

A Crisis:

The Need for Immediate Response to the Economic, Educational and Housing Crises in Greater Black Seattle

PRESENTED TO: Government and Non-Profit Leaders and
Policymakers in Greater Seattle

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We the undersigned African American educational professionals hereby alert the leaders in greater Seattle that African Americans are in a crisis. The crisis is clear to us from both our study as well as the practice of our professions. We have prepared adjoining statements of various lengths further detailing the situation as it relates to our areas of emphasis.

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Why We Came Together

All of the contributors to this document have been involved in both charitable and research work in the African American community in greater Seattle. Carl Livingston brought us together on this particular initiative. All of us have been concerned about the economic and social disparities in the Black community at large well before the 2007-2009 Great Recession, and with the manifold problems Blacks here are experiencing as a result of the Great Recession. Livingston was beset with a sense of urgency that something beyond our individual efforts had to be done now. He began contacting each of us as early as April of 2013 and found that we were equally concerned and engaged.

No one here had to be convinced or cajoled to join this effort. It was only a matter of time, scheduling and priorities. We who are part of this effort were able to carve out time to give voice to the crisis that is going on in Black Seattle.

Since May of 2013, we have been at work on this effort. Our work entailed sharing information with each other, holding a number of teleconference discussions, and independently researching as well as writing to contribute to this document. No work like this can be prepared coherently and seamlessly in the short amount of time we have had to do this. We publish this document notwithstanding, because the crisis is serious enough that time is of the essence. The sooner we published even a draft, the quicker we signal to policymakers and social activists that action is required. The faster this happens the sooner we can get help to a people who have already suffered too long.

By way of summary, African Americans in the greater Seattle area are in a socio-economic crisis. The material herein shows that the exigent circumstances require an immediate, economically-centered and yet comprehensive response.

What We Urge Leaders to Do

We urge area policymakers—public, private and non-profit—to address this crisis in the areas of business development, college and vocational preparation, as well as housing provision.

We also urgently call on African American leaders to convene to increase the level of their service to their own community, and to especially do so economically, educationally and in housing.

The Scholarly Basis for Our Importunity

The following articles and statements comprise collectively much of the foundation for the crisis we see, experience and are studying in the greater African American Seattle community. There are three (3) caveats though that make it most difficult to present a thorough, current substantiation. First, there are lagging indicators in any economic turnaround. The rise in employment lags behind increases in stock investments. Thus, Wall Street rises before Main Street does. With so many Blacks on Main Street rather than Wall Street, blacks are the last to rise. Moreover, within lagging employment increases is the type of employment that generally increases first. Construction, transportation, and technology are likely to lead employment gains. African Americans are less likely to work in these places. Lastly, preferences (institutional discrimination) and discrimination (disparate treatment and intentional) accentuate African Americans being the first fired in a downturn and the last hired in the upturn.

Second, the most current and complete data are difficult to get before they are publically released . Complete business census data comes out every five years; complete population and demographic census information comes out every 10 years.

Third, the best unemployment statistics are garnered from those actively seeking employment and reporting at state and local Employment Security agencies. Those who stop reporting are hard to account for. Estimates are made, but they are just that—estimates.

Still what follows are statements in these areas: need for economic investment; contracts and jobs; need for educational investment; college and vocational preparation; and the need for housing investment, particularly low-income and emergency housing.

Need for Economic Investment: Contracts and Jobs

This first section is on the need for economic investment. Economic development is the key need for adults in the Black community, adults who are the foundation and the providers for Black children. Namely, this investment is in the form of contracts for Black firms and of jobs for Black laborers of various skill levels. Contracts that are fairer in terms of their amount in some relationship to their representative percentage in the population, and fairer in terms of an amount and scope that is equal to what White business owners receive on similar contracts, will create jobs. With more jobs, more Blacks can be self-sufficient, more can take care of their families, and fewer will need social services.

These articles detailing the need for more economic investment are by Dr. Thad Spratlen and Prof. Carl Livingston.

The Black Side of Seattle's Economic Inequality

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Seattle is well known for its prosperity and amenities. We have a diversified, growth economy along with our many cultural, tourism and environmental treasures. Our high-tech, computer-related and bio-tech sectors are thriving along with our highly-renowned retailing success stories. These are all sources of much good economic news about Seattle. Indeed this good news vastly overshadows an often unrecognized pattern of economic inequality that deserves more attention than it gets. When measures of income and wealth disparity, unemployment, educational attainment, rates of incarceration, housing foreclosures, and health disparities are compared, they reveal Seattle's pervasive racial economic inequality. There are many reasons why this is an important, timely, even urgent, topic for discussion. The deprivation and hardships imposed by their impact are first and foremost. But it is noteworthy that the 2013 Nobel laureate in economics, Professor Robert J. Shiller, reminded the world that "rising economic inequality in the United States and other countries is the main economic problem" that we face.ⁱ What the distinguished professor is telling us is that both nationally and locally, we should recognize some of the costs, losses and other negative consequences of pervasive and persistent economic inequality. Thus, high rates of poverty and unemployment mean that basic economic needs of individuals and families, especially children, are not met. Potentially valuable resources are wasted or under-utilized. Illness levels, the lack of health care and the cost of treatment are all higher as well. When accompanied by lower levels of schooling and the lack of economic opportunities, families, households and communities are all more impoverished as a result.

In calling attention to Seattle's racial economic inequality, my hope is that support can be obtained for corporate as well as public policies and programs that will address the causes and, over time,

solve at least the most detrimental problems of economic inequality. In writing this paper, my purpose is to explain how extensive and pervasive economic inequality is in Seattle/King County, mainly. Socio-economic, demographic and cultural indicators are used to define the forms and extent of racial inequality. I also include a few brief comments about the kinds of public and corporate policies that are needed to improve economic opportunities for those who are largely left out of our mainstream economy. However, I can state my conclusions at the start: unless, strong, targeted and sustained efforts are made across many dimensions of economic development, the hardships and deprivations associated with racial economic inequality will continue to be a prominent and detrimental condition of our local and national economy.

The numbers used in this discussion are mainly from 2010. Otherwise, I'm citing the most recent data that are available. Emphasis is on economic inequality in the Seattle/King County region with some comparisons to national measures and relationships.

