

**Meeting Materials - Part 3: Witness Presentations, Statements, and
Outline Review Schedule
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**AGENDA ITEMS 4, 6, 13, & 15:
WITNESS PRESENTATION MATERIALS**



 Othring & Belonging
Institute at UC Berkeley

Housing Segregation and Racial Inequality

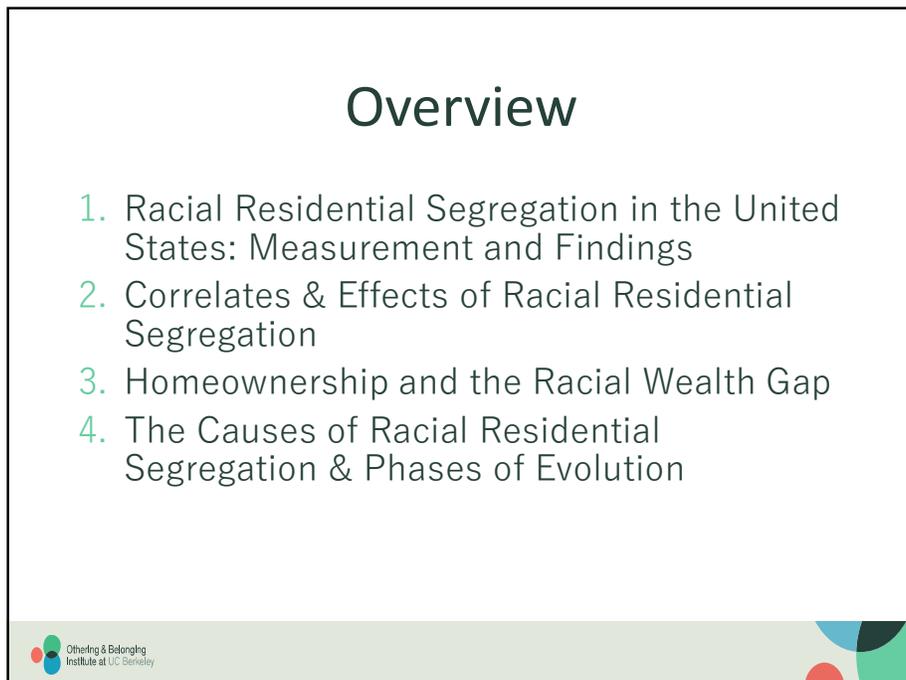
The California Task Force on Reparations

DATE
October 12, 2021

PRESENTER
Stephen Menendian,
Director of Research,
Othring & Belonging Institute

AUTHORIAL SUPPORT
N/A

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Overview

1. Racial Residential Segregation in the United States: Measurement and Findings
2. Correlates & Effects of Racial Residential Segregation
3. Homeownership and the Racial Wealth Gap
4. The Causes of Racial Residential Segregation & Phases of Evolution

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I. Racial Residential Segregation in the United States: Measurement and Findings

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Key Terms

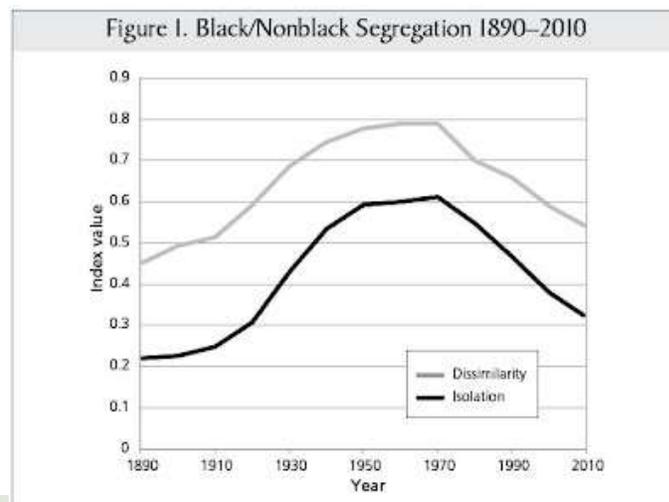
- **Segregation** – the separation of people in any particular domain (housing, education, public accommodations, employment, occupation, etc.).
- **Racial Segregation** – the separation of people on the basis of race.
- **Racial Residential Segregation** – the spatial separation of people in terms of residence (housing) on the basis of race.
- There have been ongoing and unresolved debates about precisely how to measure these phenomenon.

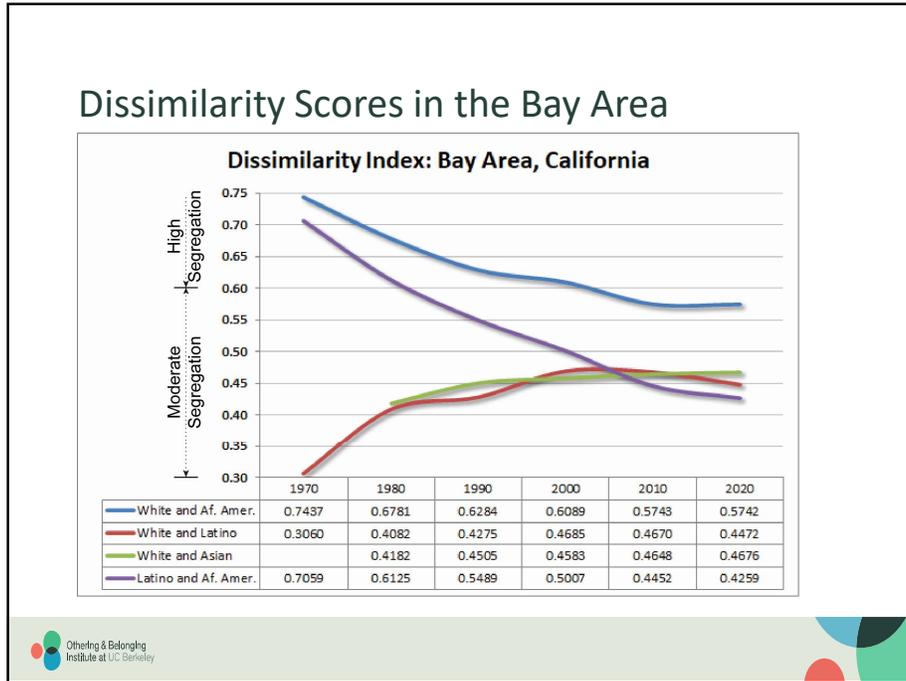
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Measuring Segregation: 1) The Dissimilarity Index

- Indicates the percentage of a subgroup that would have to move to achieve integration, from 0-100.
 - A score of 100 indicates that every neighborhood has residents of only one particular group (“complete segregation”).
 - A score of zero indicates proportional representation of each group throughout the metropolitan region (“complete integration”).
- As of 2020 census:
 - The national **Black-white dissimilarity score is 55**, a high level of segregation. That means that more than half of African Americans (or whites) would have to move to a different-race neighborhood to achieve a fully integrated society.
 - The **Hispanic-white** dissimilarity score is 45.
 - The **Asian-white** dissimilarity score is 40.

The Index of Dissimilarity





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Different Worlds:

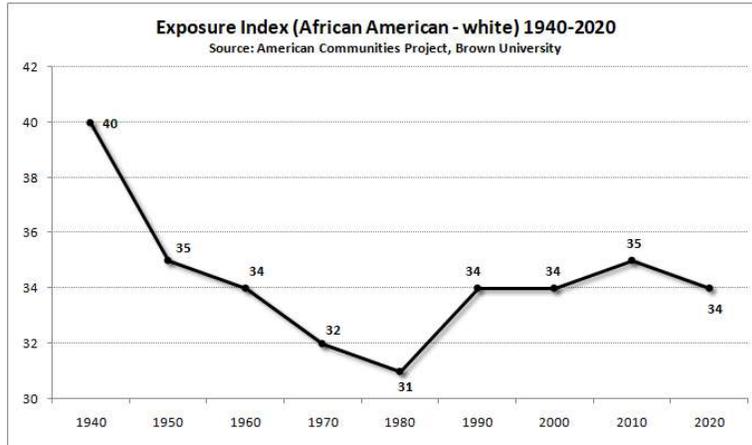
2) The Isolation/Exposure Indices

- The **Exposure Index and Isolation Index** measure the average neighborhood of a member of a racial group.
- As 2020, the average white resident of a metropolitan area resides in a neighborhood that is 69% white, 9% Black, 12% Hispanic, and 6% Asian.
- In contrast, a typical African-American resident lives in a neighborhood that is 41% Black, 34% white, 17% Hispanic, and 6% Asian.

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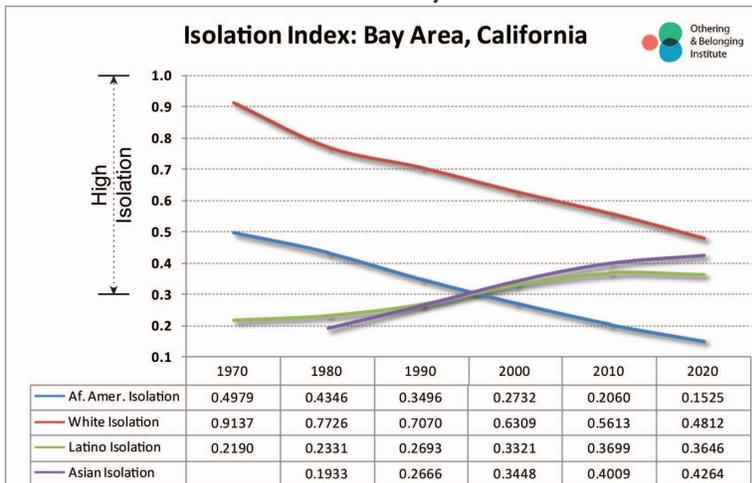
Measuring Segregation: The Exposure Index



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Isolation Index in the Bay Area



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Measuring Segregation: 3) The Divergence Index

- Created by Elizabeth Roberto in 2015, this is a new way of calculating segregation.
 - Unlike many other measures of segregation, the Divergence Index can measure a region's segregation for multiple racial groups simultaneously
- It measures the difference between the overall proportion of a group in a region and the proportion of each group in a local area within that region, like a census tract to a county or a CBSA.
 - The higher the score, the more the tract "divergences" from the larger region, suggesting the more segregated it is.
- We find, using this measure that 54% of metro regions with more than 200,000 residents are more segregated as of 2020 than in 1990, and 23% more segregated in 2020 than 2010.



Source:

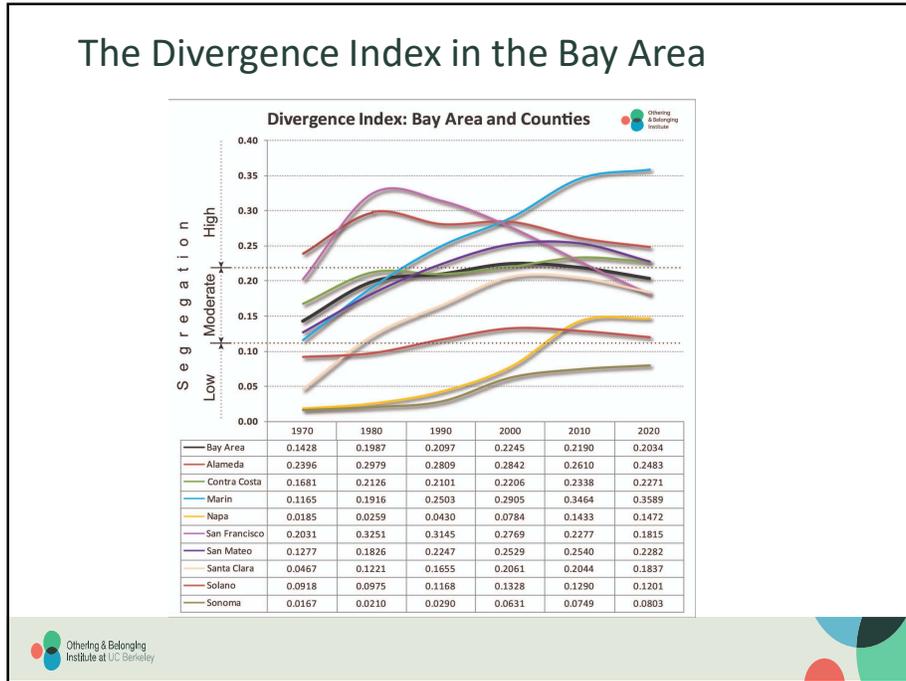
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Divergence in the Bay Area

- Key finding: the Bay Area is significantly **more** segregated in 2020 than it was in 1970 (0.2034 compared to 0.1428).
 - 7 of 9 Bay Area Counties have higher Divergence Index scores in 2020 than in 1980 or 1990, and most are much higher.
 - Only two counties have lower Divergence Index scores (Alameda and SF), and only modestly so.
 - Marin, the most segregated county in the Bay Area, has had a threefold increase in the level of segregation, even if the initial level was fairly low. The level of segregation in Sonoma has more than quintupled.



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II. Correlates & Effects of Racial Residential Segregation

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Research Summary / Overview

- There is a mountain of academic and scholarly research trying to measure either direct effects or correlates of racial residential segregation in the arenas of health, economics, education, environment, and more.
- Racial residential segregation has been linked to infant and maternal mortality, asthma, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, hypertension, obesity, lead exposure, and many other health conditions and illness, including Covid-19 infections.
- Segregated communities of color often have less access to grocery stores, child care facilities, parks and recreational spaces, clinics and primary care providers, and other important neighborhood resources, and are more likely to have hazardous waste facilities in close proximity.
- Robert Sampson and his colleague were so disturbed by their 2016 findings in Chicago that they claim that lead toxicity may be a “major environmental pathway through which racial segregation has contributed to the legacy of Black disadvantage in the United States.”



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Segregation is not an abstract problem.



- We launched, entitled the Roots of Structural Racism, earlier this year, which examined correlates to types of segregation.
- Neighborhood poverty rates are highest in segregated communities of color (21 percent), which is three times higher than in segregated white neighborhoods (7 percent).
- Black children raised in integrated neighborhoods earn nearly \$1,000 more as adults per year, and \$4,000 more when raised in white neighborhoods, than those raised in highly segregated communities of color.
- 83 percent of neighborhoods that were given poor ratings (or "redlined") in the 1930s by a federal mortgage policy were as of 2010 highly segregated communities of color.



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Table 4: 2019 Segregation and Select Neighborhood Outcomes^{6,566}

Indicator	Integrated Neighborhoods	Highly Segregated Communities of Color	Highly Segregated White Neighborhoods
Median Household Income	\$63,830	\$54,278	\$100,956
Median Home Values	\$244,162	\$266,927	\$474,798
% Below Poverty	14%	21%	7%
% Owner-Occupied Homes	59%	46%	77%
% With Bachelor's Degree	30%	23%	46%
Life Expectancy	78	77	81
Median Rent	\$1,177	\$1,174	\$1,545
% Unemployed	6%	8%	4%
% of US Land Area	7%	9%	7%
% of US Population	12%	20%	11%



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Table 5: 1990 Neighborhood Segregation and Select Outcomes for Racial Groups

Indicator	Integrated Neighborhoods	Highly Segregated Communities of Color	Highly Segregated White Neighborhoods
Future Average Income	\$29,593	\$27,685	\$38,035
Future Black Income	\$22,996	\$22,061	\$25,867
Future Latino Income	\$34,354	\$33,510	\$38,122
Future White Income	\$34,968	\$34,940	\$41,066
% of Children Imprisoned as Adults	3%	3%	2%
% of Black Children Imprisoned as Adults	5%	6%	5%
% of Latino Children Imprisoned as Adults	2%	2%	2%
% of White Children Imprisoned as Adults	2%	3%	2%



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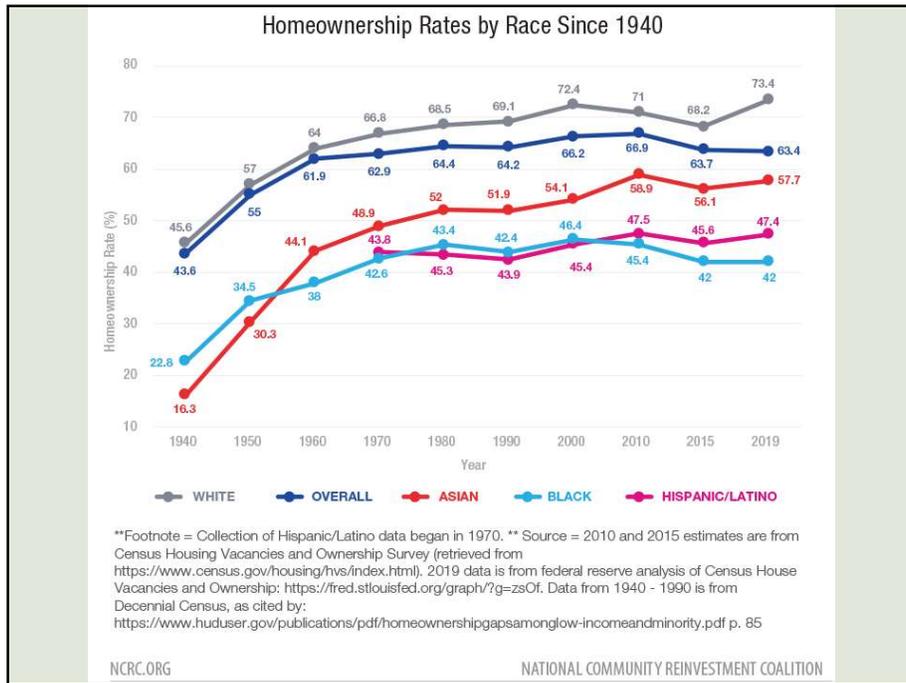
III. (An Aside on) Homeownership by Race and the Racial Wealth Gap

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Disparities in Homeownership

- Here are 2019 Homeownership Rates by Race:
 - White: 73 percent
 - Asian: 58 percent
 - Latino: 47.5 percent
 - Black: 42 percent
- The overall race disparity masks significant generational differences. Black Americans born before 1930 only lag white Americans in terms of rate of homeownership by 5 percent.
 - Specifically, 65.3 percent of Black households in that age group while 70.2 percent of white households own their own home.
 - In contrast, the absolute difference in homeownership between Black and white households aged 35-44 is 33.5 percent, with 66 percent of whites owning their homes compared to just 33 percent of Black households.

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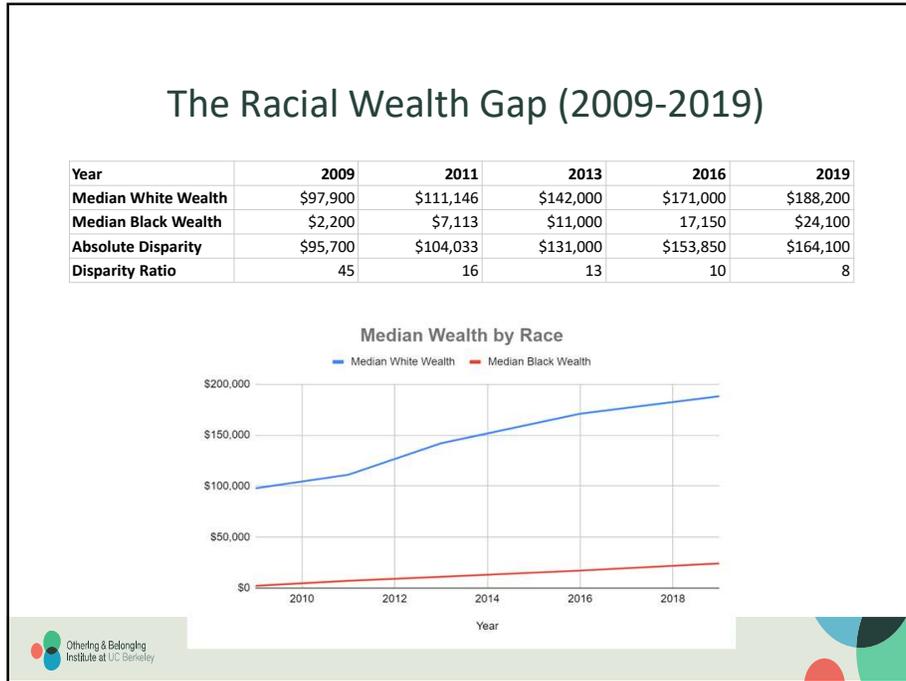
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Housing & the Racial Wealth Gap

- Although not true of White families, most “Black wealth” is held in housing stock, which was devastated by the 2007-8 housing crisis.
 - For whites, home equity is 43 percent of net worth, compared to 60 percent for Black Americans
- In 2016, the *average* Black household net worth was \$138,200 while White mean household net worth was \$933,700, a relative disparity of nearly 7 times.
- This disparity is skewed by a handful of extremely high wealth families, but when looking at the typical, or *median*, household, the disparity is even greater:
 - The net worth of the typical white family was pegged at \$171,000, nearly ten times greater than that of a typical Black family (\$17,150) in 2016.
- When housing is excluded, the disparity reaches its zenith, \$17,150 in typical white net worth compared to \$930 for Black families, a ratio of nearly eighteen and a half.

Source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341159895_A_subaltern_middle_class_The_case_of_the_missing_Black_bourgeoisie_in_America

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IV. The Causes of (and Phases in Evolution of) Racial Residential Segregation

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Theories

- Three common explanations:
 1. Discrimination in Housing Markets
 2. Divergent Compositional Preferences
 3. Economic Differences Between Racial Groups
- Additional Explanations:
 4. Differences in Background Knowledge of Neighborhoods (Maria Kryson and Kyle Crowder)
 5. White Avoidance of Black & Latino Neighborhoods (Quillian et al)
- There is evidence in support of each of these theories, although the debate is highly nuanced (e.g. debate over HDS surveys).
- The bottom line is that there is no academic consensus about the precise causes and maintenance of racial residential segregation or their relative importance.



