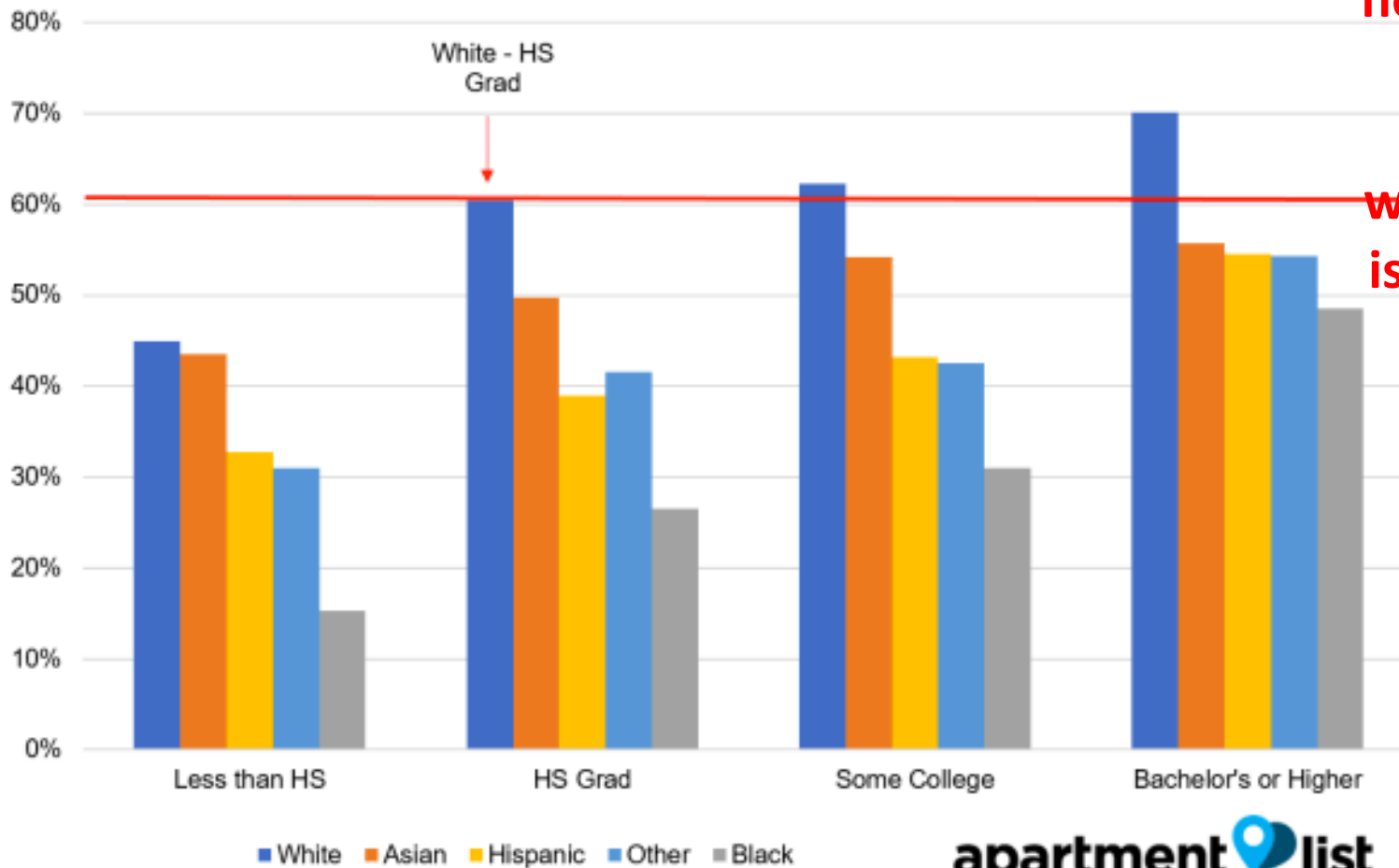
Homeownership rates by decade and race



Source: Census Bureau
THE WASHINGTON POST

Van Dam, Andrew, "The black-white economic divide is as wide as it was in 1968," The Washington Post, June 4, 2020.

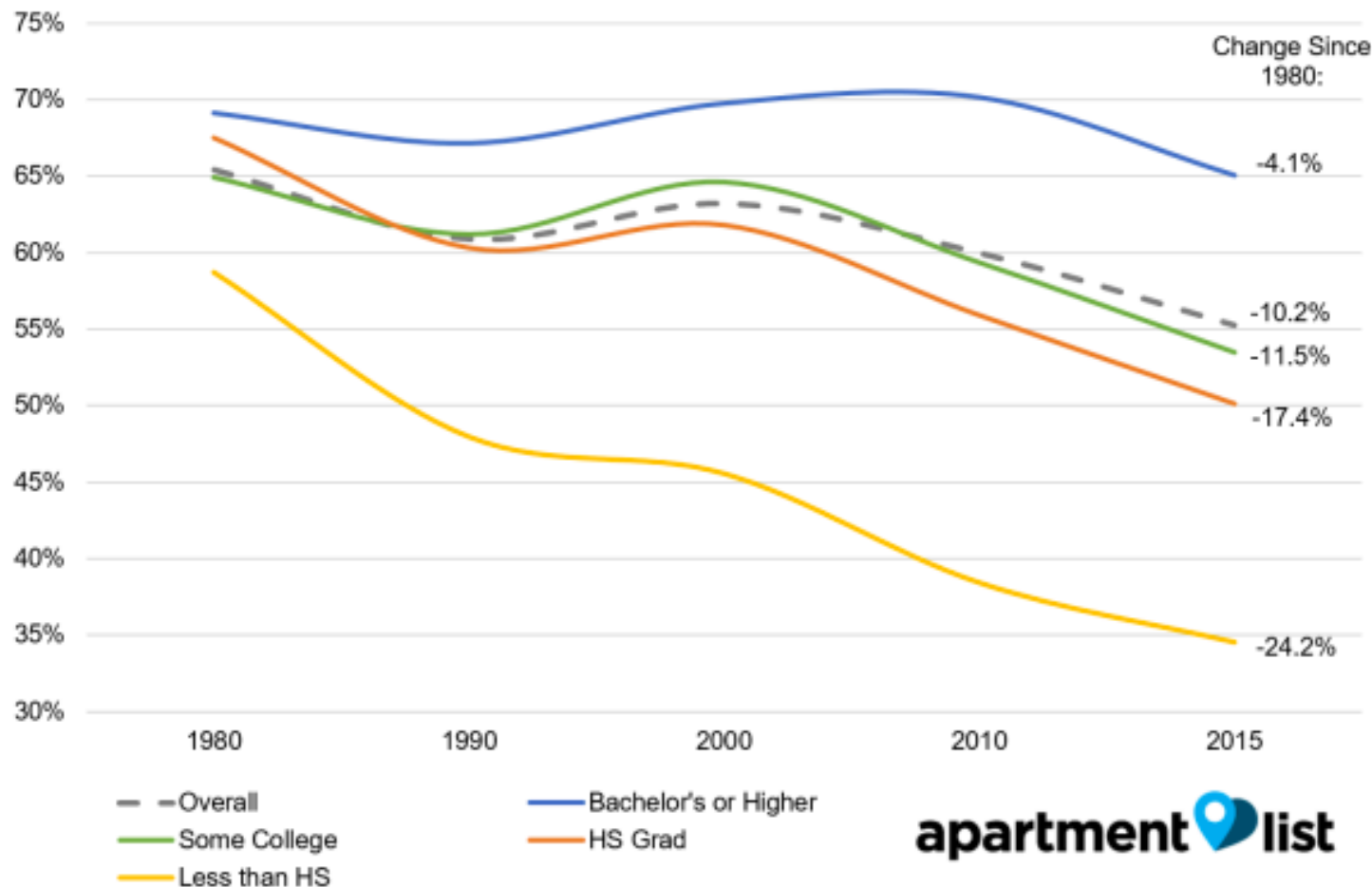
Homeownership Rates by Race and Educational Attainment



Discrepancies in homeownership rates by race persist, even when education is held constant

Black Americans have the lowest homeownership rates at all education levels, but the divide is starkest for the least-educated groups.

Homeownership Rate by Educational Attainment



College degrees are increasingly necessary for home-ownership... and African-Americans have significantly lower college rates than whites.

There is now a 15 percentage point gap between the homeownership rates for those with college degrees and those with a high school diploma.

This increased disparity in homeownership by education can be attributed to a changing economy, in which more well-paid jobs require a college education. There are fewer jobs available for those who did not attend college, and the jobs that do exist are now more concentrated in low-wage service industries.

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

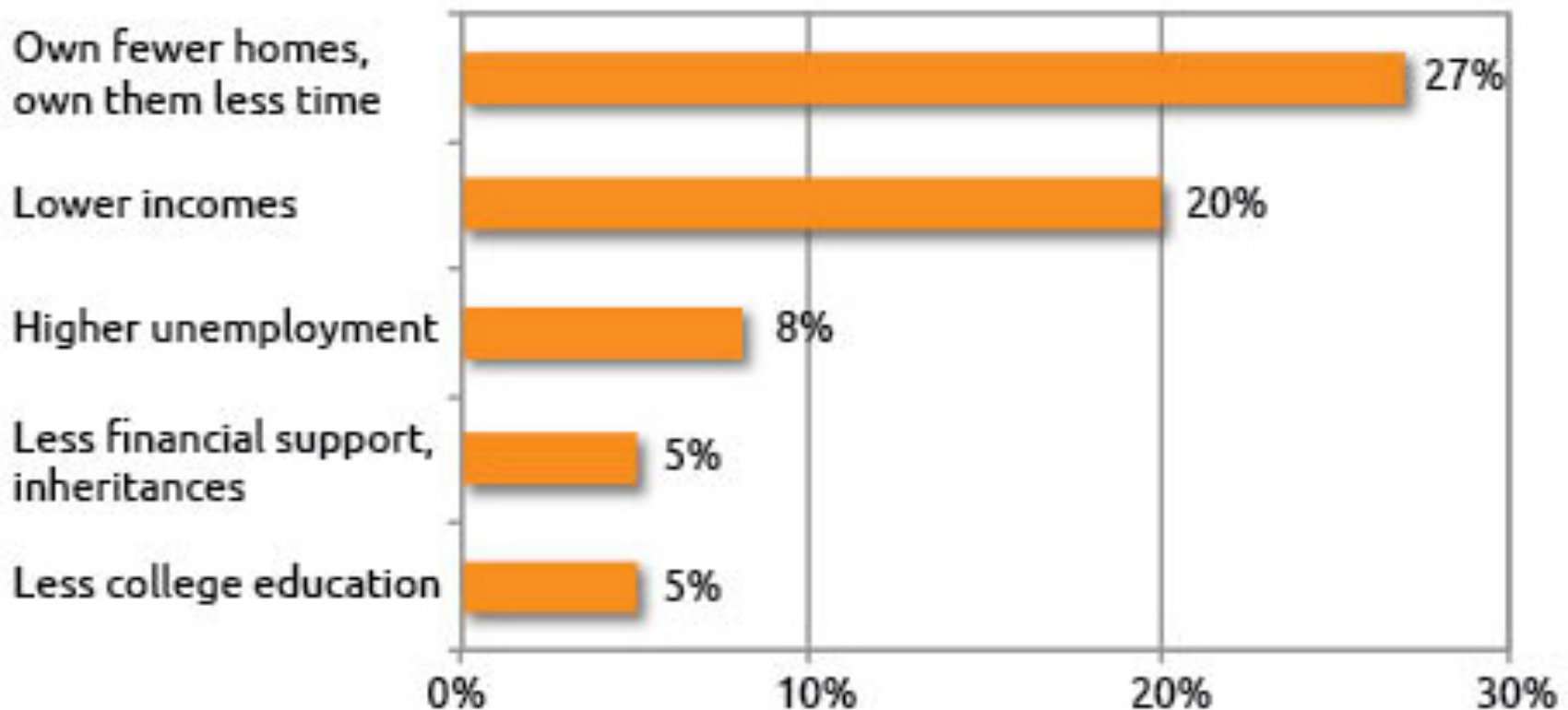
According to the IASSP, the principal component of the **Black-White wealth gap** is **homeownership (home equity)**. A significant share of white home ownership traces back, through inter-generational inheritances & financial assistance, to government subsidized mortgage loans in the post-WWII period which were only available to Whites.

The Gap Grows*

1984: \$85,000
2009: \$236,500

**The amount by which white wealth exceeds black wealth, adjusted for inflation.*

Causes of the Wealth Gap



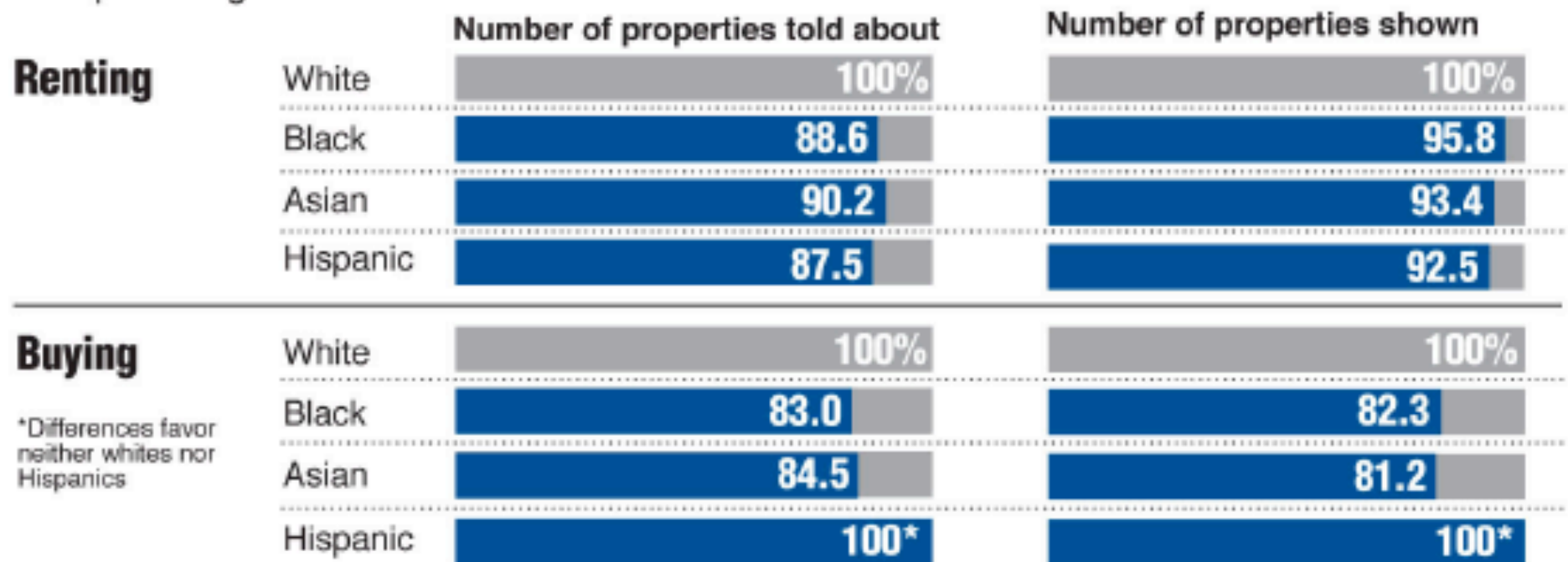
Source: Institute on Assets and Social Policy at Brandeis University.

White home seekers favored

A Department of Housing and Urban Development nationwide study spanning 28 metropolitan areas reveals a pattern of discrimination against minorities seeking information to rent or purchase a home.

Difference in access to housing for minorities in U.S.

As a percentage of white access



Source: Department of Housing and Urban Development Graphic: Chicago Tribune

© 2013 MCT

Chart based on a U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development study showing a pattern of discrimination against minorities seeking information to rent or purchase a home.



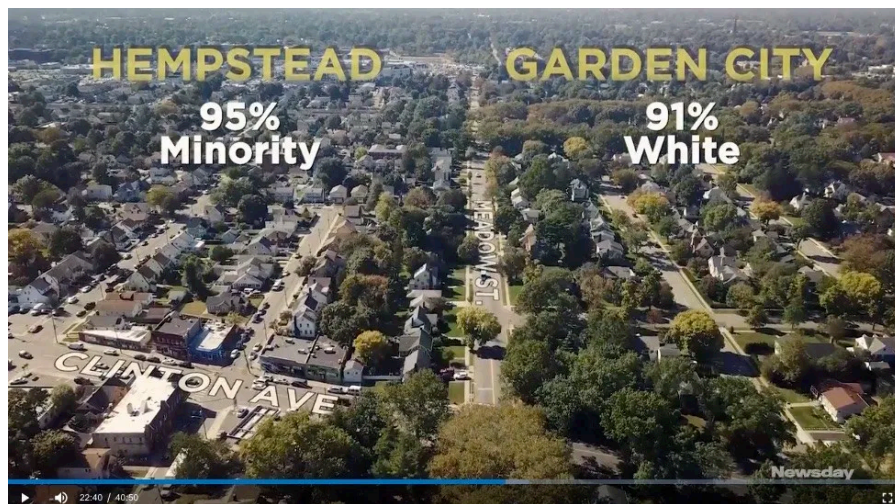
Nov, 2019. **50 years after the Fair Housing Act, Newsday found evidence of widespread separate and unequal treatment of minority potential homebuyers and minority communities on Long Island.**

The findings are the product of a 3-year paired-testing strategy. Regularly endorsed by federal and state courts, paired testing is recognized as the sole viable method for detecting violations of fair housing laws by agents. Two undercover testers – for example, one black and one white – separately solicit an agent’s assistance in buying houses.

Black testers experienced disparate treatment compared to paired white testers 49 percent of the time – compared with 39 percent for Hispanic and 19 percent for Asian testers, despite presenting similar financial profiles and request identical terms for houses in the same areas.

In seven of Newsday’s tests – 8% of the total – agents accommodated white counterpart testers while imposing more stringent conditions on minorities.

Most commonly in the 7 cases, agents refused to provide house listings or home tours to minority testers unless they met financial qualifications that weren’t imposed on white counterparts.



In their 2018 study “Kept Out”, The Center for Investigative Reporting examined Home Mortgage Disclosure Act records and found that 50 years after the Fair Housing Act banned racial discrimination in lending, **“African Americans and Latinos continue to be routinely denied conventional mortgage loans at rates far higher than their white counterparts”** in 61 metro areas. **“A pattern of questionable loan denials for people of color.”**

“The disproportionate denials and limited anti-discrimination enforcement help explain why the homeownership gap between whites and African Americans, which had been shrinking since the 1970s, has exploded since the housing bust. It is now wider than it was during the Jim Crow era”.

The study “controlled for 9 economic and social factors, including an applicant’s income, the amount of the loan, the ratio of the size of the loan to the applicant’s income and the type of lender, as well as the racial makeup and median income of the neighborhood where the person wanted to buy property”. While it could not control for credit scores as those are not publicly available, other studies (e.g. Rice & Swesnk, National Fair Housing Alliance, 2017) have found proprietary credit score algorithms to have a discriminatory impact on borrowers of color.

Glantz, Aaron, and Emmanuel Martinez. “For People of Color, Banks Are Shutting the Door to Homeownership.” Reveal news, February 15, 2018. “Kept out” series. Glantz, Aaron, and Emmanuel Martinez, “Modern-day redlining: How banks block people of color from homeownership.” Chicago Tribune, 17 February 2018,

Kept out

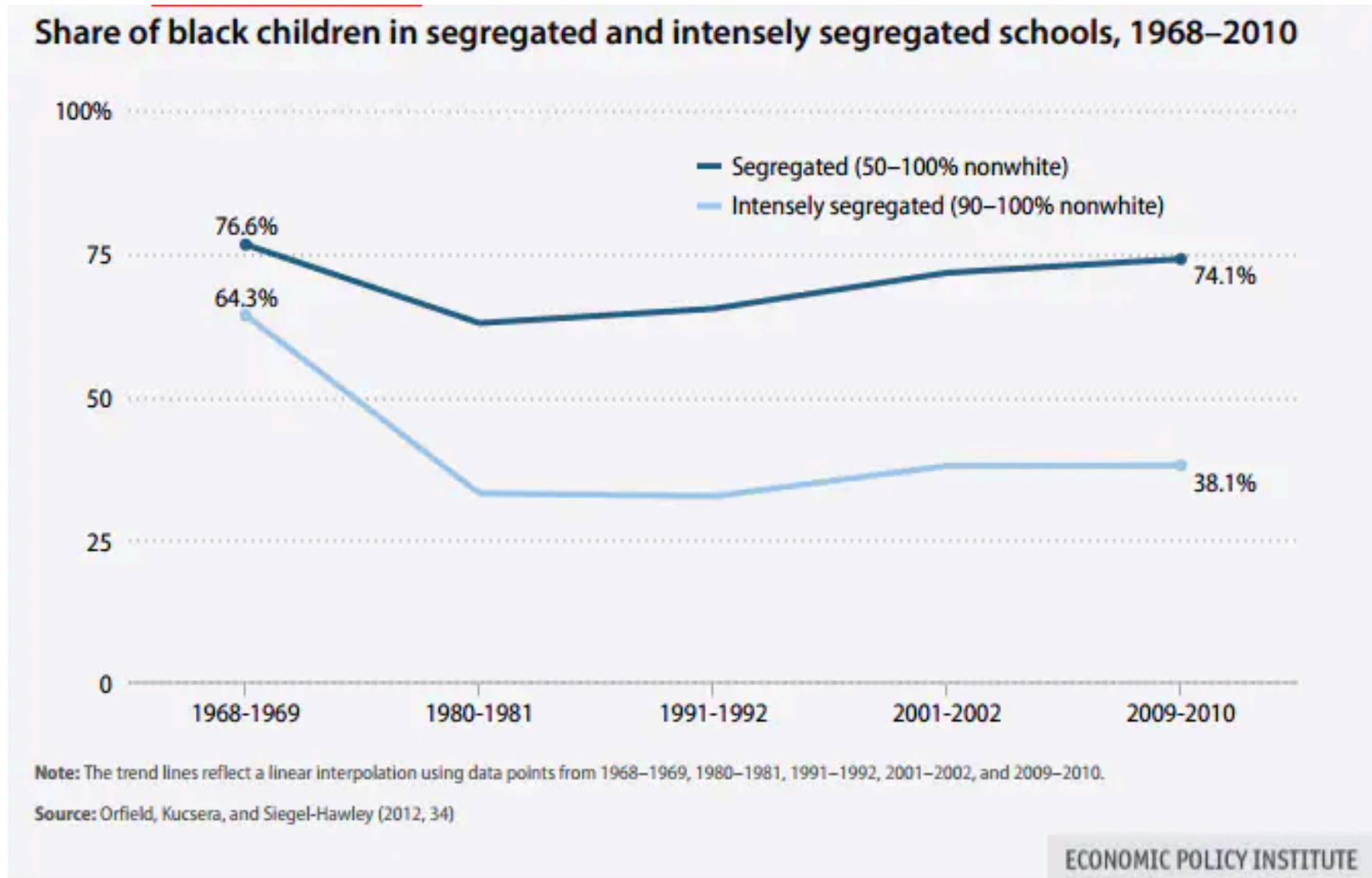
This chart shows the odds, by region and compared to similar white applicants, that members of a racial or ethnic group will be denied a mortgage. Blacks in Florence, for example are 3.77 times more likely to be denied.

Metropolitan Statistical Area	Black odds ratio	Latino odds ratio	Asian odds ratio
Greenville-Anderson-Mauldin	2.334	2.015	1.633
Augusta-Richmond County, (including Edgefield, Aiken counties) GA-SC	1.859	N/A	N/A
Columbia	2.992	1.83	N/A
Sumter	2.465	N/A	N/A
Florence	3.777	N/A	N/A
Myrtle Beach-Conway-North Myrtle Beach, SC-NC	2.103	N/A	N/A

Part 4:

**Racial Disparities &
Discrimination
in
K-12 Education**

Racial School Segregation is Increasing over time, rather than decreasing.

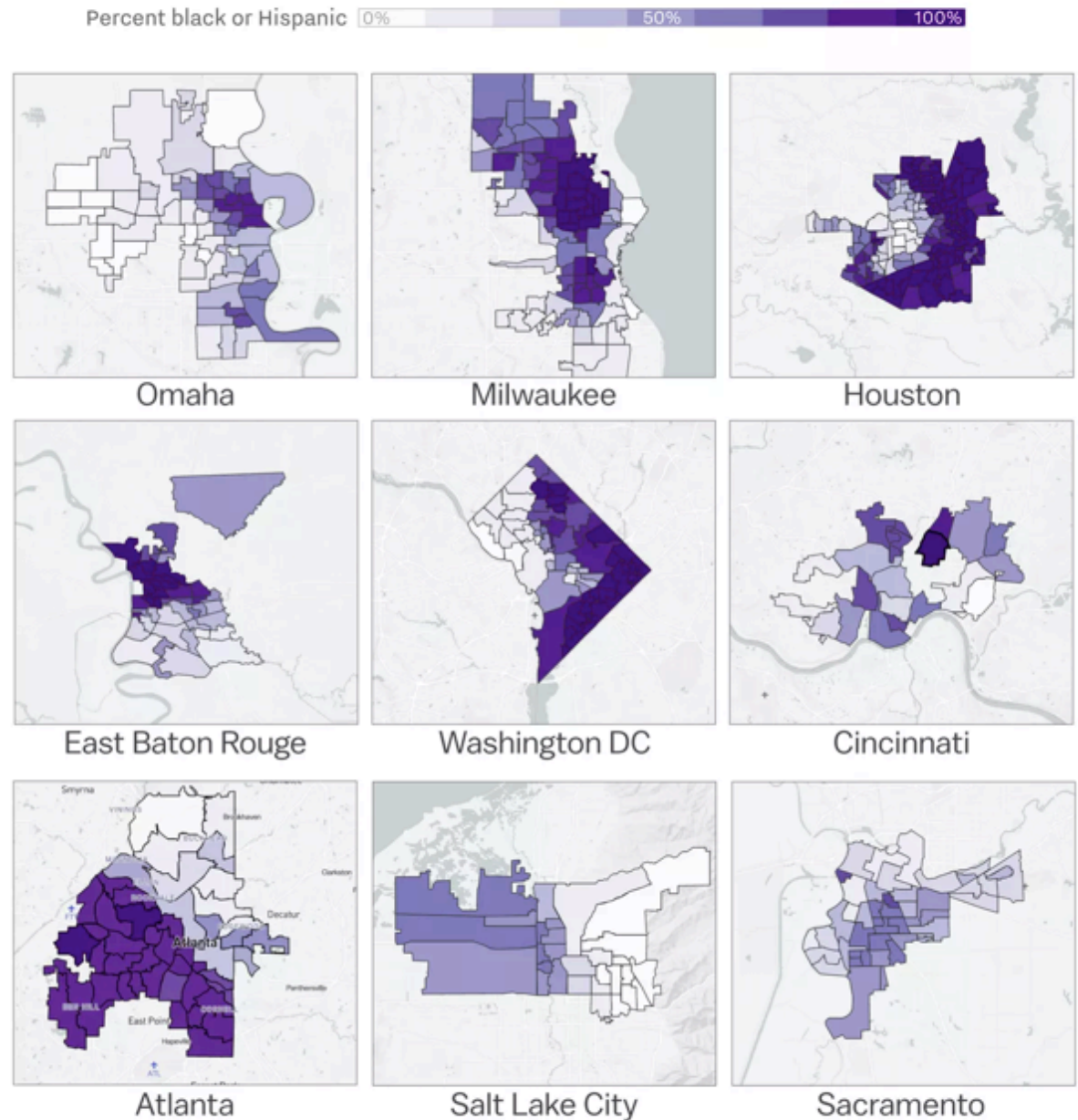


Racial School Segregation is worsening rather than improving.