Indicators of Racial Economic Inequality

Median Household Income. The median household income for Blacks was only 45% of the median for Whites --\$30,116 versus \$66,380. For Washington State as a whole, Seattle Blacks fared better by having a median that was 68% of the White median. For the nation it was at 64%. But check this out: the White median household income in Seattle was 126% of the national median for Whites! That's another way of gauging just how large a gap exists between Blacks and Whites in Seattle. Blacks in Seattle are relatively worse off than elsewhere in the state and nation with respect to median household income. Put more directly for Washington State, Seattle Blacks lag the rest of Blacks in the state by \$8,642 or 22%. We have 10% less (\$3,462) median income than Blacks in the nation as a whole. So overall Seattle Blacks are not as well-off as the veneer of success of the few Black managers, owners and professionals suggest that we are. That's the reality of our racial and regional disparity. Indeed, Seattle Blacks have the lowest level of median household income of all racial/ethnic groups in the city—lagging Hispanics by \$21,293 or 41% and Asians by \$19,389 or 39%.

Wealth. The wealth gap between Blacks and Whites is substantially greater than the income gap. Estimates vary from Whites having between as much as six to 18-times more wealth than Blacks. By one widely used measure (median net worth), in 2011 the median net worth of White households nationally was \$110,500 and for Blacks it was a meager \$6,314. Thus, White net worth was 17.5 times as great as Black net worth. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013) Put another way, Black wealth in Seattle is only 6% of White wealth. Comparing stocks and mutual fund shares the gap drops to being five times as great for Whites compared to Blacks--\$24,000 versus \$4,750.

Unemployment. The national rate in 2010 was 16% for Blacks as compared to 8.7% for Whites. This is one of the few years in which the Black rate is less than twice that of Whites. In fact, it was 2.2 times the White rate in 1963 (50 years ago) and dropped below being twice the rate only three or four times over the half century. So for over five decades, our Black communities have been in a constant state of surviving somewhere between recession and depression level unemployment rates.

Poverty. The federal poverty line for 2010 was an income level of \$22,314 for a family of four. For Seattle the overall poverty rate was 14.8%, slightly above the statewide rate of 13.4% but lower than the national rate of 15.3%. But for Blacks in King County the rate was 27% or 1.8 times as great. Seattle's family poverty rate was lower than the rest of the state and the nation at 7.8%, 9.2% and 11.3%, respectively. Yet an estimated 20% of Black households experienced some form of food hardship during the year meaning not being able to buy basic food needs or going without a meal for lack of funds or food.

Housing. Reflecting our lower socio-economic status generally, Seattle Blacks are mostly renters. And Seattle's pattern of "pocket segregation" is a bit misleading. It's the opposite of the concentrated segregation of large Midwestern and northeastern cities. Unlike say, the west side of Dayton, OH, once recognized as one of America's most segregated cities, which is largely all-Black, West Seattle is largely White like the rest of Seattle. Seattle's Blacks are dispersed in parts of the Central Area and Rainier Valley as well as in sections of Tukwila, Skyway, Renton, Auburn, Federal Way and other suburban communities. But this has its own racialized effects. Consider that the largest

declines in home values since the mortgage lending debacles of 2008-2010 or so have occurred in South King County where a disproportionate number of low income communities of color are located. The economic reality is that Blacks and other people of color are being priced out of Seattle as the city becomes more unaffordable.

Further, the percent of Blacks with homes underwater is far above that of Whites. We were more victimized than Whites by so-called “sub-prime” loans at levels unprecedented in home mortgage lending when the housing bubble burst sometime after 2007. When zip codes were compared with high concentrations of Blacks or other residents of color with those that were predominantly White, the ones with predominantly residents of color reported foreclosures at a rate of 11 per 1,000 households. Again this was a level twice that experienced by White residents. By the way, the epidemic of loan exploitation of African Americans further eroded an already large wealth gap. Home equity is usually the highest level of asset value of for all households.

Educational Attainment. Seattle has a very well-educated population. In one estimate, over 50% of Seattle adults had a college or higher level degree. The city was ranked in the top two or three for residents with college degrees. Only Raleigh, NC was ranked higher. For the entire metropolitan area, 38% of adults 25 and over have at least a bachelor’s degree. Nationally this figure is 29%. For African Americans it is 17.6%. Clearly, if we don’t acquire and offer the skills that Seattle firms need, we can’t be part of Seattle’s success.

Early in the 2002-era students from poor families were 2.4 times more likely to be suspended or expelled in the Seattle School District. For Black students the ratio was similar at 2.1 times. At the time Black students comprised 23% of District enrollment. But they received 58% of suspensions or expulsions for “intimidation of authority” or “interference with authority” compared to only 15% to White students. Overall the Black student suspension proportion was 44%, nearly twice their proportion as enrolled students. Surely such disciplining numbers negatively impact Black student engagement and performance in school. By contrast only 3% of Black students were enrolled in Garfield High School’s honor classes compared to 31% of its White students.

Policies and Proposals for Change

In reflecting on this rather long and depressing litany of disparate comparisons between Whites and Blacks, I stray from convention by not providing specific programs aimed at addressing economic inequality. Instead I provide some references on such programs along with my own perspectives about the current political and policy environment.

We should be honest and realistic that prospects are bleak for meaningful and measurable reduction of economic inequality in the near future. After all in many instances the gaps have widened, not narrowed, over time. A major reason why the gaps have not been narrowed is that they result from multiple causes which have existed for many decades. Programs and policies aimed at making conditions better have been sporadic and woefully underfunded. Dramatic policy changes such as affirmative action have largely been of very short duration compared to the long periods of time that the problems have existed. Keep in mind that we are an Initiative 200 state in which there are restrictions on the public use of racial/ethnic considerations in public hiring and the award of contracts.

But to make any progress at all, we must stop various forms of discrimination. Whether in forms of screening and selection for jobs (e.g., some African-associated names of applicants will be automatically passed over or put in the round file); in redlining for credit and insurance; or in exploiting vulnerable segments of the population; it is unrealistic to expect that our conditions can be improved when they are made worse by intentional and illegal business practices and decisions.

We must also recognize the political climate that we're in at the federal government level. As debate swirls around in Washington, DC about reducing spending on food stamps, the backstage message is that it's quite acceptable to crusade against the poor. At the federal level it is unlikely that very much in the way of new initiatives can be expected in support of programs that would aid people of color and the poor.

We are fortunate to have a climate in Seattle and King County that can be considered supportive of initiatives that would address economic inequality. *The Seattle Times* recently ran an editorial calling

attention to these issues. This raises our hopes for a somewhat receptive audience to our appeals for responding to the hardships that we have described.

Most obviously, we need programs for training and job development in both the public and private sectors. But it is unclear where we can expect the public spending to come from.

Business contracts and business opportunities are a must. These have to be approached on a business-by-business basis and given a high priority in both the public and private sectors. As examples of policy proposals consider the following types of references that provide well-researched ideas for addressing racial economic inequality.

