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RE-ENVISIONING LIBERATION FOR THE GLOBAL BLACK DIASPORA

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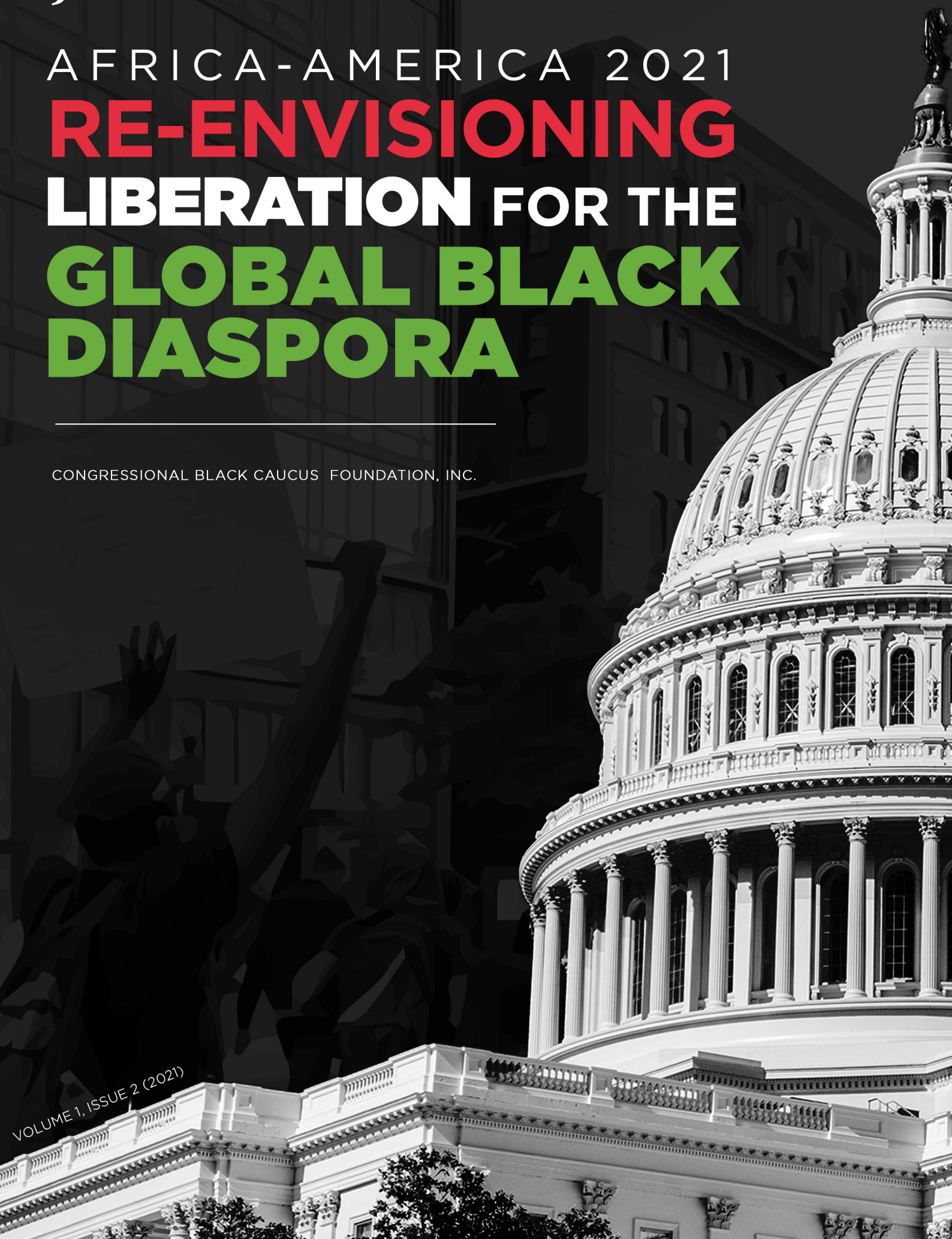