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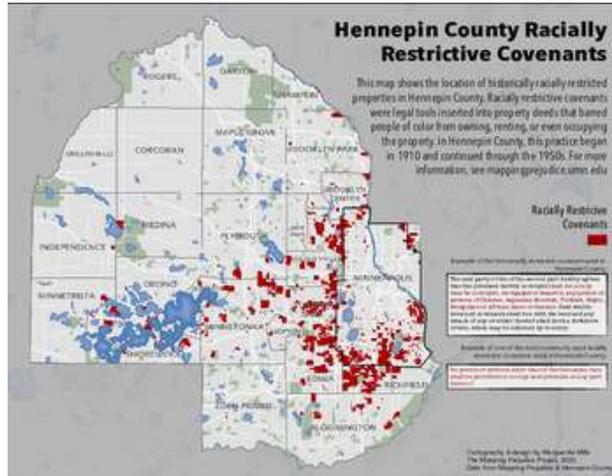
Historical Phases in Evolution of Racial Residential Segregation

- Very broadly speaking, there are three phases to the evolution of racial residential segregation in the United States:
 1. 1900-1930s (the local real estate industry era)
 - Primary mechanism: Restrictive covenants
 2. 1930-1970 (federal government extends and deepens)
 - Primary mechanism: HOLC/FHA Redlining & Segregative Public Housing
 3. 1970-present (race 'neutral' policies of municipal power)
 - Primary mechanism: Zoning/land use and municipal power



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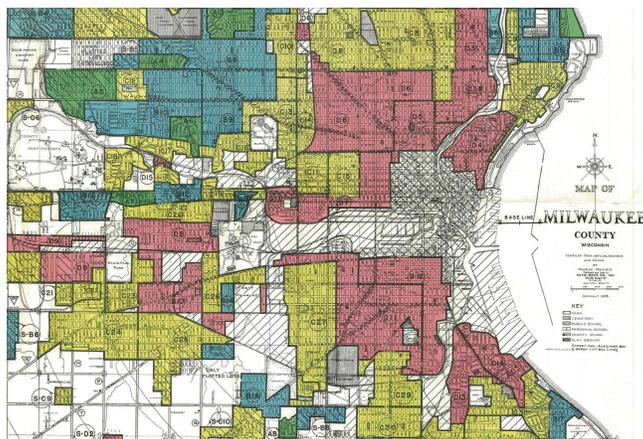
Restrictive Covenant Map for Minneapolis



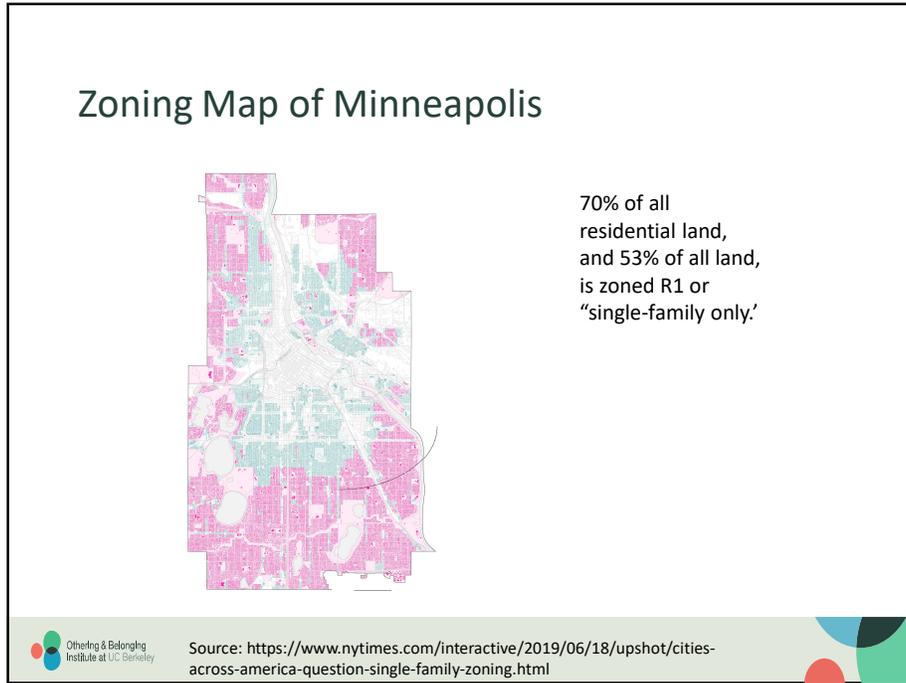
Source: <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/217471>

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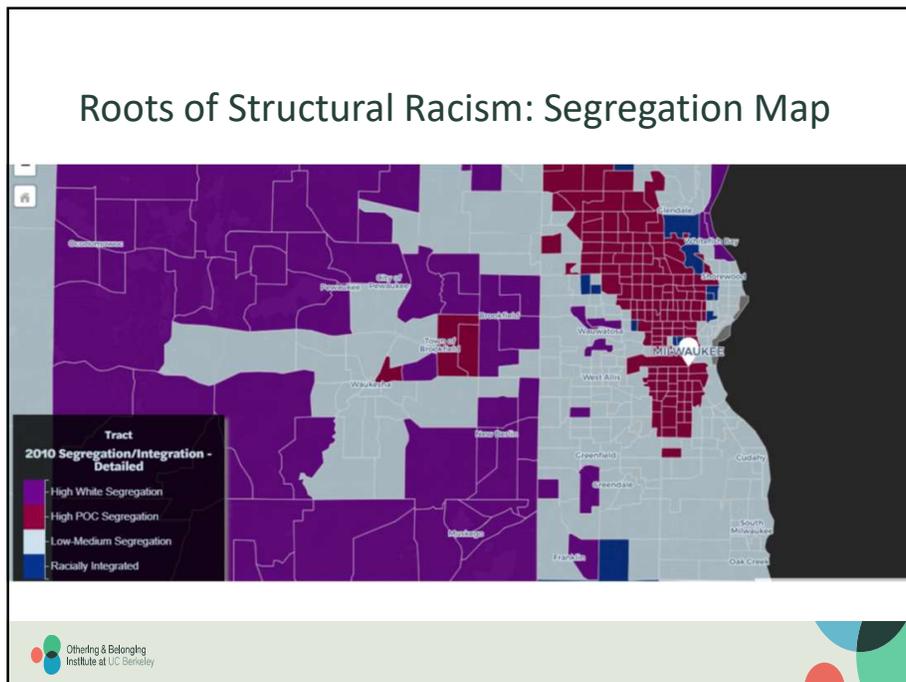
Milwaukee Redlining Map



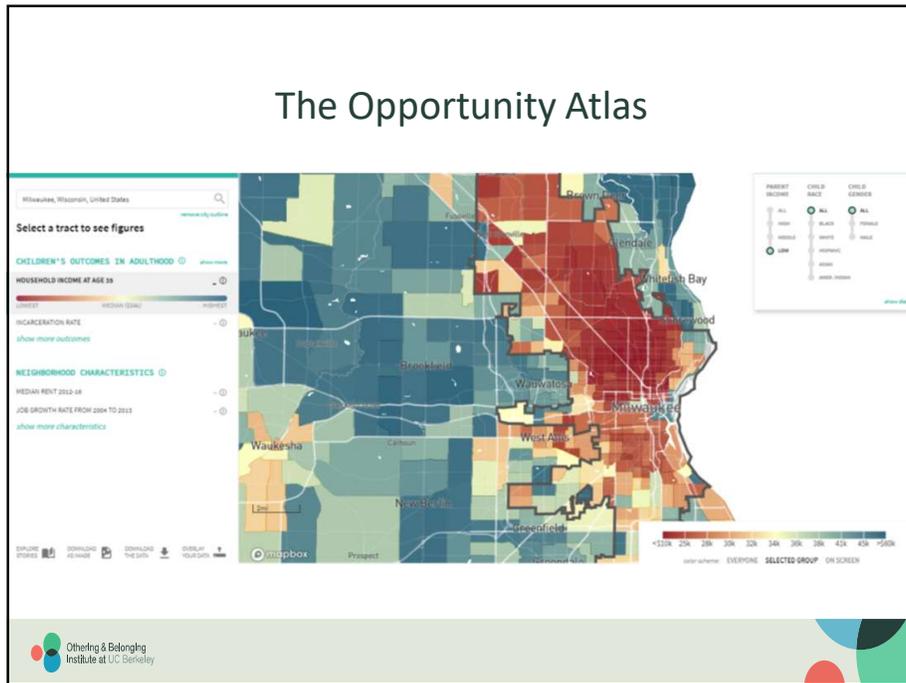
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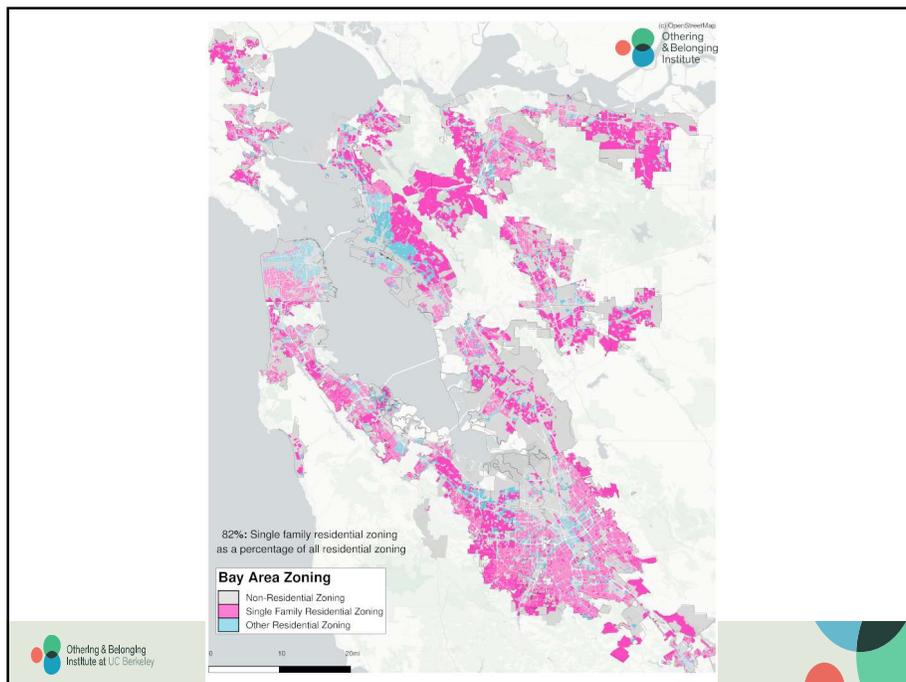
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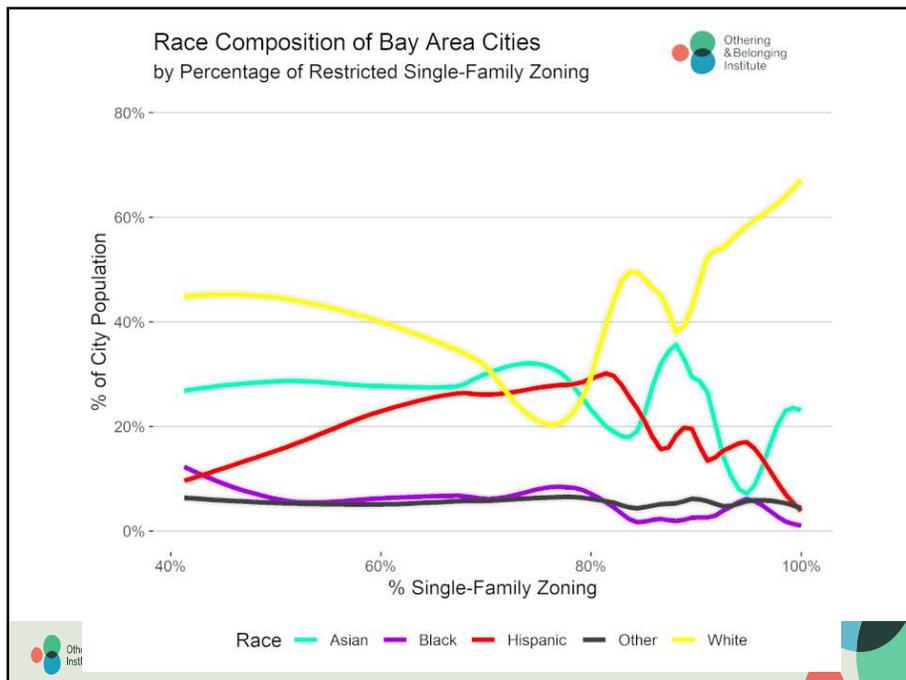
Restrictive Zoning in the SF Bay Area

Table 1: Cities by Single-Family Zoning Percentage

40-75%	75-90%	90-100%
Albany	Belmont	Antioch
Berkeley	Burlingame	Brentwood
Campbell	Concord	Clayton
Dublin	Daly City	Cupertino
Emeryville	East Palo Alto	Danville
Foster City	El Cerrito	Hillsborough
Hayward	Fremont	Lafayette
Hercules	Gilroy	Livermore
Larkspur	Half Moon Bay	Los Altos
Milpitas	Menlo Park	Los Gatos
Mountain View	Millbrae	Martinez
Oakland	Morgan Hill	Mill Valley
Pittsburg	Newark	Monte Sereno
Redwood City	Novato	Moraga
Richmond	Palo Alto	Oakley
San Mateo	Pleasant Hill	Orinda
San Francisco	San Bruno	Pacifica
San Pablo	San Carlos	Piedmont
Santa Clara	San Jose	Pinole
South San Francisco	San Leandro	Pleasanton
Sunnyvale	San Rafael	San Anselmo
	San Ramon	Saratoga
	Union City	
	Walnut Creek	



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Single-Family Zoning & Racial Residential Segregation

Table 2: City Composition by Single-Family Zoning Percentage

Within-City Segregation	0.15	0.13	0.04	0.13	NA
% White	34%	33%	53%	36%	40%
% Hispanic	22%	26%	16%	23%	24%
% Other	6%	5%	5%	5%	5%
Number	21	24	22	67	NA



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De Jure or De Facto?

- Richard Rothstein argues that American racial residential segregation is *de jure*, not *de facto*, as is commonly asserted, and therefore government has a constitutional responsibility to remedy it and the harms it caused.
- [For example, consider Levittowns:] “Of course, William Levitt was a bigot. Left to his own devices, he would have refused to sell a home to an African American. But he wasn’t left to his own devices. He built the project with FHA and VA guarantees for his bank loans. If the FHA and VA had obeyed their constitutional obligations, they would have said to Levitt, ‘Yes, we’ll guarantee your loans, provided you sell homes in a non-discriminatory fashion.’ That they didn’t do that makes the financing of Levittown unconstitutional,” i.e., ‘de jure’. That Levitt was a bigot was true, but irrelevant.” The Bill of Rights and the Civil War Amendments make the government’s role determinative.”



Justice Kennedy

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De Jure or De Facto?

- I have a slightly different position: Whereas Rothstein finds most segregation to be “de jure,” I find the distinction to be largely untenable.
- Government policy was influenced by private/market actors and vice versa to such an extent that they can never be fully disentangled.
- “[t]he distinction between government and private action [...] can be amorphous both as a historical matter and as a matter of present-day finding of fact. Laws arise from a culture and vice versa. Neither can assign to the other all responsibility for persisting injustices.”
- I concur.



Justice Kennedy




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To read more...



Alaska and Hawaii are included in Pacific region




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Testimony Before the Task Force on Reparation

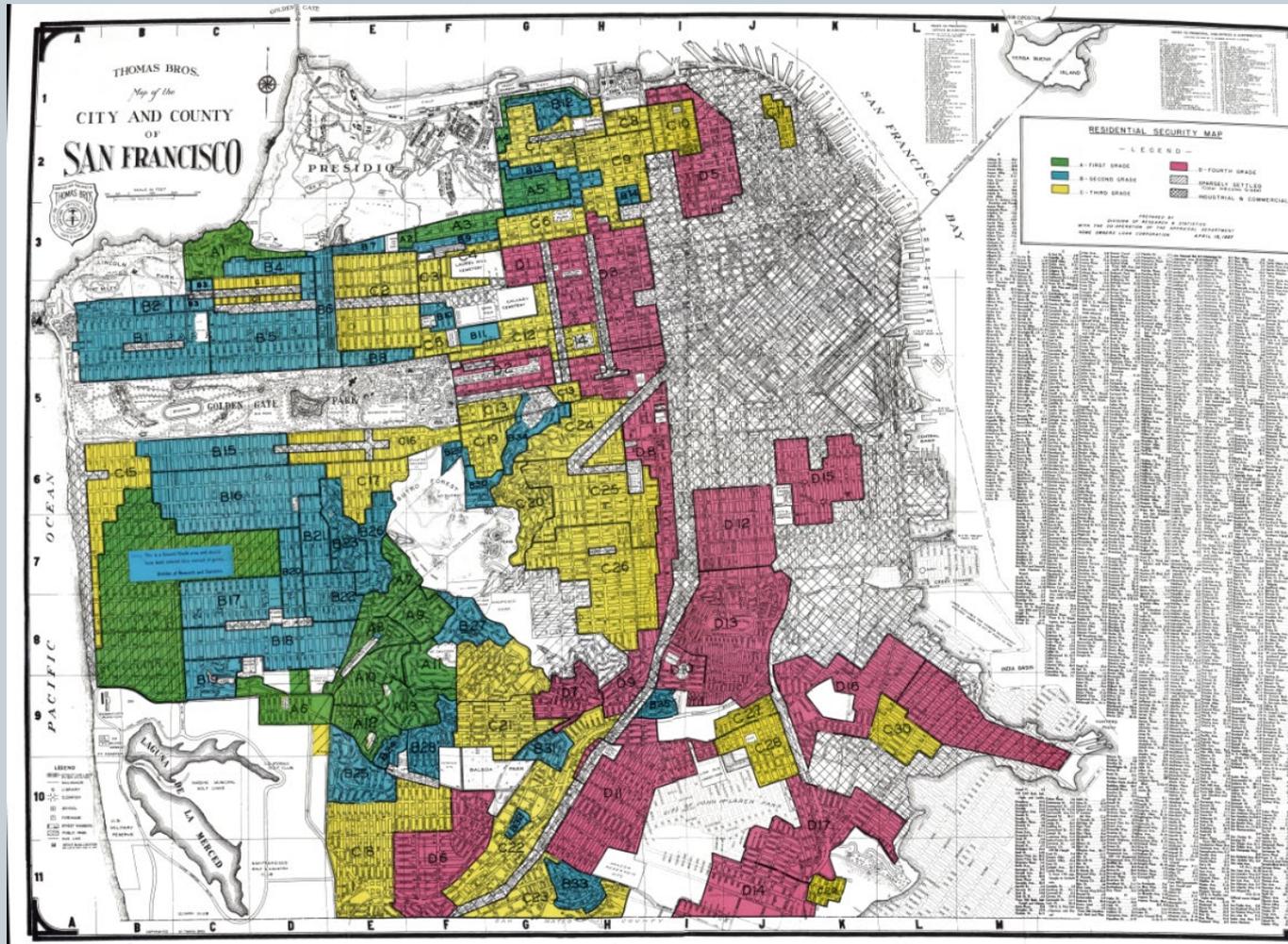
Helen H. Kang

Professor of Law

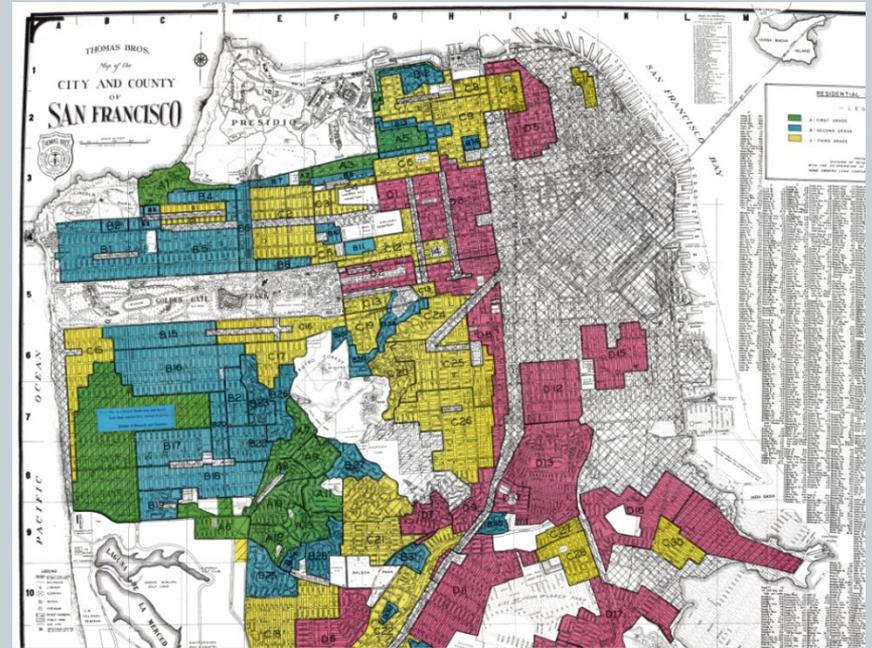
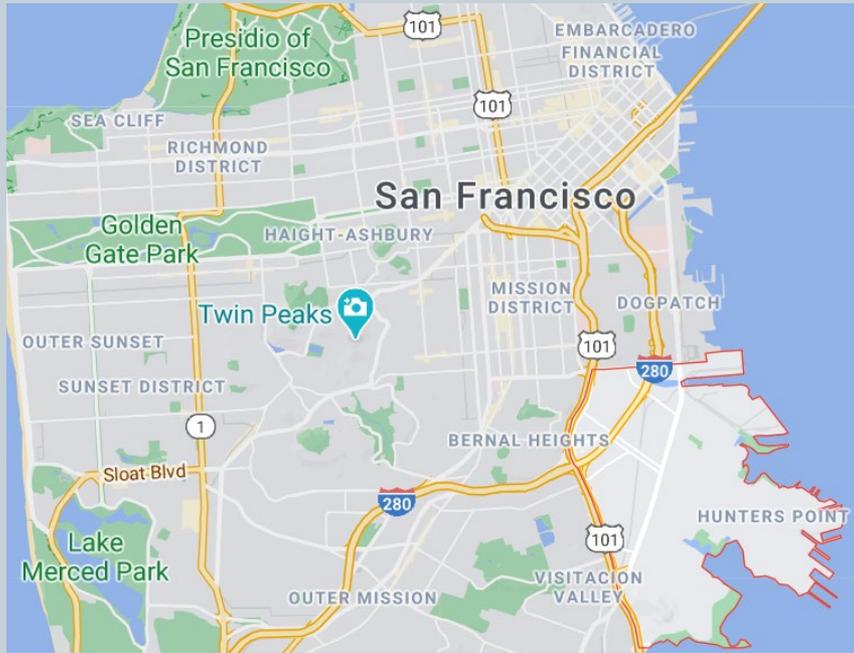
Director, Environmental Law and Justice Clinic



Government-Created Segregation

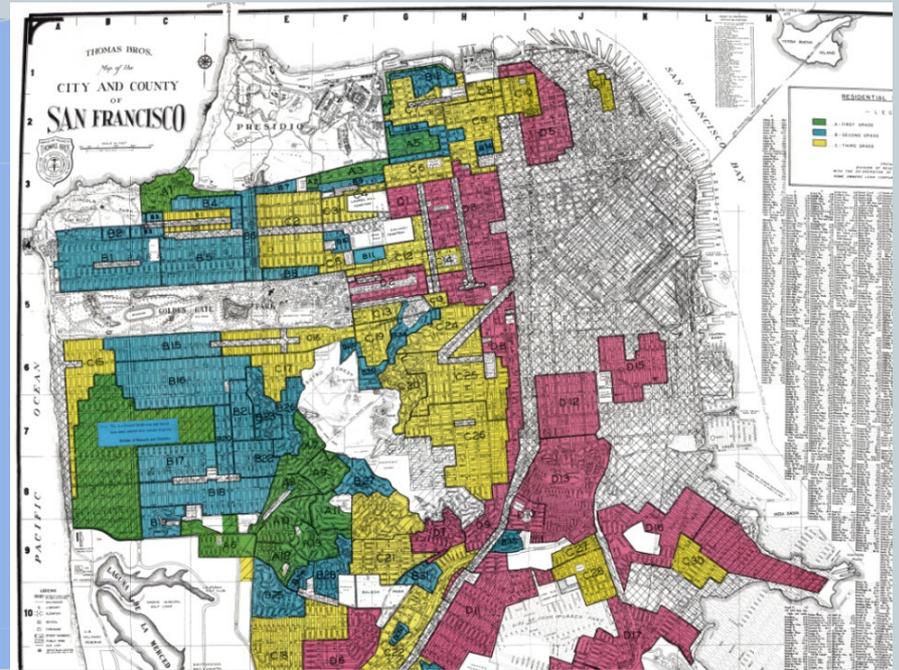
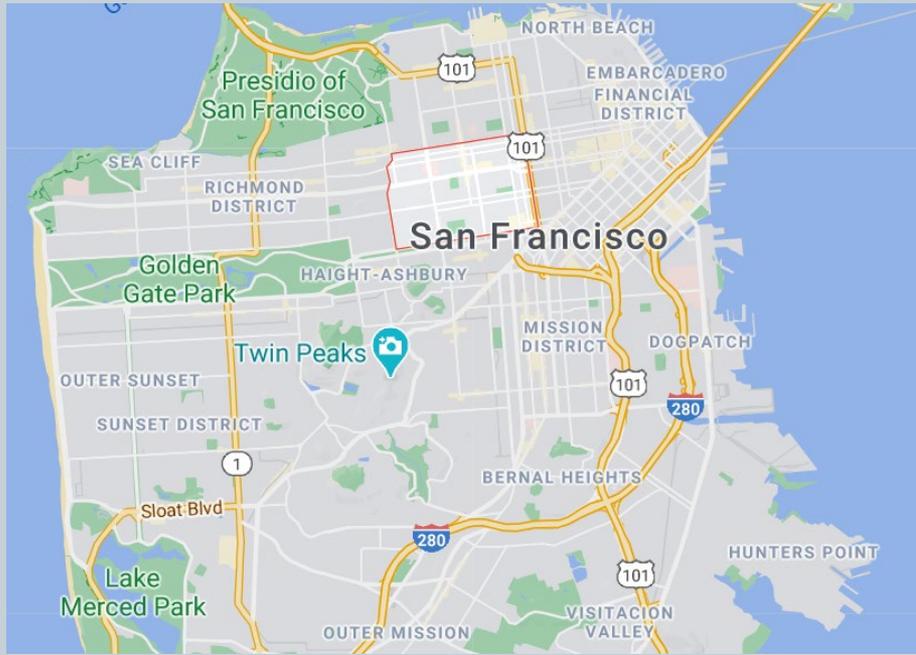