THREE REFERENCES ON WAYS TO REDUCE ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

Austin, Algernon (2011) “A Jobs-Centered Approach to African American Community Development,” (The crisis of African American unemployment requires federal intervention.) 8pp. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.

Focuses on the importance of overcoming employment barriers and creating jobs as a means of increasing economic opportunities for African Americans.

Schachtel, Marsha R.B. (2009) African American Business Development Success Metrics. Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies. Work Group Final Report. (December 31). Baltimore, MD, 52pp.

Collection of papers on strategies, programs and ideas for building capacity and supporting growth of black-owned businesses. Local as well as national approaches and issues are analyzed.

National Urban League. (2013) State of Black America—Redeem the Dream; Jobs to Rebuild America. New York.

Collection of papers on a variety of policies and proposals for improving economic conditions in Black communities.

Conclusions

The extent of racial economic inequality in Seattle is severe, pervasive and persistent. It must be addressed or the gaps are sure to continue to widen. For sure Blacks will continue to be largely left out of Seattle’s prosperity.

In addition to the various programs and policy proposals that define what should be done in response to the economic crisis, I would add a few comments about what needs to be happening in the Black community. This is intended to make and keep the analysis real.

Blacks themselves must do more to be a part of the solution. Here I'm reminded to quote Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver: those who are not a part of the solution, are a part of the problem. Students who drop out of school at any level short of graduation, are part of the problem. Youth heading for the street life are likely preparing to face a shorter and violent life, are a part of the problem. Those who are apathetic, unconcerned as well as those who are inflicting more self-defeating wounds by not taking advantage of available opportunities, do a disservice to themselves and indeed make the problem worse. Those who could do something, but choose to do nothing, are part of the problem. What I have in mind is not about economic expertise. It's about a commitment to do something positive to provide help up for oneself or for others who will make the most of it. In all situations at work, home, school and in life we should be learning from those who are preparing themselves and succeeding in any positive or constructive endeavor. Making life better in the Black community requires nothing less of all of us.

Finally, as stated earlier, unless, strong, targeted and sustained efforts are made across many dimensions of economic development, the hardships and deprivations associated with racial economic inequality will continue to be a prominent and detrimental condition of our local and national economy. That's our harsh economic reality.

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Economically Caused Crises in Black Seattle

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The Greater Seattle area is facing a crisis. This crisis has to do with Black Seattleites being at the bottom economically and otherwise without large enough scale programs to address their bottom status. Scholars say it this way: African Americans have historically been stratified at the bottom economically, educationally and socially; moreover, Blacks lag when coming out of recessions, further worsening their stratification. This crisis Seattle area African Americans have historically been in worsened as a consequence of the Great Recession of 2007-2009. Therefore, African Americans in greater Seattle need a type of stimulus because the 2007-8 stimulus did not reach them. Moreover, the Black community needs business-centered development to uplift their bottom stratification, development that should include educational and housing investment. This article speaks to four items: first, African American stratification; second, the effects of the Great Recession on Blacks; third, the ramifications of the socio-educational stratification; and fourth, the need for both short term stimulus as well as long term development.

African American Stratification

Stratification is “a rank order, or hierarchy...in which people are grouped on the basis of how much of society’s rewards they receive” (Marger, 2012)ⁱⁱ. African Americans are stratified at the bottom in the U.S. generally and Seattle particularly in employment, income and wealth relative to other ethnic

groups. President Clinton's *One America in the 21st Century* Report summarized centuries of Black American stratification most succinctly:

Blacks have been subjected to long-term and systematic social and economic discrimination since their arrival on these shores. . . . This discrimination reflected negative attitudes about race and color that have remained in place from the 17th century to the present.ⁱⁱⁱ

The stratification is clearly depicted in the differences between black and white employment rates, income levels and wealth. US Department of Labor states that,

“Blacks are the only racial or ethnic group for whom women represent a larger share of the employed than do men - more than half (53.8 percent) of employed Blacks in 2011 were women, compared to 46.0 percent among employed Whites.” Black men employed full time earned on average \$653 per week in 2011, 76.3 percent of the average salary earned by white men. By contrast, black women earn on average \$595 per week or 84.6 percent of the average salary earned by white women.^{iv}

How economically stratified are we? With regard to income, African Americans made a median income less than half of the white rate before World War II and toward sixty percent by the end of the 1970s.^v In his article in this Crisis statement, University of Washington Marketing Professor Thad Spratlen presents an even better distillation of Black / White median income inequality nationally and in greater Seattle. Spratlen stated,

The national rate in 2010 was 16% for Blacks as compared to 8.7% for Whites. This is one of the few years in which the Black rate is less than twice that of Whites. In fact, it was 2.2 times the White rate in 1963 (50 years ago) and dropped below being twice the rate only three or four times over the half century. So for over five decades, our Black communities have been in a constant state of surviving somewhere between recession and depression level unemployment rates. Spratlen at 10

As to wealth, Professor Martin Marger in his ninth edition work, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, distilled Black economic wealth stratification well:

Regarding wealth, differences between blacks and whites are much greater than differences in income. . . . In fact, the typical white household has assets more than ten times those of the typical black household (U.S. Census Bureau 2008, *Wealth Differentials Between Whites and Blacks*). A recent study revealed that the wealth gap between blacks and whites not only failed to narrow over the past two decades but actually widened significantly (Shapiro et. Al., 2010). Whereas white families in 2007 typically had assets worth \$100,000, almost five times their worth in the mid-1980s, African American family assets increased from \$2,000 to only \$5,000. Moreover, the study showed that middle-income whites own substantially more wealth than high-income blacks.^{vi}

Again, Professor Thad Spratlen presents an even better summary of Black / White wealth inequality nationally and in greater Seattle. Spratlen stated,

Estimates vary from Whites having between as much as six to 18-times more wealth than Blacks. By one widely used measure (median net worth), in 2011 the median net worth of White households nationally was \$110,500 and for Blacks it was a meager \$6,314. Thus, White net worth was 17.5 times as great as Black net worth. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013)

What are the reasons for this stratification: merit, classism, or racism? Merit arguments have to do with intelligence and education, hard work and industry being the main reasons for the ethnic differences in the receipt of society's rewards. Few scholars today argue as Arthur Jensen and William Shockley did in the 1960s in favor of the genetic inferiority of Black intelligence. Only the rare scholars like Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein even hint at this as a reason for stratification.^{vii} Such arguments are not only offensive to many if not most Americans, they are academically weaker.