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Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc.
1720 Massachusetts Ave, NW
Washington, D.C., 20036

(202) 263-2800 Main

(202) 775-0773 Fax

CPARJournal@cbcfinc.org

www.cbcfinc.org

Cover Design: Victoria Brown

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IVORY A. TOLDSON, PHD

Representation, Social Justice, and the State of Black America

By Ivory A. Toldson, PhD

Representation Matters

The United States formed in 1776, about 150 years after European colonists brought the first Africans to the Western Hemisphere to serve as slaves. By that time, enough Black people escaped bondage to serve on both sides of the American revolution, as Black loyalists and Black patriots. The first casualty of the American revolution was a Black stevedore named Crispus Attucks. Led by influential Black abolitionists like Prince Hall, many Black people believed that, as a new nation, the United States would end slavery. However, without adequate representation, slavery lasted nearly 100 additional years, and since then African Americans have endured persistent mistreatment from the United States Government (Toldson, 2020).

Electing Black leaders to local, state, and national offices embodies Black resilience and willingness to fight for equity and human rights. In 1868, the State of Louisiana elected a Black lieutenant governor named Oscar Dunn. After Dunn died, in 1871, P.B.S. Pinchback, another African American who was the president of the state Senate succeeded him. At the time, Black men held seven of 36 seats in the Senate, and the House had 42 representatives of African American descent, comprising half the seats. When the governor of the state was impeached, Pinchback became the first Black governor of a U.S. state in 1872. Pinchback was the last Black governor in the United States until Douglas Wilder became the governor of Virginia over 100 years later in 1990 (Toldson, 2020).

The reason for this long gap in Black political activity is because of a cultural genocide of Black voters that occurred in the decades immediately following the premature termination of reconstruction, followed by Jim Crow laws. The Colfax massacre of 1873 is one example of Black voter suppression through cultural genocide (Cummins, 2010). Because of the success of Black voting, violent White militia murdered Black voters. White mobs murdered more than 100 Black people for voting in Louisiana during the Colfax massacre.

Makena Toldson Educators for Equity Juneteenth Rally, 2020 Photo Credit: William Jenkins @peaceatalltimes

Besides a Black governor, before 1899, Black representation in government included two U.S. Senators, Hiram Rhodes Revels and Blanche Bruce of Mississippi; more than 20 members of the U.S. House of Representatives; and more than 60 state legislators. A Black person winning a statewide election in the 1870s followed by the near absence of Black people from statewide and national offices for more than a century defies conventional logic because authentic Black history is inaccessible. Black history, as traditionally taught, is segmented, superficial and incomplete (Toldson, 2020).

The history of Black people, as taught in most schools, is replete with victimization and despair, with isolated flashpoints of individual heroes. In fact, heroes throughout Black history

are the rule, not the exception. Conventionally, in the United States, prisoners of war, such as Senators John McCain and John Kerry, are considered heroes. Therefore, the four million Black people who endured the inhuman captivity of slavery are heroes, and anyone throughout history who worked to preserve slavery was an enemy of the state. From this perspective, slavery is not a story of captivity and despair, but of sacrifice, endurance, and fortitude. Black people, whether one of the 500,000 who were free prior to the Civil War or the four million who were subjected to slavery, had a history and a role in Black liberation (Toldson, 2020).

In this context, understanding the history of atrocities that the United States Government committed against Black people is essential to social justice. Current racial disparities result from legal and illegal racially motivated violence, discrimination, and indifference, including race riots, lynching, Jim Crow laws, voter suppression, redlining, segregation, discriminatory hiring, and denial of due process and legal protection. Below are a few of the more notable times in history that the United States government harmed Black lives and livelihood. These events amplify the need for Black representation in congress, and the ongoing struggle for racial justice.