Credit: Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., “Mapping Inequality,” *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers



Bayview Hunters Point

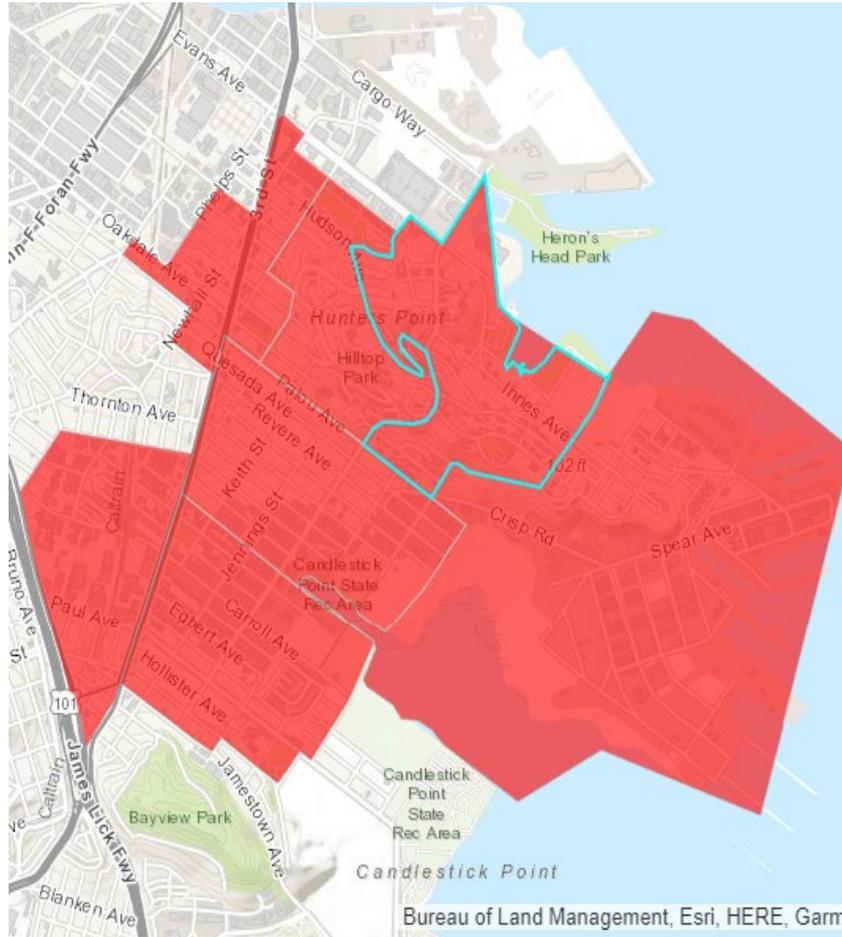
Sources: Map Data 2020 Google (left); Mapping Inequality (right – modified with color lavender)



Western Addition

Sources: Map Data 2020 Google (left); Mapping Inequality (right)

Source: CalEnviroScreen, OEHHA



Census Tract: 6075023103	
Population: 3,725	
CalEnviroScreen 3.0 Percentile: 90-95%	
<i>The following numbers represent the percentile score for that component or indicator. A higher percentile indicates a higher relative burden. Scroll to the bottom for a pie chart of race/ethnicity.</i>	
Pollution Burden Percentile:	73
Population Characteristics Percentile:	93
Ozone:	8

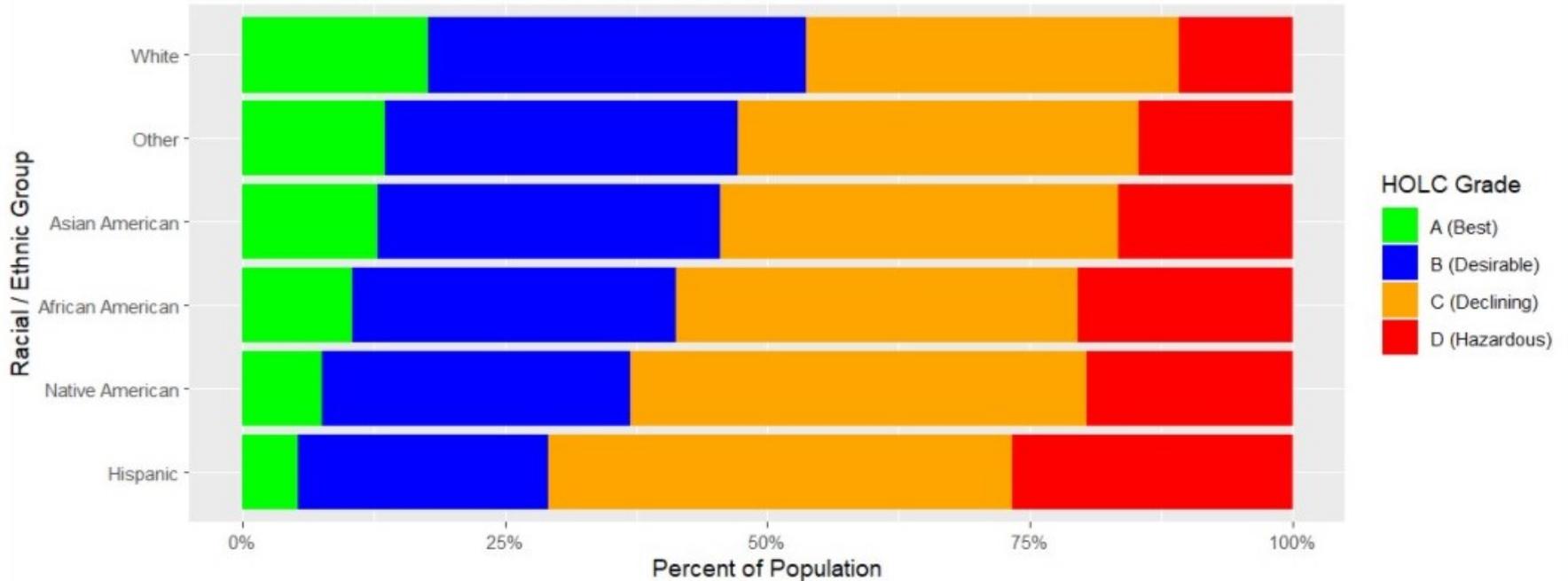
Bureau of Land Management, Esri, HERE, Garmin, INCREMENT P, USGS, METI/NASA, EPA...



<u>Ozone:</u>	8
<u>PM 2.5:</u>	31
<u>Diesel:</u>	99
<u>Pesticides:</u>	0
<u>Toxic Releases:</u>	38
<u>Traffic:</u>	10
<u>Drinking Water:</u>	13
<u>Cleanups:</u>	96
<u>Groundwater Threats:</u>	99
<u>Hazardous Waste:</u>	96
<u>Impaired Water:</u>	94
<u>Solid Waste:</u>	86

<u>Asthma:</u>	98
<u>Low Birth Weight:</u>	94
<u>Cardiovascular Rate:</u>	69
<u>Education:</u>	68
<u>Linguistic Isolation:</u>	53
<u>Poverty:</u>	99
<u>Unemployment:</u>	92
<u>Housing Burden:</u>	56

Present-Day Distribution of Racial / Ethnic Group Populations Within Neighborhoods Assessed by the HOLC in the 1930s in California



Note: Present-day demographic information is from 2010 U.S. Census data

Credit: Cal EPA,

<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/f167b251809c43778a2f9f040f43d2f5>

Some Elements of Institutional Forces that shaped Black earnings before 1940

William E. Spriggs

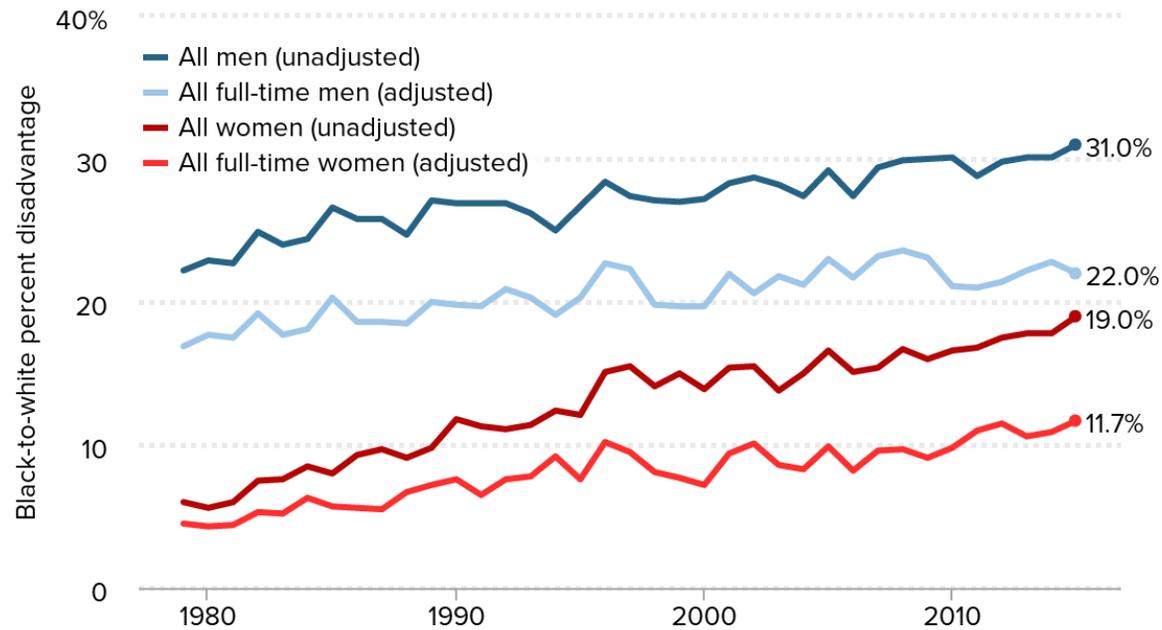
Department of Economics, Howard University

And

Chief Economist, AFL-CIO



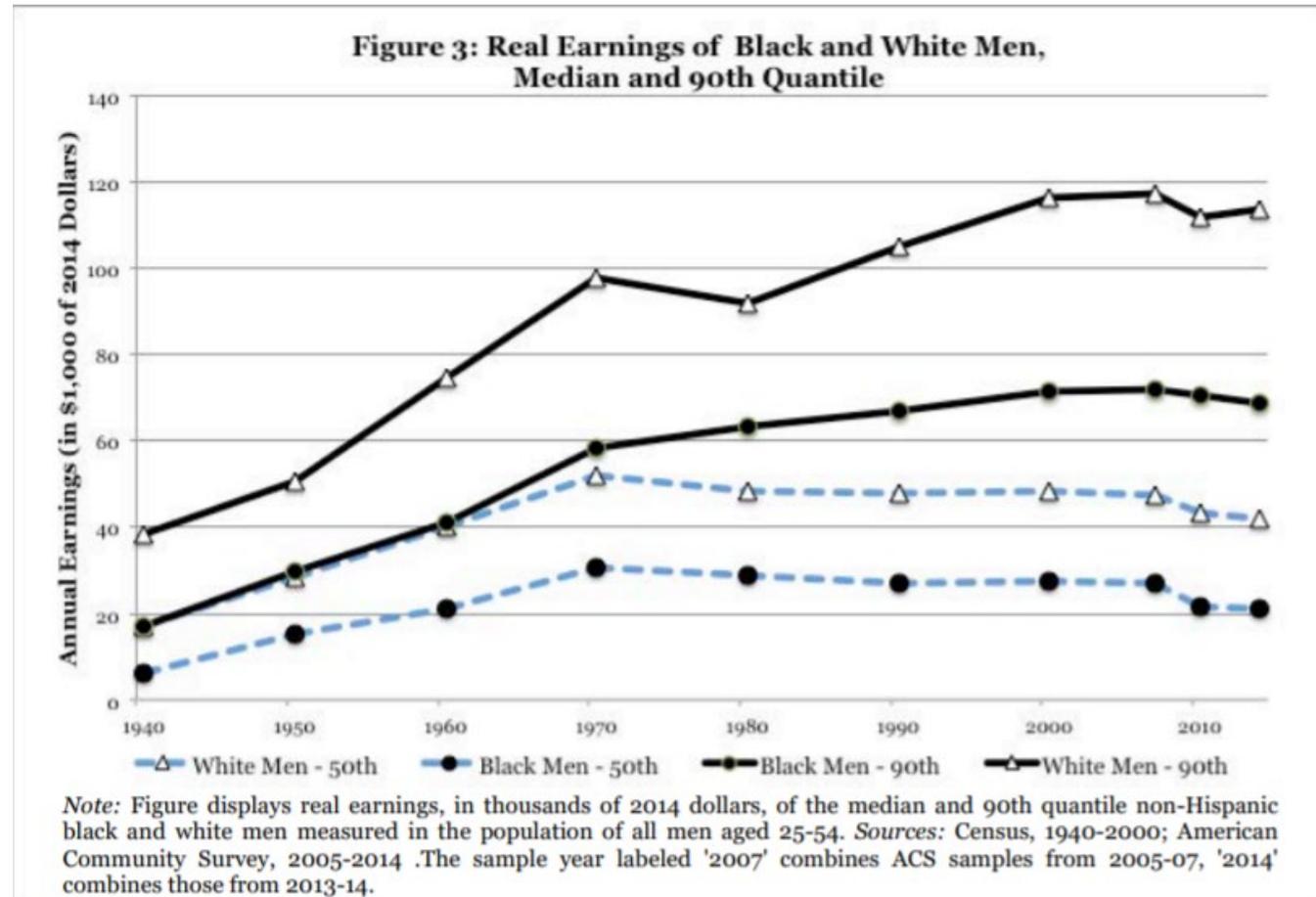
Average hourly black-white wage gaps, by gender, 1979–2015 (adjusted and unadjusted)



Note: The adjusted wage gaps are for full-time workers and control for racial difference in education, potential experience, region of residence, and metro status.

Source: EPI analysis of Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group microdata

Economic Policy Institute



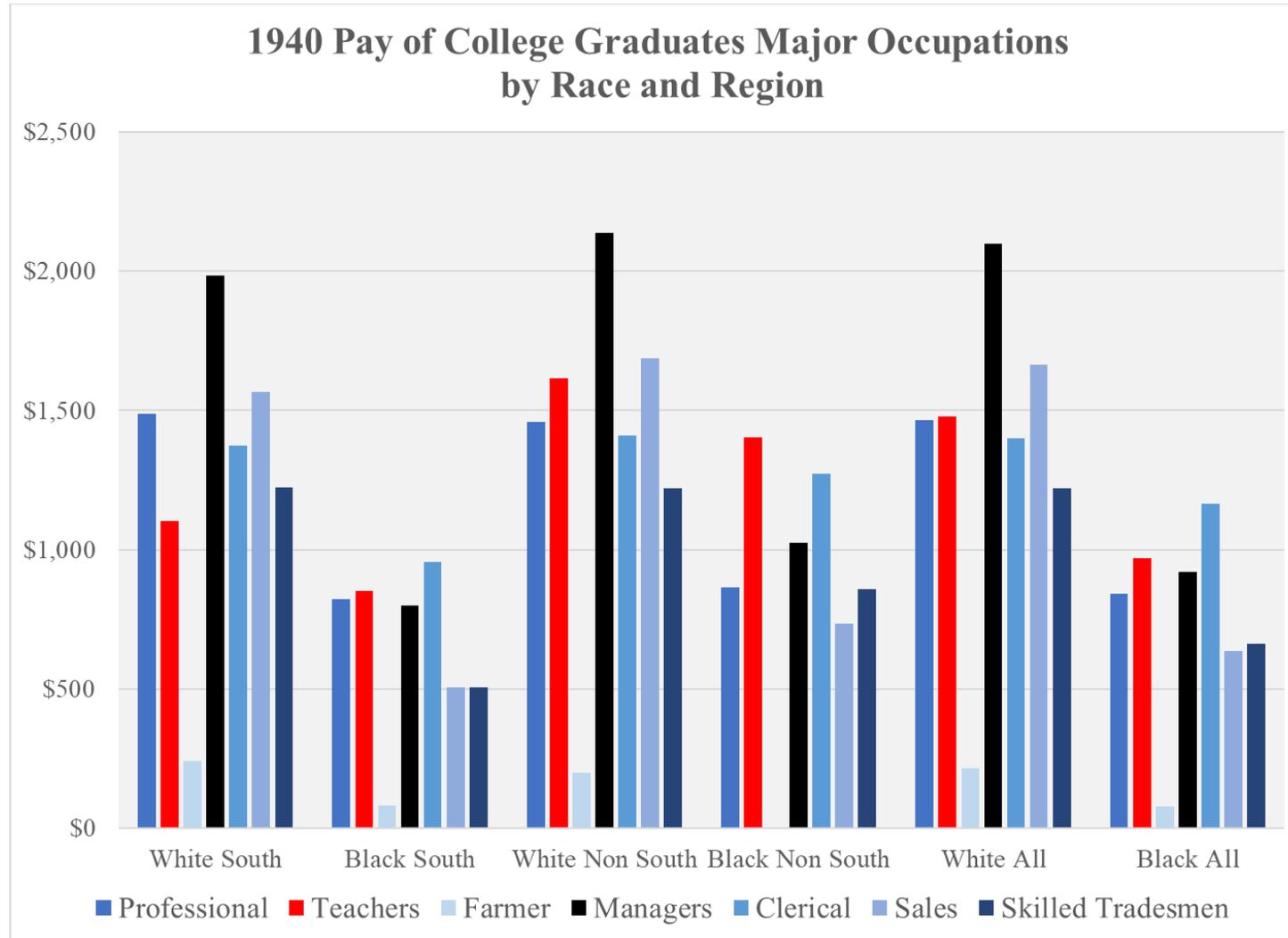
Source: Patrick Bayer and Kerwin Kofi Charles, “Divergent Paths: A New Perspective on Earnings Differences Between black and White Men Since 1940 , The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 133 (August 2018) 1459-1501

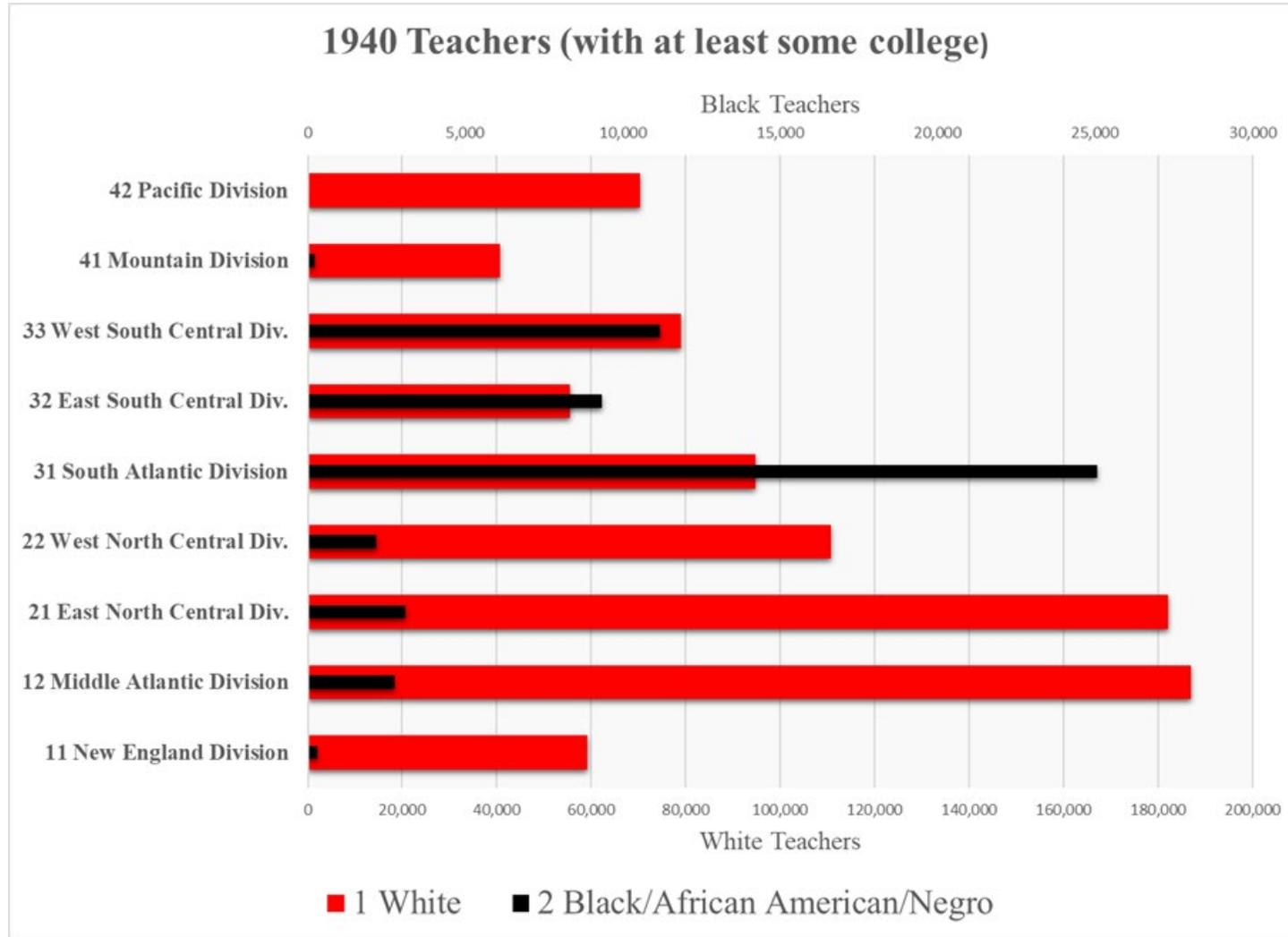
The Concentration of Black teachers in the South