“We tend to assume that school zones are neutrally drawn, immutable geographical borders. But if look at the demographics of who lives in each attendance zone, it becomes clearer why these lines are drawn the way they are. Groups with political clout — mainly wealthier, whiter communities — have pushed policies that help white families live in heavily white areas and attend heavily white schools”.

Source: Alvin Chang, The data proves that school segregation is getting worse. Vox, March 5, 2018

Demographics of school attendance zones



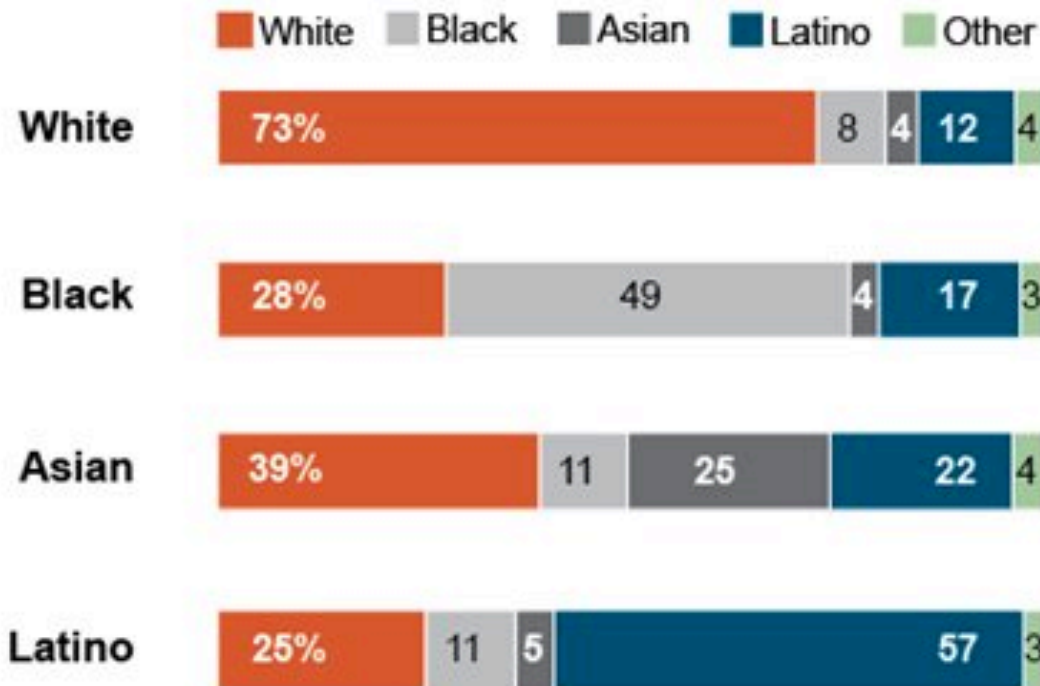
Data from research by Tomas E. Monarrez, a economics PhD candidate at the University of California, Berkeley

Students, schools and race

Sixty years after U.S. courts ordered schools desegregated, nonwhite students are still more likely to attend a public school with a predominantly minority student body.

The average student who is...

Attended public school in 2011-12 with a student population that was...



NOTE: Numbers are rounded. "Other" includes Native American and multiracial students.

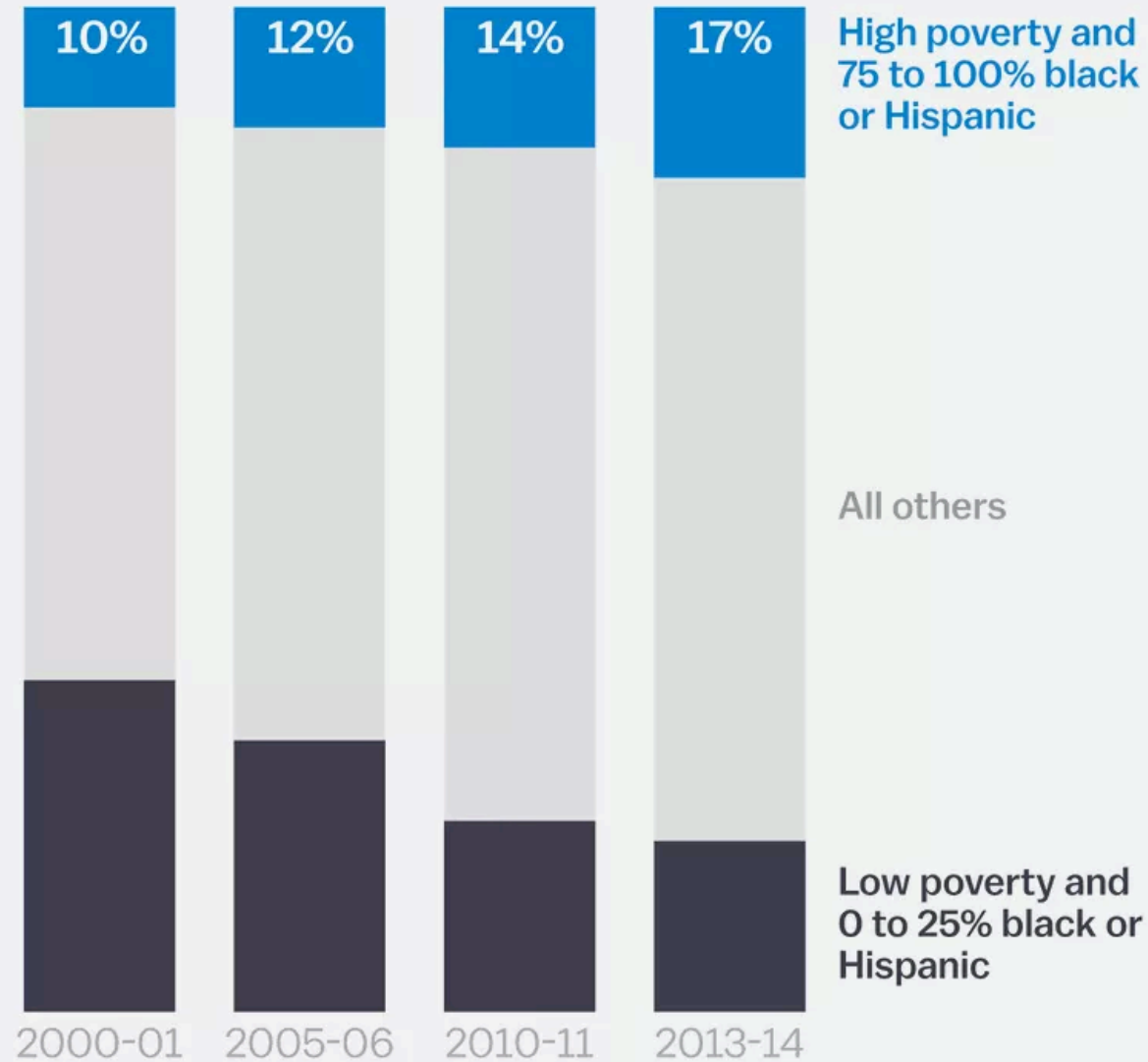
SOURCES: UCLA analysis of Education Department data

AP

60 years after *Brown v. Board of Ed* (1954), **School Segregation** is alive & well.

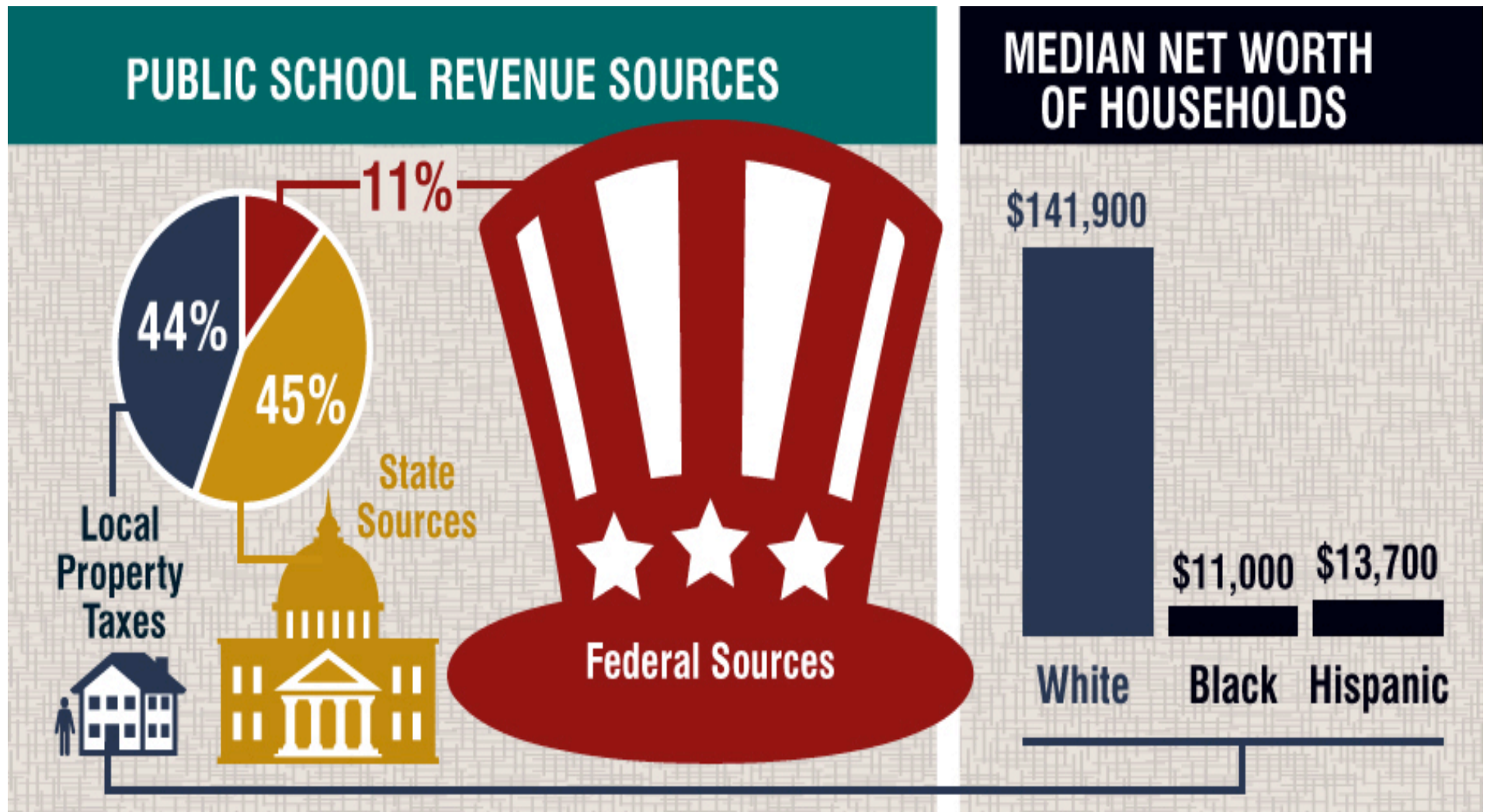
The average white American public school student in 2011-12 attended a school that was 73% White... not including those in private schools, which are usually much more exclusively white.

More and more poor, predominantly minority schools

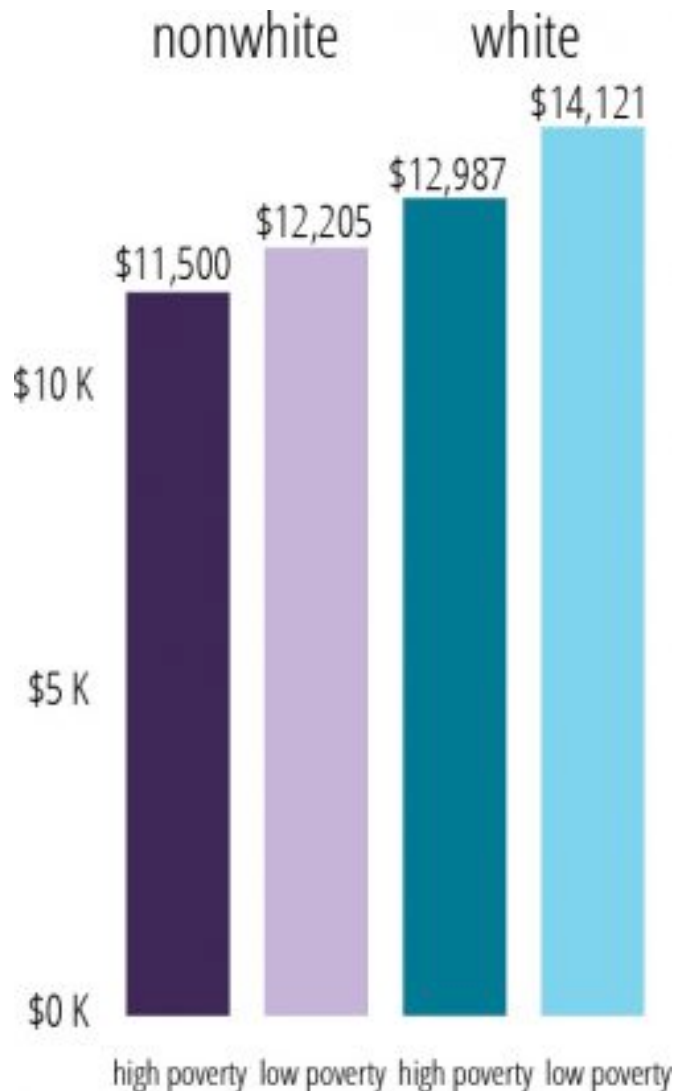


Data from a 2016 United States Government Accountability Office report. High poverty is a school where more than 75 percent of students qualify for free or reduced-cost lunch; low poverty is a school where less than 25 percent qualify.

A significant portion of **public school funding** in the U.S. comes from **local property tax**, and thus correlates with the wealth of the neighborhood. Schools in poor neighborhoods have far fewer resources, and so tend to be of poor quality and produce graduates with lower skills, and vice-versa for schools in wealthy neighborhoods.



The February 2019 EdBuild study “\$23 Billion” found that **nonwhite school districts get \$23 billion less than white districts**, despite serving the same number of students. **For every student enrolled, the average nonwhite school district receives \$2,226 less than a white school district.**



More than half of students in the U.S. go to segregated or "racially concentrated" schools in which more than three-quarters of students are either white or nonwhite.

A significant portion of public school funding comes from local property tax, and thus correlates with the wealth of the neighborhood.

The segregation of white and non-white students into neighborhoods with significantly different housing values is not an accident, but rather the result of deliberate segregationist and discriminatory policies and practices during the post-WWII period: redlining, restricting FHA mortgages to whites, housing covenants, racial steering, etc.

In the decades since then, many white/wealthy communities have worked hard to maintain or even exacerbate the exclusion of nonwhite students from their school zones.

Many African-American teens experience racism on a daily basis



A 2019 study by Rutgers University professor Devin English which measured racial discrimination on a daily basis among 101 black teens from 4 schools in the District of Columbia found that **these black teens experienced racial discrimination on average 5 times per day.**

Types of racism reported included seeing racist images/messages on social media, racial teasing, microaggressions, racial profiling, and witnessing racism.

Examples of incidents reported included being asked by a white friend, “Why don’t you like chocolate cake? Is it because it is the same color as you?” being expected by white students to be good at basketball, and having a teacher tell a class of predominantly black class “get educated or go to the penitentiary.”

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

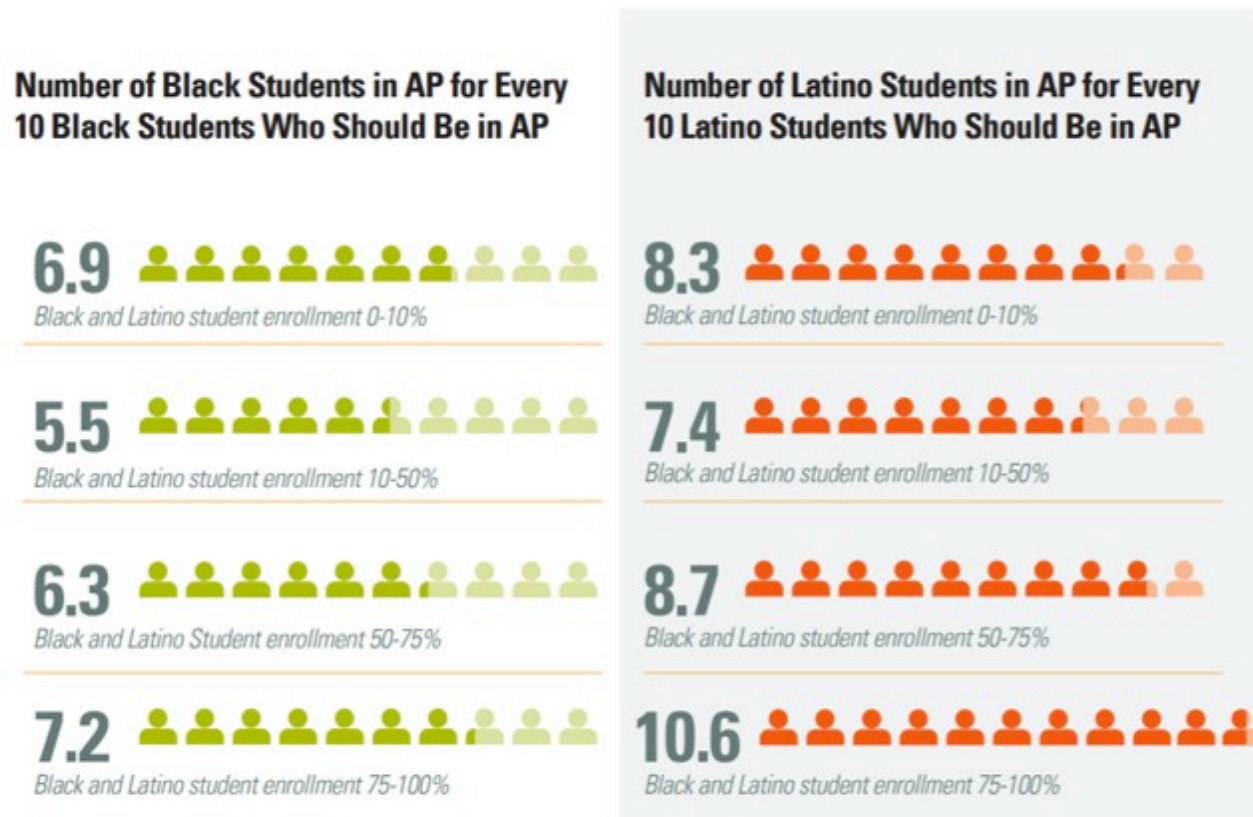
A January 2020 report by The Education Trust found that Black and Latino students have unequal access to advanced coursework, including gifted and talented programs in elementary school, eighth grade algebra, Advanced Placement (AP), International Baccalaureate (IB), and dual enrollment programs.

The data suggests that this disparity is driven by a combination of:

- 1) Funding disparities between majority white schools vs. majority black schools that results in fewer advanced coursework offerings at majority Black and Latino schools, and
- 2) Bias at racially diverse schools that keeps Black and Latino students from enrolling in advanced classes.

Patrick K, Socol A, Morgan I, Education Trust. *Inequities in Advanced Coursework: What's Driving Them and What Leaders Can Do*. Education Trust; 2020. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=ED603195&site=eds-live>. Accessed June 4, 2020. *Uprooting Inequity*, 2020

FIGURE 5: Representation of Black or Latino Students in AP Courses by School Demographics



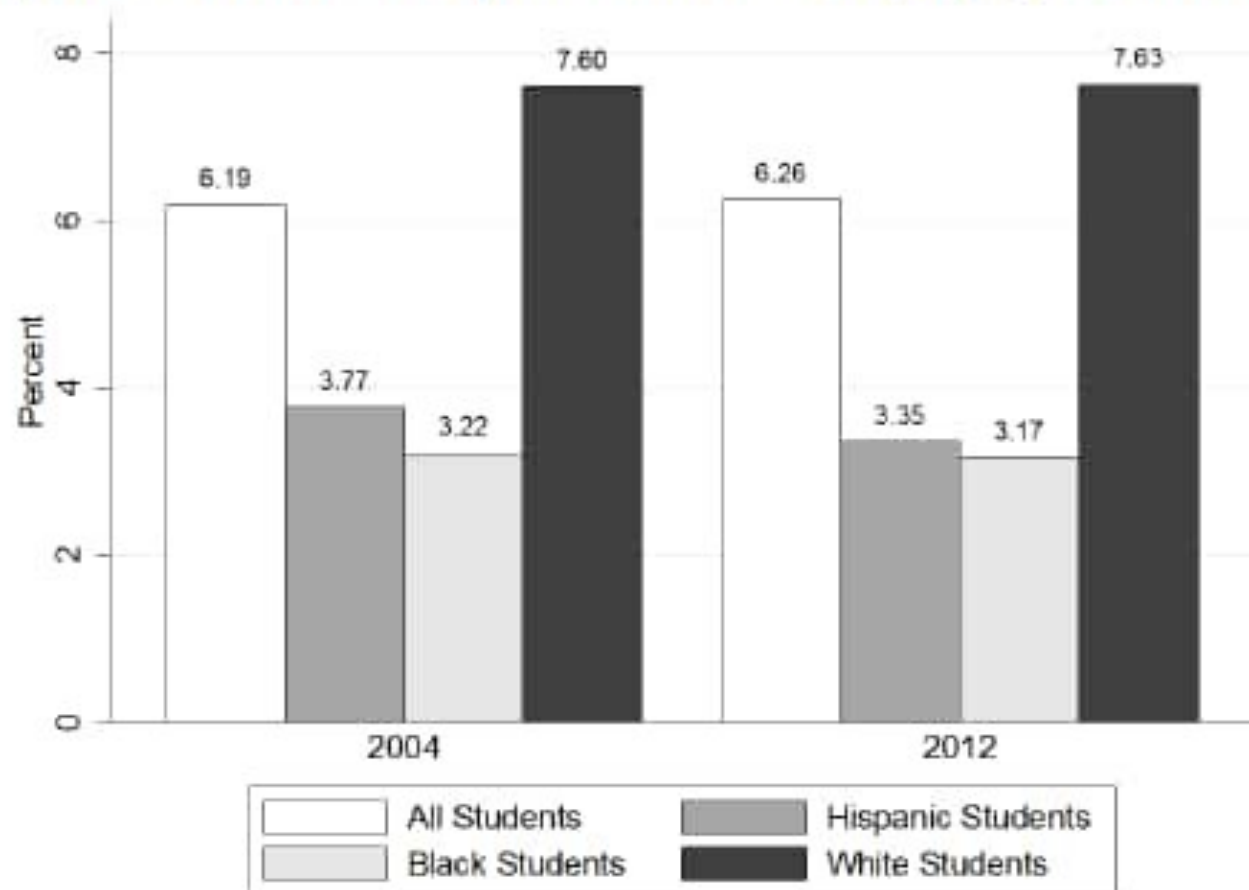
Reading This Figure: In racially diverse schools, where Black and Latino students make up 10-50% of students, there are 5.5 Black students enrolled for every 10 Black students who *should* be enrolled in AP courses (so that their enrollment in AP courses is proportional to their overall enrollment) and 7.4 Latino students enrolled for every 10 Latino students who should be enrolled. These are the schools where Black and Latino students are most unfairly represented among AP course takers.

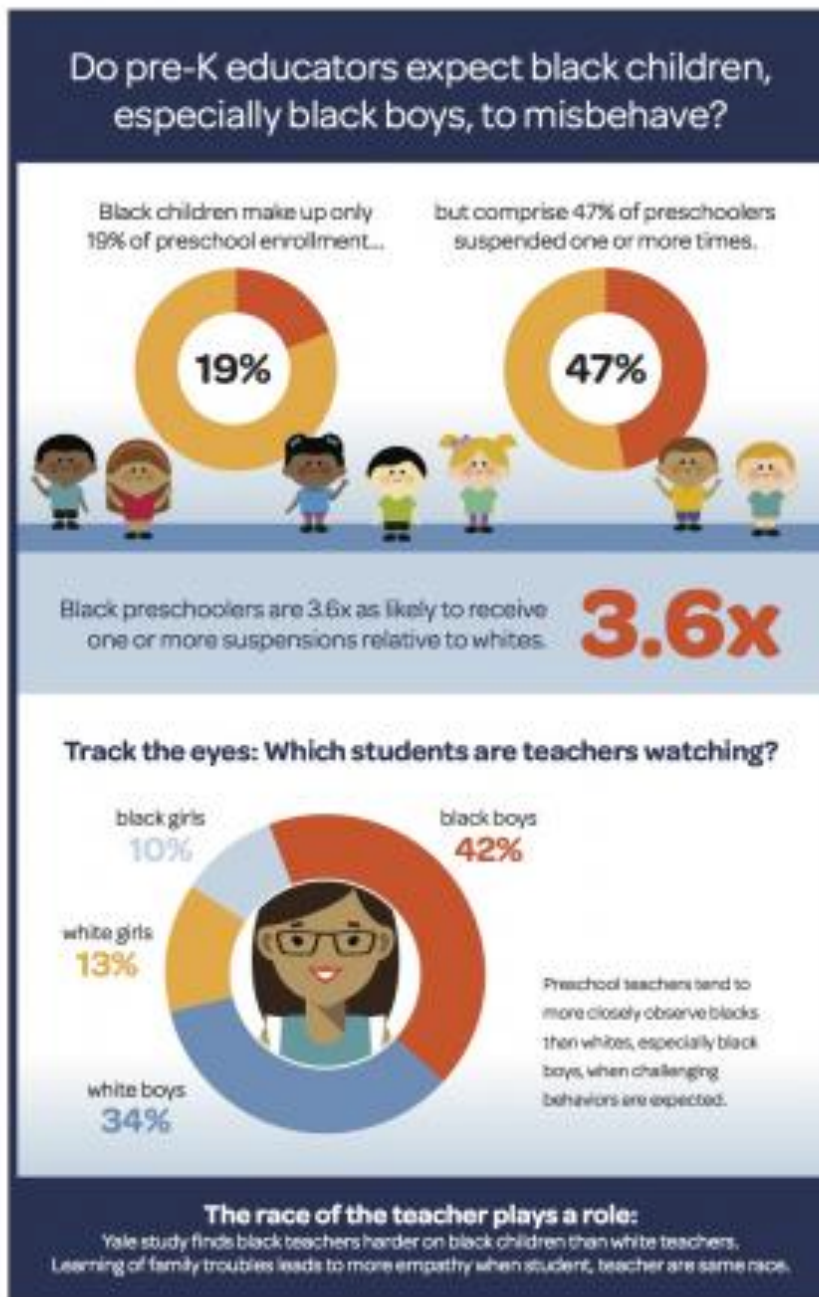
A 2016 study found that **black students are 54% less likely than white students to be referred by their teacher for gifted-education services**, even when they have similar standardized test scores, demographic factors, and school and teacher characteristics.