Government Atrocities against Black Americans

United States Slavery and Post-reconstruction Massacres

Slavery in the United States originated from slavery initiatives piloted by the European colonies in the United States. Historical records illustrate that slavery by the European colonies dates back before 1526, whereby hundreds of thousands of African natives were kidnapped and transported to the various colonial regions to be enslaved. However, in the United States, history considers 1619 as the beginning point for slavery. In this year, the infamous White Lion, a crew that seized approximately 20 Africans from the Sao Jao Bautista (a Portuguese slave ship), brought Black people to Jamestown, Virginia, a British colony (Stevenson, 2020). Afterward, slavery became a part of American history, with records illustrating that approximately 12.5 million Black people from Africa were brought to the Americas in the 17th and 18th centuries leading to the deaths of at least two million Africans on the way (Armstrong, 2016).

Although slavery was abolished in January 1865, after Congress passed the 13th Amendment, the atrocities against African Americans continued. From 1866 to 1937, Black people in the United States experienced many massacres started by White people. The first massacre occurred in Memphis in 1866, with White civilians and police killing 46 Black people. They also burned the victims' homes, churches and schools (Kantrowitz, 2015). Notably, the post-reconstruction massacres erupted after the reconstruction era- a period following the Civil War whereby equal citizens' civil rights were actively pursued. The reconstruction era saw the eradication of slavery, providing African Americans' freedom and equal civil rights as their White counterparts. Unfortunately, lack of conscious representation resulted in a coalition between the northern republicans and southern Democrats to end the achievements, immediately leading to vast mobs of Whites murdering thousands of African Americans.

The massacres continued in various parts of the nation, including the 1866 New Orleans massacre, the 1868 Pulaski riots in Tennessee, and the 1870 New York City orange riot. In 1921, the Tulsa massacre occurred in Oklahoma after White mobs received weapons from city officials to attack several Black residents (Hammerstedt & Regnier, 2019). Like the other post-reconstruction massacres, this led to the destruction of Black businesses, homes, and integral facilities. As a result, it became a daunting challenge for African Americans to own property, businesses, or obtain employment. Before 1920, Black people had a Black business district in most major cities, such as Black Wall Street in Tulsa, Sweet Auburn Ave. in Atlanta, and Beale Street in Memphis (Toldson, 2020).

Jim Crow Laws

As the post-reconstruction massacres continued to deprive African Americans of their civil rights, an additional injustice began surging in the nation - the Jim Crow Laws. These laws also emerged from the premature ending of the reconstruction era, which subsequently led to a fulfillment failure. Black people did not receive equipment and a land, as promised, from the United States Government. In addition, the Plessey vs. Ferguson court case in 1896, which the United States Supreme Court upheld an unfavorable judgment in the "separate but equal legal doctrines"

(Luxenberg, 2019). The judgment deemed it legal for African Americans to have separate facilities like education institutions from White people.

Moreover, the judgment provided leeway for racial segregation in the United States. State legislatures established and enacted the Jim Crow Laws as state and local rules and regulations to enforce racial segregation, notably in the southern region (Fremon, 2014). The laws increased discrimination against African Americans by eliminating Black voting rights, ability to own property or business, and attend the best educational institutions.

COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program)

In 1956, the FBI in the United States formally became part of the atrocities against African Americans, by establishing COINTELPRO. COINTELPRO was a series of illegal and covert projects with the primary goal of surveilling, intimidating, discrediting, harassing, infiltrating, and disrupting the nation's political system (Hoerl & Ortiz, 2015). The mission was to neutralize the surge of Black leadership in the political system. The FBI used the initiative to target significant Black activists like Martin Luther King Jr., claiming their movements would lead to militant Black movements.

COINTELPRO saw the FBI creating a clandestine army. Its sole purpose was targeting activists and leaders that had the potential to cause social resentment in the nation, as it grappled with racial unrest. It targeted many Black activists whose actions through the various movements, such as the Civil Rights Movement. COINTELPRO left an enduring vacuum in Black leadership during a time when Black leaders and organizations were gaining international prominence.