With regard to ethnic intelligence differences, the American Psychological Association convened after the publication of *The Bell Curve* and concluded as follows:

There is certainly no such support for a genetic interpretation... . It is sometimes suggested that the Black/ White differential in psychometric intelligence is partly due to genetic differences (Jensen, 1972). There is not much direct evidence on this point, but what little there is fails to support the genetic hypothesis.

As to the "hard work" merit argument, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' *American Time Use Survey* measures the amount of time devoted each day to various activities. African American workers 18 and over spend 8.4 hours working and in work related time, while other workers spend 8.3 each day; yet, Blacks spend less time sleeping each day (7.6 versus 7.8 spent by the average adult worker).^{viii} Poverty and discrimination are more likely the culprits for the differences in stratification, and if so, then the duty is on society—particularly a city as ostensibly sensitive as Seattle—to address both classism (poverty) and racism (discrimination).

Regarding class, a lower percentage of African Americans nationally and in Seattle are in the upper and middle classes. A higher percentage of Blacks are in the lower or working class, as well as living below the poverty line (\$23,000 for a family of four). Those in the lower class have less to

live on, more high school dropouts, greater difficulty becoming college educated, and diminished overall health.

Concerning racism, Professor Devah Pager, Bruce Western and Naomi Sugie did a 2009 study, teams of black and white men were matched and sent to apply for hundreds of low-wage jobs throughout the city, presenting equivalent resume's and differing only in their race and criminal background. Their study showed, first, that Blacks are less likely to get low-wage jobs than whites with similar backgrounds. Second, the study concluded that Blacks without criminal records are about as likely of getting low-wage employment as whites with criminal records. Third, the study found that Blacks with a criminal record have very diminished opportunities at low-wage employment.^{ix} While these scholars did not conclude that race was the reason for these differences, they did suggest it as at least a factor. This is current, scientific and compelling data done in New York, a city that is comparable to Chicago, Los Angeles and Seattle in matters of race or ethnicity.

African Americans are stratified at the bottom in the U.S. generally and Seattle particularly in employment, income and wealth relative to other ethnic groups. As President Clinton's *One America in the 21st Century* Report states, African Americans have been at or near the bottom from the 17th century to the present. Of the reasons for this stratification, merit is less likely and the twin evils of class as well as race are more likely the causes. This had been the case before the Great Recession of 2007-2009.

Effects of the Great Recession on Blacks

Black stratification worsens in recessions, and the U.S. is coming out of the worst recession since the Great Depression. The National Bureau of Economic Research reports that there have been 32 cycles of recession and upturn from 1854-2001. Over the decades, African Americans have had higher unemployment. In this last recession, Blacks suffered more than other ethnic groups. According to the U.S. Department of Labor,

Historically, Blacks have had persistently higher unemployment rates than the other major racial and ethnic groups. In addition, the increase in the black unemployment rate during the recession

was larger than that for other races ... Moreover, the unemployment rate for Blacks was slower to fall after the official end of the recession [emphasis added].^x

The pain is in the numbers. In January 2007, the year the recession began, the unemployment rate for black workers was 7.9 percent, compared to 4.2 percent for Whites and 5.8 percent for Hispanics. This was already too high. By the end of 2010, the unemployment rate for Blacks had risen to a rate whites had not seen since the Great Depression, so agreed the City of Seattle:

The unemployment rate for African American men in Seattle today matches the unemployment rate across the country during the Great Depression.^{xi}

Unemployment for the nation peaked at 10 percent in October 2009, while the unemployment rate for Blacks continued to rise before peaking at 16.7 percent in August 2011. In comparison, the unemployment rate for Whites peaked along with the national rate in October 2009 at 9.3 percent. Hispanic unemployment peaked at 13.1 percent in November 2010. While the unemployment rate for African Americans fell substantially in January to 13.6 percent, it remains significantly higher than the 8.5 percent rate of November 2007, just prior to the recession.

The City of Seattle noted that “African Americans without a conviction record have a harder time getting hired than a white person with a conviction record.”^{xii} No less than the U.S. Department of Labor stated that this “demonstrate[es] that they often face different and greater challenges.”^{xiii}

The U.S. Department of Labor’s 2013 Special Report on African Americans states,

In addition, once unemployed, Blacks are less likely to find jobs and tend to stay unemployed for longer periods of time. Blacks remained unemployed longer than Whites or Hispanics in 2011, with a median duration of unemployment of 27.0 weeks (compared to 19.7 for Whites and 18.5 for Hispanics). Nearly half (49.5 percent) of all unemployed Blacks were unemployed 27 weeks or longer in 2011, compared to 41.7 percent of unemployed Whites and 39.9 percent of unemployed Hispanics.^{xiv}

The same Department of Labor Report reports that labor force participation of black men and women aged 20-54 declined by 2.3 percentage points from 78.2 percent in 2007 to 75.9 percent in 2011, while participation among older black workers (aged 55 and older) increased by 1.3 percentage points — 35.3 percent in 2007 to 36.6 percent in 2011. The unemployment rate for black youth reached a high of 49.1 percent in November 2009 and as of January 2012 had fallen to 38.5 percent. Not only has the

unemployment rate remained high, but a large number of black teens are no longer in the labor force - either working or looking for work — which explains some of the drop in the unemployment rate. In 2007, black teens participated in the labor force at a rate of 30.3 percent. By 2011, that rate had declined to 24.9 percent. This is a big drop.

What is happening nationally is likewise occurring in Seattle. Black unemployment (13.7% nationwide) is at least double the average rate (7.6% U.S. rate, 7.0% Washington State).^{xv} The 2007-9 Great Recession that Seattle, too, is still suffering from hit African Americans in Seattle especially hard. In the private sector, White owned businesses in Seattle generally do not hire blacks at even half their percentage in the population, no matter whether we are talking about Boeing, Microsoft or professional firms. Unfortunately, Black businesses cannot yet supply the missing jobs. Why? African Americans have the lowest percentage of businesses relative to their numbers in comparison to other ethnic groups. Before 1999, during the days of affirmative action for race and sex in the state, Black businesses never got significant private work. Since affirmative action based on race and sex ended with the passage of I-200 in 1999, the little local Black businesses were receiving dropped to almost nothing. The Washington Commission on African American Affairs predicted such a result in its three-part publication submitted in 1998 under the leadership of James Kelley.