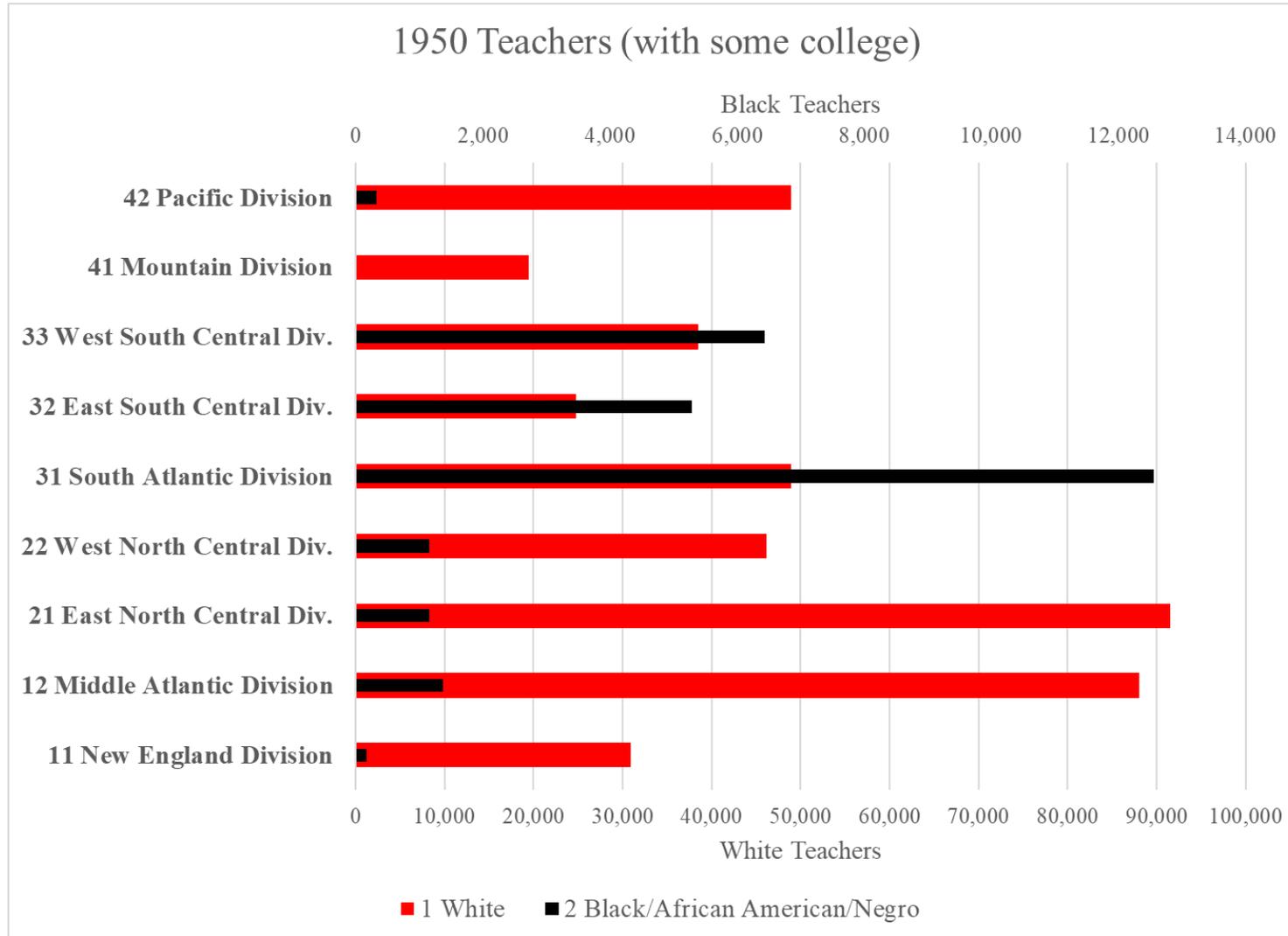
In 1940

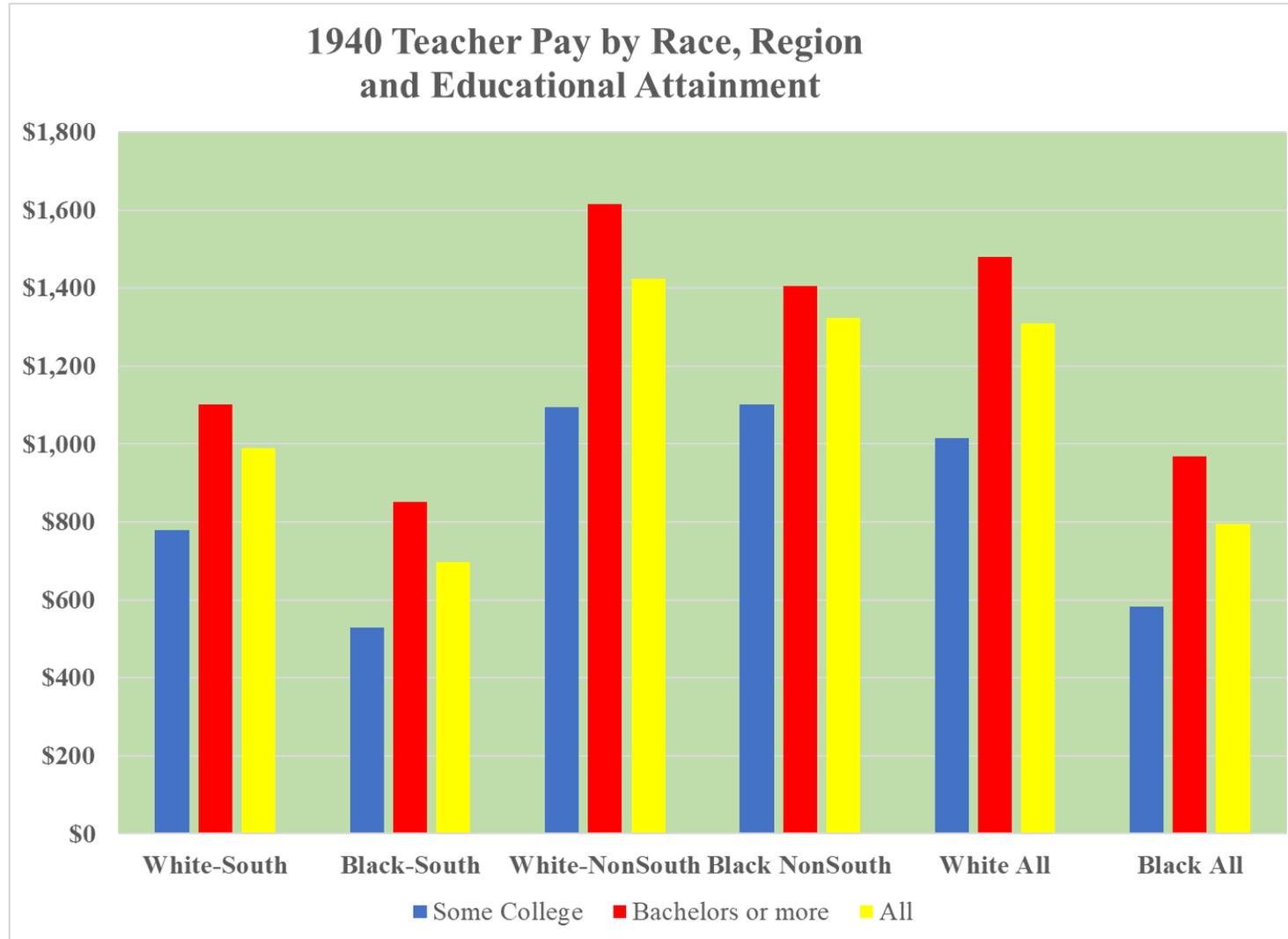
- 75.9% of Black teachers with a bachelor's degree taught in the South
- 28.3% of all Blacks with a bachelor's degree were teachers in the South











Equal Pay Case, Aline Black, then Melvin Alston and NAACP fight Norfolk School Board

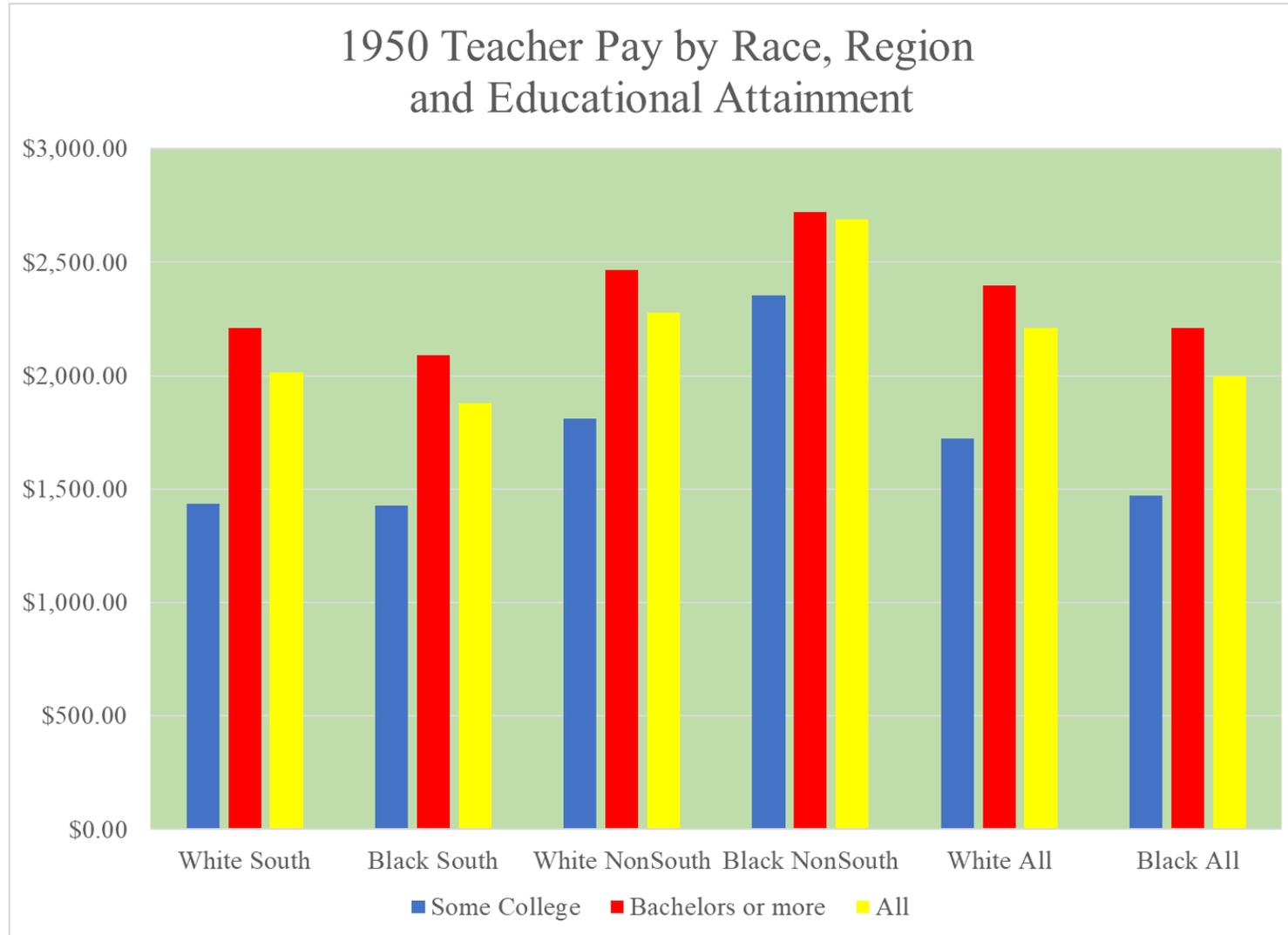
Aline Black

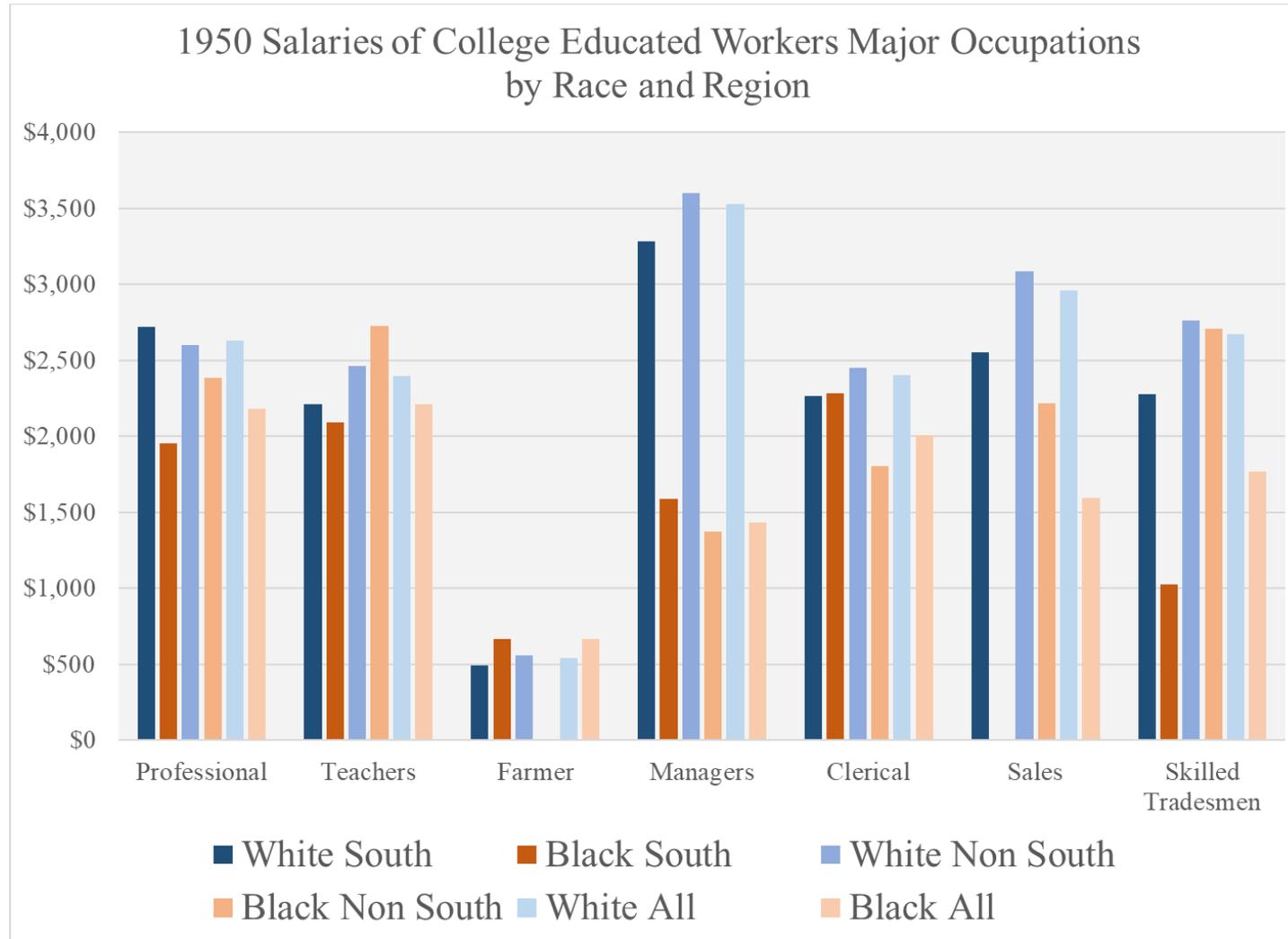
Thurgood Marshall, Leon Ransom, William Hastie, Oliver Hill



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 Education and Outreach Division





CONTACT TO THE DES IN

Secondary Principals

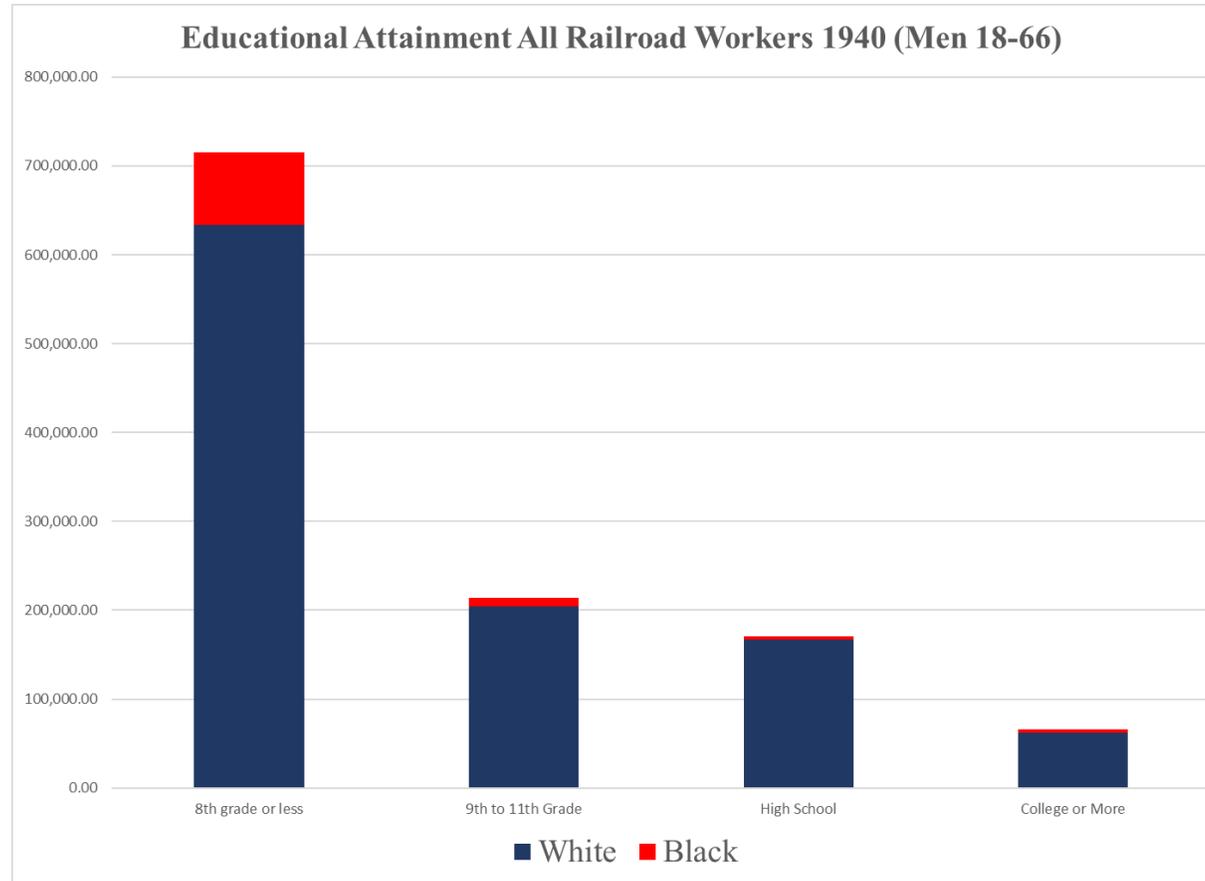
Walter B. Besley	\$13,310
Elmer C. Betz	15,080
Edward G. Bigot	13,310
Raymond D. Bishop	13,310
Melvin J. Bowen	15,080
Earl Bridgewater	12,060
Donald R. Emanuel	13,310
Bruce Gardner	12,900
Gareid L. Jackson	14,250
Victor E. Mastin	13,620
Carl Millsap	12,380
Warren W. Nixon	13,620
Chester W. Pratt	13,000
Charles D. Rowley	14,140
Lacey D. Spriggs	11,650
Wendell Webb	13,310
Donald M. Wetter	14,980

Elementary Principals

Don Brubaker	\$12,170
Kathryn E. Christian	12,170
Violet L. Coldren	12,170
Peter J. Cunningham	11,860
James L. Daugherty	12,480
Olive Devine	11,080
Pherrin C. Dowell	12,170
Harry D. Elder	11,440
Jack Gibbons	11,490
Patience Guthrie	12,170
Larry Hardy	10,400
Howard Hart	10,400
Mildred E. Kaisand	11,860
Robert W. Langerak	12,480
Cecil E. Leonard	12,480
Herbert C. Levenick	12,170
Lorene Lightfoot	12,170
Nadine Machesney	12,170
Lorraine McFadden	12,170
Jerry Mills	11,800
William Molleck	11,080
Eleanor Murdock	11,080
Florence Murphy	12,170
Paul D. Pace	11,860
LoRetta Patrick	12,170
Clarence I. Pease	12,170
G. Irene Perkins	12,170
J. Daniel Priest	10,760
J. Kenneth Rankin	12,170
V. Lorraine Reed	11,860
Lorena Riebhoff	12,170
Lydia M. Rogers	12,170
Richard D. Rose	11,080
Kenneth E. Rouse	12,170