They also found that “having a black teacher dramatically increases the likelihood that a black student will be placed in a gifted program, relative to having a white teacher.”

African-American children are 3 times as likely to be placed in gifted-education programs if they have a black teacher rather than a white teacher.

Figure 1. Percent of Student Population in the Gifted Program, By Race and Year





A 2016 Yale Child Study Program study found that **Implicit bias among preschool teachers may help explain high preschool expulsion rates for black children—particularly black boys.**

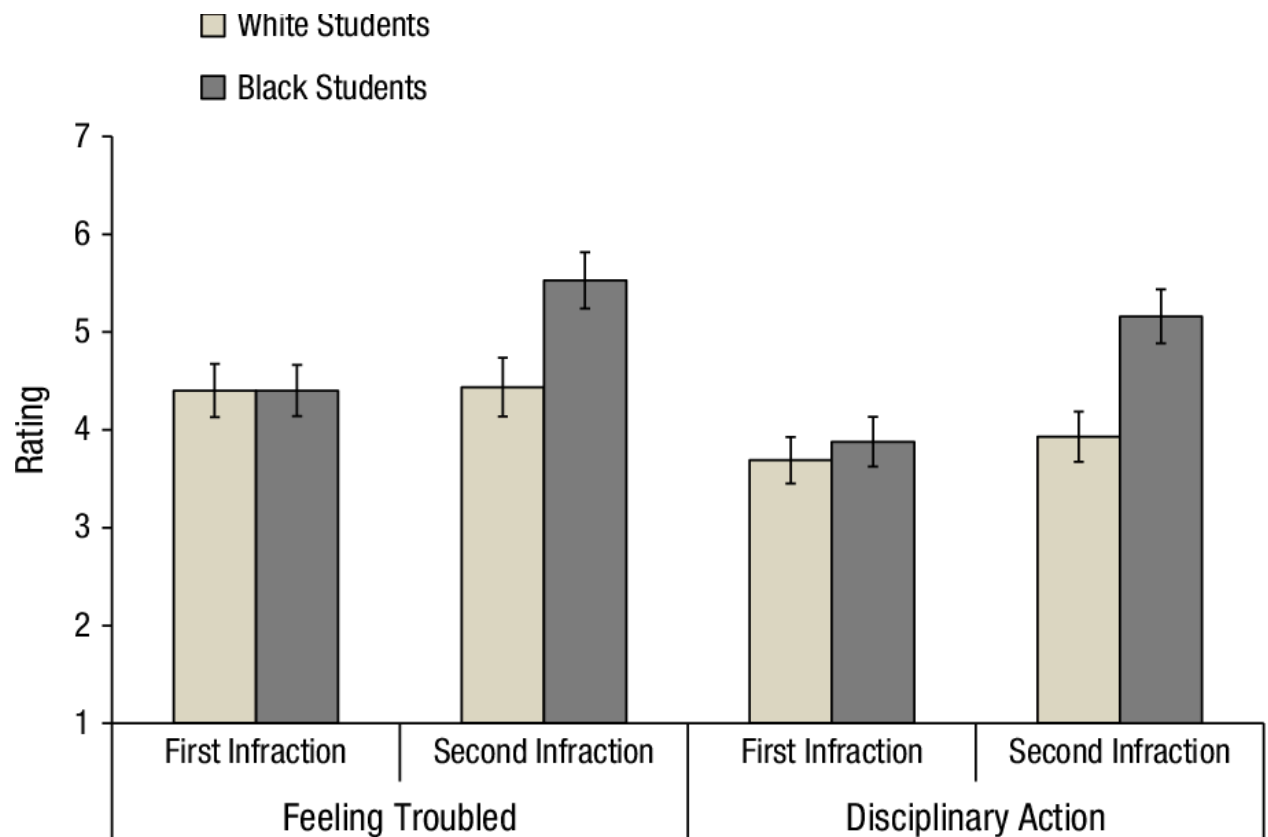
Researchers used sophisticated eye-tracking technology and found that preschool teachers “show a tendency to more closely observe black students, and especially boys, when challenging behaviors are expected,” the authors found.

Black preschoolers are 3.6x as likely to receive one or more suspensions relative to whites.

Studies have shown that while Black boys make up just 18% of the preschool population, they account for 48% of all preschool suspensions. In fact, Black and Latino boys combined account for 66% of all pre-school suspensions.

Black children are disproportionately disciplined in school: a 2015 Stanford study found that black students are more than 3 times as likely as their white peers to be suspended or expelled. These large racial disparities in school discipline contribute to school failure and sometimes lay a path toward incarceration.

In this study, psychologists presented teachers with written vignettes of student misbehavior. The vignettes were identical except that half had “black-sounding” names and half had “white-sounding” names. Teachers of all races said that (fictitious) students with black-sounding names were more disruptive, more likely to be repeat offenders, and more appropriately labelled as “troublemakers.” Teachers were more likely to see second infractions as “part of a pattern” when they were committed by black rather than white students.



Okonofua, J. A., & Eberhardt, J. L. (2015). Two Strikes: Race and the Disciplining of Young Students. *Psychological Science*, 26(5), 617-624.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797615570365>

















































Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Black children—especially black boys—have much higher school suspension rates than white children.

These large racial disparities in school discipline contribute to school failure and sometimes lay a path toward incarceration.

What gets children suspended?

In Seattle, hundreds of elementary students were suspended in the 2013-14 school year. Below are the top 10 reasons. For certain behaviors, the number of black children disciplined was twice that of whites.

BEHAVIOR	SUSPENDED STUDENTS	AFRICAN AMERICAN	WHITE	HISPANIC	ASIAN/PACIFIC ISLANDER	AMERICAN INDIAN	MULTIRACIAL
Assault	116	39% 	34% 	10% 	5% 	3% 	9% 
Fighting	107	48 	20 	14 	8 	2 	8 
Disruptive Conduct	87	52 	24 	6 	3 	1 	14 
Threats of Violence	29	34 	34 	7 	14 	0	10 
Rule Breaking	24	50 	17 	33 	0	0	0
Bullying, Intimidation and Harassment	20	55 	25 	20 	0	0	0
Interfere with School Authority	18	56 	6 	11 	6 	11 	11 
Disobedience	16	44 	25 	6 	0	6 	19 
Theft	13	54 	15 	15 	0	8 	8 
Intimidation of School Authority	11	55 	18 	27 	0	0	0

Note: Students who are suspended multiple times for the same behavior are counted once.

Source: Seattle Times analysis of data provided by Seattle Public Schools

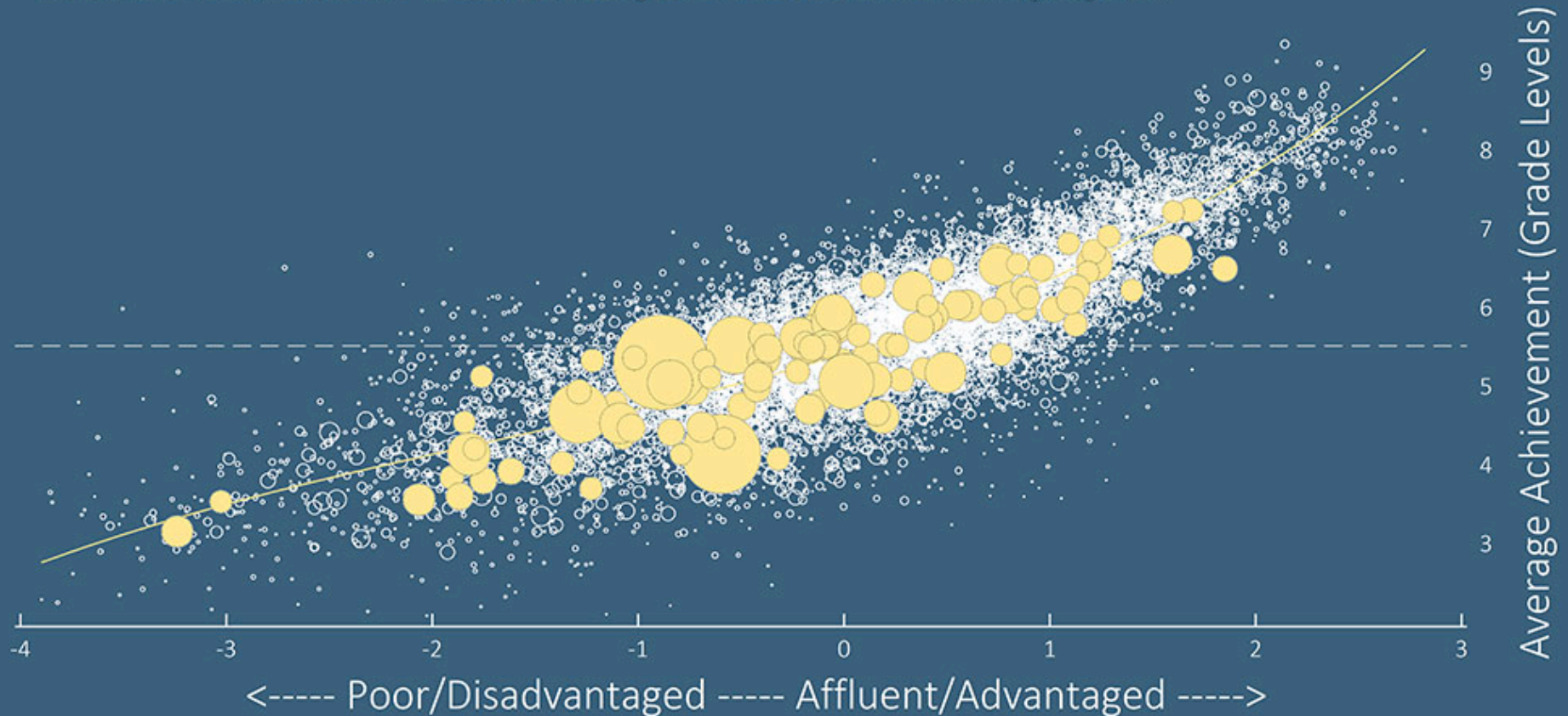
STEPHANIE REDDING / THE SEATTLE TIMES

Education appears to lead more to Income Immobility, rather than to Mobility

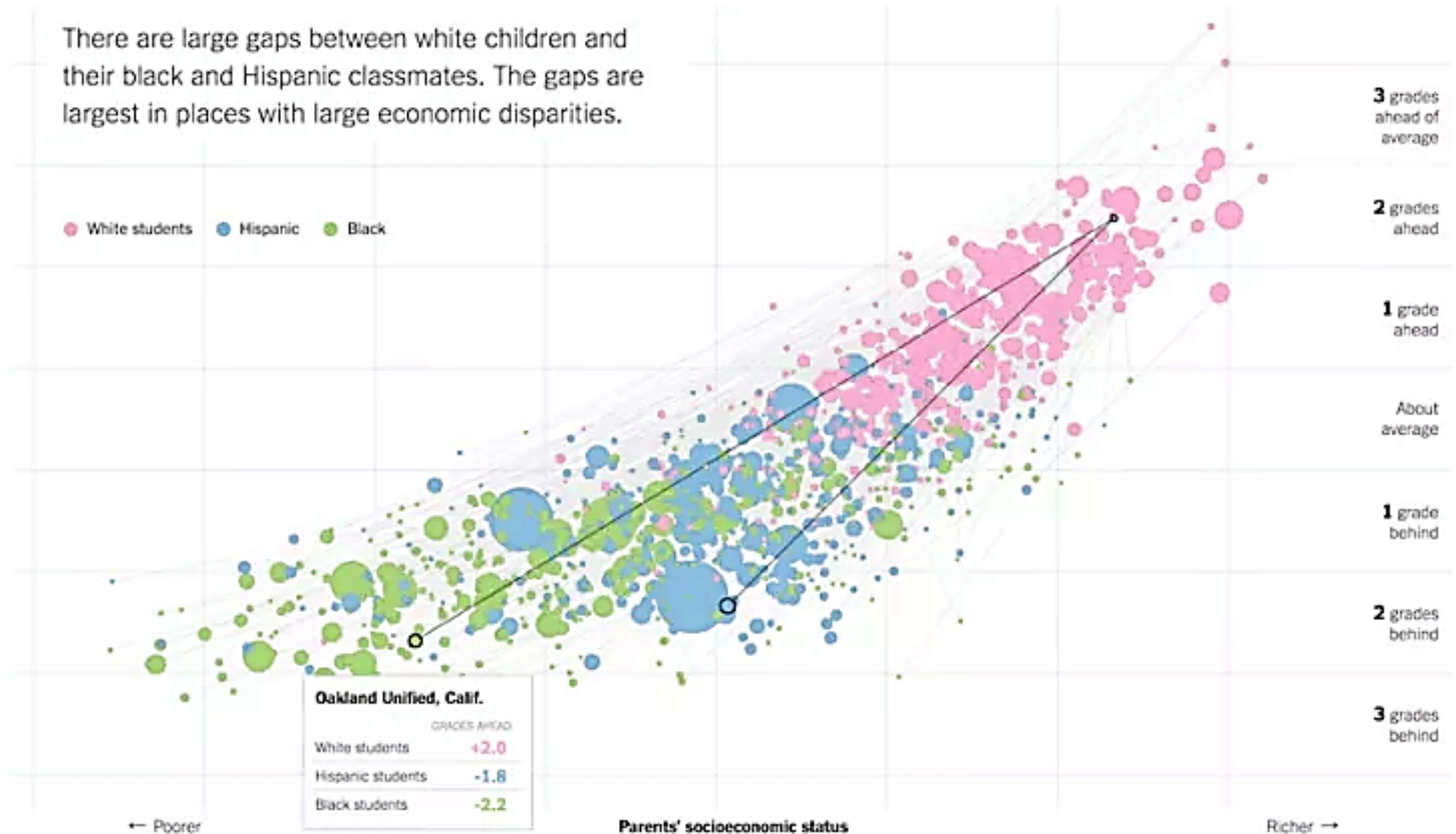
Children in the school districts with the highest concentrations of poverty score an average of more than four grade levels below children in the richest districts.

Academic Achievement and Socioeconomic Status

US School Districts, 2009-2015; 100 Largest US School Districts Highlighted

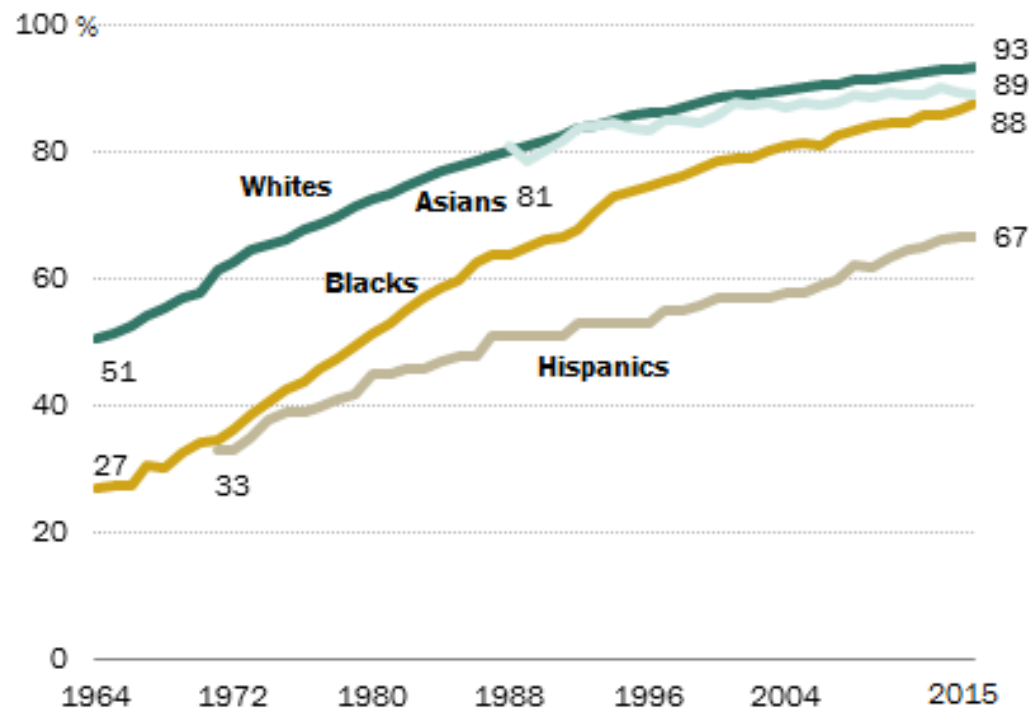


The Racial Gap in Education, which is tied to geography, reinforces the racial income gap



Black-white high school completion gap narrows; Hispanics lag behind

% of U.S. adults ages 25 and older who have a high school diploma



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only those who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. Data for whites, blacks and Asians from 1971 to 2015 include only non-Hispanics. Data for whites and blacks prior to 1971 include Hispanics. Data for Hispanics not available prior to 1971. Data for Asians not available prior to 1988. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Prior to 1992 those who completed at least 12 years of school are classified as high school graduates. For 1992-2015 those who have at least a high school diploma or its equivalent are classified as high school graduates. Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 1964-2015 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS) "On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

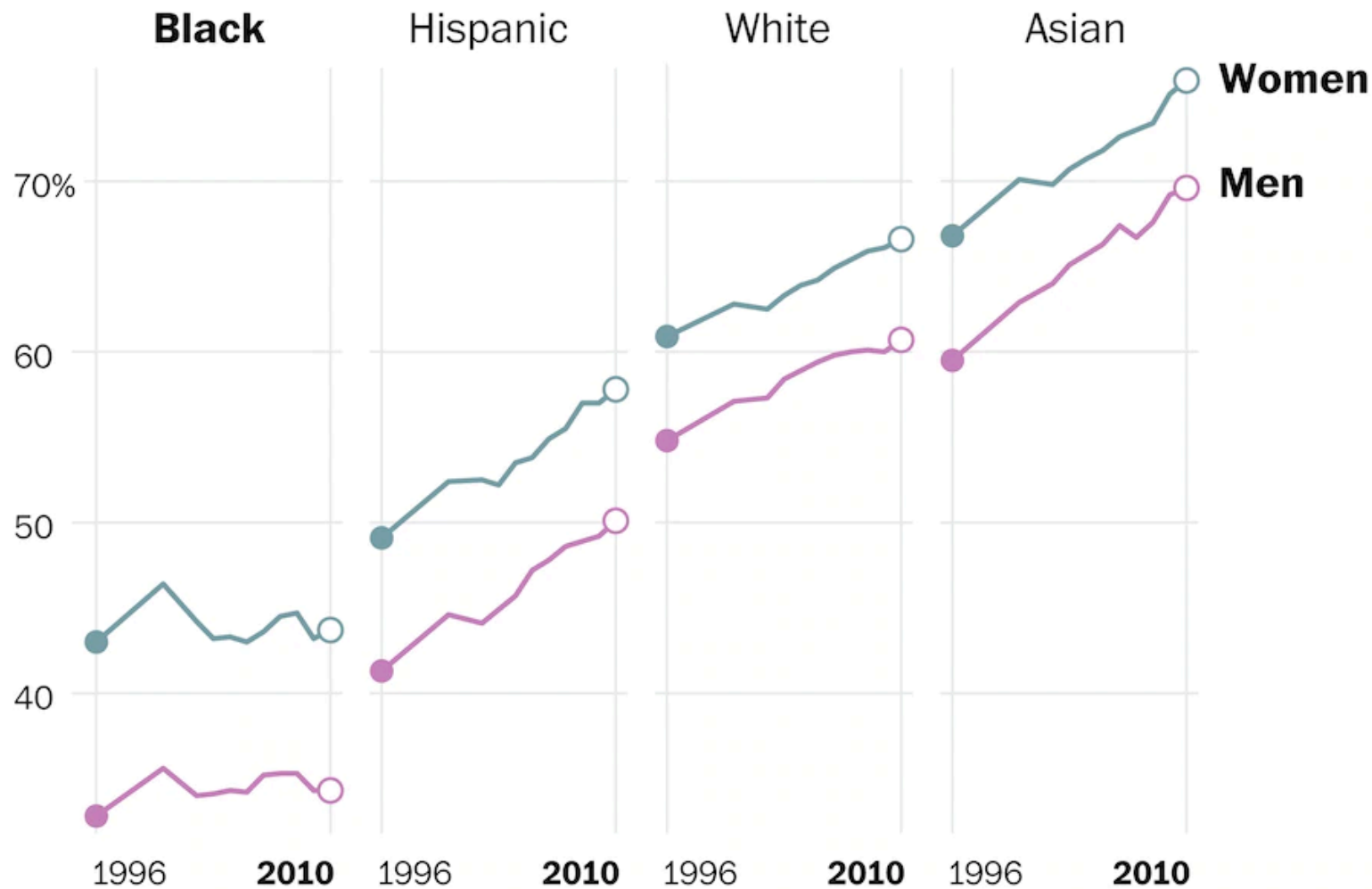
While the Black-White high school completion rate is narrowing, the gap remains.

Part 5:

**Racial Disparities &
Discrimination
in
Higher Education**

Colleges are failing most black students

Share of students who graduate from four-year universities within six years, by year they entered college



Van Dam, Andrew, "The black-white economic divide is as wide as it was in 1968," The Washington Post, June 4, 2020.

Note: Asian includes Pacific Islanders

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

THE WASHINGTON POST rooting Inequity, 2020

An affordable college education is a cornerstone of middle class security

Americans with a college education earn more, and are more likely to be employed



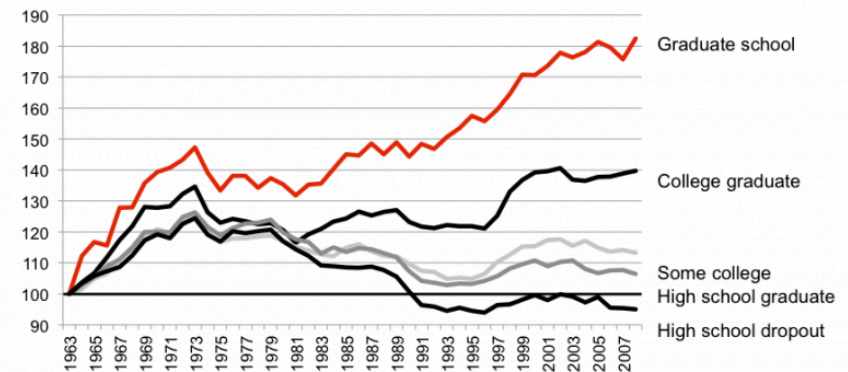
*Data are for persons age 25 and over. Earnings are for full-time wage and salary workers.

Since taking office President Obama has made historic investments in making college affordable, including doubling Pell scholarships, creating new tax credits, and reforming the student loan system. Despite this progress, college costs are growing quickly, and more students are getting stuck with the tab.

Wages have increased for those with the most education, while falling for those with the least:

A jobs drain continues...

Changes in wages for full-time, full-year male U.S. workers 1963-2008

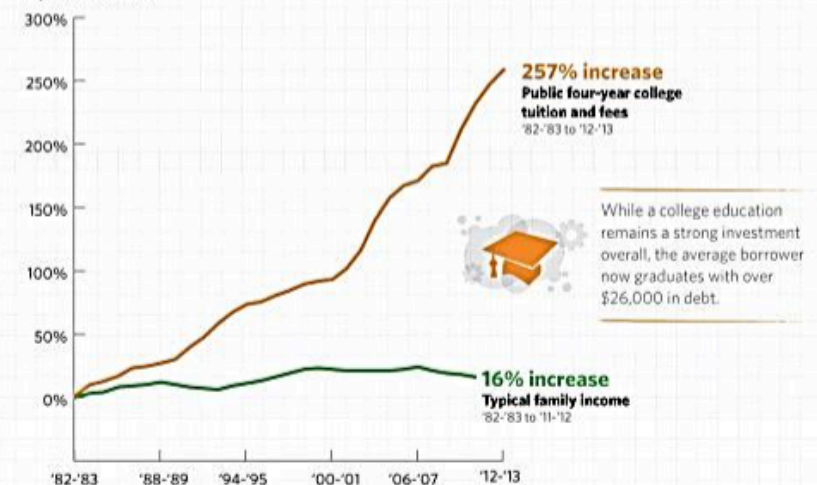


Source: Acemoglu and Autor (MIT), *Skills, Tasks and Technologies: Implications for Employment and Earnings* (2010).

The cost of college is growing out of reach

Average tuition and fees at a public four-year college have increased more than 250% over the past three decades, while incomes for typical families grew by only 16%.

Percent change
Adjusted for inflation



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and The College Board

While a college education remains a strong investment overall, the average borrower now graduates with over \$26,000 in debt.

A college degree is increasingly essential for economic progress, yet it is also increasingly out of financial reach for students from low-income families.