No less than the Race and Social Justice Initiative in the Office of the Mayor of Seattle has stated eloquently:

The economic collapse that began in 2008 has impacted all communities, but it has devastated communities of color both nationally and locally. When we leave race out of the equation, we miss the chance to develop more effective institutions and create equity for all.^{xvi}

Ramifications of the Socio-Educational Bottom Stratification

The effects of the recent Great Recession on top of decades of historical deprivation have greater Seattle's African American community in a crisis. The effects manifest educationally, criminally, and medically. Educationally, African American students are languishing. Blacks continue to perform lower on standardized tests than do other ethnic groups. Sadly now, Black high school student dropout rates are

increasing after improving for over a century. In the past decade, the number of black workers with a college degree has increased by over a quarter, compared to a fifth among White workers.^{xvii} Still, African-American unemployment rates are higher than those for Whites at every education level. Erin Jones, while she was Assistant Superintendent for the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 2010-2012, regularly presented information on how Black children and their schools need better resources and instruction, along with system that cares more for minority children.^{xviii}

When business goes down, young adult unemployment goes up. I have had Black students at the college and young adults at the church I pastor ask me over and over for work, work I cannot give. Starving under such unemployment, too many young adults start stealing, fencing stolen goods, selling drugs, or prostitution to survive. Others couch surf but use drugs to medicate themselves from their depressing economic situation. In either case, their behavior leads to a criminal record. I know bright young people doing any number of these things now simply to cope. Giving this scholarly underpinning, University of Washington Sociologist Robert Crutchfield connects high unemployment and incarceration rates to impacts on social welfare and family life.^{xix}

Criminally, there is a school-to-prison pipeline. In 1980, Seattle incarcerated its Black population at a higher relative rate than any city in the U.S.^{xx} Today we are not the worst; we are in the worst 20%, though. Seattle, King County and Washington State independently incarcerate Blacks at a higher percentage relative to their population than does the state of Mississippi! Seattle incarcerates Black juveniles at a rate that is at least four times higher at which White juveniles are incarcerated. Last year the U.S. Justice Department's investigation of the Seattle Police Department found "a pattern or practice of constitutional violations regarding the use of force" and "serious concerns about biased policing." Two years ago, the most important and official legal minds explained it best. In their *Washington State Preliminary Report on Race and Criminal Justice*, the state's best legal minds found that Washington's criminal justice system is "institutionally racist".^{xxi} Seattle is a part of this system.

The Black population in Seattle is one of the most incarcerated populations in the world, including everything that this entails: more parolees, more on probation, more legal fees, more fines,

more restitution, more court costs, more criminal records, less job opportunities, less college financial aid, less public housing opportunities, less time contributing to their relationships, and less time raising their children. Ohio State Law Professor Michelle Alexander's book *The New Jim Crow* describes the situation as another type of segregation; Alexander references Seattle's black male mass incarceration on pages 103-4 of her book.^{xxii}

Socially, is it any wonder that there are many more single parents raising children and conversely relatively fewer marriages in our fair city? Black families are taxed, with mothers and grandparents carrying disproportionately heavy loads. Others writing herein do a better job presenting substantiality for the social effects of unemployment and/or poverty. Suffice it to say, this is a recipe for disease and pathologies.

Alas, Black Seattleites are sicker than the average Seattleite. Washington State Department of Health Officer Dr. Maxine Hayes describes with exacting scrutiny the high diabetes, hypertension, cancer, HIV and STD rates of a people dealing with all of these problems and pathologies.

Symptomatically, the Black population is declining in Seattle. Seattle University Law Professor Hank McGee has done the conclusive study on the decline of African Americans in the Central Area of Seattle.^{xxiii} As economic refugees, 20% of Seattle's Black population has been forced out of Seattle over the last 30 years. Soon it will be 25%. All of this is summarized in the *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3 Year Plan 2012-2014*, an initiative which Mayor Mike McGinn established in 2005:

Racial inequity impacts people in multiple ways. A person's health is directly influenced by jobs, affordable transportation and safe neighborhoods. Finding a good job can determine a family's health care coverage, including critical preventative services. An educational system that fails to meet the needs of youth of color impacts the criminal justice system, creating a "school to prison pipeline." Racial inequities in one area have a compounding effect on all other areas. [Emphasis added]

So Blacks are less employed, less educated, less free, and less married. As a result we are sicker, experiencing heritage loses and becoming major municipality economic refugees. This crisis is not only a national African American problem, it is a Seattle problem as well. The Race and Social Justice 3-Year Plan states as part of its justification:

Despite Seattle's overall high standard of living, racial disparities exist in every indicator of personal and community well-being. Our history of racism and the current impact of institutional and structural racism combine to restrict opportunities for people of color and immigrant and refugee residents^{xxiv}

Need for Short Term Stimulus and a Long Term Development

As shown above, the data makes clear that African Americans even in Seattle are in a crisis. The Seattle Race and Social Justice Initiative with the backing of the mayor's office affirm that African Americans in Seattle are suffering from unemployment at "Great Depression" levels, a type of concession that Black Seattleites are in a "desperate situation". Moreover, this author and the signers of this document raise the shofar to say that Seattle African Americans are in a crisis. What, if anything, is to be done about it? The answer must be short term stimulus and long term development.

Thankfully, beginning the process of forging a solution is somewhat underway institutionally. The Seattle Mayor's office has committed to addressing the desperate situation that Blacks and other minority groups are currently facing in Seattle:

The Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI) is working to change this reality. We know racial equity is possible. RSJI is the City of Seattle's commitment to:

- End institutionalized racism in City government.
- Promote inclusion and full participation of all residents in civic life.
- Partner with the community to achieve racial equity across Seattle.^{xxv}

The RSJI goes further to state it is looking for strategies to effectively address this crisis:

The economic collapse that began in 2008 has impacted all communities, but it has devastated communities of color both nationally and locally. When we leave race out of the equation, we miss the chance to develop more effective institutions and create equity for all. When we include race in our analysis, however, we can develop smarter strategies that truly benefit everyone, and create systemic change. [Emphasis added]^{xxvi}

For those in a crisis, this is an important beginning. So far, though, it is only a beginning. Without being unduly critical, the challenge requires massive action from within the African American community and from every major institution in Seattle.