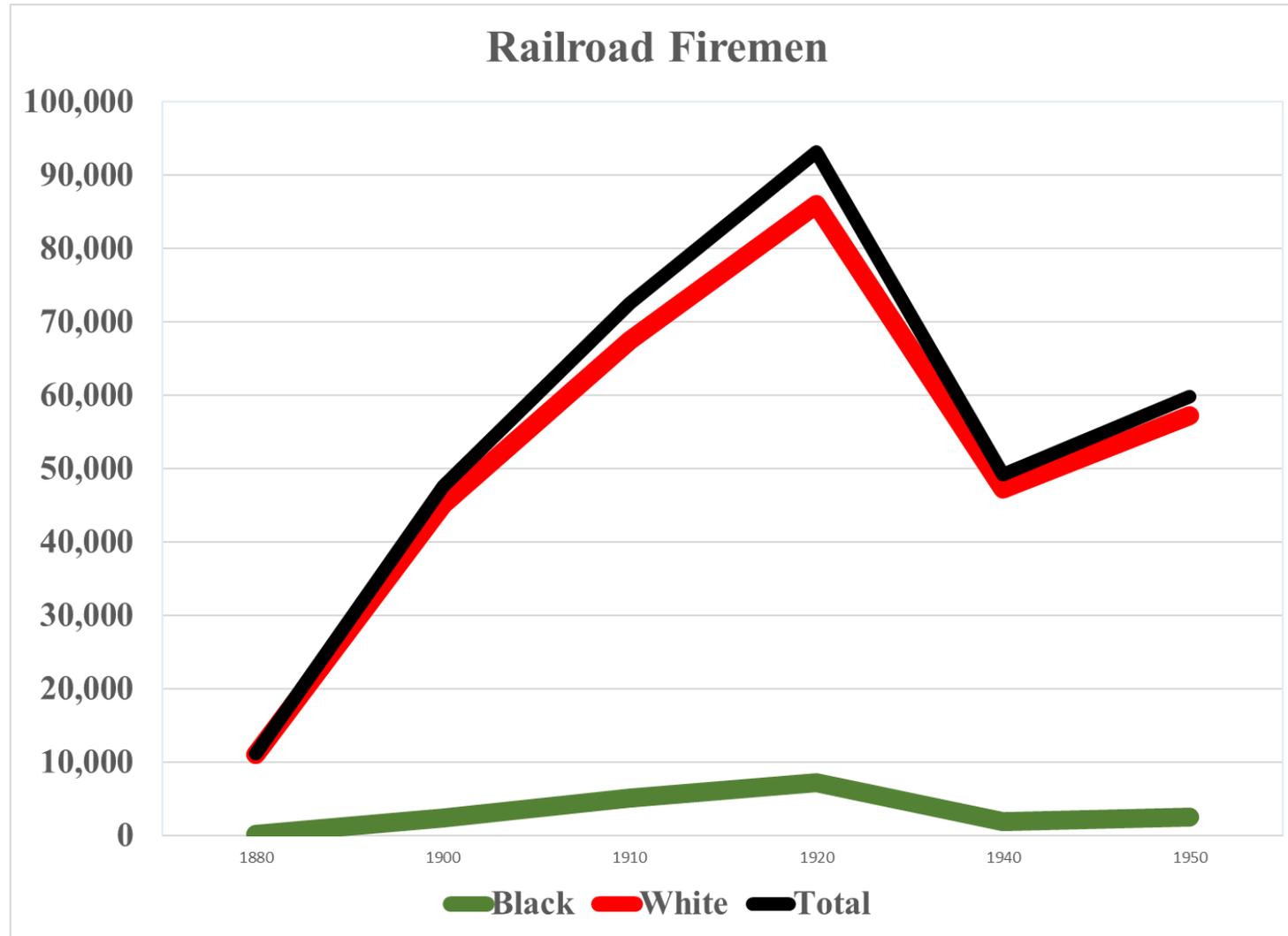


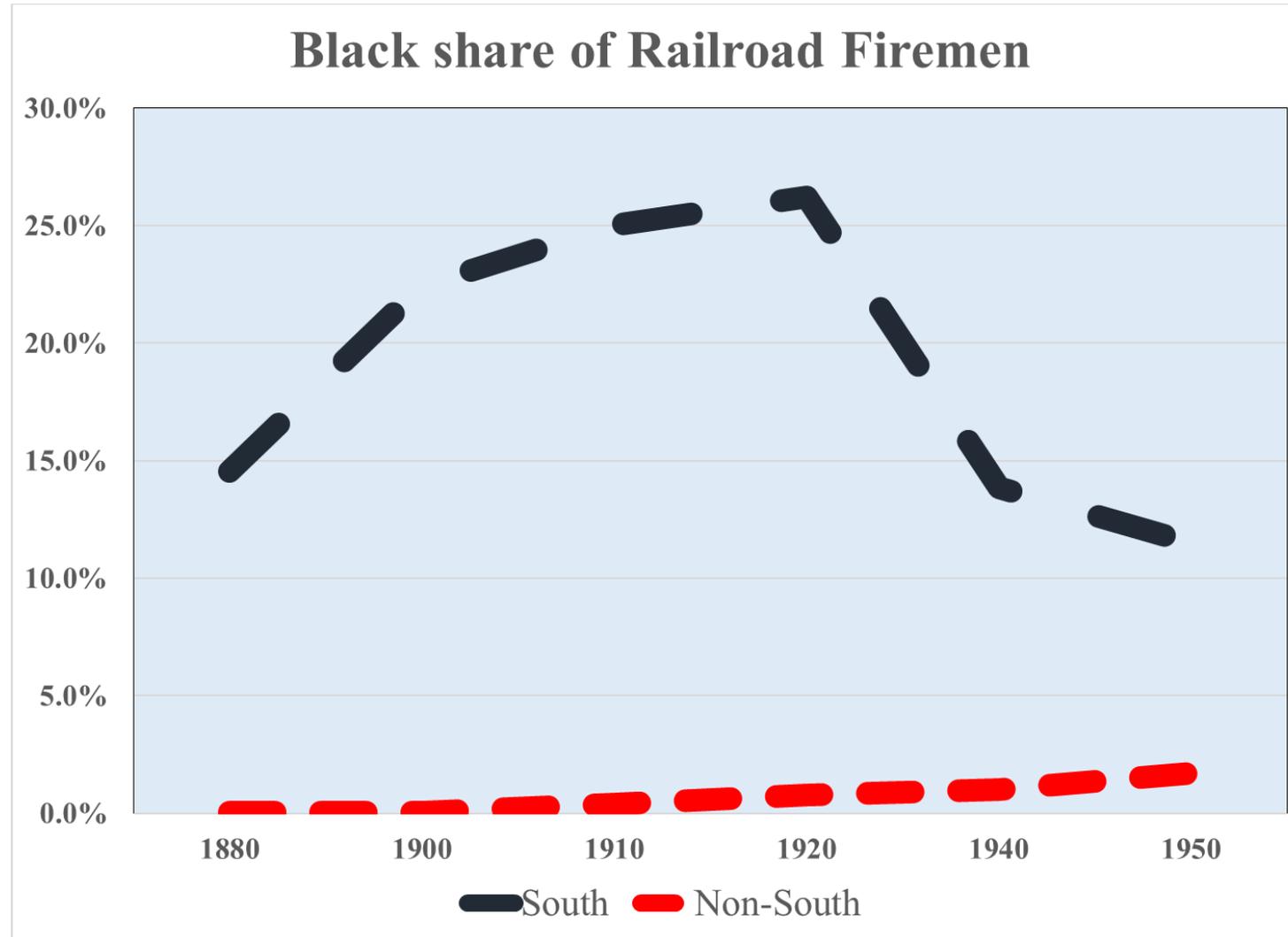
Railroad workers as of 1940 Census



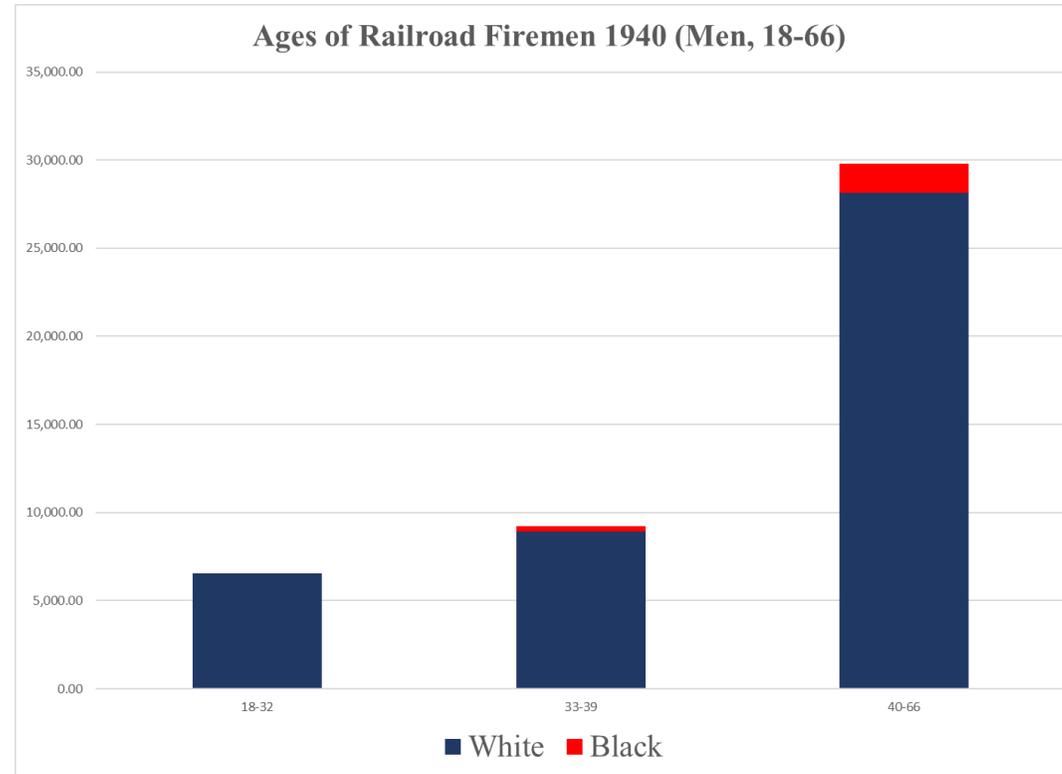
Railroad earnings (highlighting firemen) by race for Men 18-60 in 1940

Cells contain: -Mean -Weighted N		occ1950		
		0 *_*	1 Locomotive firemen	ROW TOTAL
race	1: White	1,525.10 947,015.0	1,549.07 42,900.0	1,526.14 989,915.0
	2: Black/African American/Negro	782.33 92,106.0	1,249.53 1,988.0	792.20 94,094.0
	COL TOTAL	1,459.26 1,039,121.0	1,535.80 44,888.0	1,462.43 1,084,009.0

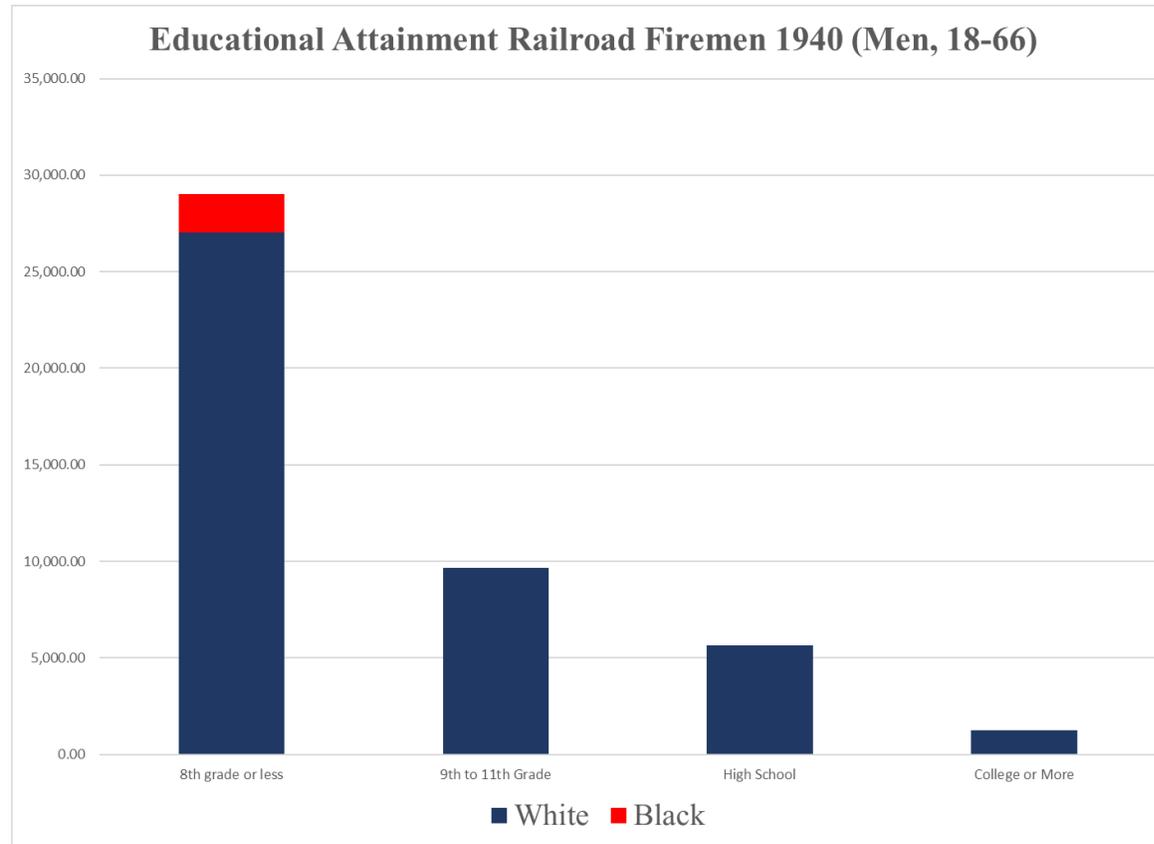




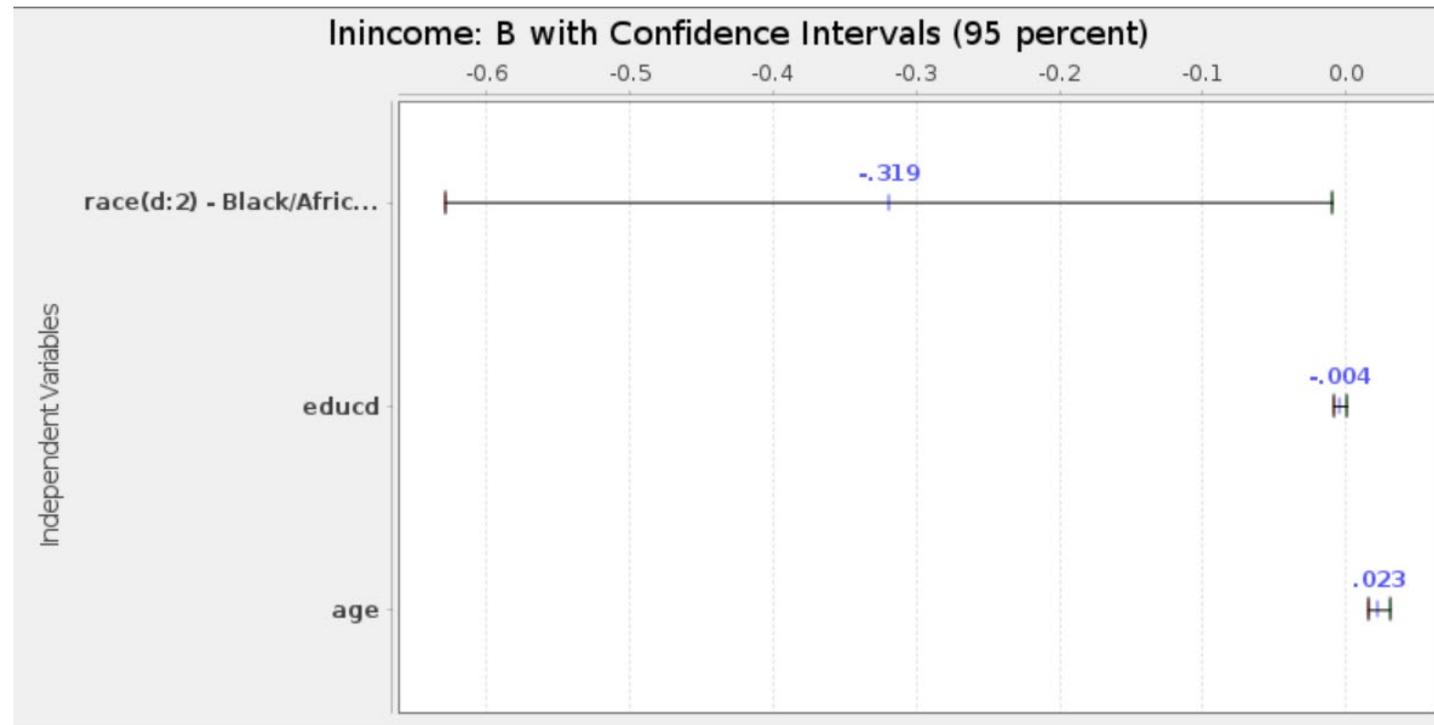
Railroad Firemen by Race and Age 1940



Railroad Firemen 1940



Typical regression of log wage earnings on race, education and age for Men 18-60, Firemen in the Railroad Industry in the 1940 Census



148 F.2d 403 (1945)

TUNSTALL
v.
BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN et al.

No. 5125.

Circuit Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit.

April 9, 1945.

Charles H. Houston, of Washington, D. C. (Joseph C. Waddy, of Washington, D. C., on the brief), for appellant.

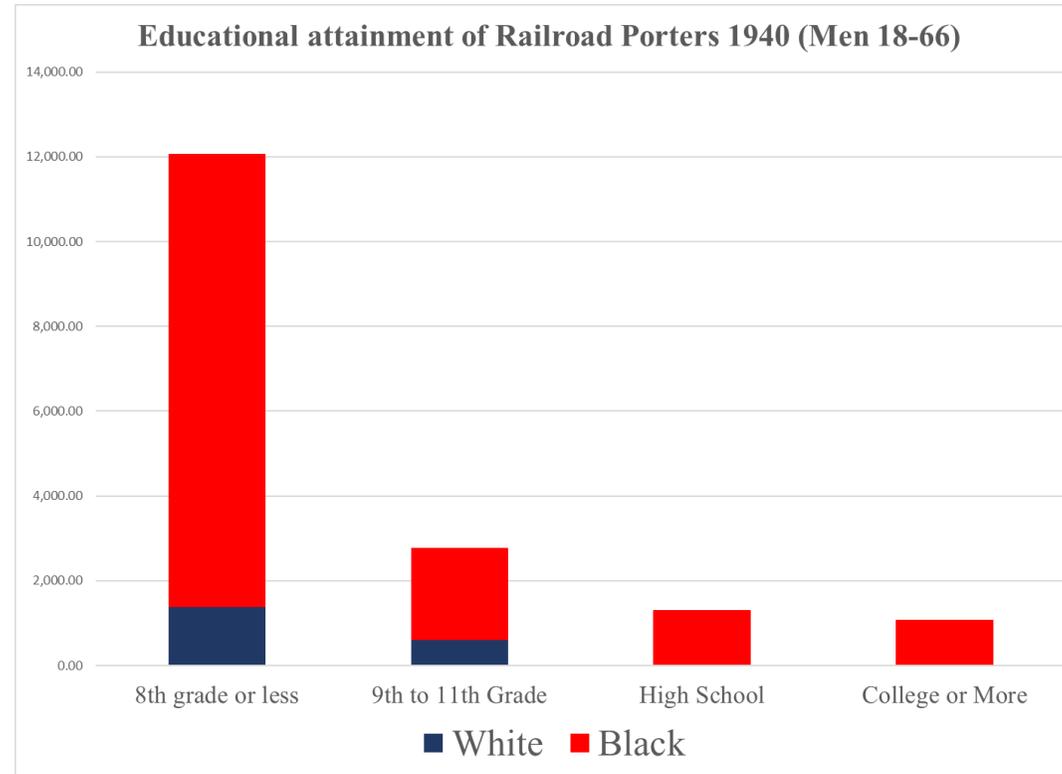
William G. Maupin and James G. Martin, both of Norfolk, Va. (Harold C. Heiss and Russell B. Day, both of Cleveland, Ohio, on the brief), for appellees.

*404 Before PARKER, SOPER, and DOBIE, Circuit Judges.

PARKER, Circuit Judge.

This is a suit by a Negro fireman employed by the Norfolk-Southern Railway Company, who brings the suit in behalf of himself and other Negro firemen employed by that company. The defendants are the railway company, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, certain subordinate lodges of that brotherhood and one of the officers of a local lodge. The gravamen of the complaint is that the brotherhood has been selected as bargaining agent of the firemen of the defendant railway company; that it excludes Negro firemen from membership; that it has negotiated a trade agreement with the company discriminating against Negro firemen; and that as a result of this agreement plaintiff has suffered discrimination with respect to seniority rights and has been damaged thereby. The relief asked is a declaratory judgment to the effect that the brotherhood as bargaining representative is bound to represent fairly and without discrimination all members of the craft, an injunction restraining the defendants from giving effect to the trade agreement in so far as it discriminates against Negro firemen and restraining the brotherhood from acting as bargaining representative of Negro firemen so long as it refuses to represent them fairly and impartially, an award against the brotherhood for damages sustained by plaintiff, and an order that plaintiff be restored to the position to which he would be entitled by seniority in absence of the contract.

Education and Race of Railroad Porters



Is technology a force to enhance meritocracy? Was it ever?: 325th Field Signal Battalion



325th Field Signal Battalion

- Organized at Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, Ohio
- June 10, 1918 embark for Europe from Hoboken, New Jersey
- 440 men
- Company A—radio company
- Company B—wire company
- Company C—outpost company

Dispatches were sent from Europe on the heroism of the Black troops

The first test of real courage given the men, and their first introduction into real fighting, in addition to stringing wires, and sending and receiving radio messages, came on the afternoon of September 27th, when a party of liaison men, including the Colonel and Lieut. Herbert, latter being Colored, advanced beyond the Battalion P.C. and at the suggestion of a French soldier, turned to the left. They soon found themselves beyond their lines, and directly in front of a German machine gun nest. The Colonel divided his men into small groups and advanced on the enemy's position. This sortie resulted in the Signal boys capturing eight German prisoners and two machine guns, but the attack caused the loss of Corporal Charles E. Boykin, who did not return. Two days later, during general advance, Sergeant Henry E. Moody, of the Battalion, was mortally wounded while at his post. Boykin was killed outright, while Sergeant Moody died in the hospital from wounds received- these being the first two of the Signal Battalion to make the supreme sacrifice.

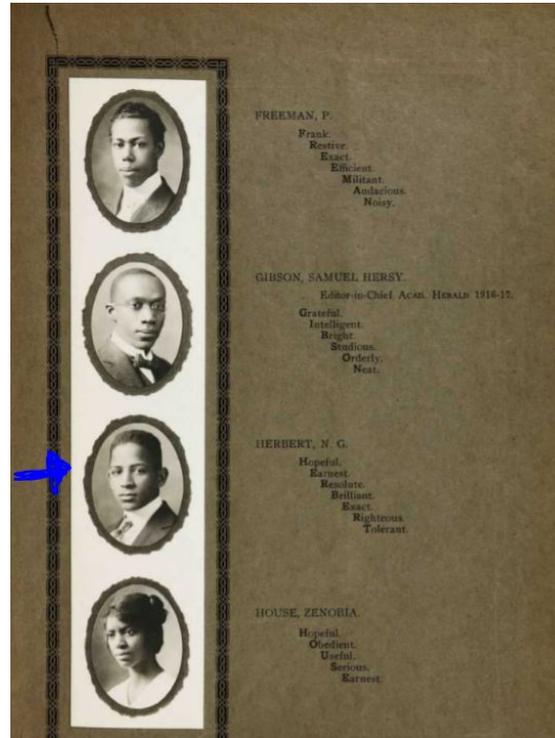
William Gordon Herbert enlisted Jan. 19, 1918 in Washington, DC

Herbert William G		2 1/4
(Surname)	(Christian name)	(Race: White or colored)
Residence: 148 W 143 St	N.Y.C.	NEW YORK
(Street and house number)	(Town or city)	(State)
* Enlisted in R.A.	Washington Bks D.C. Jan 19/18	
† Born in New York City N.Y.	Jan 6, 1897	
Organizations: 325 Field Signal Bn (Co. B) to Disch.		
Grades: None		
Engagements: None		
Wounds or other injuries received in action: None.		
‡ Served overseas: None		
§ Hon. disch. June 4/18 To Accept Comm.		
Was reported XX	per cent disabled on date of discharge, in view of occupation.	
Remarks: XX		

Form No. 724-2 1/2 A. G. O. March 12, 1930. *Insert "R. A.", "N. G.", "E. R. C.", "N. A.", as case may be, followed by place and date of enlistment. † Give place of birth and date of birth, or age at enlistment. ‡ Give dates of departure from and arrival in the United States. § Give date and cause.

William G Herbert

Howard University Yearbook 1917



Lt. William Gordon Herbert, New York State record of WWI military service

6/6 OFFICER—ORC
Colored

Herbert William G
(Surname) (Christian name)

Residence: 148 W. 143 St. New York NEW YORK
(Street and house number) (Town or city) (County) (State)

* Born in New York City Jan 6, 1897

† Called into active service as 2nd Lt Sig C June 5/18 Fr R.A. Training Camp

‡ Promotions: None

Organizations and staff assignments: 325 Fld. Sig. Bn. to Mch. 5/19; 152 Dep. Brig. to Disch.

Principal stations: Cp Sherman Ohio; A.E.F.; Cp. Merritt, N.J.; Cp Upton N.Y.

Engagements: Meuse Argonne;

Wounds received in action: None.

§ Served overseas June 10/18 to Feb 27/19

|| Hon. disch. Apr 29/19 for convenience of the Government, services no longer required.

Was reported 0 per cent disabled on date of discharge in view of occupation.

Remarks: Enl Serv

Form No. 84c-1 (A. G. O. Mar. 17, 1921.) * Give place and date. † Insert (a) grade; (b) arm or staff corps or department; (c) date; (d) source, civil life (CL), RA, NG, ORC, NA; and (e) designation of training camp attended, if any. ‡ Strike out if he did not attend a training camp. § Give dates of departure from and return to the United States. || Give date.

3--5091

Herbert continued to serve in the National Guard into 1924 (with the 369th Infantry)
But note his schooling and occupation

Hq Co—New York.....	4 Sept 24
HERBERT, WILLIAM G 1 Lt..... [In lieu of Capt]	[F—Pvt sgt sgt1cl Sig C 19 Jan 18 to 4 June 18]
B—NY 6 Jan 97 AB & DDS Howard Univ DC 18 & 24	[F—2 Lt SigC 5 June 18 to 29 Apr 19] 11t Inf 6 Sept 26
FOSTER, EUGENE J 2 Lt.....	Pvt pvt1cl corp sgt Inf 30 July 25 to 17 Mar 3
B—La 14 Sept 95	2 Lt Inf 18 Mar 27
[ORC Inf 2 lt 28 June 27 O243397]	

Obituary for Dr. William G. Herbert 1956

DR. WILLIAM G. HERBERT

Dr. William G. Herbert, 59, of 107-50 Merrick Boulevard, Jamaica, Queens, a dentist, died on Tuesday. He served as a captain in the Army Signal Corps during World War I, and at one time was personnel supervisor at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where he also had taught classes in the science of electricity.