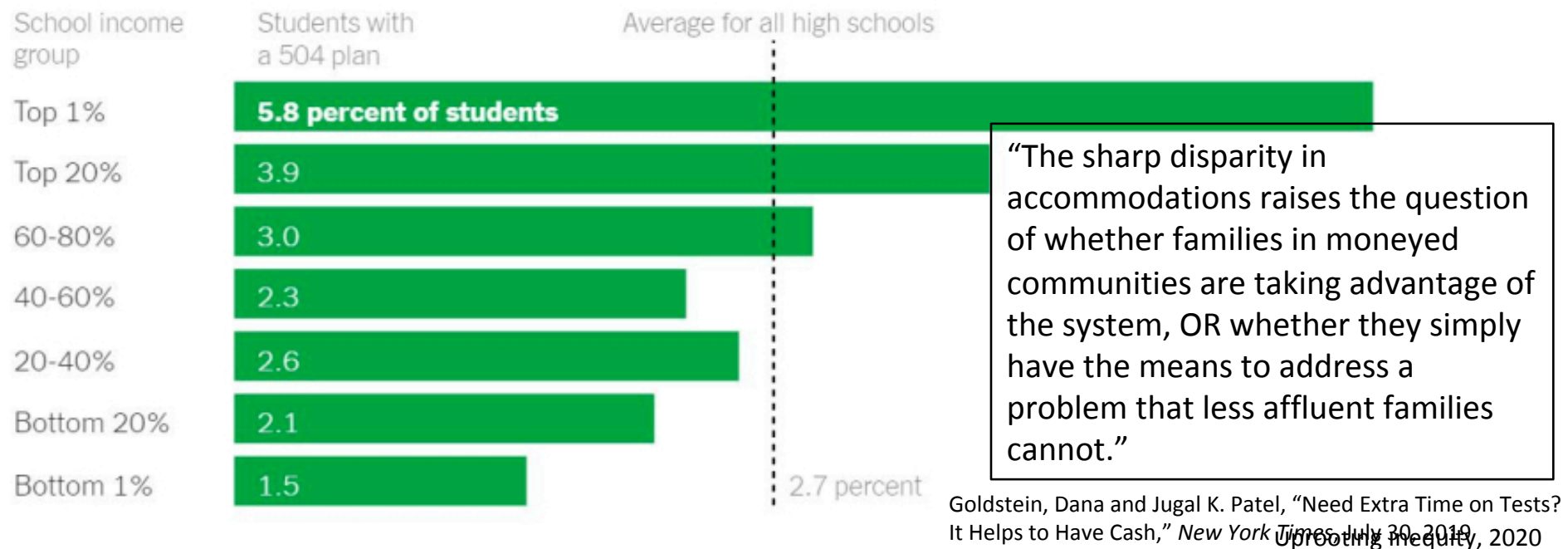
Wealthy and white students are significantly more likely to get extra time (50-150%) on school tests and standardized exam--including the ACT and SAT--through the 504 federal designation for milder disabilities.

A July 2019 New York Times analysis of federal data found a glaring wealth gap in 504 designations. Some wealthy districts had 504 rates of up to 18 percent. In some (wealthy) communities, more than 1 in 10 students have one — up to 7 times the rate nationwide.

The report also found that a larger percentage of white students held a 504 plan.

Interviews with staff found that in some areas, private school students are even more likely than affluent public school students to qualify for extended testing time.

Public high schools in the nation's richest districts have a higher share of 504 students, on average, than most other schools.



The majority of admissions officers (83%) still count SAT or ACT scores as an important part of evaluating candidates for colleges.

Yet SAT scores are highly correlated with income levels.

Access to expensive SAT/ACT test preparation or tutoring may play a factor.

SAT: Student Affluence Test

Average scores on each section of SAT (and combined) by parental income

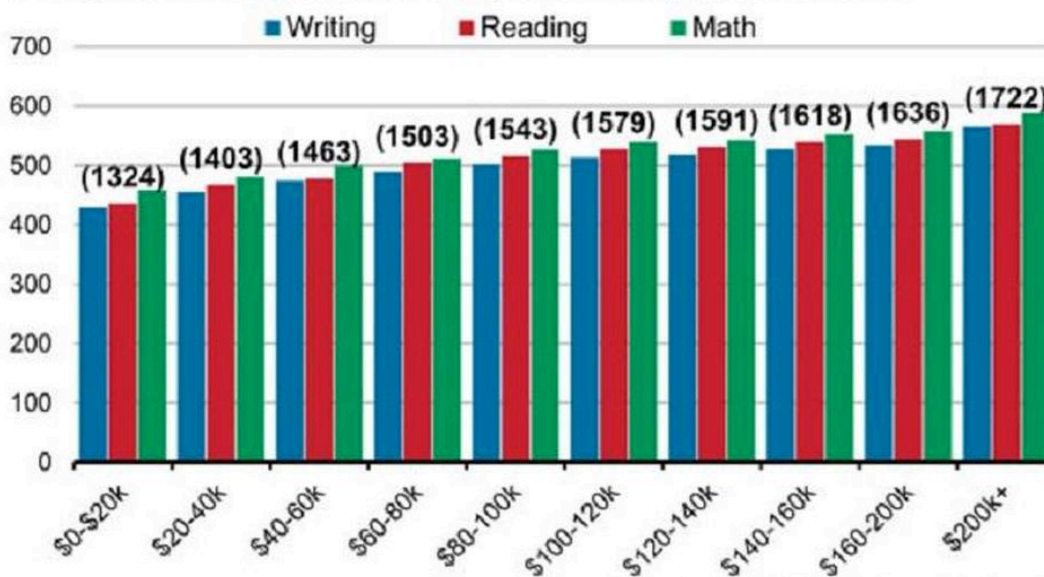
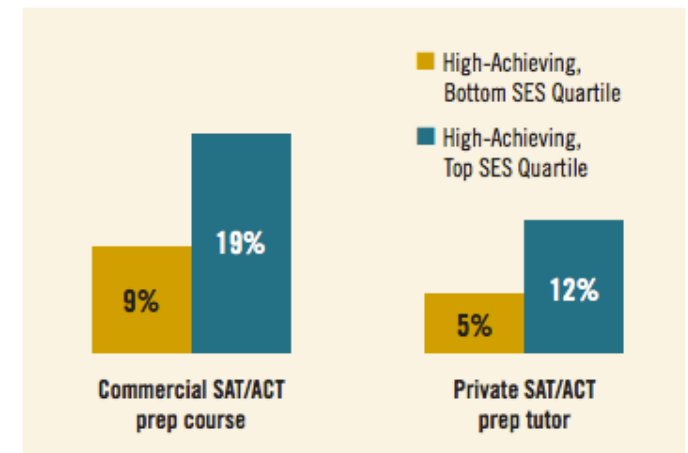


Figure 13: High-Achieving Students From High-Income Families Are Twice as Likely to Receive SAT/ACT Test Preparation or Tutoring as Those from Low-Income Families



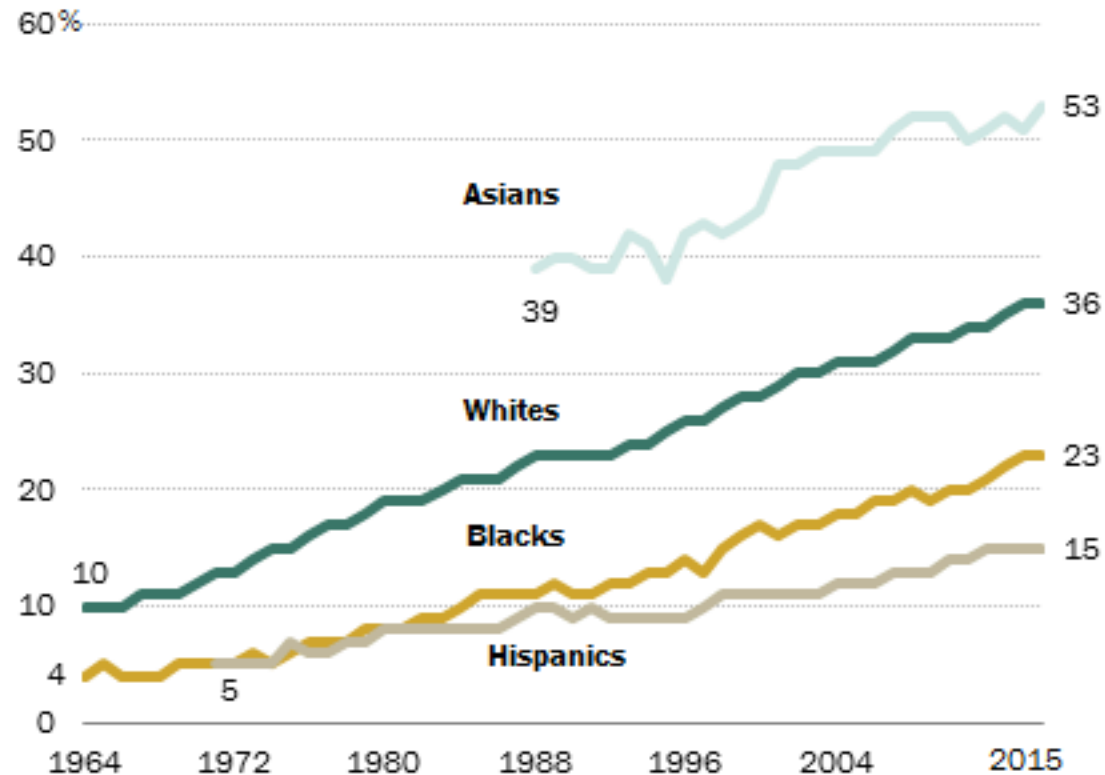
Source: Analysis of data from the Department of Education, Education Longitudinal Study of 2002. Analysis conducted only for students who indicated that they took or planned to take SAT and/or ACT in 2004. High-achieving defined as placing in top academic quartile in combined math and reading nationwide in 10th grade.

A 2016 analysis of the Education Longitudinal Study data by the Jack Ken Cooke Foundation confirmed that **high-achieving students from the wealthiest families are twice as likely to have taken SAT preparatory courses or tutoring as those from the poorest families.**

Giancola, Jennifer and Kahlenberg, Richard D., True Merit: Ensuring Our Brightest Students Have Access to Our Best Colleges and Universities, Jack Kent Cooke Foundation, Jan. 2016
Uprooting inequity, 2020

Whites more likely than blacks to have college degree

% of U.S. adults ages 25 and older who have at least a bachelor's degree



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only those who reported a single race. Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. Data for whites, blacks and Asians from 1971 to 2015 include only non-Hispanics. Data for whites and blacks prior to 1971 include Hispanics. Data for Hispanics not available prior to 1971. Hispanics are of any race. Data for Asians not available prior to 1988. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Prior to 1992 those who completed at least 16 years of school are classified as having a bachelor's degree.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulation of the 1964-2015 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS).

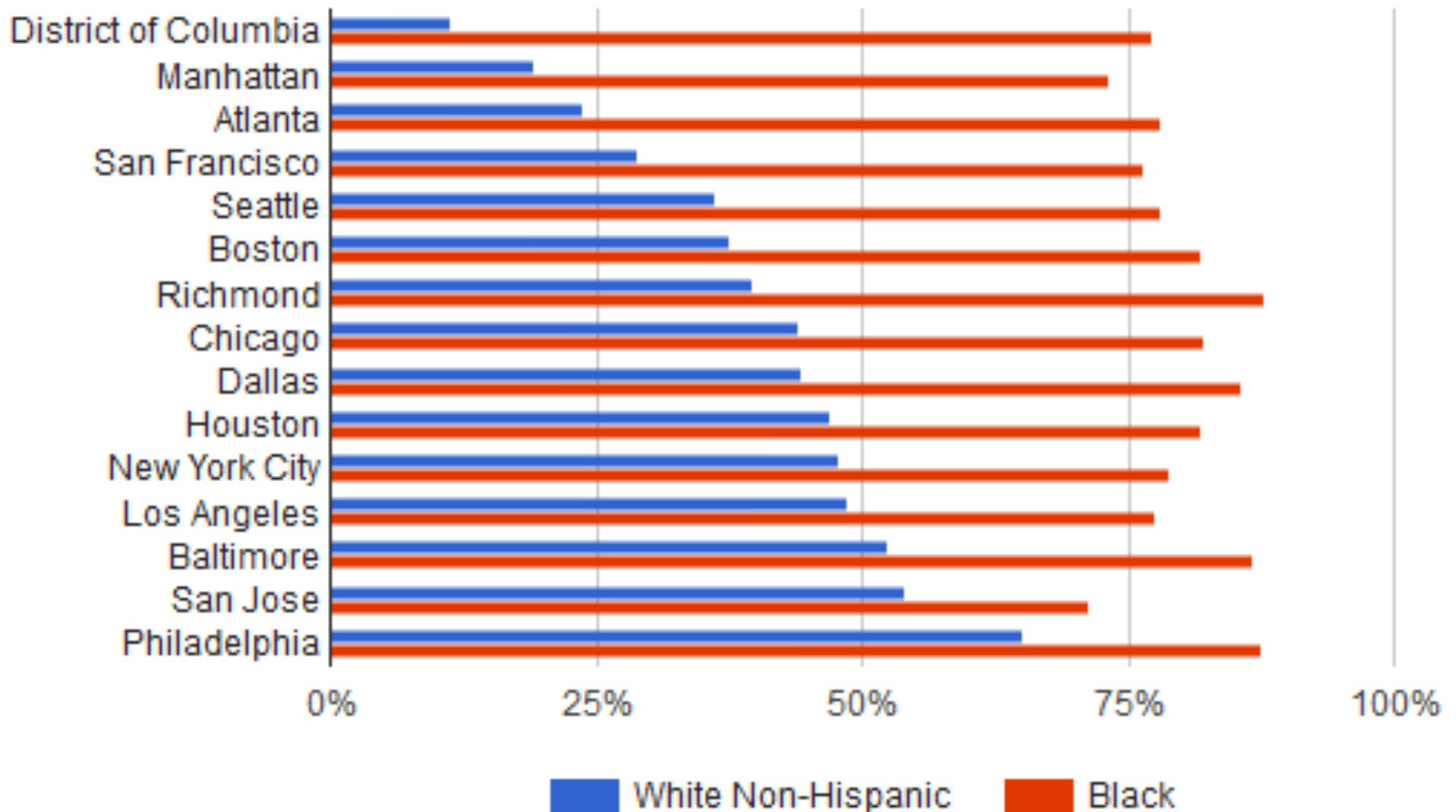
"On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"

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Racial
Disparities in
College
Completion
Rates are
increasing
over time

There is a significant **Black-White Gap among adults without a Bachelor's degree**
In many large U.S. cities.

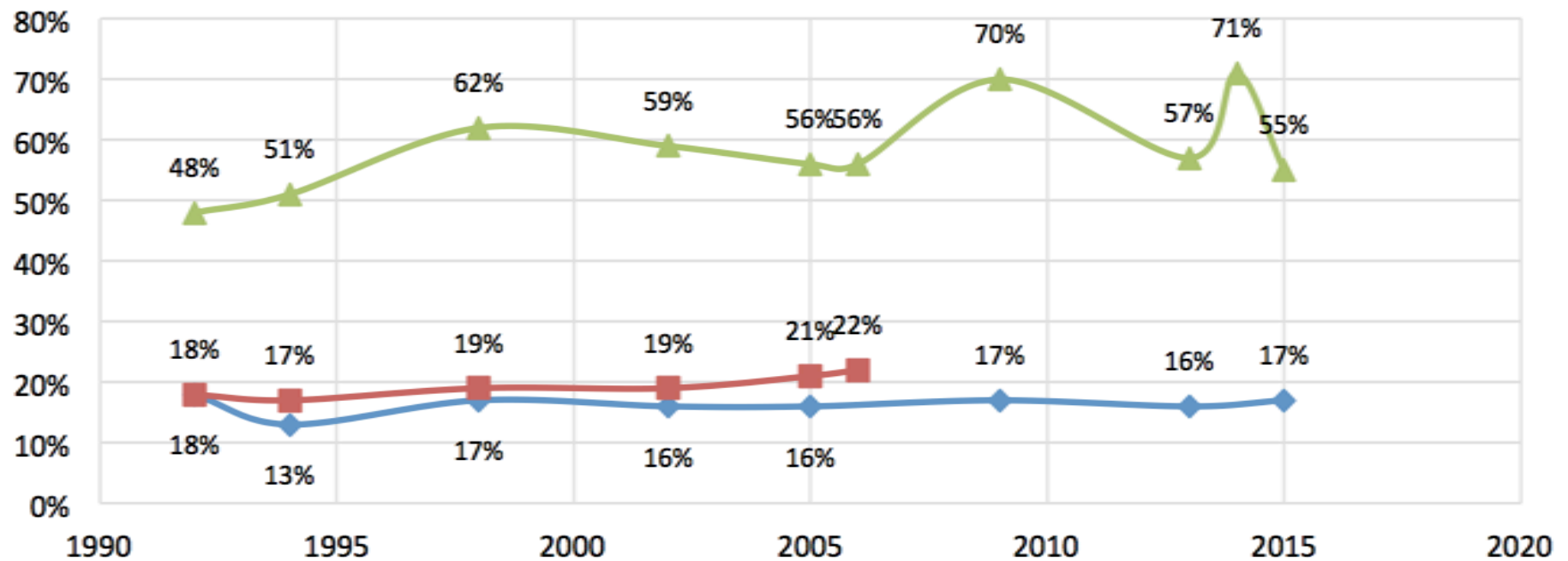
% over 25 without bachelor's (white/black)



Low income students—who are disproportionately minorities--are increasingly encouraged to go to college. But if they were not adequately prepared by low-quality high schools, they face multiple college remedial courses (*which lengthen the number of semesters they have to pay for but grant no credits*), challenging coursework, and financial challenges. This leads to a higher drop-out rate. One generally needs a completed college degree, rather than several years of college work on one's resume to access higher-wage jobs, so college dropouts usually face years of paying back college debts on income from low-wage jobs.

BLACK

◆ College Readiness Rate (Reading) ■ Bachelor's Degree Completion 8 years later
▲ College Matriculation Rate



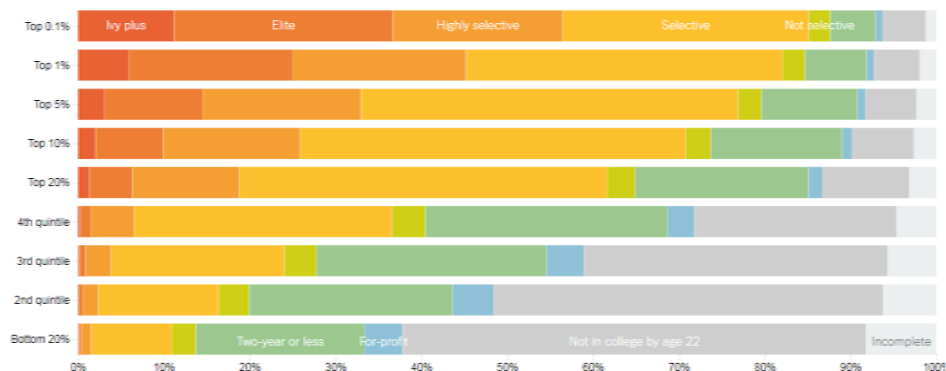
38 colleges had more students from the top 1 percent than the bottom 60 percent

STUDENTS FROM ...	THE TOP 1% (\$630K+)	BOTTOM 60% (<\$65K)
1. Washington University in St. Louis	21.7%	6.1%
2. Colorado College	24.2	10.5
3. Washington and Lee University	19.1	8.4
4. Colby College	20.4	11.1
5. Trinity College (Conn.)	26.2	14.3
6. Bucknell University	20.4	12.2
7. Colgate University	22.6	13.6
8. Kenyon College	19.8	12.2
9. Middlebury College	22.8	14.2
10. Tufts University	18.6	11.8
32. Boston College	16.1	15.2

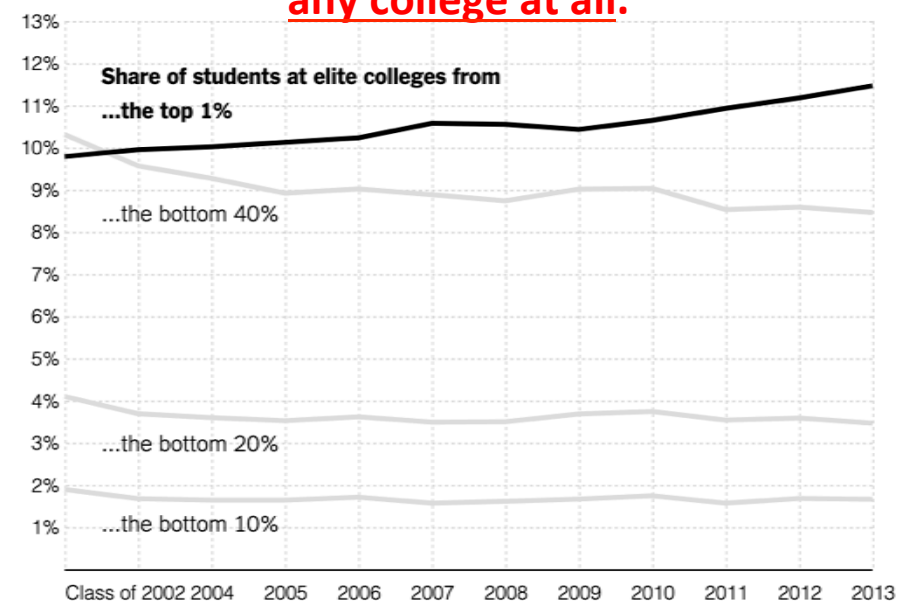
These estimates are for the 1991 cohort (approximately the class of 2013). Rankings are shown for colleges with at least 200 students in this cohort, sorted here by the ratio between the two income groups.

Where today's 25-year-olds went to college, grouped by their parents' income

About four in 10 students from the top 0.1 percent attend an Ivy League or elite university, roughly equivalent to the share of students from poor families who attend any two- or four-year college.



A 2017 study by Harvard economist Raj Chetty concluded that elite colleges such as the Ivy League typically have few students from low-income families, limiting their scope to serve as ladders for upward mobility. Roughly 1 in 4 of the richest students attend an elite university, while less than one half of 1% of children from the bottom fifth of American families attend an elite college; less than half attend any college at all.



Raj Chetty, John N Friedman, Emmanuel Saez, Nicholas Turner, Danny Yagan, Income Segregation and Intergenerational Mobility Across Colleges in the United States, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February 2020

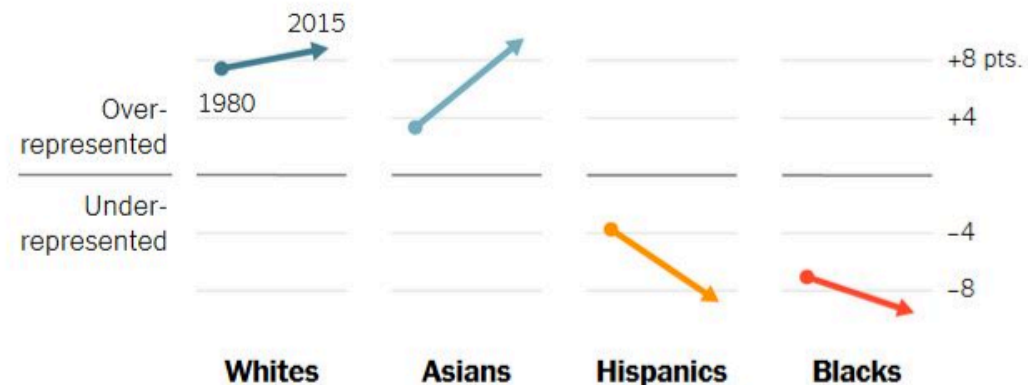
A 2017 New York Times analysis found that “even after decades of affirmative action, black and Hispanic students are more underrepresented at the nation’s top colleges and universities than they were 35 years ago.” The share of black freshmen at elite colleges—6%--is virtually unchanged since 1980.

As David Hawkins, an executive director at the National Association for College Admission Counseling, explained, “A cascading set of obstacles all seem to contribute to a diminished representation of minority students in highly selective colleges.”

Elementary and secondary schools with large numbers of black and Hispanic students are less likely to have experienced teachers, advanced courses, high-quality instructional materials and adequate facilities, according to the United States Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights.

Even With Affirmative Action, Blacks and Hispanics Are More Underrepresented at Top Colleges Than 35 Years Ago

By JEREMY ASHKENAS, HAEYOUN PARK and ADAM PEARCE AUG. 24, 2017

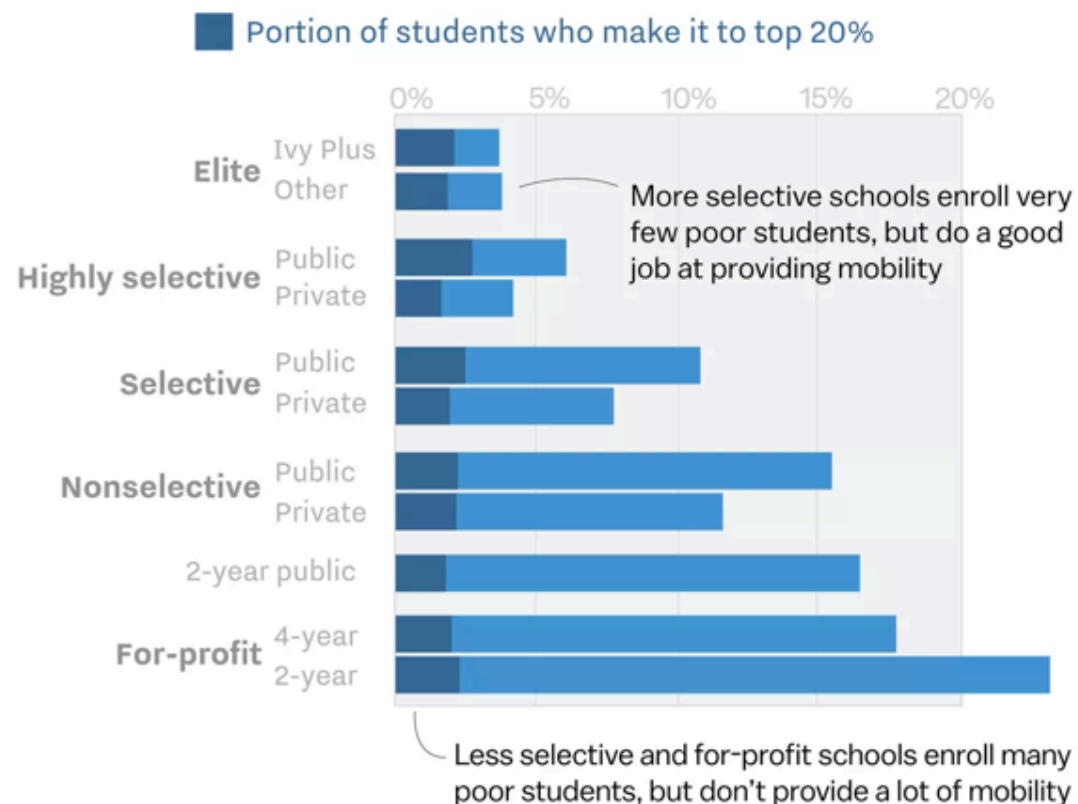


How much more or less each group is represented among freshmen at top colleges relative to the U.S. population

Ashkenas, Jeremy, Haeyoun Park and Adam Pearce, “Even With Affirmative Action, Blacks and Hispanics Are More Underrepresented at Top Colleges Than 35 Years Ago,” New York Times, Aug. 24, 2017. Uprooting Inequity, 2020

As New America's Ben Barrett points out in a 2017 report, students whose families are in the top 1% (earning at least \$631,000 a year) are 77 times more likely to attend an Ivy League school than a student whose family is from the bottom 20%.