Whatever strategies Seattle comes up with, one thing is sure: we will have to work together. The RSJI agrees with this same idea:

Government, institutions, businesses and community must work together to ensure every person in our city – regardless of race – has access to a living-wage job, quality education, affordable housing, health care and a safe neighborhood.^{xxvii}

In more than one place, the Race and Social Justice 3-Year Plan promises to partner with community organizations. We are asking the city to partner with us. Whatever strategies we derive, we will have to set forth measurable goals and then assess to evaluate our efforts. Again, the RSJI is in agreement:

EQUITY STRATEGY #3: Partner with other institutions and the community. Government cannot achieve racial equity on its own. Over the next three years, the City of Seattle will create working partnerships with key institutions, organizations and the community to tackle racial inequity. As partners, we will adopt a shared analysis, use coordinated strategies and develop consistent ways to measure our progress. In addition, City departments will work with communities to increase opportunities for collaboration.^{xxviii} [Emphasis added]

While every area needing development is important, we urge that the crux of development efforts be economic, educational and in housing. In this portion of this Crisis Statement we urge that economics be front and center. This is consistent with scholarship and the demands of political activists (King, *Where Do We Go From Here* 1967; Wilson, *The Bridge Over the Racial Divide* 1999; Livingston, *Shoestrings & Bootstraps* 2010)^{xxix}. A new work which University of Wisconsin History Professor William Jones published in 2013 would adjust civil rights history with regard to the centrality of claims for both de-segregation and economic justice.^{xxx} Economic development has been given short shrift in under-developed urban areas, especially the African American community.

Business development is not to be under-resourced. University of Washington Economist and Former Business School Dean William Bradford can explain not only the high Black unemployment and low business support, but he can also show Black businesses can return profits equal to White businesses when given a fair chance.^{xxxi} The Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation also commissioned The Boston Consulting Group who came up with a work that found, “A ‘New Agenda’ for minority business development therefore is needed to focus on a series of solutions that combine an optimal mix of resources from government, corporations, universities, foundations, and minority-owned businesses.”^{xxxii} We are banking such research and can be a ready resource to policymakers serious about urban development and who are in need of such research.

This is consistent with reporting of the U.S. Department of Labor on the dearth of Black business. It reports that Black workers are more likely to be employed in the public sector than are either their white or Hispanic counterparts. In 2011, nearly 20 percent of employed Blacks worked for state, local, or federal government compared to 14.2 percent of Whites and 10.4 percent of Hispanics. Blacks are less likely than Hispanics and nearly as likely as Whites to work in the private sector, not including the self-employed. Few Blacks are self-employed — only 3.8 percent reported being self-employed in 2011 — making them almost half as likely to be self-employed as Whites (7.2 percent). The average unemployment rate for Blacks in 2011 was 15.8 percent, compared to 7.9 percent for Whites, and 11.5 percent for Hispanics.^{xxxiii} The Department of Labor states it too is working alongside other agencies, including the Department of Education and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in the Obama Administration to address the challenging labor market conditions facing black workers.

With regard to stimulus items, the Department of Labor and other agencies introduced programs to increase the skills of African Americans, encourage the creation of jobs in sectors and areas that reach African-American workers, and strengthen enforcement actions that address discriminatory practices in 2010-13. However, this has not amounted yet to a “stimulus” in the African American communities anywhere in the nation. More needs to be done in this regard. Many of these ideas were suggested in President Bill Clinton’s One America in the 21st Century Report.^{xxxiv}

For as Martin Luther King’s Poor People’s Campaign showed before King died, economics should be the centerpiece of any Black development plan. We should bring policymakers and employers together next for a stimulus package for a group in crisis. Lastly, we should convene the Black community to make the most of the help from outside and, even more, to get about the muscular work of taking community responsibility and picking themselves up. Surely, the Black community needs business-centered development to uplift their bottom stratification, development that should include educational and housing investment. It immediately needs both short term stimulus as well as long term development.

I have resolved that I would wage a one man campaign if need be in order to get our progressive city to address my declining Black community. At personal risk—because it is always risky to challenge the powerful on behalf of the “least of these”—I am determined to speak about this if I cannot fix it, to write about this if I cannot speak about it, and to wail about it if I cannot write about it. So, this is a call to leaders inside and outside of the Black community to come together to fix to a crisis. We must rally in a major way to stem this like we do when freeways fall or whale pods are beached or when teams need new stadiums. Seattle, we are better than this: people are more important than the freeways people drive on, the whales we share life with or the sports that entertain us.

Someday a historian like Quintard Taylor will chronicle this new chapter in the racial history of Seattle. This time, however, *truth* will not indict some distant generation or our grandparents. This time we will be indicted, we who had power, prestige and property but had a stony heart toward our neighbor. What then will our children think of us? How then will future generations regard our humanity? What then will be our judgment?

Need for Educational Investment: College and Vocational Preparation

This second section is on the need for educational investment. Educational development is the key need for children and youth in the Black community between the ages of 5 – 25. With a good education, they can get a strong foothold in the job market without the need for as much basic social services. With a great education, they can rise toward the top of American society like other groups that have gone from the bottom towards the top: Jewish Americans, Italian Americans and Asian Americans.

These articles outlining the need for more educational investment are by Dr. Valerie Hunt and Prof. Charles Jeffreys.

Prof. Charles Jeffreys

Psychology Department
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Most economists agree there is a direct relationship between standard of living and level of education. This is true on an individual as well as a national level. For example, an individual with a BA degree is going to have more options than a high school dropout. On an international level, nations that have a higher number of high school graduates tend to be more technologically advanced than those where the majority of its people are illiterate. Therefore, in order to improve the economic conditions in the black community, we need to increase the number of African Americans who excel in school.

Three major problems with the educational system that prevent the African American community from excelling in school are the curriculum, labeling and the support system available to them.

Curriculum

According to Carter G. Woodson, the American educational system is designed to keep black people as second class citizens. According to Woodson the more education a black person gets, the more alienated he becomes from his people. Black children who have any type of racial pride tend to be pushed out of school or belittled, while blacks who are “good” students don’t want to be black by the time they reach high school. History and humanities classes are the greatest contributor to the destruction of black children’s self-esteem.

From the fourth grade through graduate school the curriculum omits contributions made by African Americans. We are taught to worship the Greeks and Romans, ignore the Asians and despise the Africans. Usually when blacks are mentioned in textbooks, it relates to something negative. In history classes, blacks are only mentioned within the context of slavery. Even the majority of Black history classes mainly talk about martin Luther King and slavery. They rarely talk about contributions black

people made in science, technology of civilization. I have met very few African American historians who will talk about Egypt, Mali or any African history before slavery.

For example, Egyptologists quote Herodotus hundreds of times in their journals yet they fail to mention that Herodotus described the Egyptians as having Black skin and wooly hair (Book II, p104). Textbooks show pictures of the Egyptians with light skin. The first time I saw Egyptians portrayed as black was when the king Tut Exhibit came to Seattle last year. I went to the same exhibit in Philadelphia in 2008 and they were portrayed as white. (thanks to Molefe Asante and his students at Temple University they changed the exhibit to reflect a more accurate portrayal of the Egyptians.)