Dr. Herbert, a native of Trinidad, B.W.I., received his dental degree and also an LL.B. at Howard University. He is survived by two sons, William G. Jr., and Solomon J. Herbert; also a daughter, Margaret.

Another dispatch of the heroism of the 325th under fire

In writing the "finis" to this brief mention of this important army unit made up of young Colored men it is fitting that I tell of the particular work done by the boys of the 1st. Platoon on the first day of the Metz battle. Shortly after the barrage was lifted, the big guns of the enemy began shelling Pont-a-Mousson. The first shells, as I vividly recall, hit on the edge of the city, and then gradually they began peppering the Signal Battalion's station. Sergeant Rufus B. Atwood, of the 1st. Platoon, was seated in the cellar near the switchboard; Private Edgar White was operating the switchboard, and Private Clark the buzzerphone. Several officers and men were standing in the "dugout" cellar. Suddenly a German shell struck the top, passed through the ceiling and wall, and exploded, making havoc of the cellar. Lieut. Walker, Colored, who arrived just at this time, displayed admirable courage. He took immediate charge, and directed things. Sergeant Atwood tried out the switchboard, and found all lines broken. He found, on trying it, the buzzerphone out. Private White then received orders to stay on the switchboard, and Corporal Adolphus Johnson on the buzzerphone. The 12 drop monocord board was nailed up by White, and then began the connecting up of the lines from the outside to the monocord board. All this time the shelling, around this point, by the Germans was fierce and deadly- shells hitting all around the boys; struck a nearby ammunition dump causing the explosion of thousands of rounds of ammunition, which caused a terrific shock and all lights to be extinguished. But still these men worked on, and would not leave this dangerous post, a veritable target for the enemy's big guns, until the Lieutenant of the Military Police arrived and ordered them out.

What these boys of the 325th Signal Battalion have not learned respecting radio, telephonic and telegraphic work is of little advantage to any one. What they have learned about it will be of great advantage to them when they return in making a living. The 325th Field Signal Battalion, whose rank and file is made up of young Colored men, has been a marvelous success.

Lt. Richard Walker's draft card showing him as a student at Fisk University

Form 1 1788 REGISTRATION CARD		No. 90
1	Name in full <i>Richard Hill Walker</i>	Age, in yrs. <i>27</i>
2	Home address <i>2008 9th Avenue, Nashville, Tenn</i>	
3	Date of birth <i>November 6 1894</i>	
4	Are you (1) a natural-born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared your intention (specify which)? <i>Natural Born</i>	
5	Where were you born? <i>Nashville, Tenn, U.S.A.</i>	
6	If not a citizen, of what country are you a citizen or subject? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
7	What is your present trade, occupation, or office? <i>(Student) (Registering)</i>	
8	By whom employed? <i>Fisk University</i>	
9	Where employed? <i>Nashville, Tenn</i>	
10	Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, solely dependent on you for support (specify which)? <i>No</i>	
11	Married or single (which)? <i>Single</i> Race (specify which)? <i>Negro</i>	
12	What military service have you had? Rank <i>No</i> ; branch <i>No</i> ; years <i>No</i> ; Nation or State <i>No</i>	
	Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)? <i>No 1868</i>	
I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true.		
<i>Richard Hill Walker</i>		

REGISTRAR'S REPORT 41-3-28.A	
1	Tall, medium, or short (specify which)? <i>Medium</i> Slender, medium, or stout (which)? <i>Stout</i>
2	Color of eyes? <i>Brown</i> Color of hair? <i>Black</i> Bald? <i>No</i>
3	Has person lost arm, leg, hand, foot, or both eyes, or is he otherwise disabled (specify)? <i>No</i>
I certify that my answers are true, that the person registered has read his own answers, that I have witnessed his signature, and that all of his answers of which I have knowledge are true, except as follows:	
<i>6/26/17 J. W. Dashiell City Clerk</i>	
<i>Nashville, Tenn</i>	
Precinct	<i>8</i>
City or County	<i>Nashville</i>
State	<i>Tenn</i>
	<i>June 5 - 1917</i> (Date of registration)

Richard Walker's father was a Railroad Postal Clerk, a high paying civil service position

1, 1901.] RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE. 1049

Railway Postal Clerks.

Name.	Where born.	Whence appointed.			Where employed.	Compensation.
		State.	County.	Cong. dist.		
Samuel S. Hoop	Pennsylvania ..	Alabama	Morgan	9th	Nashville, Tenn., and Montgomery, Ala	\$1,000.00
William S. Hite	Tennessee	Tennessee	Davidson	6th	do	1,000.00
Edward G. Johnson	Ohio	do	do	6th	do	900.00
Neal G. Lowe	Alabama	do	do	6th	do	1,000.00
Walter C. Leuseur	Tennessee	do	do	6th	do	900.00
George F. Lindsey	Alabama	Alabama	Jefferson	9th	do	900.00
William H. Randle	Tennessee	Tennessee	Davidson	6th	do	1,000.00
Ike W. Starr	Kentucky	do	do	6th	do	1,000.00
William W. Shear	Tennessee	do	do	6th	do	1,000.00
Jesse B. Templeton	do	do	do	6th	do	900.00
<u>Robert A. Walker</u>	do	do	do	6th	do	<u>1,400.00</u>
Charles J. West	do	do	do	6th	do	1,400.00
J. T. Asbury	Illinois	do	do	6th	Nashville, Tenn., and St. Louis, Mo.	1,200.00
J. W. Brooks	Arkansas	do	do	6th	do	1,400.00
J. C. Brown	Tennessee	do	do	6th	do	1,400.00
Wm. Bradford	do	do	do	6th	do	1,200.00
M. M. Hamilton	Illinois	do	do	6th	do	1,200.00
George Kirsch	Indiana	Indiana	Warrick	1st	do	1,200.00
Oscar J. Knoll	Kentucky	do	Vanderburg	1st	do	1,200.00
Wm. E. Love	Tennessee	Tennessee	Davidson	6th	do	1,400.00

Retired Negro Mail Clerk Dies

Funeral services for Robert A. Walker, 81, retired Negro railway mail clerk, who died yesterday at Hubbard Hospital, will be held Friday afternoon at 2 o'clock at the residence, 2005 Jo Johnston Avenue. The Rev. Richard Ewing, of the Howard Congregational Church, will officiate, and burial will be in Mt. Ararat Cemetery.

A native of Nashville, he was one of four men who took the first federal civil service examination ever held in Nashville, and served with the Railway Mail Service for 43 years before his retirement. His run was between Nashville and Montgomery, Ala.

In addition to his widow, Mrs. Gertrude Dungey Walker, he is survived by the following children: Mrs. Louis L. Watson, Washington, D. C., Roberta P. Walker, teacher, Cincinnati, Richard H. Walker, with the U. S. Department of Labor, John C. Walker, attorney, Louisville, Ky., William H. Walker, public accountant, Philadelphia, Joseph A. Walker, Detroit, Robert A. Walker, II, accountant and tax consultant, Nashville, and Mrs. Robert H. Montgomery, foreign language teacher, Detroit; a brother, Rufus A. Walker, Nashville; and six grandchildren.

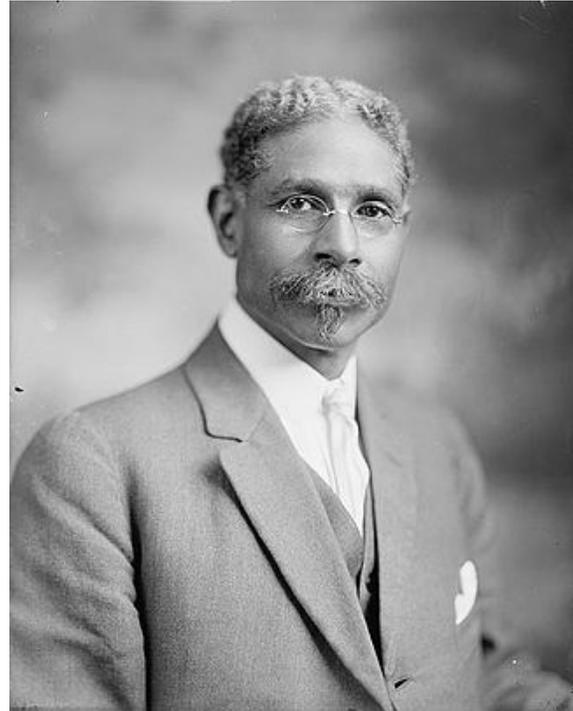
He was a member of the First Baptist Church, a Mason, and a member of the Railway Mail Association.

Speech by Nelson Walker to citizens of Shelbyville, TN on September 25, 1865

He was pleased to speak before such a large crowd on the issue of whether or not the colored man was able to take care of himself. He felt assured that this a question easy to be decided, and needed but very little argument to establish this fact far beyond successful contradiction He had educated his sons and sighters to better enable them to domineer. He was not willing altogether to forget the past, but was willing and ready to forgive the wrongs that had been inflicted upon us. He would not be contented until he and his race should gain two privileges, and they were the ballot and the jury box.



Richard Walker's father-in-law, Dr. George W. Buckner, US Ambassador to Liberia, 1913-1915



November 1940 Walker named to U.S. Employment Service for Negro Placement Service

ed States **Employment Service** by the appointment of additional personnel to the staff of Lieutenant Lawrence A. Oxley, Supervisor of the Negro Placement **Service**. The major responsibility of this group will be to stimulate the placement and effective integration of all available Negro workers with skills essential to the defense industries.

The new appointees are Roy A. Ellis, from the District of Columbia **Employment Security Agency**; Alvin M. Rucker, from the Illinois **Employment Security Agency**, and Richard H. Walker, from the Massachusetts **Employment Security Agency**.

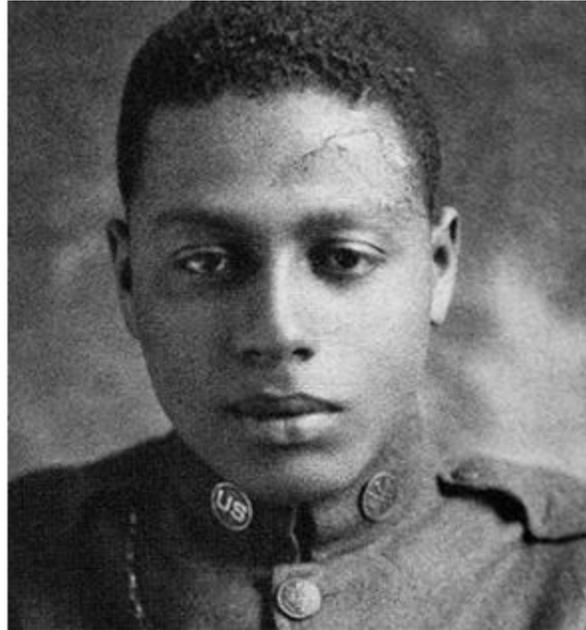
* * *

In 1945 Walker is listed as “Minority Placement Specialist” for Region I of the War Manpower Commission

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Continued

NAME	OFFICIAL TITLE AND STATION (Station is Washington, D. C., unless otherwise indicated)	Legal residence		Com- pen- sation
		State	Cong. Dist.	
War Manpower Commission—Continued				
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR BUSINESS MANAGEMENT—Continued.				
Bureaus of Placement—Con.				
George A. Works.....	Director, National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel.	N. J.....	7th.....	\$22,222
William T. Read.....	Chief, Professional Evaluation and Utilization Section, National Roster.	N. J.....	3d.....	6,500
Benjamin Wermiel.....	Chief, Professional Placement Section, National Roster.	N. Y.....	15th.....	5,600
Benjamin F. Wilson.....	Chief, Minority Group Service.....	Ind.....	1st.....	6,500
Veterans Employment Service				
Perry Faulkner.....	Executive Secretary, Veterans' Placement Board and Chief of Veterans' Employment Service.	Ohio.....	8,000
Oscar D. Hollenbeck.....	Assistant Chief.....	Ohio.....	14th.....	6,500
WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION—REGION I				
<i>Boston, Mass.</i>				
Arthur C. Gernes.....	Regional Director, Boston.....	Mass.....	10th.....	8,000
David G. Nagle.....	Deputy Director, Boston.....	Mass.....	12th.....	6,500
George W. Forrester.....	Field Supervisor, Boston.....	Mass.....	7th.....	5,600
Bernard L. Gorfinkle.....	do.....	Mass.....	9th.....	5,600
James H. Sullivan.....	do.....	Mass.....	7th.....	5,600
Arthur L. Hinchey.....	Business Manager, Boston.....	Mass.....	4th.....	5,600
Frederick L. Lash.....	Budget and Finance Officer, Boston.....	Mass.....	13th.....	4,600
Leonard W. Goulde.....	Personnel Officer, Boston.....	Mass.....	7th.....	4,600
Joseph Fisher.....	Attorney, Boston.....	Mass.....	10th.....	5,600
Joseph W. O'Loughlin.....	Chief of Manpower Utilization, Boston.....	Mass.....	7th.....	6,500
Lawrence J. Bresnahan.....	Chief of Placement, Boston.....	Mass.....	14th.....	6,500
George E. Shrieley.....	Assistant Chief of Placement, Boston.....	Mass.....	14th.....	5,600
Richard H. Walker.....	Minorities Placement Specialist, Boston.....	Mass.....	10th.....	4,600
Richard H. Walker.....	Placement Specialist, Boston.....	Mass.....	10th.....	4,600
John F. Canley.....	do.....	Mass.....	10th.....	4,600

Bronze Star recipient Sgt. Rufus Ballard Atwood



Kentucky State University's 6th President, (1929-1962) Rufus B. Atwood



Pvt. Adolphus Burrell Johnson, ended up as a presser in a tailor show in Washington, DC

Edward K. Bachschmidt Asst. V-Pres. Howard J. Blordan V-Pres.
 G. Pitt V-Pres. Howard J. Blordan V-Pres.
 George L. Haines Sec. General Insurance Ed-
 monda Bldg 917 15th nw, Tel National 6-9112

" Adda r4115 Wis av nw apt 404
 " Addie Mrs h907 Euclid nw
 " Addie F (wid Jas) h503a 23d nw
 " Addie M Mrs r1501 27th se apt 209
 " Addie M Mrs slwn Woodward & Lothrop r2819
 Woodley pl nw
 " Adna K jr h4000 Cathedral av nw apt 831
 " Adock (Kath E) driver Coastline Cab h858 G no
 " Adolph h7614 16th nw
 " Adolphus lab DC Genl Hosp r208 E no
 " **Adolphus B (Marie)** prsr Kann's Dept Store h1774
 U nw apt 5
 " Adrene I maid StAnn's Infant Asylum r1847
 Kalorama rd nw



AVON REALTY C

SALES — RENTALS
 INSURANCE — LOANS

1727 11th N. W.
 Tels. Office AD 4-6802, Res. TU 2-3

Pvt. Edgar White, ended up a chauffeur in Chicago, IL

37	5742	45	83	White, Edgar	Head	19	35	19	20	5	20	52	W	20	40	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	80	Yes	Housework	Private Family	9596	11	40	37
38				<u>White, Edgar</u>	Low				v	11	20	36	W	36	20	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	80	Yes	<u>Chauffeur</u>	<u>Private Family</u>	3996	21	40	38
39				<u>Mattie</u>	Wife				v	7	20	32	W	32	20	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri	60	Yes	<u>Servant</u>	<u>Private Family</u>	9596	11	40	30

Cells contain:		Telephone Industry 1940 Men (18-60) by race and educational attainment					
-Column percent		Count					
-Weighted N		1	2	3	4	8	ROW
		Less than 8th Grade	Some High School	High School	Some College	College or more	TOTAL
race	1: White	97.1	99.7	100	100	100	99.1
		34,900.00	24,558.00	38,981.00	14,753.00	12,975.00	126,167.00
	2: Black/A	2.9	0.3	0	0	0	0.9
		1,058.00	78	0	0	0	1,136.00
	COL TOTA	100	100	100	100	100	100
		35,958.00	24,636.00	38,981.00	14,753.00	12,975.00	127,303.00

Black occupations in the Telephone Industry 1940		
Cells contain:		
-Column percent		Distribution
-Weighted N		
occ1950	690: Operative and kindred workers (nec)	6.2
		70
	753: Charwomen and cleaners	6.9
		78
	754: Cooks, except private household	8.8
		100
	770: Janitors and sextons	34.2
	388	
	970: Laborers (nec)	44
		500
	COL TOTAL	100
		1,136.00
Source: Author's calculations 25 September 2020 using Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Ronald Goeken, Josiah Grover, Erin Meyer, Jose Pacas and Matthew Sobek. IPUMS USA: Version 10.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2020.		

Is technology a force to enhance meritocracy? Was it ever?

Two high school classmates, Des Moines East High School 1939



Is technology a force to enhance meritocracy? Was it ever?: Tuskegee 1945



Is technology a force to enhance meritocracy? Was it ever?: Kentucky 1945



B-25 Mitchell Bomber Crew 7-6. 617th Bombardment Squadron of the 477th Medium Bombardment Group. Godman Field, KY, May 1945. Left to Right: Sgt. Cleveland Albritten, Engineer-Gunner; Cpl. Clifton V. Nichols, Armorer-Gunner; 2nd Lt. Edward T. Dixon, Pilot; Cpl. Arnold F. Bowen, Radio-Gunner; 2nd Lt. Ivan J. McRae, Co-pilot; First Officer Wendell R. Smith, Navigator-Bombardier.

1953 Perry Young signs as the first African American pilot for an American commercial flyer (only Tuskegee Airman hired as a pilot)

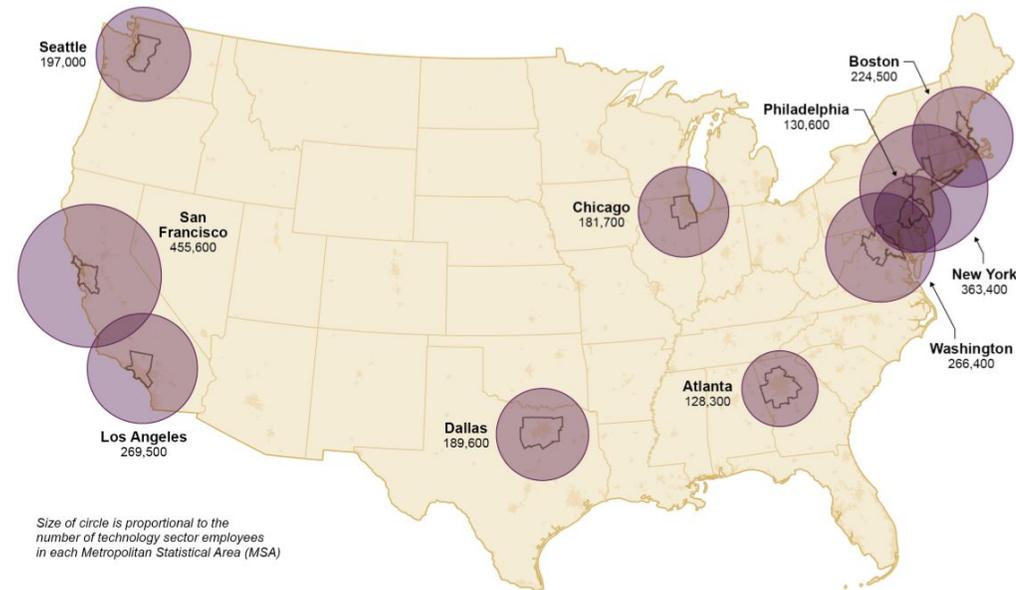


Technology and the meritocracy myth to explain the rising inequality

- What search engines cannot find
- Exploring the lack of Black IT workers in the leading Silicon Valley Firms

The GAO identifies these as the top 10 Tech Sector Employment Centers in the U.S.

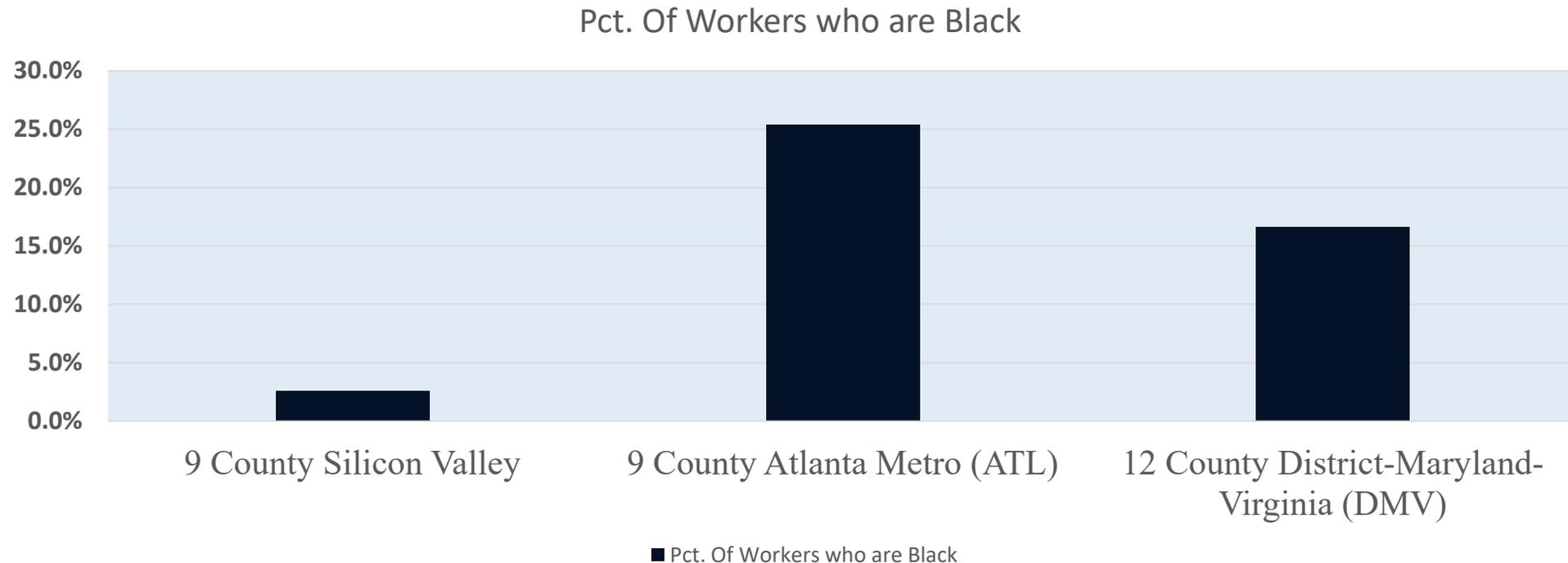
Figure 1: Top 10 Geographic Areas for Technology Sector Employment in the United States, 2014



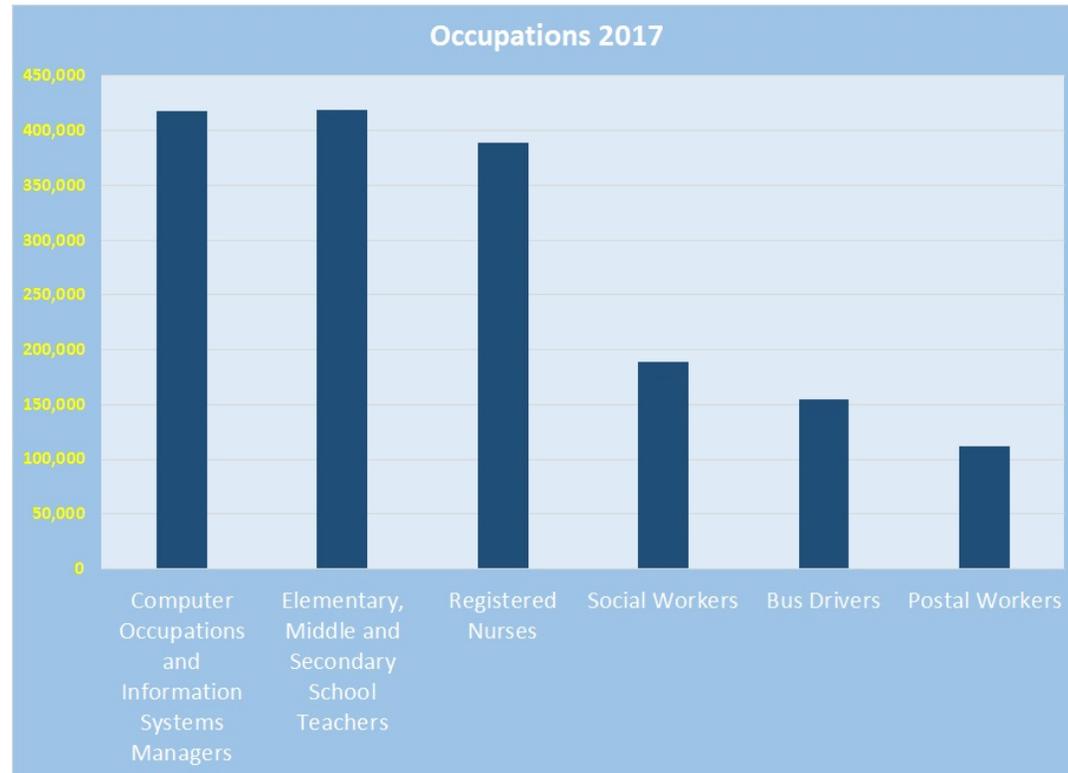
Source: Data from May 2016 report published by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) entitled Diversity in High Tech: U.S. Census Bureau (map). | GAO-18-89

Note: For the graphic, we rounded to the nearest hundred. According to EEOC, EEO-1 Single, Headquarters, and Establishment Reports were used for this analysis.