How many students colleges enroll from the bottom 20% and how much mobility they provide



And this income disparity is not improving over time. In that same report, Burd analyzed Chetty's data and found that the **381 selective public universities are now enrolling fewer students from the bottom 40% than they were about 20 years ago.** Meanwhile, most of them are enrolling more students from the top 20%.

Data from The Equality of Opportunity Project's Mobility Report Cards, as calculated by the New America Foundation

Stephen Burd, ed., Moving on Up? What a Groundbreaking Study Tells Us About Access, Success, and Mobility in Higher Education (Washington, DC: New America, October 2017)

Part 6:

Racial Disparities & Discrimination in Health

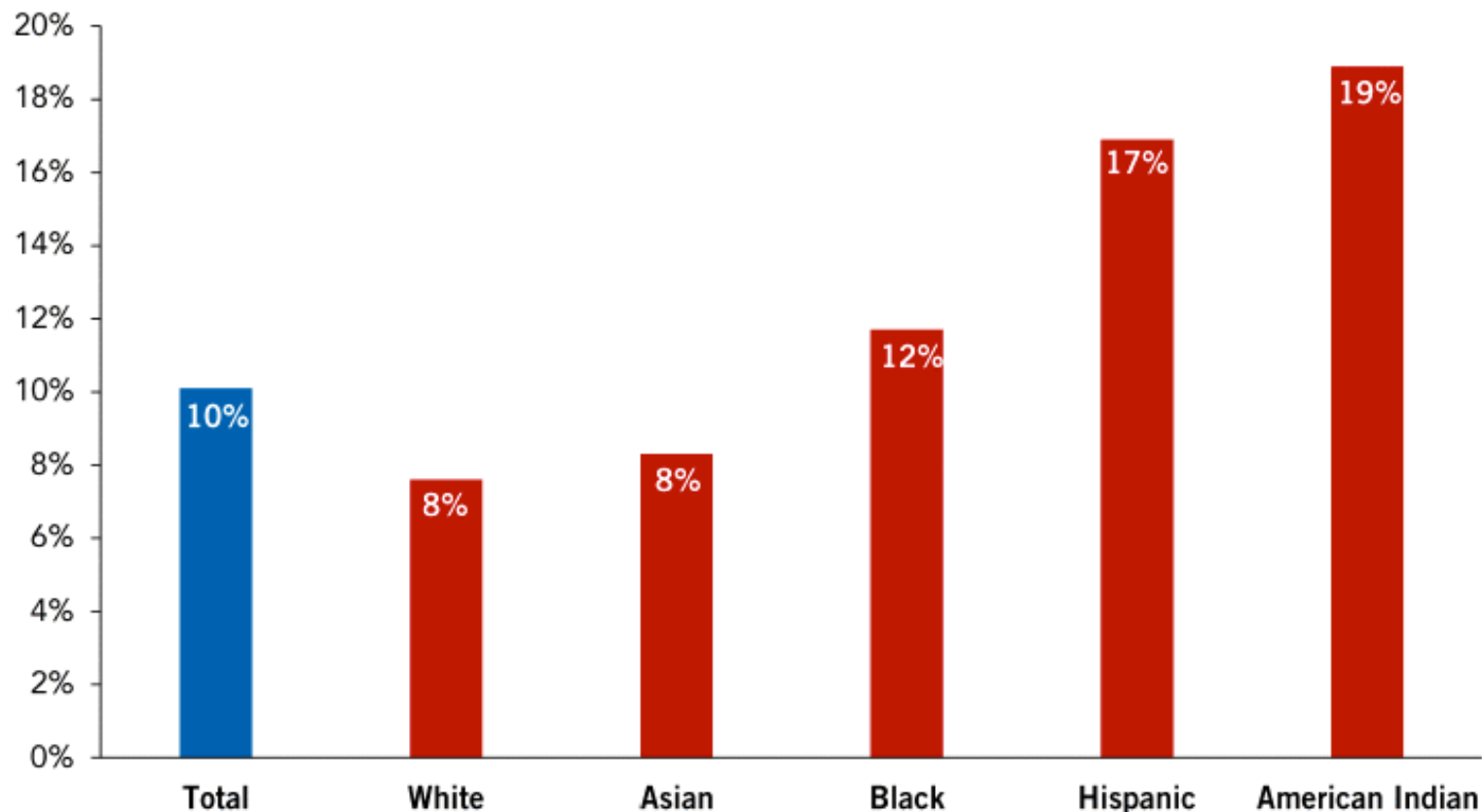
Even with the Affordable Care Act (ACA), people of color have **disproportionately less access to Health Insurance.**



PETER G.
PETERSON
FOUNDATION

Nonwhite Individuals at Higher Risk of being Uninsured

UNDER 65 UNINSURED RATE BY RACE OR ETHNICITY



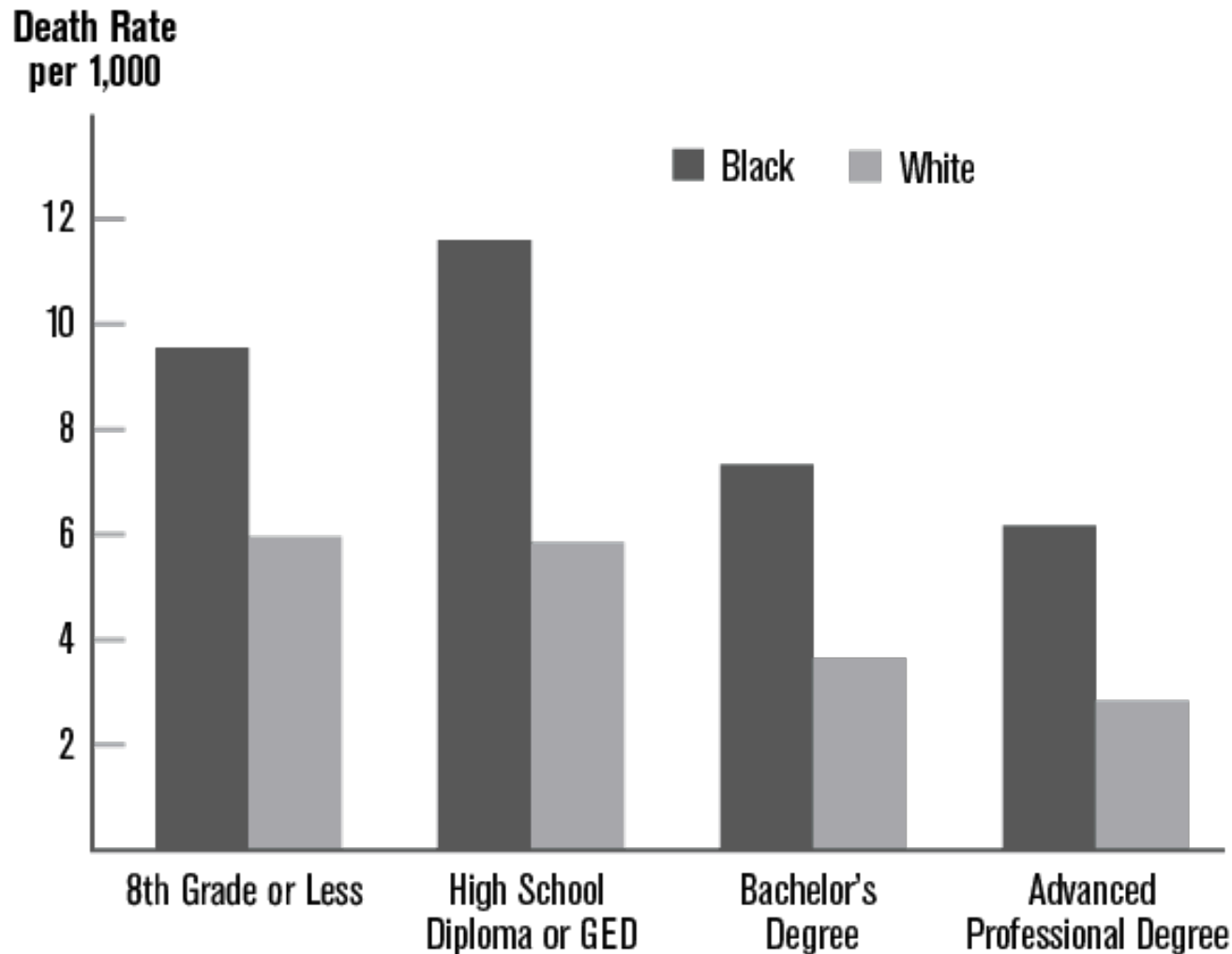
SOURCE: Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation, *Key Facts about the Uninsured Population*, June 2018. Compiled by PGPF.

© 2016 Peter G. Peterson Foundation

PGPF.ORG

oting Inequity, 2020

FIGURE 3.4 INFANT MORTALITY BY MATERNAL RACE AND EDUCATION, 2007-13



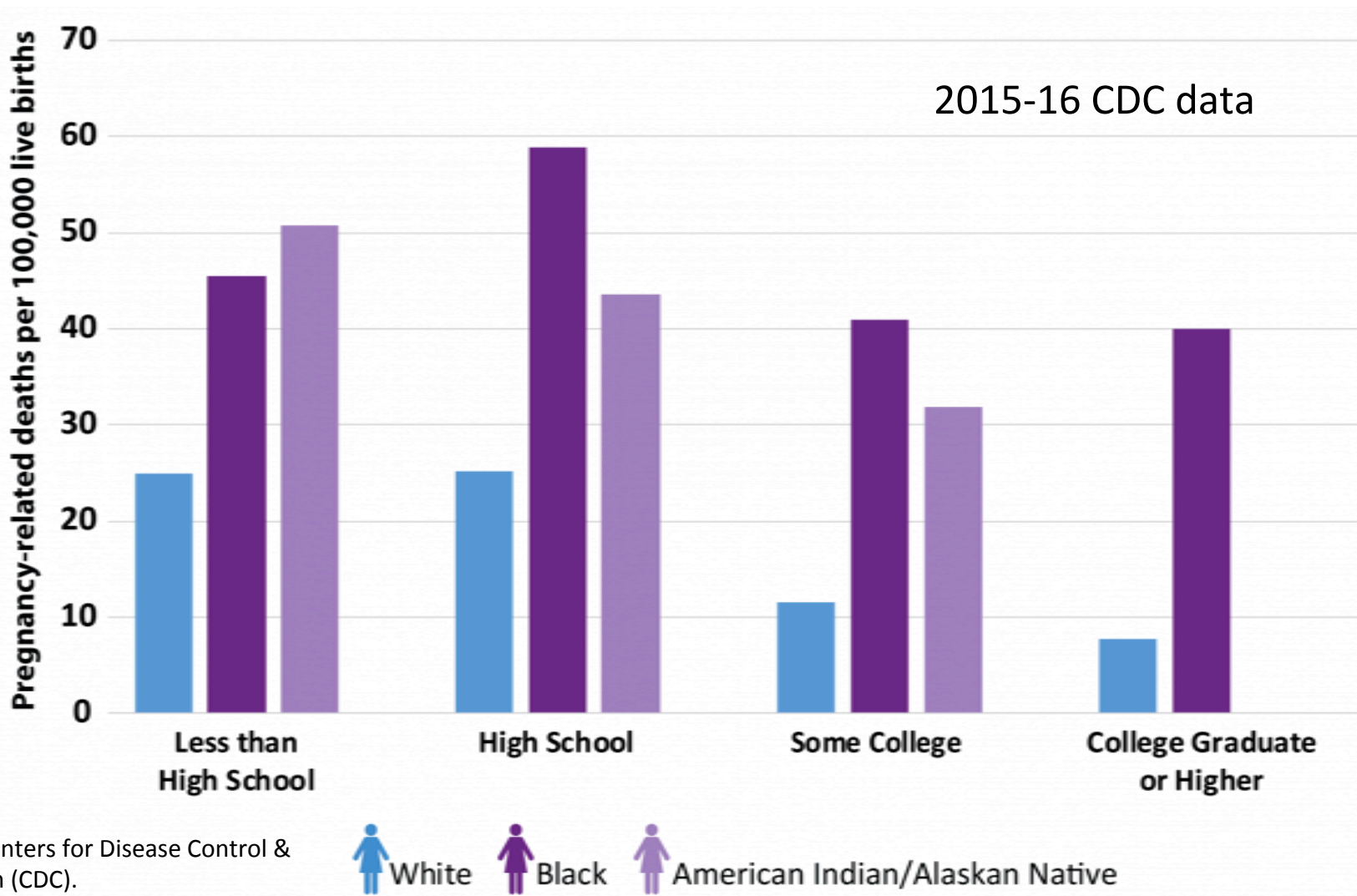
African American
Infant Mortality
rates are
significantly higher
than those of
whites.

...even after
controlling for
educational levels.

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Wonder), Linked Birth/Infant Death Records, 2007-13

Black Pregnancy-Related Death Rates (PMDR) are significantly (2 to 3 times) higher than those of whites, even when controlling for educational level.

“The PRMR for black women with at least a college degree was 5 times as high as white women with a similar education”. Furthermore, these racial disparities are not improving over time.

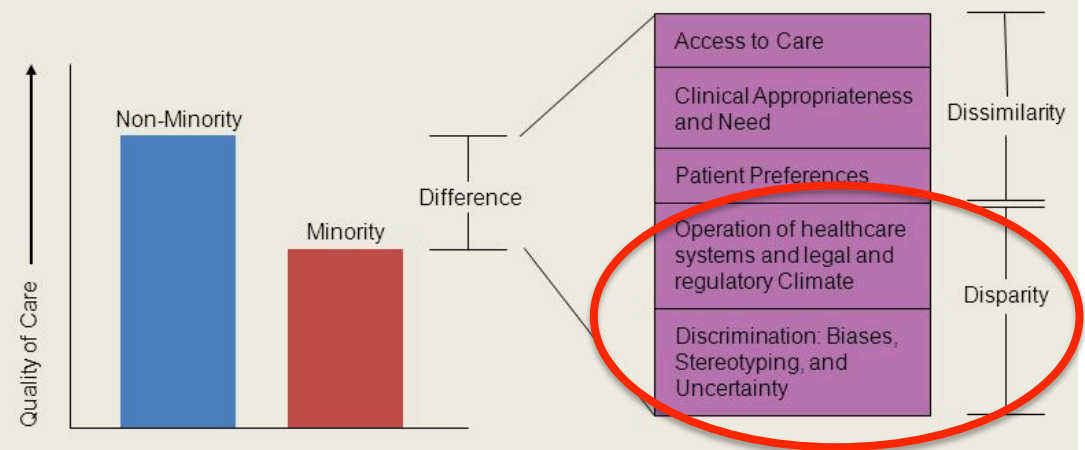


In its landmark 2002 study, *“Unequal Treatment,”* the Institute of Medicine (IOM) found that **“research indicates that minorities are less likely than whites to receive needed health services, including clinically necessary procedures,** even after correcting for access-related factors, such as insurance status”, and that **“health care providers’ diagnostic and treatment decisions, as well as their feelings about patients, are influenced by patients’ race or ethnicity and stereotypes associated with them.”**

The IOM report references a number of peer-reviewed studies that control for patient history, symptomology, and demeanor to show that **race alone—and not culture or behavior--has an impact on treatment.** Research since 2002 has corroborated IOM’s findings.

Model of Health Care Disparities

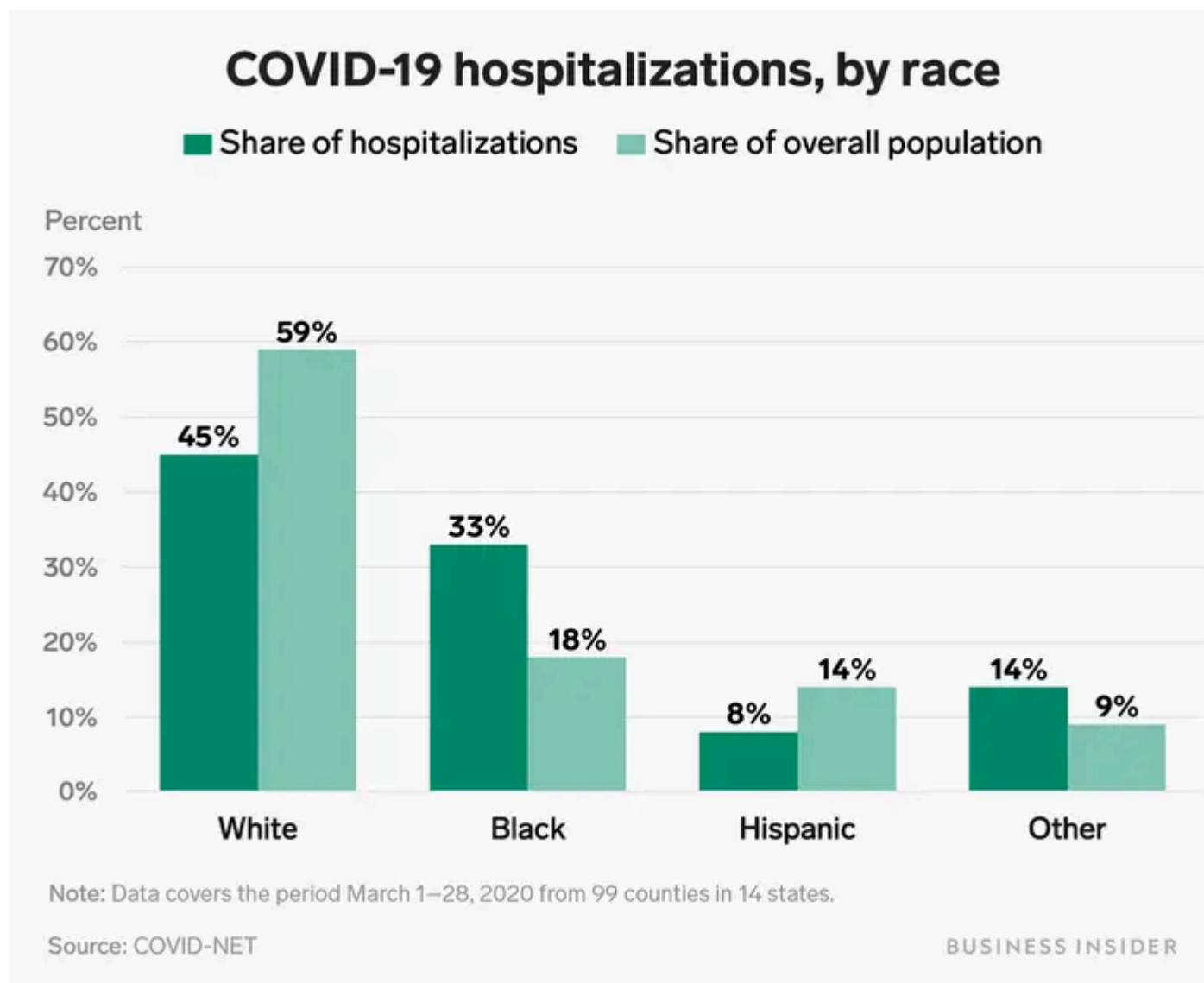
The model views health care disparities as resulting from characteristics of the health care system, the society’s legal and regulatory climate, discrimination, bias, stereotyping and uncertainty. Not all dissimilarities in care are necessarily a disparity.



Source: Gomes, C. and McGuire T.G. 2001. Identifying the sources of racial and ethnic disparities in health care use. Unpublished manuscript cited in: IOM,. 2002. *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care*. Smedley, B., A. Stith and A. Nelson, eds. Washington DC: National Academy Press

Directly quoted from Hayes-Greene, Deena, and Bayard P. Love. *“The Groundwater Approach: Building a Practical Understanding of Structural Racism”*. The Racial Equity Institute. 2018.

Coronavirus has a disproportionately high impact on Blacks. An early CDC analysis of COVID-19 hospitalizations across 99 counties in 14 states showed that **Black Americans made up a third of Covid-19 hospitalizations despite making up only 18% of the population in those counties.**



“Black Americans have **higher rates of underlying health conditions** like diabetes and hypertension that could put them at a higher risk for developing complications from the novel coronavirus”.

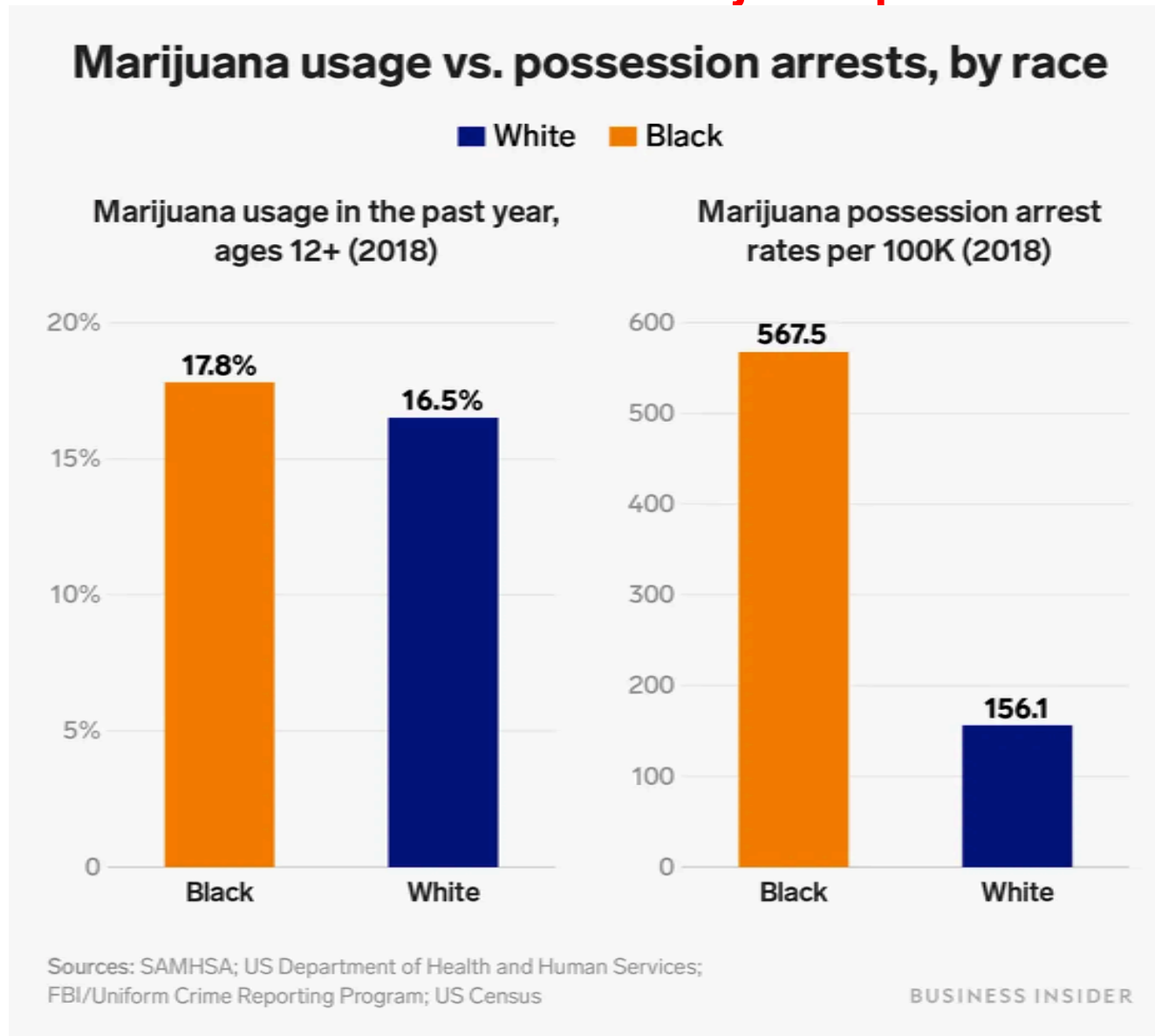
“They also **disproportionately hold jobs deemed essential** during the pandemic. While Black Americans make up 12% of the overall workforce, they account for 17% of frontline employees, according to a study from the Center for Economic and Policy Research”.

Andy Kiersz/Business Insider
Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Part 7:

**Racial Disparities &
Discrimination
in the
Criminal Justice System**

Marijuana usage rates are similar between white and Black Americans, yet Black Americans are 3.64 times more likely to get arrested on marijuana possession charges.