“Remember the time” is the only video that I know of that portrays the Egyptians as blacks was produced by Michael Jackson. The most common statement I hear from scholars is that “The race of the Egyptians is not important. What is important are the accomplishments they made.” My issue is that if race is not important, why do historians go out of their way to convince readers that they were not black?

This is a major advantage white children have while going through school. The reading materials help promote their self esteem. White students learn to read from books that tell them their heritage is something to be proud of. They are told over and over again they came from a culture that made many great contributions to civilization. White children go through school reading books written by people who look like them. The majority of the characters in these books are also white.

Almost all the main characters and authors in the textbooks are white. Most novels used in literature classes are written by white authors. Black children grow up reading these books often grow up wishing they were white or they come to the conclusion their people are not important. This in turn causes many black children to not like school. The blacks who make it through the system end up worshipping whites and despising their own people.

Black children, on the other hand rarely if ever get to read books written by authors who look like them. Africa is usually associated with crime, starvation or savagery. Black people are almost always portrayed in textbooks as slaves, savages or victims of white oppression. According to the majority of the

textbooks Africa is the worst place in the world to be from. This is why young blacks will love you if you call them nigger and want to fight you if you call them an African.

The way to counteract this is to rewrite the textbooks. When children see characters that look like them in textbooks and read books written by black authors they will become more interested in school. When they become more interested in school they will spend more time studying.

Labeling

Robert Rosenthal, a professor at Harvard University and former teacher of Dove (Ester John), took two groups of students and two groups of rats. He gave one group of students some rats and told them they were brilliant rats. He gave another group of students some rats and told them they were Dumb rats. At the end of the semester, the bright rats were performing amazing feats while the dull rats just learned to pull a bar to get food. He and other psychologists replicated his study with elementary school students. Children who teachers were lead to believe were brilliant performed brilliantly while children who the teachers believed to be dumb lived up to their expectations.

Another finding that surprised Rosenthal was that when children were in the low track classes, or expected to do poorly in school, the more those children improved, the more negatively teachers evaluated them(Rosenthal, 1970s). This finding relates directly to black boys. Teachers are not trained to recognize or acknowledge black children, especially boys who show academic talent.

Teachers are trained to view black children as less academically capable than white children. You can see this phenomenon in almost every elementary and high school in the United States. Walk into the classrooms designated for “Highly Capable” students and you will see mostly white and Asian children and go to the “Special Education” classes and you will see mostly black and Hispanic children. Even at Garfield High School here in Seattle where they have a large black student population, you will see very few blacks taking “honor’s” or college preparatory classes. In other words, we have integrated

schools with segregated classrooms. Children in honors classes tend to get higher SAT scores and are more likely to graduate from college.

This is where the need for strong support systems are need for African American students. We need more black teachers and counselors. According to Andrew Hacker, schools that have 20% or more black teachers have a higher graduation rate for African American students. My proposal is to encourage more African American students to go into the field of education. At the same time we need to rewrite the textbooks and put pressure on school districts to adopt books that portray positive images of African Americans.

Contemporary Scholars One Must Read

Molefe Asante, a professor at Temple University has written several textbooks that discuss contributions of African Americans. Wade Nobels is another scholar who has written several books deconstructing the mindset of western social scientist. His Ph.D. dissertation at Stanford University was on how African Americans maintained their African cultural values from slavery to the present. In his book, *Africanity and the Black Family*, he examines the history of research done by western scholars on African Americans. WEB Dubois is another source. Du Bois graduate in the top of his class at Harvard and Studied under Max Weber. It amazes me that an individual can get a Bachelor's, Master's and Ph.D. in sociology and never have to read anything written by Dubois. I know several African American Scholars who can't even tell me what Du Bois' degree is in. Ivan Van Sertima wrote several books of African contributions to science mathematics and history. He wrote *Early America Revisited* and a *They came before Columbus*. He edited *Egypt Child of Africa, African Presence in Asia, Africa presence in early Europe* and *Blacks in science*.

When I lived in San Francisco, I had the opportunity to have a conversation with Stokely Carmichael. One of the questions I asked him was “ As a teacher, what can I do to help motivate black

children to become high achievers in school”? He replied “Discuss the contributions blacks made to society”.

In sum my goal is to motivate as many African Americans I can to go into teaching. We should not settle for closing the achievement gap between black and white children. To me as Asa Hilliard once said “ Closing the achievement gap is settling for Mediocrity because the average White American student is doing poorly on an international level”. We need to encourage our students to excel in school and make the highest scores possible on these national exams.

CONCLUSION

Based on the foregoing, we the undersigned African American educational professionals hereby alert the leaders in greater Seattle that African Americans are in a crisis. The crisis is clear to us from both our study as well as the practice of our professions. We have prepared adjoining statements of various lengths further detailing the situation as it relates to our areas of emphasis.

We urge area policymakers—public, private and non-profit—to address this crisis in the areas of small business development, college and vocational preparation, as well as housing. We also urgently call on African American leaders to convene to increase the level of their service to the Black community economically, educationally and in housing.

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Prof. Carl Livingston
Political Science Professor, Seattle Central Com. College