Why does Silicon Valley have such a low Black share of computer workers?



Black IT workers are a significant group in the Black middle class



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, <http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11.htm>

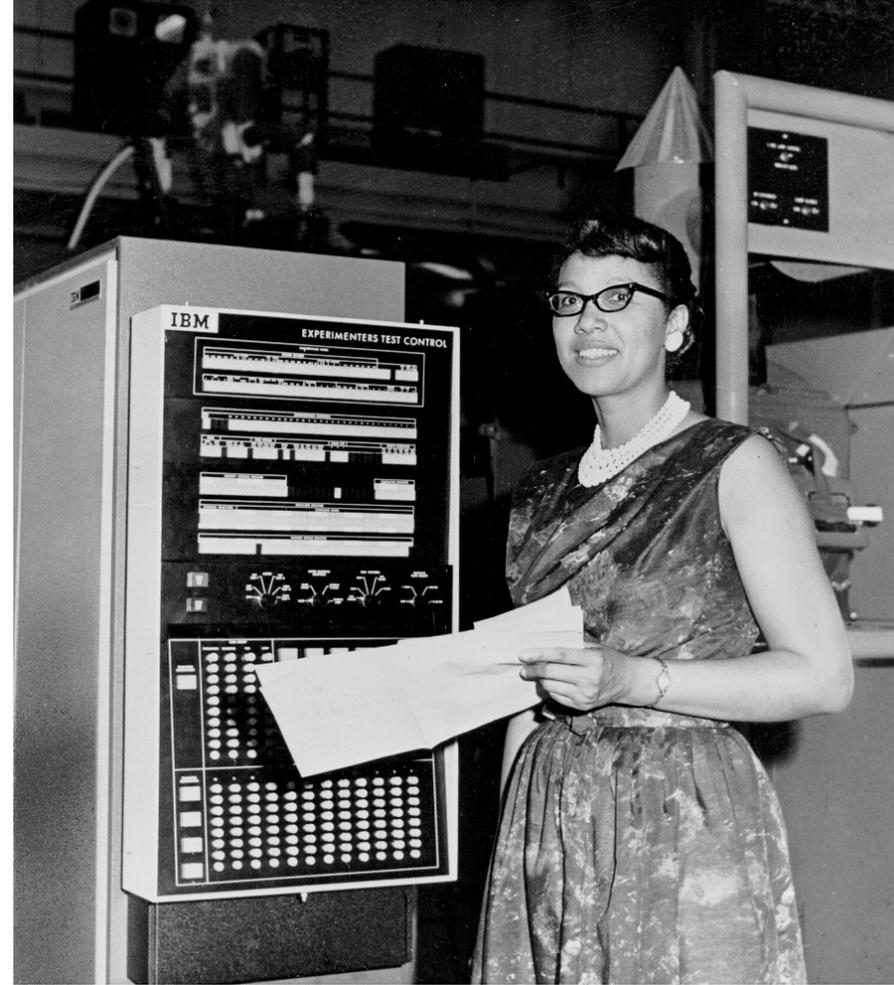
ACADEMY AWARD NOMINEE
BEST PICTURE

BASED ON THE UNTOLD TRUE STORY

HIDDEN FIGURES

★★★★★ — *Empire* ★★★★★ — *The Telegraph* ★★★★★ — *Daily Mail* ★★★★★ — *The Sun*
★★★★★ — *The Guardian* ★★★★★ — *Sunday Express* ★★★★★ — *The Times*





Department of Economics

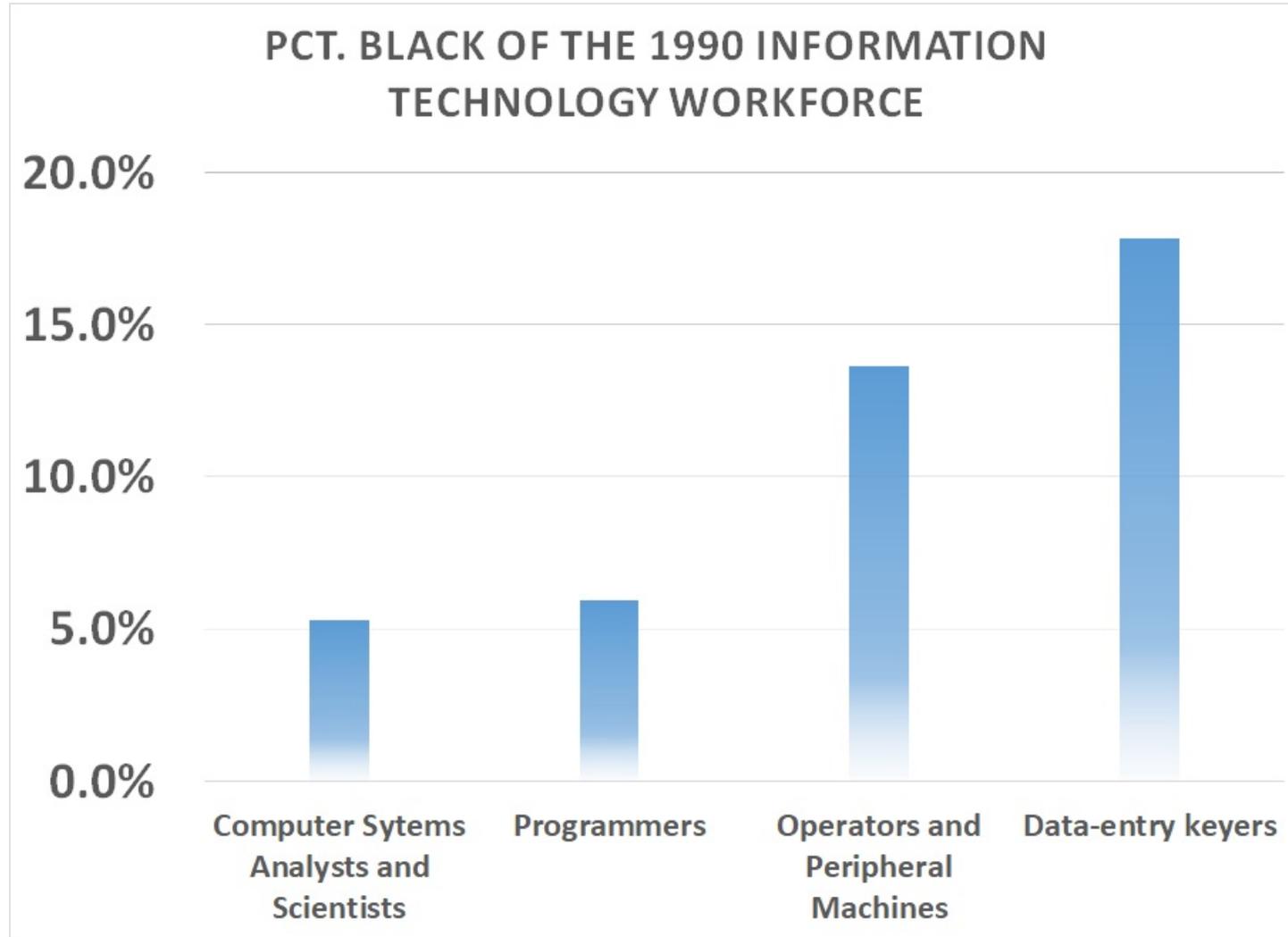
HOWARD
UNIVERSITY



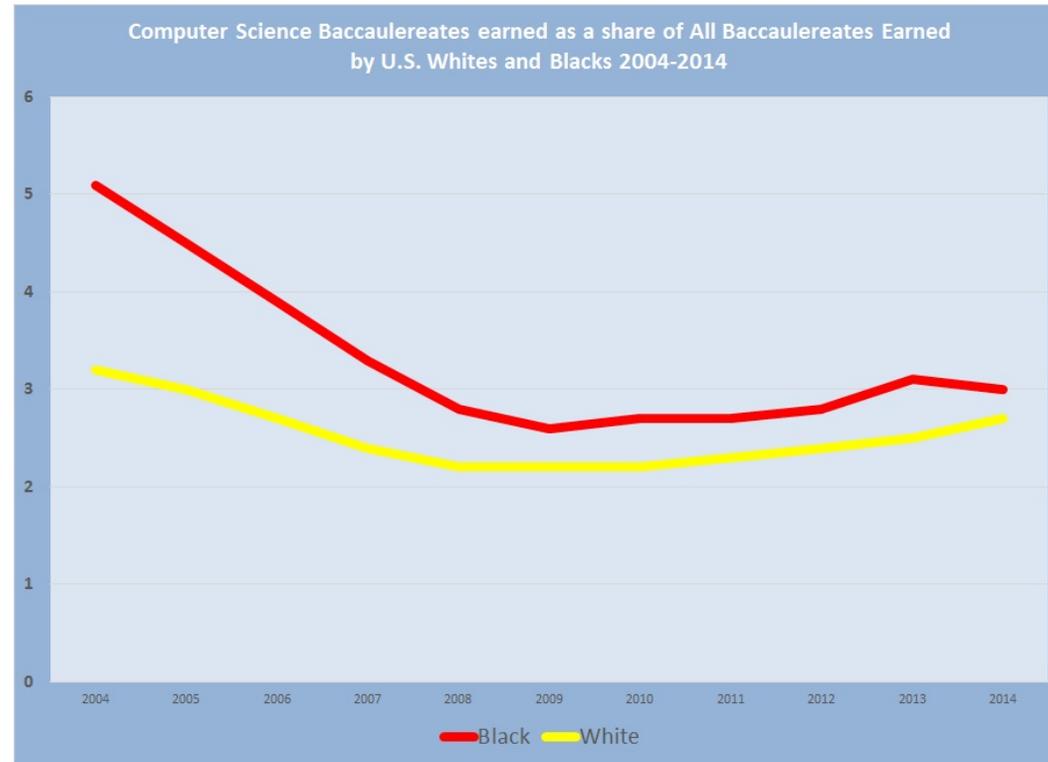
In 1989 Five of the 20 largest Blacked owned businesses were computer or systems integrators

THIS YEAR	LAST YEAR	COMPANY	LOCATION	CHIEF EXECUTIVE	YEAR STARTED	STAFF	TYPE OF BUSINESS	1989 SALES*
1	1	TLC BEATRICE INTERNATIONAL HOLDINGS INC.	New York, New York	Reginald F. Lewis	1983	6,000	Processing & distribution of food products	1,514,000
2	2	JOHNSON PUBLISHING CO. INC.	Chicago, Illinois	John H. Johnson	1942	2,378	Publishing, broadcasting, cosmetics, hair care	241,327
3	3	PHILADELPHIA COCA-COLA BOTTLING CO. INC.	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	J. Bruce Liewellyn	1985	985	Soft-drink bottling	240,000
4	4	H.J. RUSSELL & CO.	Atlanta, Georgia	Herman J. Russell	1958	668	Construction, communications, food & beverages	132,876
5	5	THE GORDY CO.	Los Angeles, California	Berry Gordy	1966	70	Entertainment	100,000
6	6	SOFT SHEEN PRODUCTS INC.	Chicago, Illinois	Edward G. Gardner	1964	565	Hair-care products manufacturer	87,200
7	7	TRANS JONES INC./JONES TRANSFER CO.	Monroe, Michigan	Gary L. White	1986	1,264	Transportation services	78,555
8	10	THE BING GROUP ¹	Detroit, Michigan	David Bing	1980	170	Steel processing & distribution	73,883
9	9	THE MAXIMA CORP.	Rockville, Maryland	Joshua I. Smith	1978	918	Systems engineering & computer management	58,383
10	11	DICK GRIFFEY PRODUCTIONS	Hollywood, California	Dick Griffey	1975	86	Entertainment	50,162
11	—	NETWORK SOLUTIONS INC.	Harrison, Virginia	Emmit J. McHenry	1979	480	Systems integration	48,800
12	14	INTEGRATED SYSTEMS ANALYSTS INC.	Arlington, Virginia	C. Michael Gooden	1980	640	Engineering & technical support services	48,910
13	25	ADVANCED CONSUMER MARKETING CORP.	Burlingame, California	Harry W. Brooks, Jr.	1984	427	Systems integration, mail-order products	47,800
14	12	COMMUNITY FOODS INC.	Baltimore, Maryland	Oscar A. Smith, Jr.	1970	450	Retail foods	47,200
15	—	YANBY MINERALS	Woodbridge, Connecticut	Earl J. Yanby	1977	8	Industrial metals, minerals, and coal distributor	45,000
15	12	CRESCENT DISTRIBUTING CO. INC.	Hopkirk, Louisiana	Stanley S. Scott	1988	165	Beer distributor	45,000
17	20	THE THACKER ORGANIZATION	Decatur, Georgia	Floyd G. Thacker	1970	98	Construction & engineering	42,100
18	—	GRANITE BROADCASTING CORP.	New York, New York	W. Don Carmel	1988	300	TV broadcasting	38,811
19	16	ESSENCE COMMUNICATIONS INC.	New York, New York	Edward Lewis	1989	85	Publishing, TV production, direct-mail catalog sales	38,037
20	8	SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT AMERICAN CORP.	Norfolk, Virginia	Herman E. Valentine	1970	300	Computer systems integration	38,000

* In millions of dollars, to nearest thousand. As of Dec. 31, 1989. Prepared by BE Research. Reviewed by Michel/Titus & Co. ©1990 by Bing Deal Inc.



Most importantly, Blacks are more likely to major in Computer Science than whites (2004-2014)



Source: Table 5-3 <https://www.nsf.gov/statistics/2017/nsf17310/data.cfm> (acc: 18 Jul 2018)

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Testimony to be delivered before
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For the purposes of the Task Force, we must consider the history of women of African descent in their roles as workers (waged and unwaged) and also as family and community members. Here I provide a brief overview of region-specific and national trends. I also cite specific examples drawn from California history, especially for the period after 1941. My emphasis is on the harmful discriminatory effects of governmental policies at all levels—local, state, and federal—combined with private employers' strategies related to profit-making and workplace configurations. Governmental entities played a significant part in promoting and sustaining racist practices, especially before 1964. As a result, those entities bear a direct responsibility for persistent patterns of poverty and low levels of asset-accumulation among Black families in California and throughout the nation. Even after the passage of major Civil Rights legislation in the mid-1960s, private companies such as banks and corporations have engaged in lending and hiring practices that help to solidify patterns of racial inequality. Residential segregation and the harmful effects of U. S. tax policies continue to have adverse effects on Black families. The history of Black women represents a key element in this larger story of public-private complicity in limiting the economic opportunities of all Black people.¹

¹ For an overview, see Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

Many Black Californians today trace their lineage back to the U. S. South, where their forebears were enslaved. The institution of slavery was a massive, government-sustained program of wage theft affecting millions of people of African and Indigenous descent who lived and labored (in territory that would become part of the United States) between the early seventeenth century and 1865. Carried out primarily (but not exclusively) in brutal labor camps called plantations, slavery depended on the strict oversight and enforcement provided by public officials at the local, state, and (beginning with the founding of the U. S.) federal levels. Enslavement was not a product of neutral “market” forces, but rather the result of direct intervention by intertwined mutually reinforcing legislative and private interests.

In the South, enslaved women worked in the fields growing staples such as tobacco, cotton, sugar, and rice, and in the kitchens and parlors of their white masters and mistresses. On the earliest plantations, in the Chesapeake region (the colonies of Virginia and Maryland), local officials taxed all field workers, called “tithables,” which included white, Black, and Indigenous men and Black and Indigenous women. This system of taxation resulted in the deployment of enslaved women in the fields, while white (English and other European) women remained confined to household work.² Black women thus performed what was traditionally considered “men’s work”—in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cultivating tobacco and then by the late eighteenth century planting, chopping (weeding), and harvesting cotton—as well as “women’s work”—cooking, cleaning, and performing childcare for white people.

Enslaved men and women were exploited under slavery, but in certain respects they experienced manifestations of that exploitation differently. A division of labor in the slave quarters mandated

² Kathleen Mary Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

that women and girls were responsible for food preparation, childcare, and laundry, adding to their burdens. Women labored under the constant threat of sexual assault from the men who oversaw their work in the fields and from white men generally—overseers and the sons and guests of plantation owners no less than the owners themselves. The rape of women was an instrument of terror wielded by white men, but it was also a means of increasing the enslaved workforce, thereby enriching the owner. Thus Black women were integral to this system of profit-making, which relied not only on their work in the fields but also on their reproductive labor.³

Between 1619 and 1808, approximately 9,566,000 men, women, and children were forcibly removed from Africa to the Americas; the vast majority went to the Caribbean and South America. Indeed, only about 300,000, or 4-6 percent of the total, were transported to what would become the United States.⁴ Yet by 1865 the nation's Black population amounted to over 4,400,000 people, revealing a dramatic pattern of natural growth over the generations. That number suggests the arduous labors of Black women as field hands, domestic servants, and bearers of children. Indeed, after the end of U. S. participation in the international slave trade, planters more than ever depended upon the reproductive labors of enslaved women, helping to account for large families as well as instances of sexual assault and forced mating.⁵

Town, county, and state officials as well as the federal government permitted slave owners a great deal of leeway in punishing and abusing their workers. Marked by shocking levels of

³ Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985); Rachel A. Feinstein, *When Rape was Legal: The Untold History of Sexual violence during Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

⁴ Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972).

⁵ Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

sadism and sexual license, the system of slavery amounted to a form of state-sponsored domestic terrorism. This system found favor with white people in the North, many of whom after 1790 or so benefited directly from the cotton economy—as sea captains, merchants, machine operatives in textile mills, and consumers of cheap cloth. Recently, scholars have argued that the cultivation of cotton fueled the Industrial Revolution and created not only great fortunes for a few, but a general prosperity among the white propertied classes in the antebellum North and South. Enslaved bodies—bought, sold, exploited for labor and sex, mortgaged, and insured—were extremely valuable commodities within the national and global economy.⁶

The United States Constitution does not mention the word slavery, but the 1787 document did protect private property, which included enslaved workers. In 1790 Congress stipulated that only free white men should be allowed to immigrate to the U. S. and eventually apply for citizenship.⁷ Although the Constitution mandated the banning of the international slave trade in 1808, that ban did not apply to the buying and selling of Black people within the United States. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Black families were routinely separated as part of a massive forced migration from the worn-out tobacco fields of the Upper South to the fresh cotton fields of the Southeast and Old Southwest.⁸ At the local level, towns and counties sponsored slave patrols, groups of white men charged with recovering fugitives and maintaining a racialized “order” on the southern countryside. In 1850, a robust Fugitive Slave Act passed by Congress represented a

⁶ Daina Ramey Berry, *The Price for their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved, from Womb to Grave, in the Building of a Nation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2017); Edward Baptist, *The Half has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2015); Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

⁷ Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

⁸ Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

renewed effort by the federal government to serve the interests of southern slaveholders; the act forced all Northerners to be responsible for apprehending alleged slave runaways, men and women who, at so-called rendition hearings, had no legal rights when it came to defending themselves or claiming their freedom on free soil.⁹

During the Civil War, many enslaved people liberated themselves by seeking refuge behind Union lines. Black women labored in refugee camps as servants for Union officers and as laundresses for Union troops. In many cases neither they nor their menfolk, hired as fatigue workers, received the financial compensation they had been promised.¹⁰ About 180,000 Black men from both the South and the North served in the Union military, though until the last year of the war Black soldiers were paid less than their white counterparts. This discriminatory pay scale had profound effects on the well-being of wives, children, and other dependent kin back home. For southern Black soldiers, serving in the Union army put their loved ones at home at risk for their lives.¹¹

In the wake of the abolition of slavery, the U. S. government made no concerted effort to compensate the millions of freedpeople who had literally slaved their whole lives to enrich their owners and the country generally. Most Black men and women emerged from bondage with only the clothes on their backs; they had no cash, land or credit, prerequisites for self-sufficiency in the rural South. In any case, many whites refused to extend to Blacks the credit necessary to buy

⁹ R. J. M. Blackett, *The Captive's Quest for Freedom: Fugitive Slaves, the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, and the Politics of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁰ Joseph P. Reidy, *Illusions of Emancipation: The Pursuit of Freedom and Equality in the Twilight of Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020); Chandra Manning, *Troubled Refuge: Struggling for Freedom in the Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2016).

¹¹ John David Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); James G. Mendez, *A Great Sacrifice: Northern Black soldiers, their Families, and the Experience of Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019).

land, and these whites also refused to sell land to the few Black people who possessed the means to buy it.¹²

After the Civil War, many freedwomen withdrew from field labor, an act of defiance that angered both southern planters and northern government officials. For the planters, the drop in the number of women field hands signaled a serious threat to the cotton economy, which had depended on their labor. Northern officials of the Freedmen's Bureau (a government agency established to effect the transition of enslaved people to freedom) considered Black women a subset of all poor women, who were supposed to work rather than remaining "idle" at home. This view revealed a dramatic double standard separating middle-class women who devoted fulltime to their families, from impoverished Black women, who incurred the wrath of employers and public officials if they did not work for wages. Some employers deprived Black women domestics of any kind of pay, instead giving them only cast-off clothing or food (the so-called "service pan") in return for their hours and days of toil. Black women had good reason to try to devote themselves to their families, an opportunity denied them under slavery: By withdrawing from the fields and the white woman's kitchen they took themselves out of harm's way and protected themselves from sexual assault by white overseers and landowners. They could care for their own children and, in some cases, raise chickens or tend gardens to help feed their families.¹³

Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth, the vast majority of southern Black families remained landless, confined to the exploitative sharecropping system. Families contracted with a landlord at the beginning of every year and signed contracts that

¹² Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed: America's Underclasses from the Civil War to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1992).