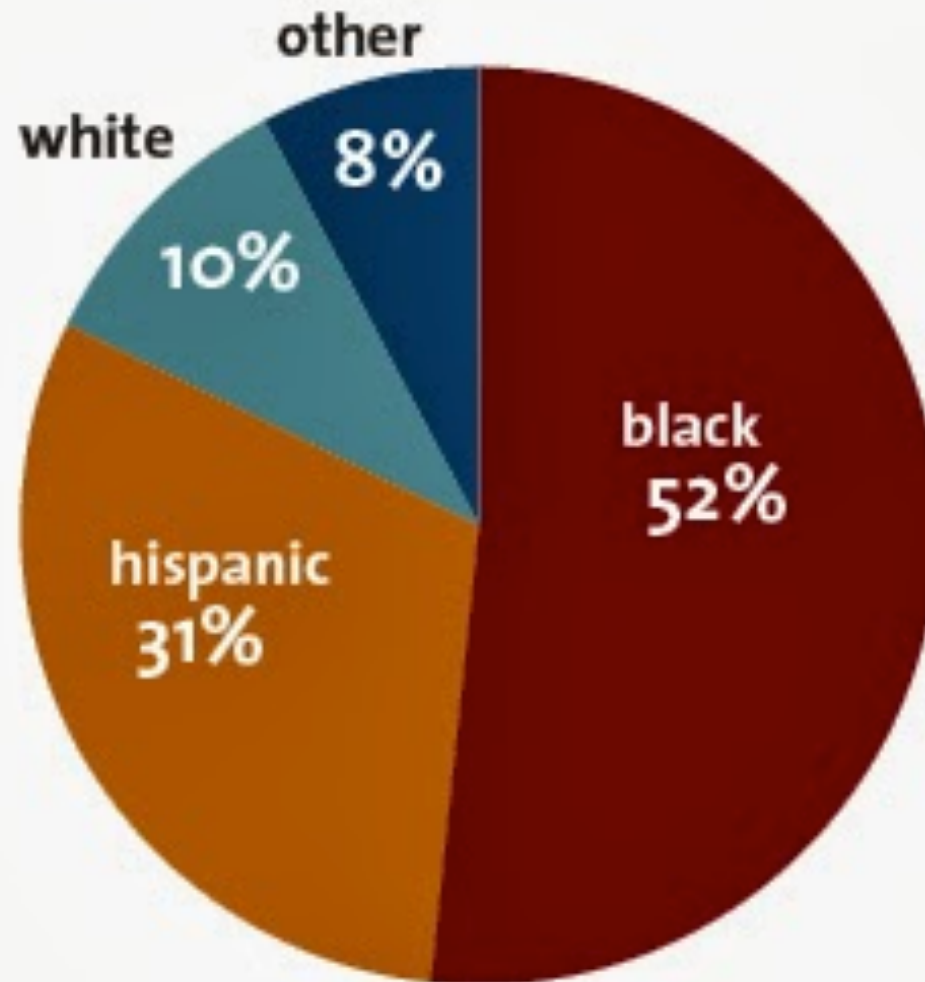


“According to the federal government's Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, marijuana usage between Black and white Americans is similar. Just 18% of Black people over the age of 12 in 2018 reported using marijuana within the past year, while 17% of white people over the age of 12 reported the same”.

“That same year, Black Americans were arrested 3.6 times more often than white Americans for marijuana possession, according to an American Civil Liberties Union analysis of FBI and US Census data”.

Shyanne Gal/Business Insider
Uprooting Inequity, 2020

NYPD Stops by Race, 2004-2012



"Racial Profiling" refers to the discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the individual's race, ethnicity, religion or national origin.

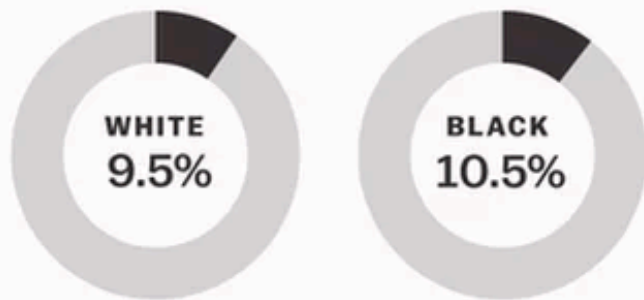
Source: Center for Constitutional Rights

Mother Jones

Racial Discrimination in Drug Arrests: Black people are much more likely to be arrested for drugs, even though they're not more likely to use or sell them.

Past-month illicit drug use

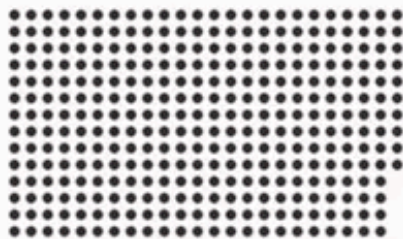
2013 National Survey on Drug Use and Health



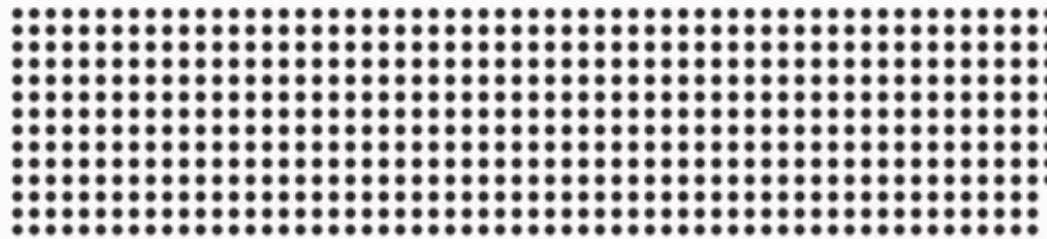
Drug-related arrests per 100,000 residents of each race

2013 FBI Uniform Crime Reports / US Census Bureau

WHITE 332

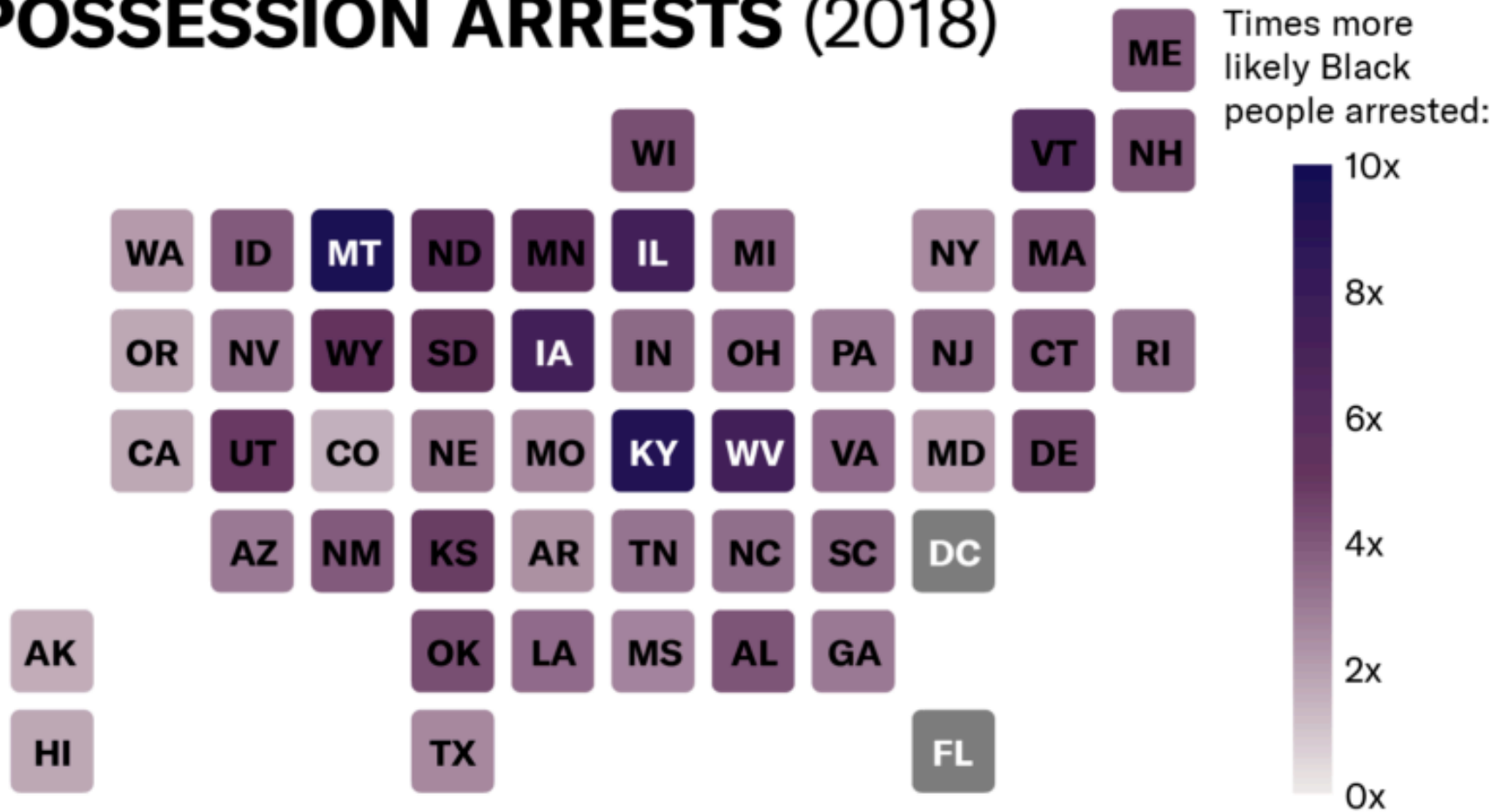


BLACK 879



Vox

RACIAL DISPARITIES IN MARIJUANA POSSESSION ARRESTS (2018)



Source: FBI/Uniform Crime Reporting Program Data and U.S. Census Data

Note: Washington, D.C. and Florida did not provide data.

ACLU 1999 Report “Driving While Black”

"Today, blacks constitute:

13 percent of the country's drug users;

37 percent of those arrested on drug charges;

55 percent of those convicted; and

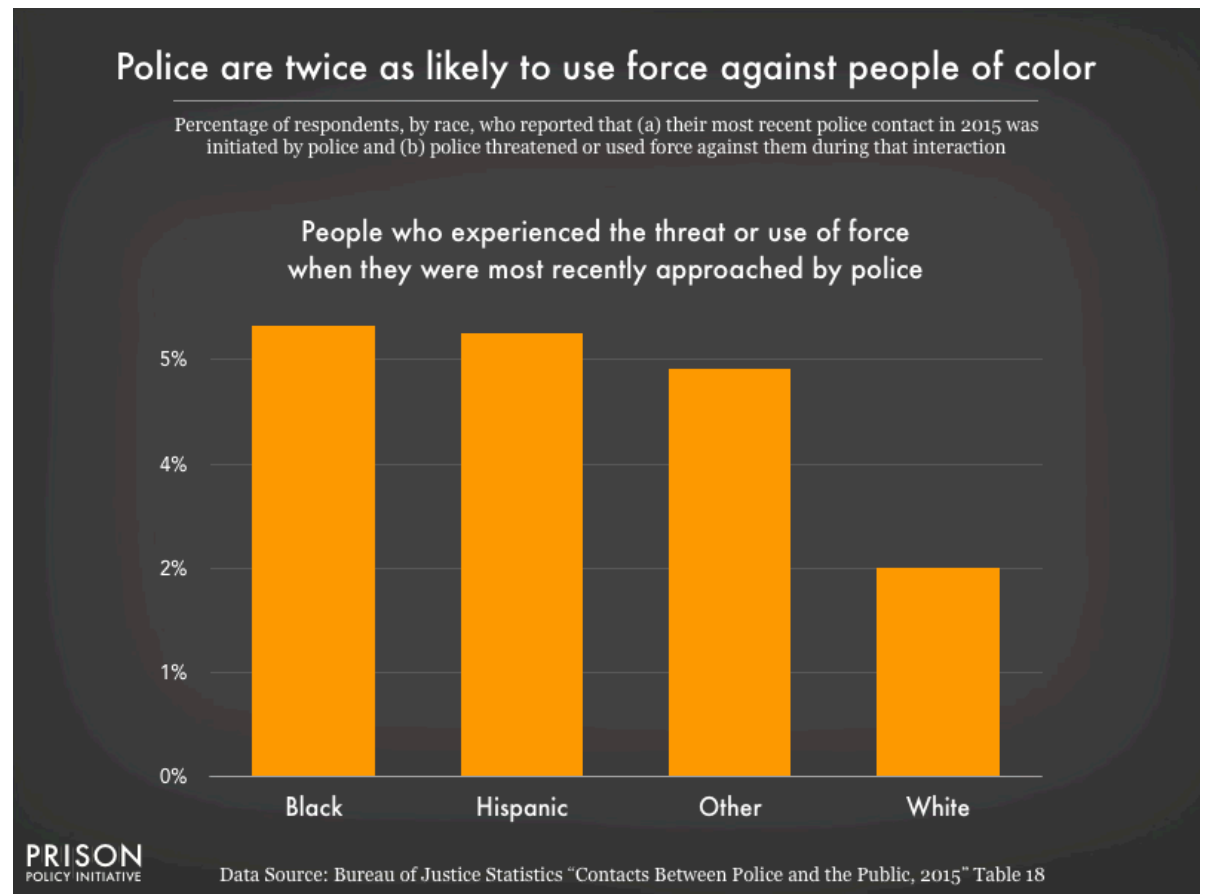
74 percent of all drug offenders sentenced to prison."

1. Black residents were more likely to be stopped by police than white or Hispanic residents, both in traffic stops and street stops.

2. Black and Hispanic residents were also more likely to have multiple contacts with police than white residents, especially in the contexts of traffic and street stops. More than 1 in 6 Black residents who were pulled over in a traffic stop or stopped on the street had similar interactions with police multiple times over the course of the year.

3. When police initiated an interaction, they were twice as likely to threaten or use force against Black and Hispanic residents than white residents.

Black residents are stopped more often, are more likely to have multiple contacts with cops, and experience more threats and excessive force from them.



Jones, Alexi, "Police stops are still marred by racial discrimination, new data shows", Prison Policy Initiative, October 12, 2018.

Data Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Contacts Between Police and the Public, 2015", Table 18. (Graph: Wendy Sawyer, 2018) Reporting Inequity, 2020

Police officers are more likely to use excessive force with blacks than with whites in similar situations.

	With <u>blacks</u>	Than with <u>whites</u> in similar situations	
Use hands	2,165 For every 10,000 stops in NYC	1,845 For every 10,000 stops in NYC	17% more likely
Push into wall	623	529	18%
Use handcuffs*	310	266	16%
Draw weapons	155	129	19%
Push to ground	136	114	18%
Point weapon	54	43	24%
Use pepper spray or baton	5	4	25%

Source: New York Times.

* Handcuffs exclude arrests. Counts represent at least that level of force, based on stop-and-frisk data from 2003 to 2013. Similar situations account for gender, age, police precinct, the reason for the stop, whether the stop was indoors or outdoors, the time of day, whether the stop took place in a high-crime area or during a high-crime time, whether the officer was in uniform, the type of identification provided, and whether others were stopped at the same time. Uprooting Inequity, 2020

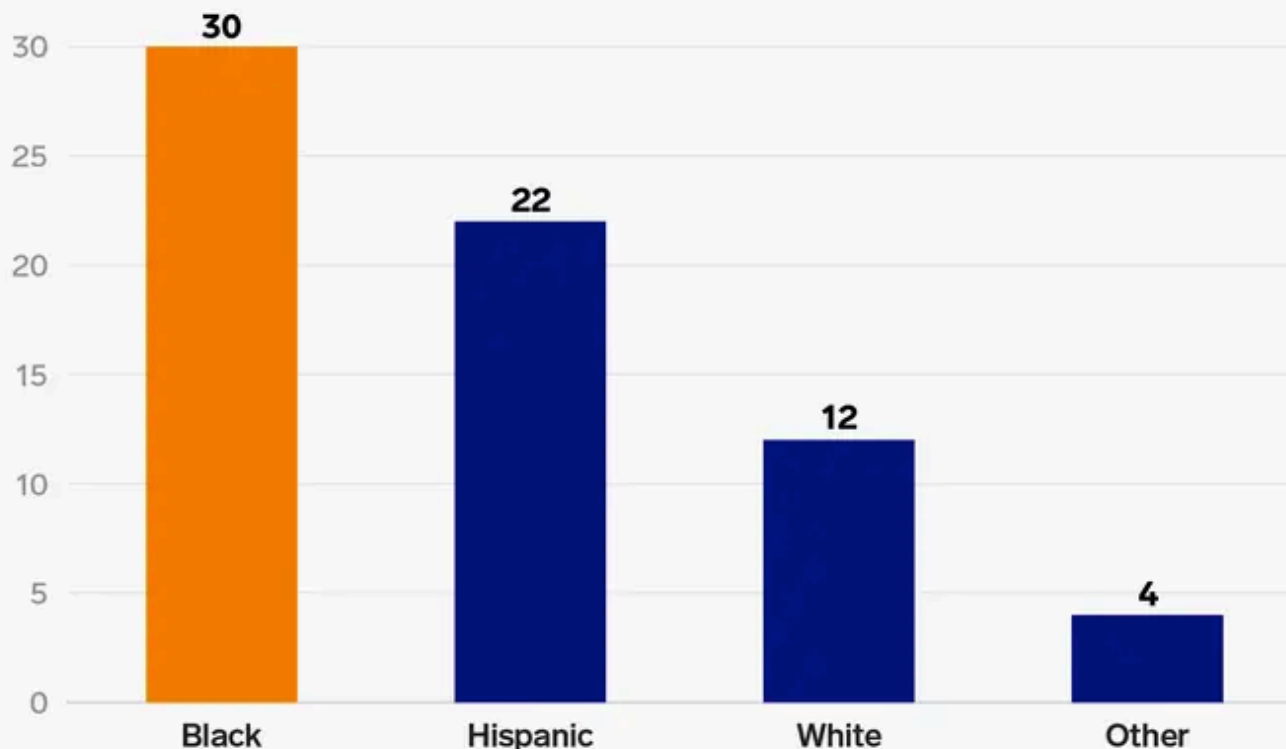
Proportionally, black people are much more likely to be shot and killed by the police than are whites.

Between Jan 1, 2015-May 28, 2020, Black people were fatally shot by the police at a rate of 30 people per million, vs. 13 people per million: more than twice as high.

The police may shoot and kill twice as many white people as black, but there about 6 times as many white people as black people in the U.S.

Fatal police shootings per million, by race

Deaths per million from January 1, 2015 – May 28, 2020



Source: The Washington Post

BUSINESS INSIDER

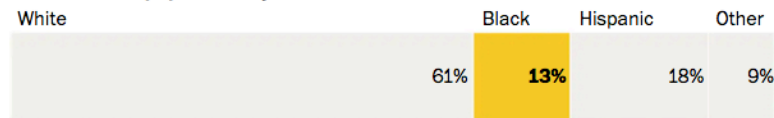
Note: This database “tracks only fatal police shootings, not fatal police encounters in general. So the deaths of Black men like George Floyd, which occurred after a Minneapolis police officer knelt on his neck for nearly 9 minutes, have not been included in the dataset, nor have the deaths of Eric Garner in Staten Island, who died from a police chokehold, or Freddie Gray in Baltimore, who died of spinal injuries he suffered in a police van”.

Note: There is no comprehensive U.S. government database tracking police shootings. **The Washington Post’s Pulitzer Prize-winning database on fatal police shootings (“Fatal Force”)** is one of perhaps four well-regarded and widely sourced datasets available on this subject. The others include ‘The Counted’ by the Guardian, “Fatal Encounters” by D. Brian Burghart of the U. of Nevada at Reno, & “Mapping Police Violence”, a research collaborative. Uprooting Inequity, 2020

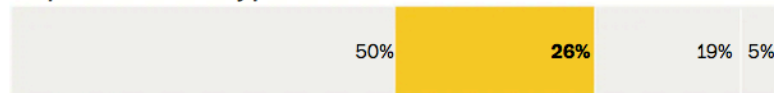
1. Black Americans are disproportionately killed by police.

Although half of the people shot and killed by police are white, black Americans are shot at a disproportionate rate. They account for just 13 percent of the U.S. population, but more than a quarter of police shooting victims. The disparity is even more pronounced among unarmed victims, of whom more than a third are black.

United States population by race



People shot and killed by police since 2015



Unarmed people shot and killed by police since 2015



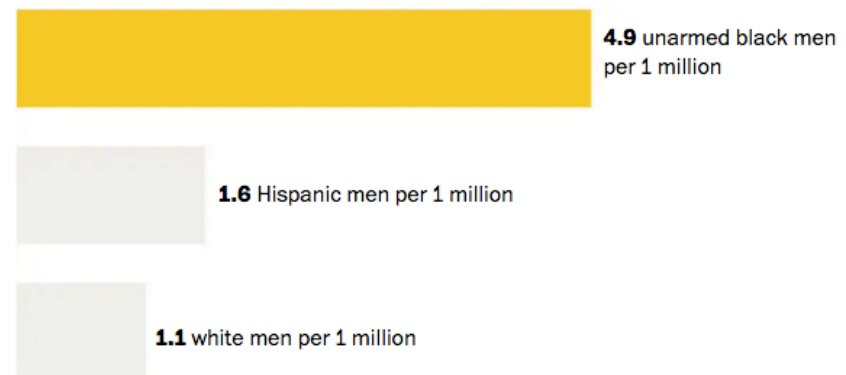
Black Americans are much more likely to be fatally shot and killed by police than White Americans. The racial disparity in rates is even higher for unarmed victims of fatal shootings by police.

2. Black men are more likely to be fatally shot while unarmed.

Note: There is no comprehensive U.S. government database tracking police shootings. **The Washington Post's Pulitzer Prize-winning database on fatal police shootings ("Fatal Force")** is one of perhaps four well-regarded and widely sourced datasets available on this subject. The others include 'The Counted' by the Guardian, "Fatal Encounters" by D. Brian Burghart of the U. of Nevada at Reno, & "Mapping Police Violence", a research collaborative.

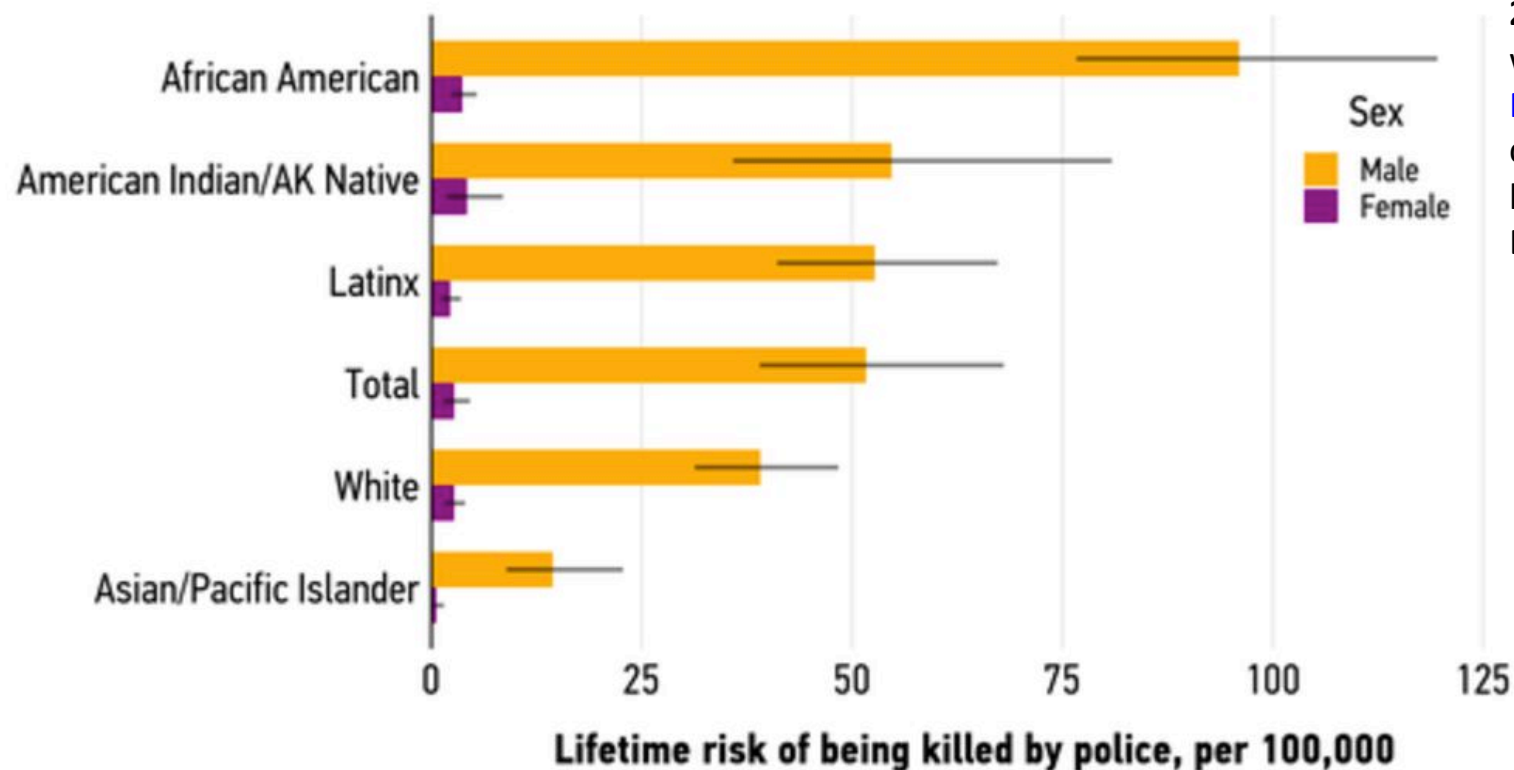
Fox, Joe, Adrian Blanco, Jennifer Jenkins, Julie Tate and Wesley Lowery, "What we've learned about police shootings 5 years after Ferguson," *Washington Post*, August 9, 2019.

Compared to their numbers in the overall population, an unarmed black man is about four times more likely to be killed by police than an unarmed white man.



In the U.S., African Americans are 2.5 times more likely to be killed by police than white people. “Roughly 1-in-1,000 black boys and men will be killed by police in their lifetime. For white boys and men, the rate is 39 out of 100,000”.

Men of color more likely to be killed by police



Life tables were calculated using model-based simulations from 2013 to 2018 Fatal Encounters data and 2017 National Vital Statistics System data. Lines indicate 90% confidence interval.

Source: Frank Edwards, Hedwig Lee & Michael Esposito (David H. Montgomery/CityLab)

“The researchers used verified data on police killings from **2013 to 2018** compiled by the website

[Fatal Encounters](#), created by Nevada-based journalist D. Brian Burghart”.

Edwards, Frank; Lee, Hedwig; Esposito, Michael. “Risk of being killed by police use of force in the United States by age, race-ethnicity, and sex,” Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, August 2019, doi:10.1073/pnas.



US 2020 16 equity, 2020

Black people are most likely to be killed by police

3x more likely to be killed by police than white people.



Police Killings per 1M

■ Black ■ White

30% of black victims were **unarmed** in 2015 compared to 19% of white victims.