ENDNOTES

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- ⁱ Robert Shiller, "Robert Shiller: Income Inequality is 'Most Important Problem'", http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/15/shiller-income-inequality-problem_n_4100509.html .
- ⁱⁱ Martin N. Marger, *Race & Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspective*, 9th Ed. (2012), Wadsworth Publishers.
- ⁱⁱⁱ *One America in the 21st Century*, Chapter 2: African Americans and the Unique Legacy of Slavery, 1998.
- ^{iv} Department of Labor Special Report, *African American Labor Force in the Recovery*, 2013 <http://www.dol.gov/sec/media/reports/blacklaborforce/> .
- ^v Marger, p. 181.
- ^{vi} Marger, 2012, p. 183.
- ^{vii} *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, Free Press, 1994, "How does the confirmation of Spearman's hypothesis bear on the genetic explanation of ethnic differences? In plain though somewhat imprecise language: The broadest conception of intelligence is embodied in g. Anything other than g is either a narrower cognitive capacity or measurement error. Spearman's hypothesis says in effect that as mental measurement focuses most specifically and reliably on g, the observed black-white mean difference in cognitive ability gets larger. At the same time, g or other broad measures of intelligence typically have relatively high levels of heritability. This does not in itself demand a genetic explanation of the ethnic difference, but by asserting that 'the better the test, the greater the ethnic difference,' Spearman's hypothesis undercuts many of the environmental explanations of the difference that rely on the proposition (again, simplifying) that the apparent black-white difference is the result of bad tests, not good ones" (p. 303).
- ^{viii} US Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Time Use Survey*, 2010.
- ^{ix} *108 Am. J. of Sociology* 937-75 (March 2003).
- ^x Department of Labor Special Report, *African American Labor Force in the Recovery*, 2013.
- ^{xi} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014*.
- ^{xii} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014*.
- ^{xiii} US Department of Labor Special Report, *African American Labor Force in Recovery*.
- ^{xiv} US Department of Labor Special Report, *African American Labor Force in Recovery*.
- ^{xv} Washington Department of Numbers <http://www.deptofnumbers.com/unemployment/washington/> .
- ^{xvi} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014*
- ^{xvii} US Department of Labor Special Report, *African American Labor Force in Recovery*.
- ^{xviii} Erin Jones, Assistant Superintendent, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Washington, *Making Graduation a Reality for All Students*, 2008 <http://www.sbe.wa.gov/documents/Making%20Graduation%20a%20Reality%20for%20ALL%20Students.pdf>
- ^{xix} Robert Crutchfield has put many of these points and more in a PowerPoint that has been made available on the web http://www.powershow.com/view/1f429-ODJmN/Sociology_371_Criminology_powerpoint_ppt_presentation .
- ^{xx} Task Force on Race and Criminal Justice Report, State of Washington, 2011 http://www.law.washington.edu/About/RaceTaskForce/preliminary_report_race_criminal_justice_030111.pdf .
- ^{xxi} Task Force on Race and Criminal Justice Report, State of Washington, 2011
- ^{xxii} Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, The New Press, 2010.
- ^{xxiii} *Seattle's Central District: Integration or Displacement*, 39 *Urban Lawyer* 2, Spring 2007 http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=970310 .
- ^{xxiv} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014* <http://www.seattle.gov/rsji/docs/RacialEquityinSeattleReport2012-14.pdf>
- ^{xxv} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014*
- ^{xxvi} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014*
- ^{xxvii} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014*
- ^{xxviii} *Race and Social Justice Initiative 3-Year Plan 2012-2014*

^{xxix} Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community*, Bantam Books (1968) “Negroes have irrevocably undermined the foundations of Southern segregation; they have assembled the power through self-organization and coalition to place their demands on all significant national agendas. And beyond this, they have now accumulated the strength to change the quality and substance of their demands. From issues of personal dignity they are now advancing to programs that impinge upon the basic system of social and economic control. At this level Negro programs go beyond race and deal with economic inequality, wherever it exists. In the pursuit of these goals, the white poor become involved, and the potentiality emerges for a powerful new alliance” (p. 19). Wilson & Livingston: William Julius Wilson, *The Bridge Over the Racial Divide*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1999, “Political strategies designed to ease the economic problems that confront the majority of Americans will not be found until white, black, Latino, Asian and Native Americans begin thinking less about their differences and more about the things they have in common” (pp. 11-12); “In this chapter I underline the importance of understanding race-neutral economic forces that create profound effects within all American communities, forces that represent changes in the new economy (1970 – 1999) . . . Because the economic problems in the black community are often perceived primarily or solely in terms of race—as if they are independent of the race-neutral economic trends affecting families and neighborhoods across the nation—the idea of multiracial coalition building on issues that do not ostensibly involve race is difficult for many to fathom” (pp. 45-6); “Even before the economic restructuring of the nation’s economy, low-skilled African Americans were at the end of the employment line, often the last to be hired and the first to be let go. The economic situation for many blacks has now been further weakened because they tend not only to reside in communities that have higher jobless rates and lower employment growth, but also to lack access to areas of higher employment and job growth [endnote omitted]. Of all the changes in the economy that have adversely affected low-skilled African American workers, perhaps the most significant have been those in the manufacturing sector. . . .” (p. 47). Carl Livingston, *Shoestrings & BOOTSTRAPS*, Classic Day Publishing (2010), “Development Plan Syllogism: politically liberated ethnic groups in the U.S. need to help themselves in every way, but with economics leading the way, in order to rise in this country; since the civil rights movement, African Americans are a politically liberated group in the U.S. that has yet to adequately rise; African Americans need to help themselves in every way, but with economics leading the way, in order to rise in this country” (p. 26).

^{xxx} Walter P. Jones, *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights*, Norton Publishers, 2013,

“Historians have complicated the traditional narrative by the tracing ‘radical roots of civil rights’ back into the 1930s and ‘40s and by demonstrating that civil rights activists of many ideological varieties always insisted that access to jobs, housing, and economic security was as vital to their struggle as voting rights and integration...With few exceptions, however, scholars simply inverted the older story by allowing the March on Washington to remain a moderate exception to a radical ‘long civil rights movement.’ The most influential recent studies still either end the story before 1963 or shift our attention from ‘leaders on the platform high above the crowd’ to local movements and grassroots activists that, scholars contend, more accurately ‘capture the motivations that led relatively obscure individuals to the March’.” (Jones xiii)

“By tracing the roots of the March on Washington to A. Philip Randolph’s demand for fair employment during the Second World War, this book demonstrates that the civil rights movement was always closely linked to the social democratic politics of the New Deal...He demanded an FEPC law, not just to end discrimination by unions and employers but also to extend to African Americans the promise of economic and social citizenship that Roosevelt had linked to participation in the defense effort.” (Jones xv)

^{xxxi} William Bradford and Timothy Bates, *Venture Capital Investment in Minority Business*, funded by the Kauffman Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership at the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, May 2004.

^{xxxii} P. 5 of *The New Agenda for Minority Business Development*, Prepared by The Boston Consulting Group, June 2005.

^{xxxiii} US Department of Labor Special Report, *African American Labor Force in Recovery*.

^{xxxiv} President Clinton’s One America in the 21st Century Report states, “Also, the Board found clear evidence of active forms of discrimination in employment, pay, housing, and consumer and credit markets. The Board made the following recommendations for correcting these disparities:

- o Examine income inequality.
- o Support supplements for U.S. Small Business Administration programs.
- o Use the current economic boom to provide necessary job training and to increase the minimum wage.
- o Evaluate anti-poverty program effectiveness.
- o Provide a higher minimum wage for low-wage workers and their families.

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- o Improve racial data collection.
 - o Evaluate the effectiveness of job-training programs designed to reach minority and immigrant communities.
 - o Commission a study to examine American Indian economic development.
 - o Support the right of working people to engage in collective bargaining.” (Executive Summary, 1998)