¹³ Jones, *Labor of Love*, 43-76.

supposedly entitled them to a share of the crop at the end of the year. However, lacking tools, mules, and seed, many of these families found themselves living as peons, forced to remain on a plantation until they could discharge their debt as reckoned by the white landowner-employer.¹⁴

Sharecropping families tended to be large, revealing the economic value of children who could, at a young age, contribute to the household as cotton pickers. As late as the 1930s and 1940s, many southern Black families were tilling the soil much as their enslaved forebears had generations before. Beginning in 1890, all of the former Confederate states passed laws or amended their Constitutions to deprive Black men of the right to vote.¹⁵ Some states entered into contracts with private employers to supply Black convicts, men and women who had been arrested on flimsy pretexts and sentenced to labor on a chain gang or in a mine or rice field.¹⁶ Disfranchisement, local laws mandating racial segregation in public parks and private venues, and horrific acts of violence in the form of men and women hanged, dismembered, and burned to death, were the lot of southern Blacks during this period. (To label this period with the seemingly innocuous name of a comedic antebellum minstrel character—“Jim Crow”—is misleading in the extreme.)

Under these deplorable conditions, the majority of southern Black women continued to care for their large families, help with the harvest in the fall, and serve as the mainstay of local Black churches and benevolent societies. Some of them engaged in petty commodity production and

¹⁴ Jones, *Dispossessed*.

¹⁵ Michael Perman, *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina press, 2003); J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restrictions and the Establishment of the One-Party South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

¹⁶ Talitha LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Mary Ellen Curtin, *Black Prisoners and their World: Alabama, 1865-1900* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (New York: Verso, 1996).

trade, as when they sold eggs, vegetables, or brooms. Though living within a region marked by stark inequalities in public education, many of them made sacrifices so that their children had the proper clothing to wear to school, leading to a phenomenon called—“chickens for shoes,” referring to mothers selling chickens and eggs to buy textbooks and shoes for their school-aged children. The cotton grown by sharecroppers enriched white landowners, who often cheated families out of their due at the end of the year’s reckoning. White landowners paid taxes that funded white public schools, diverting money from small rural Black schools, again revealing the complicity of public governments—in this case local white school boards—in perpetuating systems of discrimination.¹⁷

At this point it is helpful to step back and consider larger national trends in the gendered division of labor. The Civil War era opened up new employment opportunities for women in the fields of school-teaching and nursing. Black women who followed these professions were confined to paid work in under-resourced segregated schools and hospitals.¹⁸ In the late nineteenth century, the clerical, retail, and manufacturing offered employment opportunities for white women, especially those who were young and unmarried. Private employers hired these women as receptionists, department store clerks, telephone operators (positions that required interaction with customers), as well as machine operatives. Textile factories and sweatshop owners took advantage of the fact that many of these young women lived with their parents and did not have to support a family, and so could be paid less than a man to do the same job. Throughout the country, a higher percentage of Black married women worked than their white counterparts, and

¹⁷ Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public Schools Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958); Jones, *Labor of Love*, 77-102.

¹⁸ Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Adam Fairclough, *A Class of their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007).

Black women stayed in the paid labor force longer than whites—indicators of the need among these women to be joint or sole breadwinners in families that could not subsist on the meagre pay of Black men, who themselves remained limited to ill-paid menial jobs.¹⁹

Overall these trends suggested that Black women would be excluded from “modern” forms of work--those that involved working with machines such as typewriters, textile looms, or sewing machines, and those defined by a set number of hours each day. Black women throughout the nation labored as domestic servants (some who lived in the home of their employer were on call virtually twenty-four hours a day), their jobs shaped by the whims of white family members and not by the hands of a clock. A noteworthy phenomenon appeared in the South, where enslaved Black women, men and children, had worked in water-powered textile mills before the Civil War. After the war, southern textile-mill owners reserved those jobs for white families, claiming that Black people lacked a “mechanical sense,” rendering them unfit for mill work. By excluding Black families from the Piedmont textile mill villages, southern elites (including politicians, bankers, and private employers) accomplished several ends. They fashioned even hazardous mill work as sharecropping families’ welcome escape from the cash-starved countryside, and they drove a wedge between the rural Black and white poor. Beginning in the 1880s, tenants and sharecroppers were beginning to join biracial political parties such as the People’s Party to challenge southern businessmen, landowners, and railroad operators.²⁰

Large-scale migration out of the South did not take place until World War I, when for the first time northern and Midwestern defense industries beckoned with well-paying jobs. Black women

¹⁹ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Susan Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

²⁰ Jacqueline Jones, *American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 222-232.

were an integral part of this migration, contributing to the war effort as workers in factories and on railroads. Yet after the war it was clear that the North broadly defined would fail to live up to its promise as a place of fair play and good wages. Still barred from work as secretaries and retail clerks, Black women were once again limited to service jobs as domestics and custodians.²¹

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal of the 1930s brought northern African Americans into the Democratic Party in great numbers; but the legislative initiatives by that name had a mixed impact on Black people in general. While northern Blacks (representing a small fraction of the total Black population) received something amounting to their fair share of governmental jobs and assistance, Black Southerners fared much worse. There, federal aid and public-works programs were controlled by local white Democrats. These officials saw no need to assist the large number of Black families devastated and displaced by the collapsing cotton economy, arguing that if there was laundry to be done or cotton to be picked for white folks, the state and federal government should not provide Blacks with relief of any kind.²²

During the 1930s, for the first time in the nation's history the federal government sought to mitigate the harsh effects of unfettered employer power when it came to wages, hours, and working conditions. Nevertheless, the signal achievements of this era-- Social Security and minimum hour, maximum wage, and anti-child labor legislation—explicitly denied these benefits to workers in the agricultural and domestic-service sectors, and to anyone who held a seasonal or part-time job. These restrictions affected approximately 85 percent of all Black workers in the United States. And too, federal initiatives often mandated racial segregation, in

²¹ Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York: Vintage, 2011); Jones, *Labor of Love*, 131-62.

²² Jones, *Labor of Love*, 163-194.

the Civilian Conservation Corps, for example. A New Deal program, the Federal Housing Authority (1934) required that new housing be segregated if building contractors were to qualify for government loans.²³

Taken together, New Deal initiatives widened the gap between Black and white workers, and between Black and white women. The typical southern Black woman would continue to work in the white woman's kitchen and in the cotton field without the benefit of social-welfare legislation that primarily benefited the families of northern blue-collar workers in large factories. By excluding non-industrial wage earners from New Deal programs, the federal government enacted policies that, while "race neutral" on the surface, disadvantaged a disproportionate number of Black workers, with profound long-term consequences.

California had always beckoned to immigrants and migrants alike—the miners lured by what Chinese immigrants called "Gold Mountain" in the second half of the nineteenth century, the agri-business owners who aspired to feed the nation once the transcontinental railway was completed in 1869. The historical literature is replete with descriptions of southern white people who moved west in the 1920s and 1930s, fleeing depressed, and after 1929, Great-Depression conditions.²⁴ For a number of reasons Black people did not take part in this pre-1941 migration. Many lacked the means to buy a train ticket. Even those few who could afford a car knew that the cross-country journey was a perilous one, without predictable sources of fuel for the car or the body along the way. Most significantly, though, California employers already had an abundant supply of labor, including vulnerable Mexicans and Asian-Americans who would work

²³ Kevin Fox Gotham, "Racialization and the State: The Housing Act of 1934 and the Creation of the Federal Housing Administration," *Sociological Perspectives* 43 (Summer 2000):291-317.

²⁴ James Gregory, *American Exodus: The Dustbowl Migration and Okie culture in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

in the vast crop fields and vineyards at starvation wages. Major manufacturers made it clear that they would not hire Black applicants, male or female. In 1940, aviation official W. Gerald Tuttle of the Vultee Aircraft Company in southern California announced, “I regret to say that it is not the policy of this company to employ people other than the Caucasian race.”²⁵

It was not until the nation was well into World War II that the state’s employers felt an acute labor shortage. Even then, it took the combined pressure of the state’s NAACP, National Urban League, and Congress of Racial Equality to open the factory gates to African Americans. Blacks in California were also part of a national movement, the Double V for Victory campaign, to defeat fascism abroad and racism at home. The sudden availability of well-paying defense jobs, for Black men in 1942, for Black women not until 1943 or so, led to 5 million Black people migrating out of the South and into the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast. Seemingly overnight the newcomers transformed whole regions of the state, including the Bay Area, and especially the East Bay. The city of Richmond, California, saw a massive influx of war workers from 1940-45, when its population grew from 24,000 to 100,000, with the Black population increasing from 270 to 14,000 in those years.²⁶

The intense demand for labor was not sufficient to overcome generations-long practices that adversely affected Black women (and men). At the beginning of the war, in response to pressure from Black activists, the federal government created the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), an agency that monitored federal defense-industry contracts to ensure job opportunities for Black workers. At the same time, a government job placement agency, the United States Employment Service and its Women’s Advisory Commission, catered to the prejudices of white

²⁵ Tuttle quoted in Robert C. Weaver, *Negro Labor: A National Problem* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1946), 109.

²⁶ Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright, 2017) 5.

employers and their workers. In government publications, Black women were hailed as “support workers” and laborers in essential civilian industries (as domestics and laundresses) who would allow white women to work fulltime outside the home. The federal government continued its practice of segregating public housing.²⁷

Some Black women were hired as welders and riveters, factory jobs that paid well, allowing them to contribute directly to the war effort and bolstering their confidence as workers and citizens.²⁸ Yet it remained difficult for individual Black people to challenge generations-old all-white workplaces. In her memoir *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, Maya Angelou describes the incredible persistence, determination, and time commitment that finally won her the position of the first Black streetcar conductor in San Francisco; passing the requisite entry examination was not necessarily sufficient to overcome the resistance of hiring officials.²⁹

At this point it is worth reviewing the dynamics of job discrimination and the entangled motives on the part of white employers, workers, and consumers. White workers deployed a number of strategies to discourage their employers from integrating workplaces. At one end of the spectrum were the World War II “hate strikes” that halted production in defense plants once people of color integrated a workplace. At the other end were the efforts of employees to push for new hires who were their extended kin or other migrants from the South; these efforts discouraged the introduction of so-called “outsiders,” keeping the workplace peace by enhancing familial, ethnic, and (white) fraternal bonds among workers. Some employers wanted to avoid the extra expense of accommodating the prejudices of their employees by providing separate

²⁷ Jones, *Labor of Love*, 199-200.

²⁸ Maureen Honey, ed., *bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999).

²⁹ Maya Angelou, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

lunchrooms and bathrooms for workers of color. Business owners in general promoted the idea that, given their choice of retail outlets, white customers would go elsewhere rather than be served by a Black clerk. And many employers simply abided by tradition and hired only white people. The effect of this “tradition” was to suggest that, because a Black person had never held a certain kind of job, he or she was incapable of doing it.

While Black women eagerly took advantage of new employment opportunities in defense plants, they had to contend with difficult living conditions. As thousands of migrants streamed into the Bay area, the housing shortage deepened, forcing many Black families into makeshift, ramshackle, cramped quarters. One war worker, Precious Mack, remembered that first her uncle and then her father left the South for California, and then the rest of the family followed. When they arrived in the Bay area, they could only find a one-room trailer to house their family of twelve. Like women in general, Black women had to scramble to find childcare, as local, state, and federal governments persisted in their historic refusal to provide support services for mothers of young children, even though many women were working fulltime, some on the night shift, on behalf of the war effort.³⁰

The war broke down some longstanding barriers so that women could perform what was previously designated as “men’s work”—welding, riveting, and carpentry for example. Yet after the war, women were displaced from their factory jobs by returning soldiers; white women resumed work as retail clerks and clerical staff, while Black women remained limited to employment as household domestics, cafeteria workers, and hospital aides. By 1950 the FEPC had been disbanded (it monitored only defense industries in any case), and once again employers

³⁰ Jones, *Labor of Love*, 207; Cheryl Mullenbach, *Double Victory: How African American Women Broke Race and Gender Barriers to Help Win World War II* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2017).

could freely advertise that “No Negroes Need Apply.” Black unemployment rates soared. As Maya Angelou put it in 1945, Black veterans were now “hanging on ghetto street corners like forgotten laundry left on back yard fence.” She added, “Thus we lived through a major war. The question in the ghettos was, Can we make it through a minor peace?”³¹

Because Black families continued to face stubborn challenges stemming from job discrimination and housing segregation, Black women’s labor continued to be essential to the well-being of their households, nuclear and extended. In the East Bay area, the largest shipyard union, the American Federation of Labor International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers of America segregated Black members into a separated group and rendered that group powerless in contract negotiations. While white men took advantage of the GI Bill to go to college, Black men found their chances for higher education foreclosed by the lack of accredited (ie., white) colleges that would admit them. Banks engaged in pernicious red-lining practices, which denied mortgage loans to even middle-class Black workers if they were living in an overwhelmingly Black area. In 1950 almost 30 percent of Black men between the ages of 20 and 24 were jobless. According to one historian, “Despite substantial progress during the war, Oakland’s employment patterns continued to reflect a Jim Crow occupational hierarchy” for both men and women.³²

Patterns of residential segregation in particular played a major role in thwarting the aspirations of Black women as wives, mothers, and workers. Confined to impoverished neighborhoods, they often faced long commutes to work. Their inability to purchase a home meant that they would remain at the mercy of landlords who realized they housed a captive group of people who could

³¹ Maya Angelou, *Gather Together in My Name* (New York: Random House, 1974), 5.

³² Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 54-7, 83.

not afford to move. In the suburbs, so-called neighborhood improvement associations put pressure on homeowners not to sell to people of color, a trend supported by real estate agents and city councils. All-white towns such as Eagle Rock enlisted local police in discouraging Black families from moving into their neighborhoods (in 1948).³³ The Federal Housing Authority and the Veterans Administration refused to grant loans to Black veterans who wanted to buy houses in white areas. City authorities segregated public housing, refusing to build enough units to accommodate the numbers of Black applicants. Federal policy favored suburban homeowners over urban renters by providing tax breaks for interest on mortgage payments, by creating an interstate highway system that frequently decimated Black communities, and by refusing to loan money to housing contractors who refused to segregate any new developments they built. The combined effects of these policies and practices among bankers, real estate agents, city officials, and builders meant that over the generations Black families would lack the assets of their white counterparts who owned their own homes. For the children of homeowners, a real-estate inheritance perpetuated patterns of wealth over the generations.³⁴

In the postwar period, government jobs became the bedrock of many Black families. Private employers fretted about the prejudices of their customers, and so kept Blacks in the “back of the house” jobs; however, government employers did not have to worry about customers in the realm of necessary public services related to education and transportation; after the war Black men and women would work as bus drivers, social workers, and teachers. Nevertheless, some public sectors such as law enforcement and firefighting resisted integrating their ranks, using

³³ Matthew Fleischer, “How white people used police to make L. A. one of the most Segregated cities in America,” *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 12, 2020.

³⁴ Ta-Nehisi Coates, “The Case for Reparations,” *Atlantic*, June, 2014; Rothstein, *The Color of Law*.

formal examinations and other machinations as pretexts for discrimination; and some worksites, once integrated, showed hostility to people of color, making life miserable for them.³⁵

The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 marked the end of the federal government's active attempts to apply discriminatory policies to housing and employment, and the beginning of federal enforcement of voting laws. With the crumbling of legislative mandates upholding racial segregation, and with affirmative efforts by colleges and employers to admit Black people in meaningful numbers for the first time, a segment of the Black population began to thrive. The emergence of a well-educated Black professional class—with Black women becoming physicians, lawyers, college professors, and media personalities-- represented a dramatic development in American history, and in the history of work.

Yet the absence of legal barriers was not sufficient to open the way to a brighter future for many Black women. Indeed, a confluence of events in the 1960s and 1970s conspired to keep large numbers in poverty, relegated to low-paying, disagreeable jobs. The Immigration Act of 1965 opened the country to groups who competed with Black people for unskilled jobs. By this time, certain industries had taken advantage of local tax incentives and moved to the suburbs, making it difficult for people who did not own cars to get to work. Other industries took their production facilities offshore, or to Mexico, in an attempt to avoid American unions and minimum wage and maximum-hour laws. The global economy hit Black workers hard in the sectors that they were just beginning to enter—textile production for example. Some white-collar jobs such as bank teller were reduced or eliminated with the increased use of computers and robotics. In addition,

³⁵ "Chief Michael Moore: Policing Inequities Reflect Racism in Society," *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 2021; U. S. Department of Justice, "Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department: Summary" (1991) <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/report-independent-commission-los-angeles-police-department-0>

a tax revolt among suburban taxpayers began to register in municipal budgets, as towns and cities began to cut back on public employment in the transportation, education, and social-welfare sectors. In 2010, Black women and men were 33 percent more likely than the general workforce to have jobs with the federal government or with state and local governments.³⁶

By the 1990s old and new distressed communities proliferated around the country. The south Los Angeles neighborhoods of Watts and Compton shared certain characteristics with all these places, whether urban or rural and regardless of region. People in these communities lacked access to well-paying jobs that did not require a college education, and they lacked the resources to move into middle-class white suburbs. The available jobs were concentrated in the service industry—fast food workers, home health aides, child care. Without a substantial tax base, the public schools in these areas were unable to provide an adequate education to prepare students for the challenges of the twenty-first century global workforce. Underground economies thrived, and police targeted Black men and youth for nonviolent offenses such as drug use, leading to high rates of incarceration and leaving wives and mothers to try to piece together a living on their own. These communities were vulnerable to police abuse and violence, an historic pattern that persisted well into the modern era.

A number of recent studies illustrate the ways that federal housing and tax policies, as well as the practices of private banks and employers, harm people of color, all under the guise of “race neutral” policies and practices. Hidden forms of discrimination affect Black women in their roles as jobseekers, applicants for mortgages and other loans, and taxpayers. These studies suggest the limitations of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII, as a force for a level playing

³⁶ Jacqueline Jones, *A Dreadful Deceit: The Myth of Race from the Colonial Era to Obama's America* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 289-301.

field when it comes to employment opportunities. Some employers persist in discriminatory practices, now using a person's zip code as a proxy for their "race." The rise of a service economy and the decline of manufacturing have limited the number of well-paying jobs for people with only a high school degree. In the early 2000s, banks switched from red-lining communities of color to pushing predatory loans on them, leading to high rates of foreclosure, especially after the financial crisis of 2008. Perhaps most significantly, the persistence of pockets of poverty, creations of federal policy and private interests, stand as a stark reminder of the way American taxpayers at the local, state, and federal level have funded the mechanisms of housing and school segregation over the years. For most middle-class Americans, equity in a home is a family's largest asset in terms of their total net worth. In 2016, the net worth of a typical white family was nearly ten times greater than that of a Black family (\$171,000 v. \$17, 150). Generations of Black women as workers, wives, and mothers have paid a high price for these forms of discrimination, their talents squandered and dreams dashed.³⁷

In 2019 the Public Policy Institute of California reported that about one third (34 percent) of the state's residents were poor or near poor, including more than one-fifth of all Latino/as, and 17.4 percent of African Americans (compared to 12.1 percent of whites). While 12 percent of white women were impoverished, the figure for Black women was 23 percent. In 2019, the median

³⁷ Rothstein, *The Color of Law*; Mehrsa Baraden, *The Color of Money: Black Banks and the Racial Wealth Gap* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2019); Dorothy Brown, *the Whiteness of Wealth: How the Tax System Impoverished Black American—and How We Can Fix It* (New York: Random House, 2021); Melvin Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro, *black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Thomas M. Shapiro, *the Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Kriston McIntosh, Emily Moss, Ryan Nunn, and Jay Shambaugh, "Examining the Black-White Wealth Gap," *Brookings.edu*, Feb. 27, 2020 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2020/02/27/examining-the-black-white-wealth-gap/> ("This history matters for contemporary inequality because its legacy is passed down generation-to-generation through unequal monetary inheritances which make up a great deal of current wealth".

annual earnings of white women stood at \$55,266, and for Black women 44,438. The discrepancy was even greater for men-- \$71,875 for white men, and \$48,469 for Black men.³⁸

The COVID pandemic has had disastrous effects on Black communities. Concentrated in the service sector, Black women lost their jobs as waitresses, fast-food workers, and custodians when restaurants and educational institutions closed their doors to in-person gatherings. At the same time, Black women are overrepresented as front-line workers, serving as hospital orderlies and home health-care workers, making them more vulnerable to the virus. These developments suggest the ways that historic legacies of discrimination continue to shape the well-being of African American women and their families.³⁹

By way of conclusion I do not mean to argue that Black Californians are the only group in the state to have endured systematic prejudice over the generations. Certainly (for example) Mexicans and their descendants, U. S. citizens as well as undocumented immigrants, have faced prejudice in the form of job ceilings and residential segregation. However, the history of African Californians is unique because many of their forebears were enslaved in the American South. Governments at all levels have initiated and enforced policies that limited Blacks' employment opportunities in direct and long-lasting ways. Indeed, federal agencies, local city officials and school boards, and law enforcement officers, together with state legislative and Congressional inaction, have played a major role in limiting the ability of Black women to achieve material success and their highest potential.

³⁸ <https://www.ppic.org/publication/poverty-in-california/>; <https://statusofwomendata.org/wp-content/themes/witsfull/factsheets/economics/factsheet-california.pdf>

³⁹ Public Policy Institute of California, "Black Californians Struggle within Challenging Job Market," Feb. 24, 2021 <https://www.ppic.org/blog/black-californians-struggle-within-a-challenging-job-market/>

Testimony

Witness Panel, entitled "The Wealth Gap".

This panel is scheduled to be presented from 1:40-3:00 pm. With regard to your testimony, which is scheduled for ten minutes, the Task Force is interested in not only your background:

My name is Paul Austin and I am a direct descendant from grandparents who migrated from the south in the 1940's to work in the Marin shipyards. Everyone who worked in the shipyards lived in Marin city which at the time was all government housing. When The War ended black people had no choice but to settle in Marin City due to Redlining where they weren't able to buy property outside of Marin City. Marin County is arguably one of the richest Counties not only in California but in the entire United States. However, it has the largest disparities according to the Race Counts data.

My paternal grandparents were able to buy a home in the neighboring city of Mill Valley which is just 2 miles away from Marin City. The house was in the Hills but you could not see it from the street. The driveway was 90° straight down which was able to avoid people's eyesight. One of my grandfather's white friends got them the lumber that they needed to build the home and another white friend sold them the deed to the house. In order for my grandparents not to be discovered that they were building this home, my grandfather and a few of his friends built the home at nights and weekends because blacks were not allowed to buy in the area. The realtor who sold my grandparents the deed ended up getting black balled once word got out that she sold to a black family.

My other set of grandparents settled here in Marin City where they built a beautiful home for their family which included my mom and her siblings. Later, three of my mother's five siblings also bought homes and settled in Marin City. Our community was once a predominantly black community but it is no longer. Marin City, like most predominantly black communities, continues to face gentrification.

but is specifically interested in the economic impact of disparity you encountered as a result of discriminatory practices employed against your property and thereby against you; and the impact of those practices on you and your family.

- In 2019 we got two Appraisals done within 30 days of each other.
- The first appraisal came in underneath a million dollars.
- This was after we had done an additional 1300 square feet plus upgrades to our home.
- At the time I was home and met with the appraiser. She was the older white woman.
- The second appraisal came in at almost 1.5.

- 500 thousand dollar difference.
- What changed? We staged our home to resemble our white friends and even had her to act as if she was Tenisha when the second appraiser came.
- Jan came over and sat at our kitchen island with her laptop and with a picture of her family in plain sight.
- We were angry, frustrated, mad, and upset for months. I still get upset and can physically feel it in my body (stomach and headaches).
- Stress

AGENDA ITEM 18: AGENDA FOR
DECEMBER HEARING

OUTLINE REVIEW SCHEDULE

By mid-Nov: DOJ to send Task Force all 12 outline sections

Meeting 5: December 7/8 Hearing: Task Force discusses, provides edits and votes on all 12 sections

Meeting 6: Mid-February Hearing: Task Force discusses and provides edits on first draft.

Meeting 7: Mid-March Hearing: Task Force discusses, provides edits and votes on final draft.