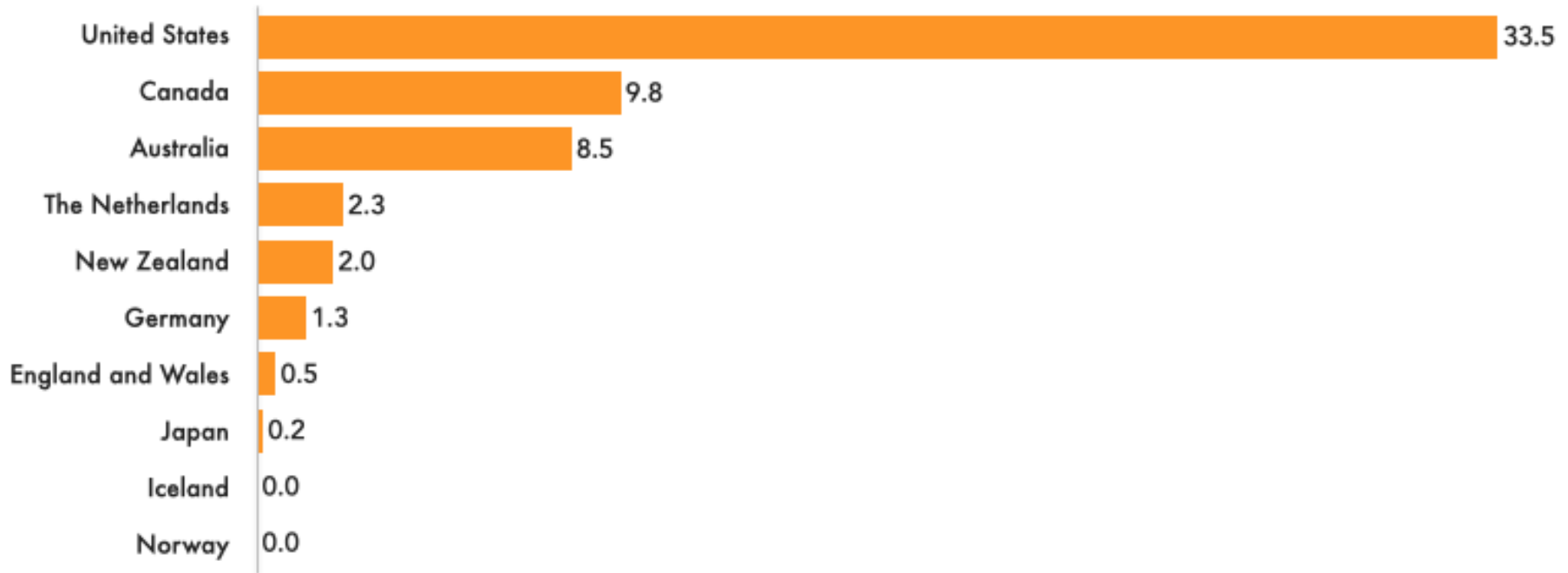


■ Unarmed (30%) ■ Unknown/Armed (70%)

Note: There is no comprehensive U.S. government database tracking police shootings. **Mapping Police Violence's** database on fatal police shootings is one of perhaps four well-regarded and widely sourced datasets available on this subject. The others include "Fatal Force" by The Washington Post, 'The Counted' by the Guardian, and "Fatal Encounters" by D. Brian Burghart of the U. of Nevada at Reno.

U.S. POLICE KILL CIVILIANS AT A MUCH HIGHER RATE THAN POLICE IN OTHER WEALTHY COUNTRIES

Number of people killed by law enforcement per 10 million population in the most recent year with available data



PRISON
POLICY INITIATIVE

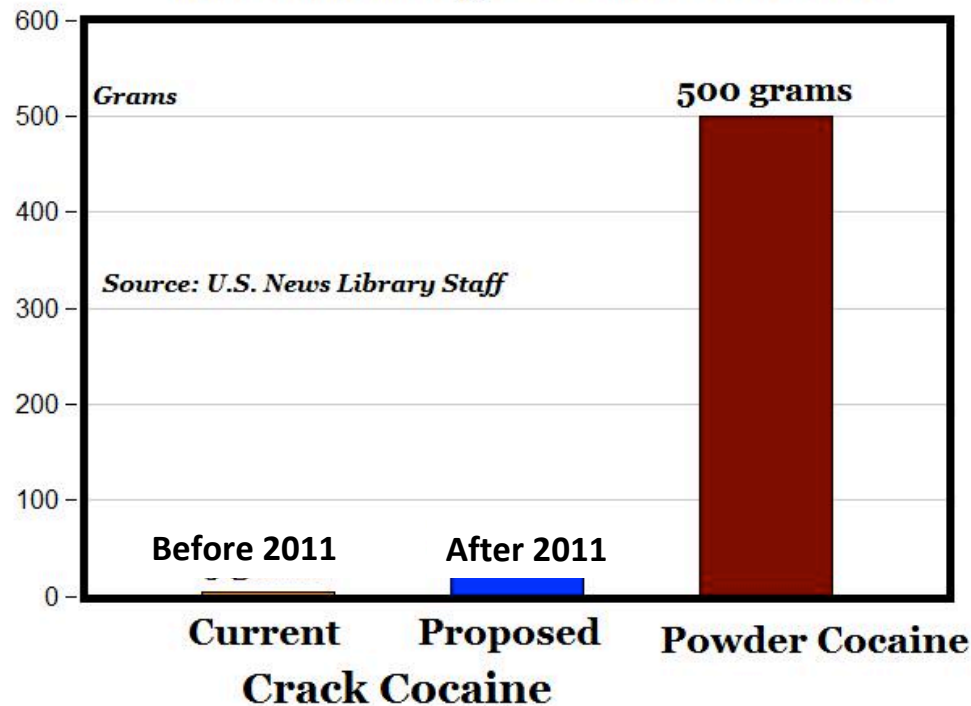
Sources: Data compiled by the Prison Policy Initiative from news sources, government reports, and advocacy groups. Data from the U.S., the Netherlands, England and Wales, and Iceland are from 2019. Data from Australia, New Zealand, Germany, Japan, and Norway are from 2018, and data from Canada are from 2017. For details, see: www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2020/06/05/policekillings/

“The chart above compares the annual rates of police killings in each country, accounting for differences in population size”.

Jones, Alexi and Wendy Sawyer, “Not just “a few bad apples”: U.S. police kill civilians at much higher rates than other countries”, *Prison Policy Initiative*, June 5, 2020

Racially Disparate Sentencing for Black vs. White Use of Cocaine.

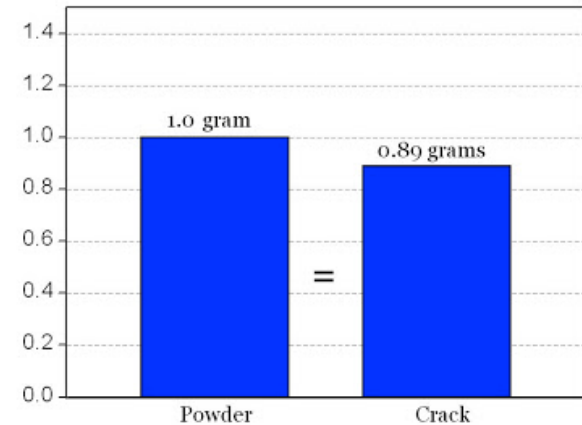
Amount of Cocaine for Mandatory Minimum 5-Year Sentence



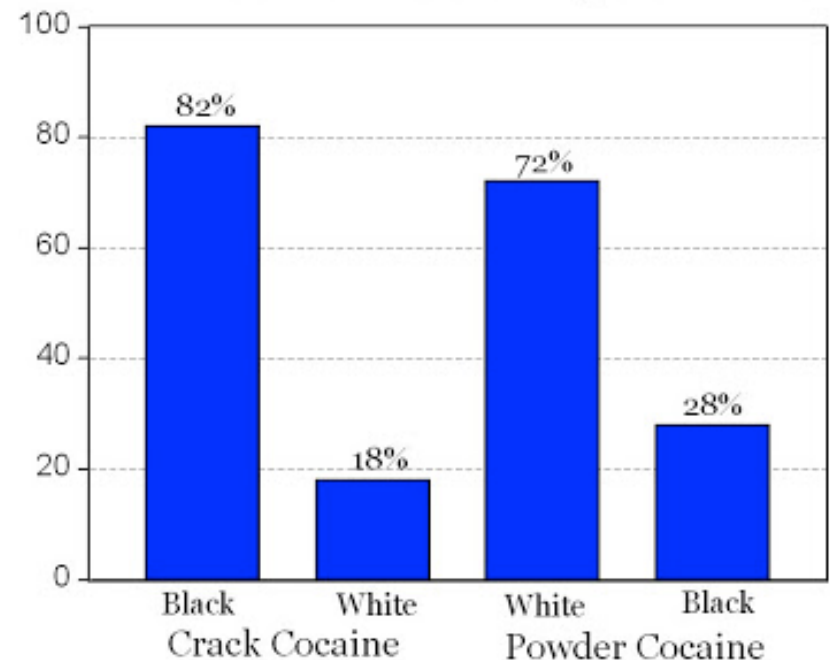
Note: The situation improved somewhat under the **Fair Sentencing Act of 2010** reduced the disparity between the amount of crack cocaine (*used mostly by blacks*) and powder cocaine (*used mostly by whites*) needed to federal criminal penalties from a 100:1 weight ratio to an 18:1 weight ratio and eliminated the five-year mandatory minimum sentence for simple possession of crack cocaine, among other provisions.

Source: Carpe Diem Blog. Dr. Mark J. Perry is a professor of economics and finance in the School of Management at the Flint campus of the University of Michigan.

Conversion Ratio Between Powder and Crack Cocaine



Cocaine Offenders: Black v. White, Crack v. Powder



IS JUSTICE COLOR BLIND?

A Duke University-led study on the impact of race on conviction rates raises questions about the criminal justice system.

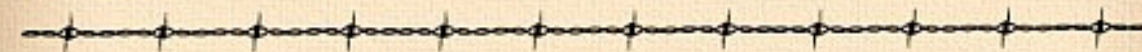
"Simply put, the luck of the draw on the racial composition of the jury pool has a lot to do with whether someone is convicted..." -- senior author Pat Bayer, chairman of Duke University's Economics Department

RESEARCHERS
EXAMINED MORE THAN
700 FELONY
TRIALS
IN SARASOTA AND LAKE COUNTIES
IN FLORIDA FROM 2000-2010.

Key findings:



In cases with no black people in the jury pool (typically consisting of around 27 people) blacks were convicted 81 percent of the time, and whites were convicted 66 percent of the time.



When the jury pool included at least one black person, the conviction rates were nearly identical.



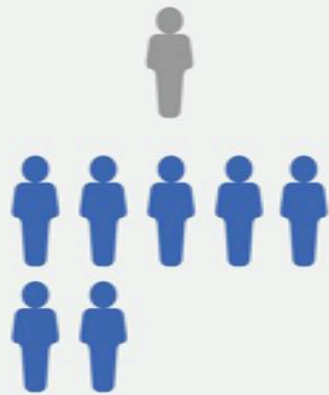
All-white juries do not appear to be “color-blind”: they are much more likely to to convict blacks than whites.

By contrast, racially mixed juries convict blacks & whites at approximately equal rates.

How race influences convictions

Innocent black people are more likely to be wrongfully convicted of crimes than innocent white people

MURDER



7 times
more likely to be
convicted

SEXUAL ASSAULT



3.5 times
more likely to be
convicted

DRUG CRIMES



12 times
more likely to be
convicted

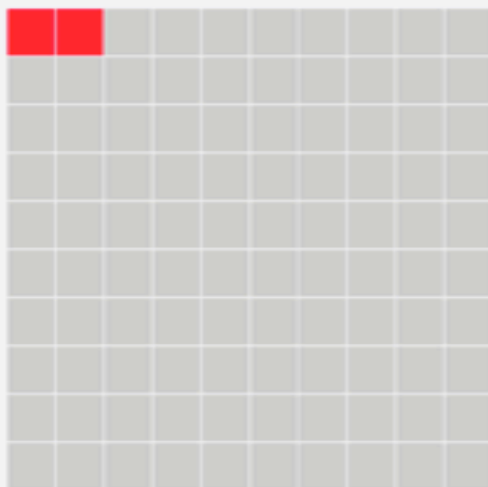
Source: National Registry of Exonerations

Vox

, 2020

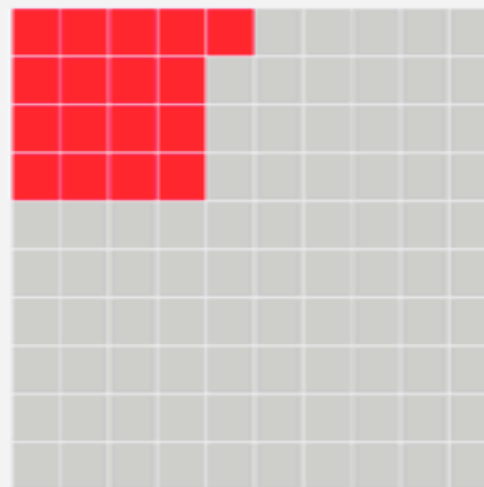
Killings of Blacks by Whites Are Far More Likely to Be Ruled 'Justifiable'

**When one
person kills
another person**



2% are found justified

**When a white
person kills a
black man**



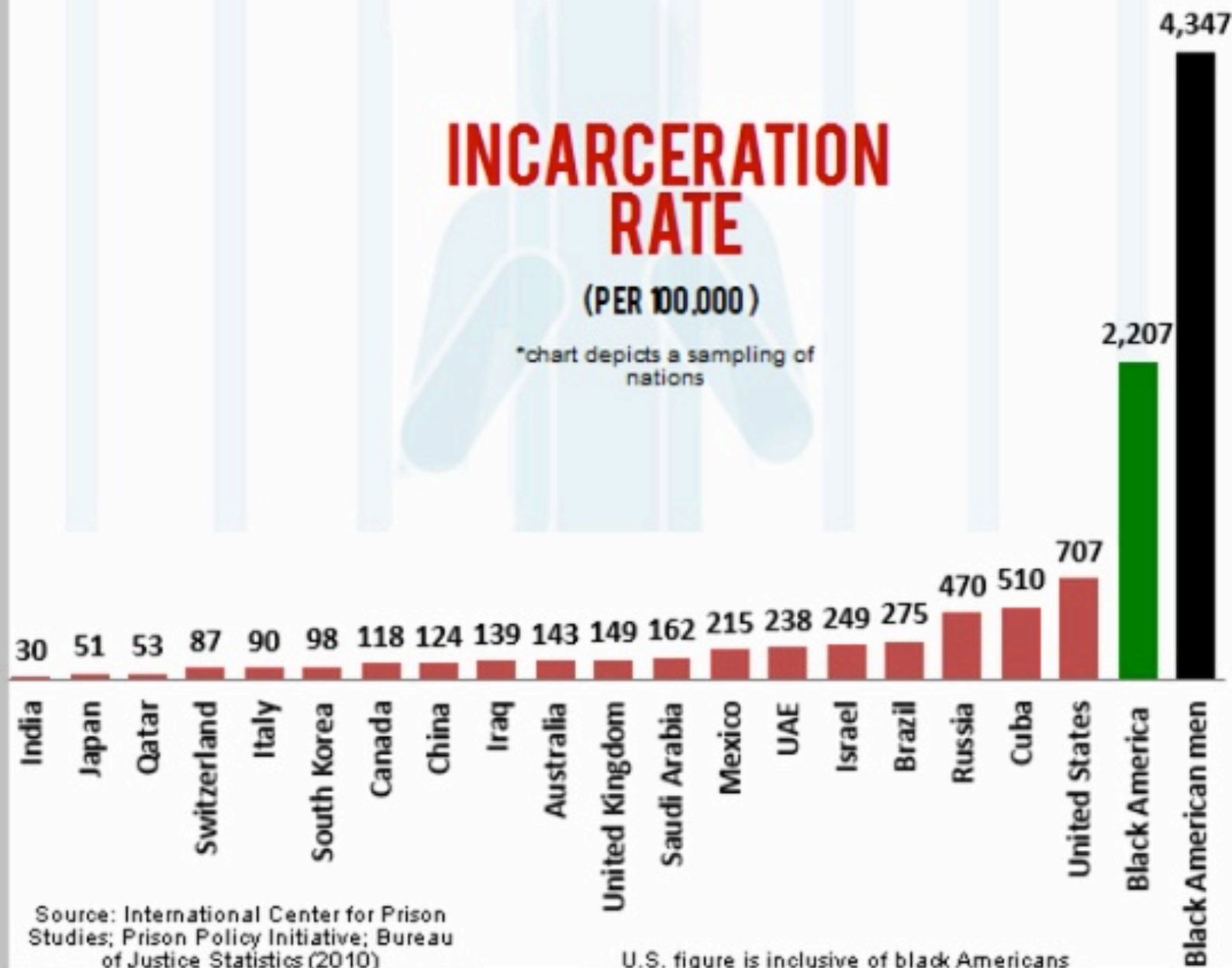
17% are found justified

Lathrop, Daniel and Anna Flagg, Killings of Blacks by Whites Are Far More Likely to Be Ruled 'Justifiable', *New York Times*, Snapshot, Policing in Black and White, Aug. 14, 2017
Uprooting Inequity, 2020

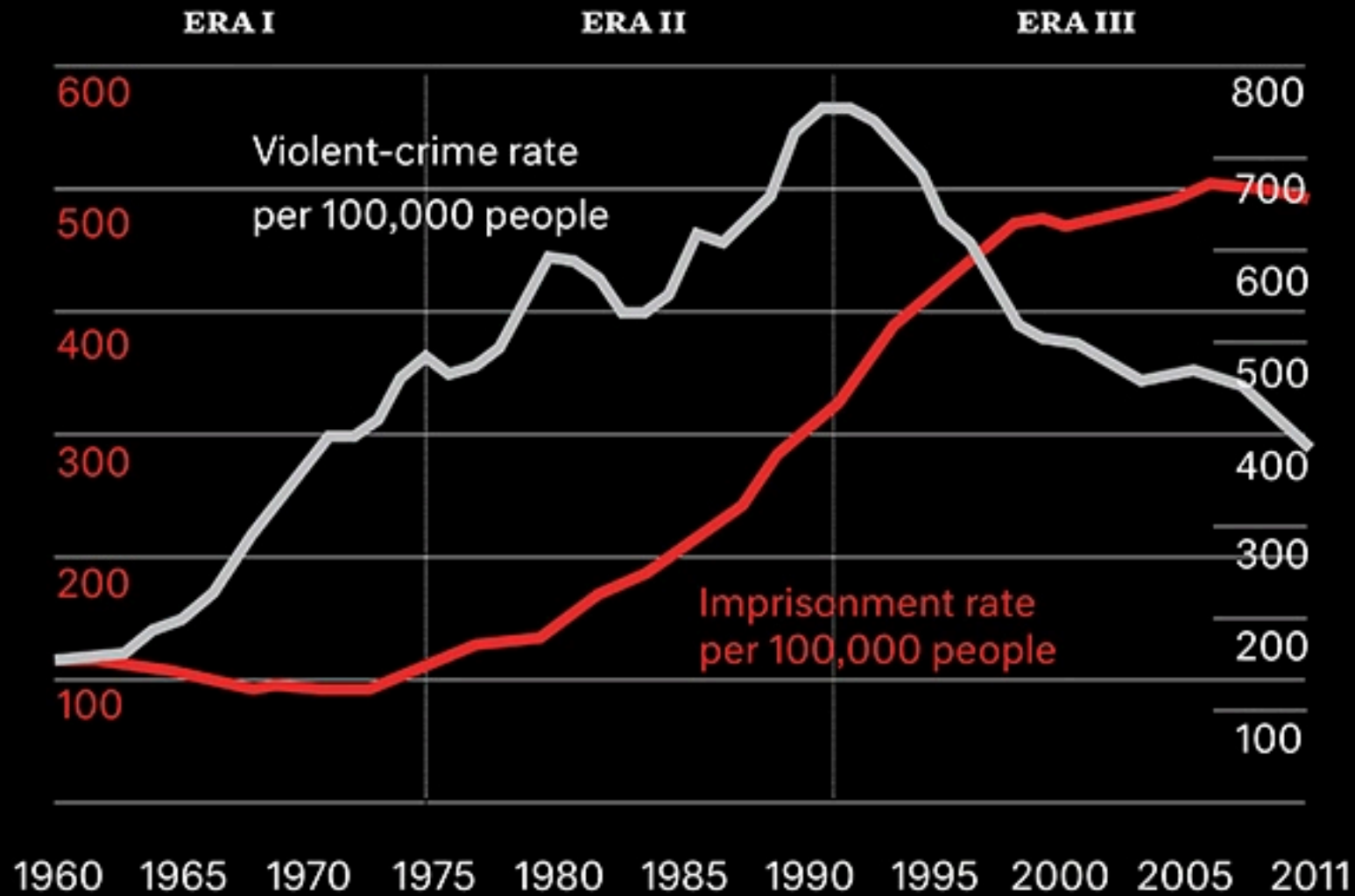
INCARCERATION RATE

(PER 100,000)

*chart depicts a sampling of
nations



THREE ERAS OF THE VIOLENT CRIME-PRISON NEXUS IN THE U.S. AFTER 1960

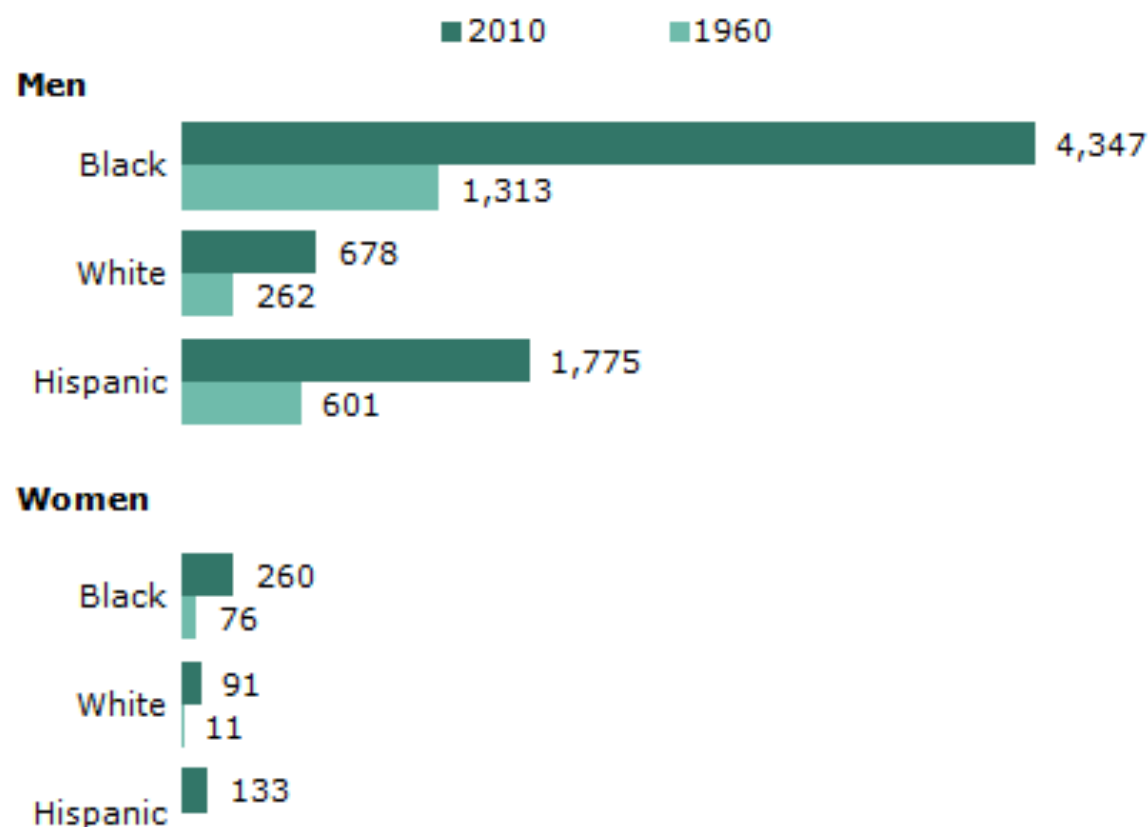


Robert Sampson. Data from: Bureau of Justice Statistics; Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics; Uniform Crime Reporting System. In Coates, Ta-Nehisi, "The Black Family in the Age of Mass Incarceration," The Atlantic, October 2015.

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Incarceration Rates, 1960 and 2010

Inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents



Note: Incarceration rates are for total prisoners in local, state and federal correctional facilities. Total prisoners includes persons under age 18. Hispanics are of any race. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. In 2010, whites and blacks include only those who reported a single race. Asians, Native Americans and mixed-race groups not shown. A figure for Hispanic women in 1960 is not shown due to small sample size.

Source: For 1960, Pew Research Center analysis of Decennial Census data (IPUMS); for 2010, Bureau of Justice Statistics data <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cpus10.pdf>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Incarceration rates
have increased
dramatically—but
mostly for Black and
Hispanic men.

There is nearly a 70 percent
chance that an African
American man without a
high school diploma will be
imprisoned by his mid-
thirties.

Since African Americans have disproportionately high imprisonment rates, they also have disproportionately high voting disenfranchisement rates.



Felony Disenfranchisement in the United States

- 35 states disenfranchise persons on parole.
- 31 states disenfranchise persons on probation
- 4 states permanently disenfranchise persons with a felony convictions.
- 8 others disenfranchise certain categories of ex-offenders and/or require application for restoration of rights for specified offenses after a waiting period.

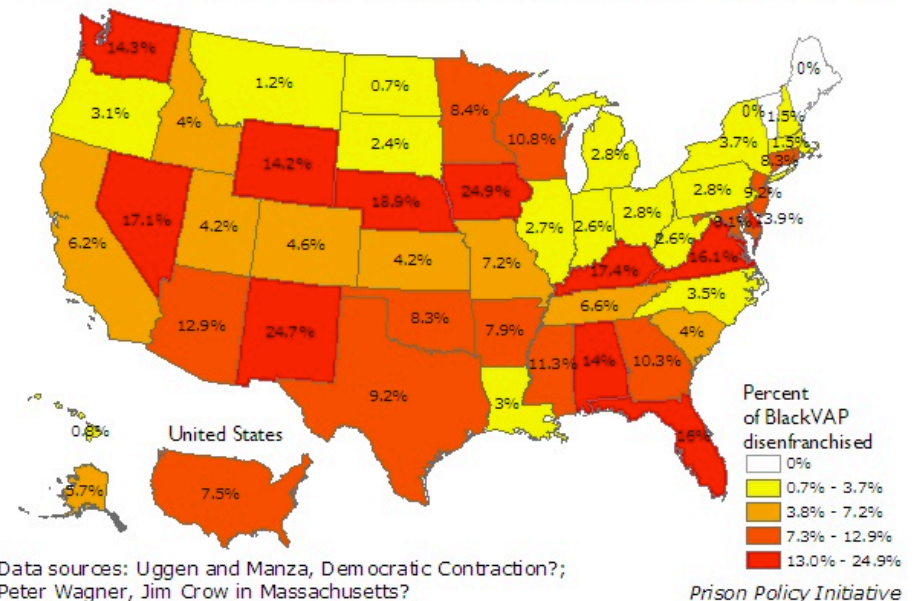
Source: The Sentencing Project Fact Sheet: Felony Disenfranchisement, updated April 2014

2.2 million African Americans, or 7.7% of black adults, are disenfranchised, compared to 1.8% of the non-African American population.

In three states – Florida (23%), Kentucky (22%), and Virginia (20%) – more than one in five African Americans is disenfranchised.

Given current rates of incarceration, 3 in 10 of the next generation of black men can expect to be disenfranchised at some point in their lifetime. In states that disenfranchise ex-offenders, as many as 40% of black men may permanently lose their right to vote.

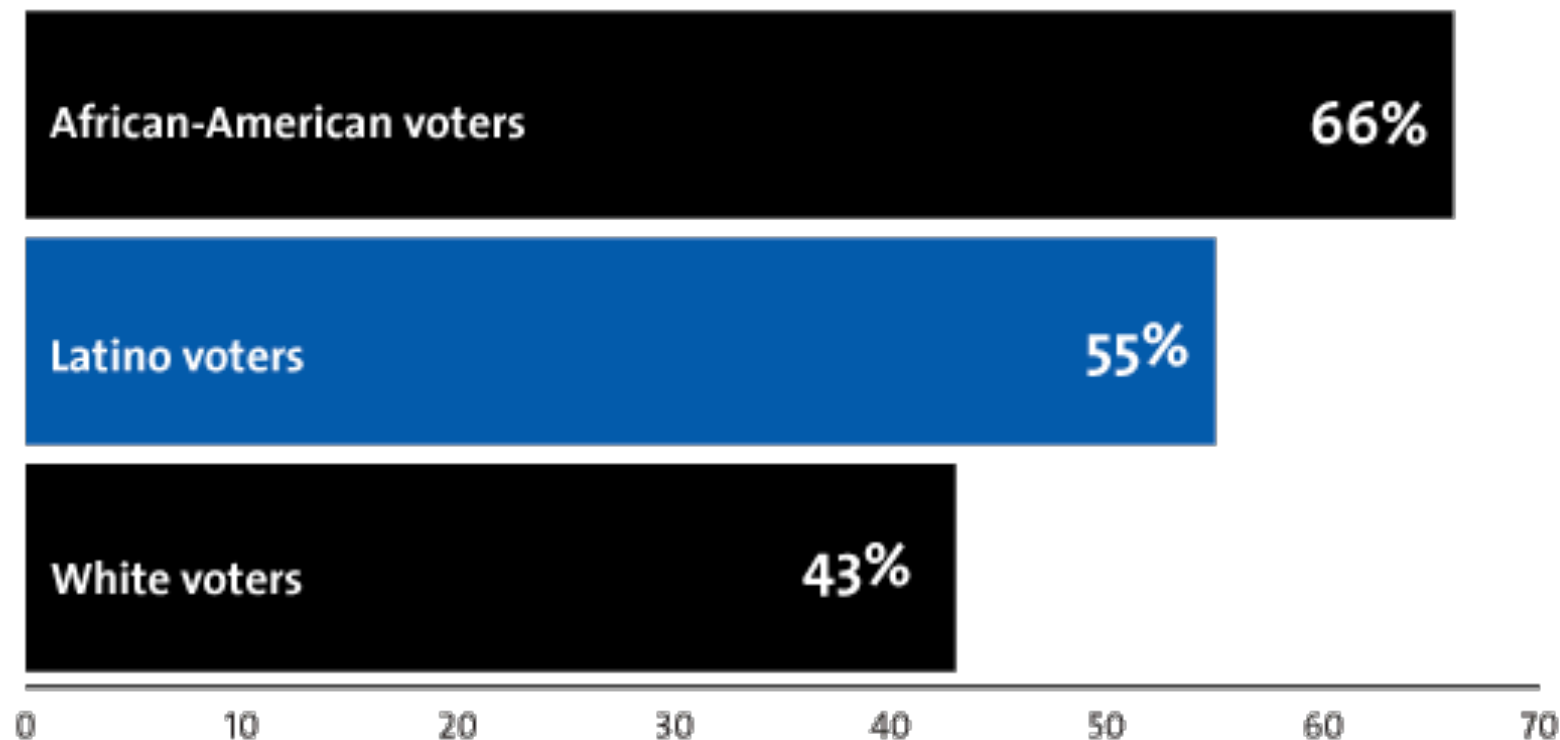
Disenfranchisement of Black voting age population, 2000



Racial Profiling while Voting

Show Me Your ID

Percentage of young voters who were asked for ID before voting, 2012



*In states with no voter ID laws

Source: Black Youth Project Quarterly Survey, voters aged 18-29

Mother Jones

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Part 8:

Supplementary

(Non-Data)

Resources

Great Analyses of the Floyd/BLM movement--p.1

- Galo, Sarah, “**How Can We Win: Author Kimberly Jones Explains Rioting & Looting During Racial Distress**” VIDEO. (Explicit language) June 1, 2020
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Great Analyses of the Floyd/BLM movement--p.2

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wf4cea5oObY>
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<https://www.holypost.com/post/how-racial-injustice-has-benefited-me?fbclid=IwAR1jvRC5LemV0iL14rAgux5-I5rJIYaWycP8XF1NtR3-vbKBu2jsrusl8lo>
- French, David, **“American Racism: We’ve Got So Very Far to Go.”** *The French Press*, June 7, 2020. (author is a conservative, evangelical Christian & “never Trumper” Republican)
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Understanding the Historical & Root Causes--P.1

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<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/07/02/the-civil-rights-act-was-a-victory-against-racism-but-racists-also-won/>
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- **VIDEO of a 21 y.o. black man getting surrounded by a group of police with guns drawn for running a red light,** May 16, 2020. (Explicit language) The striking thing about the video is the sheer terror you can hear in the voices of the crying young man and his relatives and neighbors.
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- Coates, Ta-Nehisi, "**The Case for Reparations**," *The Atlantic*, June 2014.
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<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/10/the-black-family-in-the-age-of-mass-incarceration/403246/>

Understanding the History & Root Causes--P.4

This excellent 18 min video covers the **HISTORY OF SYSTEMIC RACISM** in the United States; it is a quick primer on "How We Got Here." You can think of it as the "13th" documentary in 18 mins!

The video covers vagrancy statutes, convict leasing, Jim Crow, housing discrimination (redlining, FHA loans, GI bill, housing covenants), how implicit bias effects how white teachers view black students, household wealth & intergenerational inheritance, the Drug war, the militarization of the police, and mass incarceration of blacks.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGUwcs9qJXY&fbclid=IwAR0-srvOyl3FkWdXybPmlqUNki1F7V6EfT9duuUYEyp7gWSC71CB48A8cc>

Understanding the History & Root Causes--P.5

Videos on America's History of Discriminatory Housing Policies

- The Disturbing History of the Suburbs. *Adam Ruins Everything*, truTV, (6:20 mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e68CoE70Mk8>
- Segregated by Design. Based on Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law*, (17:42 mins)
www.segregatedbydesign.com
- The House We Live In, Episode 3 of “Race: The power of an Illusion”, California Newsreel, 2003. (56 mins).
<https://vimeo.com/133506632>
- Minneapolis: Jim Crow of the North – PBS, Feb 25, 2019 (57 mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XWQfDbbQv9E>
- Race and Redlining: Housing Segregation in Everything – NPR, April 11, 2018 (6:36 mins)
<https://youtu.be/O5FBJyqfoLM>

Understanding the History & Root Causes--P.6

VIDEO: Is America Dreaming?: Understanding Social Mobility

(3:40 mins)

by Richard Reeves (Brookings Institute), author of *Dream Hoarders: How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It*, 2017.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t2XFh_tD2RA

Harlem, Langston Hughes (1951)

What Happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore-
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over-
like a syrupy sweet?
Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.
Or does it explode?

On Rioting & Violent Protesting

"The thing worse than rebellion is the thing that causes rebellion."

--Frederick Douglass

"If you want peaceful protesting, then respond to, instead of condemning, our peaceful protests" – social media refrain

"It would be great if folks were as zealous about evoking my father to eradicate racism as they are about evoking him to criticize how people respond to racism"

-- Bernice King, daughter of Dr. M.L. King, May 29, 2020 tweet.

"Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

--Pres. John F. Kennedy, JFK's "Address on the First Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress (1952)

"The child who is not embraced by the village will burn it down to feel its warmth" - African proverb

The Other America, Dr. Martin Luther King (1967)

"It is not enough for me to stand before you tonight and condemn riots. It would be morally irresponsible for me to do that without, at the same time, condemning the contingent, intolerable conditions that exist in our society. These conditions are the things that cause individuals to feel that they have no other alternative than to engage in violent rebellions to get attention.

And I must say tonight that a riot is the language of the unheard. And what is it America has failed to hear? It has failed to hear that the plight of the negro poor has worsened over the last twelve or fifteen years. It has failed to hear that the promises of freedom and justice have not been met. And it has failed to hear that large segments of white society are more concerned about tranquility and the status quo than about justice and humanity."

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #1: After it was outlawed, Racism Took On New, ostensibly legal & colorblind forms (“Racism without Racists”).

“Racial disparities persisted after the 1964 Civil Rights law was passed because discriminatory policies persisted under a patina of colorblindness.”

*“The 1964 act ended up principally outlawing “intention to discriminate” in the present. **Intent — not outcome — became the preferred proof of discrimination. Evidence of intent to create the racial disparity — like the “white only” sign — became the principal marker of discrimination, not the racial disparity itself, nor the absence of people of color.** Americans quietly responded to the 1964 act by backing “race neutral” policies that were aimed at excluding black bodies. Racial disparity, meanwhile, was reinforced and reproduced in new forms.”*

“The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not the beginning of the end of American racism. It was the beginning of our poisonous belief that America was ending racism.”

*“**Racism did not end — it progressed. Racism progressed when legislators did not repair the advantage that whites enjoyed from accumulated gains of past discrimination. Racism progressed when Americans refused to identify discrimination by outcome. Racism progressed when presumed discrimination had been eliminated, assumed equal opportunity had taken over, and figured that since blacks were still losing the race, the racial disparities must be their own fault. Racism progressed when Americans chose the law and order of inequality over the civil right of equality.**”*

EXCERPTED FROM Kendi, Ibraham, “The Civil Rights Act was a victory against racism. But racists also won. The bill unleashed a poisonous idea: that America had defeated racism,” *The Washington Post*, July 2, 2017.

“I am often asked if I think the younger generation is less racist. No, I don't. In some ways, racism's adaptations over time are more sinister than concrete rules such as Jim Crow.”

— Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism*

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #2: The American Paradox

"It was not just a coincidence that some people in 19th century America had liberty while others did not; rather, some people's liberty depended upon the denial of liberty to others".... "The liberty that offered prosperity to southern white men required expansive oppression--the violent appropriation of millions of acres of "frontier" land from the Native American people who possessed them, and the violent enslavement of millions of African Americans whose labor would transform these lands into profitable plantations. ..liberty for some was made possible by oppression for others"

---Seth Rockman's "Liberty is Land and Slaves: The Great Contradiction" *OAH Magazine of History*, May 2005

"The 1964 act ended up principally outlawing "intention to discriminate" in the present. Intent — not outcome — became the preferred proof of discrimination. Evidence of intent to create the racial disparity — like the "white only" sign — became the principal marker of discrimination, not the racial disparity itself, nor the absence of people of color. Americans quietly responded to the 1964 act by backing "race neutral" policies that were aimed at excluding black bodies. Racial disparity, meanwhile, was reinforced and reproduced in new forms."

--Ibraham Kendi, The Civil Rights Act was a victory against racism. But racists also won.," *Wash Post*, July 2, 2017

"The specific dissonance of Trumpism—advocacy for discriminatory, even cruel, policies combined with vehement denials that such policies are racially motivated—provides the emotional core of its appeal. It is the most recent manifestation of a contradiction as old as the United States, a society founded by slaveholders on the principle that all men are created equal".

--Adam Serwer, "The Nationalist's Delusion" *The Atlantic*, Nov 20 2017

"The beauty of this new ("Colorblind") ideology is that it aids in the maintenance of white supremacy without fanfare, without naming those who it subjects and those who it rewards...thus whites enunciate positions that safeguard their racial interests without sounding "racist." -- Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, 2003

..a peculiarly white American cognitive dissonance—that most worry far more about being seen as racist than about the consequences of racism for their fellow citizens" --Adam Serwer, "The Nationalist's Delusion" *The Atlantic*, Nov 20 2017

Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #3: The “Sacred” View of U.S. History

Greene, Cynthia. “How history textbooks reflect America’s refusal to reckon with slavery Textbooks have been slow to incorporate black humanity in their slavery narratives. And they still have a long way to go”. Vox, Aug 26, 2019

<https://www.vox.com/identities/2019/8/26/20829771/slavery-textbooks-history>

Southern Poverty Law Center, “Teaching Hard History: American Slavery”, 2018

https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/tt_hard_history_american_slavery.pdf

“It is more likely that students developed their sacred view of history from out-of-school experiences. National remembrances such as the Fourth of July, Veterans Day, and Memorial Day may influence student when these holidays focus on leaders and individuals whose sacrifice and courage built and defended democracy. Also, television and motion pictures reinforce a positive view of America’s past by casting the Founding Fathers and others as courageous, self-sacrificing individuals with few human frailties. Finally, parents may promote a glorified version of history through family discussions and trips to historic sites. None of these sources are pernicious or necessarily misleading. The nation deserves to celebrate its freedom and accomplishments, but these factors may contribute to a skewed perspective about unpleasant topics such as slavery and how the nation avoided or failed to address the unseemly side of its past. These influences may account for the shock students experience when they get to college and confront a more realistic and harsher view of American history”.

Henry, Michael. “Sacred and Profane American History: Does It Exist in Textbooks?” *The History Teacher* Volume 44 Number 3 May 2011.

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #4: Confirmation Bias

Examples of Confirmation Bias



Not seeking out
objective facts



Interpreting information to
support your existing belief



Only remembering details
that uphold your belief



Ignoring information that
challenges your belief

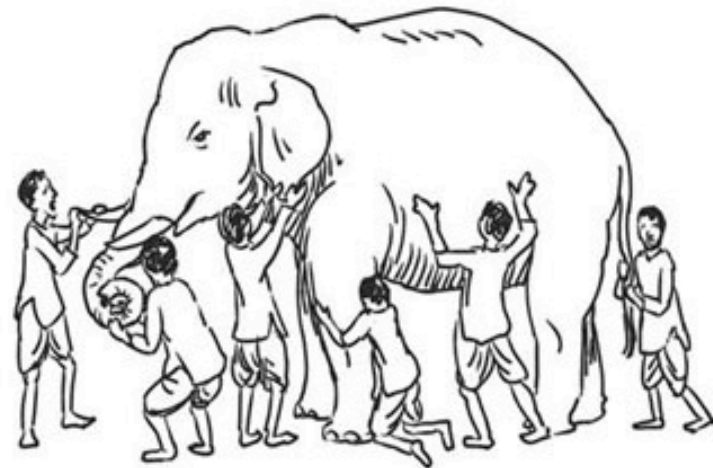
Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #5: The Generalization of Personal Experience

The Blind Man and The Elephant – An Ancient Indian parable

In ancient times a king ordered all his blind subjects to be assembled and divided into groups. The groups were taken to an elephant and each group was introduced to a different part of the animal.

Those who made contact with the head described the elephant as a water pot, those who felt the ears defined it as a fan, those who touched a leg said it was a tree, and those who felt a tusk thought it was a peg.

The groups then fell into arguing amongst themselves, each insisting their version was correct and all others were wrong. **It was only when they listened to each other and built on each other's perspectives that they were able to construct the whole picture and “see” the elephant.**



Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #6: “Colorblindness” Ideology

“Racism is a complex and interconnected system that adapts to challenges over time. **Colorblind ideology** was a very effective adaptation to the challenges of the Civil Rights Era. Colorblind ideology allows society to deny the reality of racism in the face of its persistence, while making it more difficult to challenge than when it was openly espoused.”

— Robin DiAngelo, What Does It Mean to Be White?: Developing White Racial Literacy

“Today we have a cultural norm that insists we hide our racism from people of color and deny it among ourselves, but not that we actually challenge it. In fact, we are socially penalized for challenging racism.”

— Robin DiAngelo, White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism

“I was co-leading a workshop with an African American man. A white participant said to him, “**I don't see race**; I don't see you as black.” My co-trainer's response was, “Then how will you see racism?” He then explained to her that he was black, he was confident that she could see this, and that his race meant that he had a very different experience in life than she did. If she were ever going to understand or challenge racism, she would need to acknowledge this difference. Pretending that she did not notice that he was black was not helpful to him in any way, as it denied his reality - indeed, it refused his reality - and kept hers insular and unchallenged. This pretense that she did not notice his race assumed that he was “just like her,” and in so doing, she projected her reality onto him. For example, I feel welcome at work so you must too; I have never felt that my race mattered, so you must feel that yours doesn't either. But of course, we do see the race of other people, and race holds deep social meaning for us.”

— Robin DiAngelo, White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism

Despite all those narratives—“**I was taught to treat everyone the same**”; “**I see everyone the same**”; “**I don't see color**”—our outcomes haven't improved, by virtually every measure, there is racial inequality in this country, and by many measures, its increasing, not decreasing. -- Robin DiAngelo

“The beauty of this new (“**Colorblind**”) ideology is that it aids in the maintenance of white supremacy without fanfare, without naming those who it subjects and those who it rewards...thus whites enunciate positions that safeguard their racial interests without sounding “racist.” -- Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States, 2003

“.a peculiarly white American cognitive dissonance—that most worry far more about being seen as racist than about the consequences of racism for their fellow citizens” --Adam Serwer, “The Nationalist’s Delusion” The Atlantic, Nov 20 2017
Uprooting Inequity, 2020

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #7: “Dream Hoarding”

VIDEO: “Dream Hoarders: How the Top 20% Uses their Power to Rig Systems/Markets in Order to Hoard Advantages & Reinforces Inequality”

Interview by PBS NewsHour (7:09 mins) with economist Richard Reeves of the Brookings Institute, author of ***Dream Hoarders: How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It***, May 2017

Richard V. Reeves argues that in our determination to see our children succeed, we resort to unfair tactics and end up depriving other people’s children of the chance to attain the American dream. He distinguishes between fair methods and unfair methods of promoting your children’s success. Moving into a neighborhood with good schools is fair; using exclusionary zoning to keep poorer families out of the area is not. Helping your son study for the SAT and apply to college is fair; legacy preferences in college admissions are not. Covering your daughter’s living expenses during her unpaid summer internship is fair; securing that internship for her by calling up your friend is not.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QPnxOOeY1Kg>

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #8: Parenting Taken to Extreme & Unethical Lengths

Katherine Hagerman’s “Conundrum of Privilege”

As progressive parents, is their primary responsibility to advance societal values — fairness, equal opportunity and social justice — OR to give their children all the advantages in life that their resources can provide? ...More often than not, values lost out.

People who identified as more politically liberal were much more willing to acknowledge the existence of racism, and to talk to their children about it. Many of these parents identified as specifically anti-racist, and were determined to teach their kids to work against bigotry and inequality. Parents encouraged their kids to do charitable work, for example, both in their own communities and on (expensive) overseas trips.

Yet, as Hagerman told me, “all of these families in their own ways were participating in the reproduction of racial inequality.” Children were sent to private school, or when they went to public school benefited from private tutors or enrichment classes. Even community service can reproduce racist ideas. It's hard to see people as equals when you always have power over them, or when your primary experience with them involves giving them charity.

The spectacle of well-intentioned people working, half unconsciously, to solidify and perpetuate their own power is not an encouraging one. “I feel like my findings are pretty dismal,” Hagerman admits. “When you have people who have a lot of wealth alongside this racial privilege, they're ultimately making decision that benefit their own kids, and I don't know how you really interrupt that.”

- **ARTICLE:** Hagerman, Margaret, “Op-Ed: White progressive parents and the conundrum of privilege”, Los Angeles Times, Sep 30, 2019. <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-hagerman-white-parents-20180930-story.html>
- **ARTICLE:** Berlatsky, Noah, CBS News, “White kids, racism and the way privileged parenting props up an unjust system” Think Jan 2019 <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/white-kids-racism-way-privileged-parenting-props-unjust-system-ncna953951>
- **BOOK:** Hagerman, Katherine, ***White Kids: Growing Up With Privilege In a Racially Divided America*** Se 2018.

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #9: The Generalization of Personal Experience

“Ultimate Attribution Error”

	Own Group (“In-group”)	Other Groups (“Out-groups”)
Successes/ Strengths	<u>Internal</u> Attribution <i>(we attribute them to intelligence & hard work)</i>	<u>External</u> Attribution <i>(we attribute them to luck & unfair advantages)</i>
Failures/ Weaknesses	<u>Internal</u> Attribution <i>(we attribute them to bad luck, unfairness or external factors)</i>	<u>Internal</u> Attribution <i>(we attribute them to negative personal traits)</i>

Visual created by Ayo Heinegg Magwood

ity, 2020

Why White America “Cannot See”, Denies, and Perpetuates Racism & Inequality #10: Implicit Bias

Inside the AC360 doll study: CNN's Anderson Cooper highlights a project that reveals how children view racial beliefs, attitudes and preferences.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DYCz1ppTjiM&t=4s>

Study shows how children view race bias

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EQACkg5i4AY>

A Look at Race Relations Through a Child's Eyes

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GPVNIJgDwpw&t=43s>

Subconscious racial bias in children

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFbvBJULVnc>

'I'm upset of how my child views race'

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sm_CfET1Ff

Researcher aims to tackle "implicit bias"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1LCFjwO98Y>

What Would You Do? TV Program: Racial Stereotypes & Possible Bike Thief, 2019

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6rMcYzpsAA>

Why we have racial bias

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YOppO0RTHTI&feature=youtu.be>

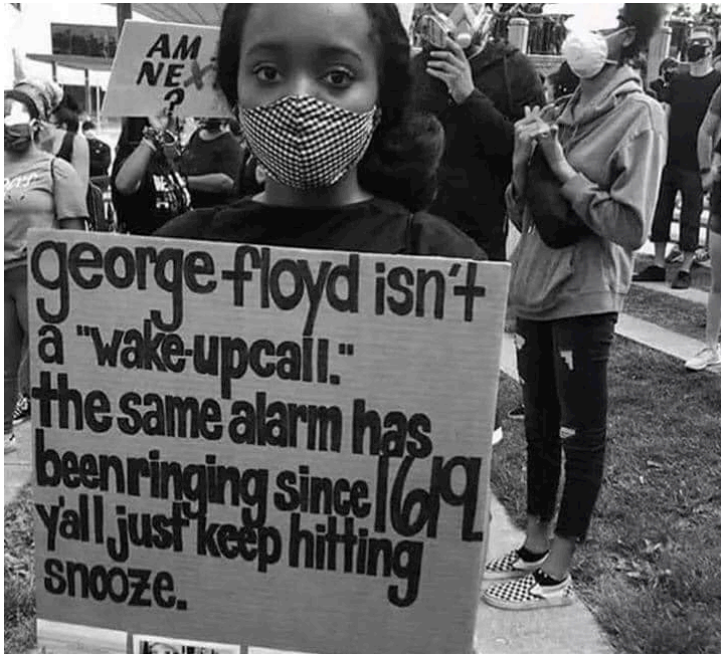
How to Reduce Your (*naturally occurring*) Racism & Implicit Bias

- Smith, Jeremy Adam and Rodolfo Mendoza Denton, “**How to Stop the Racist in You,**” *Greater Good Magazine*, July 27, 2016.
https://greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/how_to_stop_the_racist_in_you
- Matthews, David, “**It’s Possible to Train Your Brain to be Less Racist,**” *Splinter*, June 12, 2016.
<https://splinternews.com/it-s-possible-to-train-your-brain-to-be-less-racist-he-1793857438>
- Dixon, Alex, “**Can Empathy Reduce Racism? A new study suggests we can keep our prejudices in check by trying to see the world through someone else's eyes.**” *Greater Good Magazine*, July 21, 2011
https://greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/empathy_reduces_racism
- Jilani, Zaid, “**What Happens When You Tell Your Story and I Tell Mine?**” *Greater Good Magazine*, January 9, 2020. *Sometimes, empathy isn't enough. New research reveals how **taking and giving perspectives** can help us to bridge our differences.*
https://greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/What_Happens_When_You_Tell_Your_Story_and_Tell_Mine

Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Case for Reparations", *The Atlantic*, Jun 2014

- 250 years of slavery. 90 years of Jim Crow. 60 years of separate but equal. 35 years of racist housing policy. Until we reckon with our compounding moral debts, America will never be whole.
- Something more than moral pressure calls America to reparations. We cannot escape our history. All of our solutions to the great problems of health care, education, housing, and economic inequality are troubled by what must go unspoken.
- I believe that wrestling publicly with these questions matters as much as—if not more than—the specific answers that might be produced. An America that asks what it owes its most vulnerable citizens is improved and humane.
- An America that looks away is ignoring not just the sins of the past but the sins of the present and the certain sins of the future. More important than any single check cut to any African American, the payment of reparations would represent America's maturation out of the childhood myth of its innocence into a wisdom worthy of its founders.
- Reparations—by which I mean the full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences—is the price we must pay to see ourselves squarely.
- What is needed is an airing of family secrets, a settling with old ghosts. What is needed is a healing of the American psyche and the banishment of white guilt.
- What I'm talking about is more than recompense for past injustices—more than a handout, a payoff, hush money, or a reluctant bribe. What I'm talking about is a national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal.

I Leave You With a Call to Action:



“Actually, we’re just getting started.”

newyorkercartoons