Crack and Mass Incarceration

Urban violence stemming from emerging international drug markets reached poor Black neighborhoods through a breach in the borders created by President Ronald Reagan's support of the Contras in Nicaragua (Agar, 2003). The Contras funded their subversive activities by selling cocaine to suppliers in the U.S., which was usually sold in rock form to make it more assessable to poor people. In this post-civil rights period, many neighborhoods and schools across the United States were experiencing re-segregation from "White flight," as critics of forced

integration and social safety nets propagandized violence, the crack epidemic, and the rise of single-parent households to chide social reform programs. There was also a heighten level of violence associated with crack in the 1980s and 1990s. However, the draconian drug laws of the 1980s did not address violence, they targeted crack, leading to the surge of nonviolent offenders in the criminal justice system, we know as mass incarceration (Patten, 2016).

The Struggle Continues

History has defined African Americans' state in modern times; essentially, it has not been eliminated but camouflaged in aspects that form a modern society. Before the Jim Crow Laws, African Americans integrated into the American culture with an identification. However, these laws presented a new form of racism (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Despite African Americans being slaves no more, they were still slaves of segregation, essentially imprisoned by their race in America. This form of modern slavery is apparent in modern times, where African Americans face new forms of racism. The American constitution upholds that every individual must be treated equally regardless of race and gender, essentially spelling out the need for equality. The institutionalization of racism has spearheaded the prevalence of modern racism in America.

The *prima facie* of an American society forms the outside world may present a community free to all and with equal treatment from race, social class, gender, and other definitive aspects of differentiation. However, from a keen look at American society, one may find that there still exist many forms of racism. The Jim Crow Laws segregated African Americans from Whites (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). In modern times, a new Jim Crow Law arises within institutions that offer access to various social requirements. Housing, education, justice, and health are such aspects of institutionalized segregation in America (Lee et al., 2019). The justice system is impeccably the most apparent Jim Crow Law executioner, as many incarcerated individuals are African Americans. African Americans have higher rates of street crimes instead of White Americans. However, as Burt et al. (2012) suggest, these high crime rates are attributed to their social state as many of them experience segregation from essential aspects of society.

In the wake of social segregation that African Americans experience, American society is

bound to change soon as the struggle for equality continues. Here, as Collins (2018) suggests, the "U.S. is entering a phase of 'patrimonial capitalism,' a society dominated by those with inherited wealth" (p.17). This suggestion means that America is on a trajectory where the society will be dominated by those whose parents dominated the previous generation. Essentially, the opportunity to have certain rights will be reduced from the separation of power between the rich and the poor. In this regard, America has been a silent instigator of African American segregation, especially from Whites. Lee et al. (2019) suggest that previous research conducted to investigate the prevalence of discrimination in America presented that a quarter of all American individuals experience discrimination. The updated research shows a staggering 50 to 75 percent of African Americans experience discrimination. It is essential to note that the struggle to have an America with equality for all individuals is still in place, and throughout history, Black consciousness movements have been at the forefront of this struggle. Below, I summarize the most prominent Black consciousness movements.

The New Negro Movement (1900s–1940s)

Heightened sense of Black pride and agency. Feeling that Black people can have a unique culture through education and arts, and also replicate the social structures of White society. It captured the spirit of the Harlem Renaissance. Most Black colleges, Black fraternities and sororities, and Black civic organizations established Black leadership during this time (Lock, 1939).

The Civil Rights Movement (1940s–1960s)

Push for Black people to be fully integrated into American life and have equal rights under the law. Strong religious influence. Used tactical resistance, civil disobedience and nonviolent protests. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) started during this time (Daniel, 1963).

The Black Power Movement (1960s–1970s) – Push for Black liberation by any means necessary. Influenced by global social revolutions and placed the struggle for Black liberation within a larger context of poor people resisting Capitalist structures. The Black Panther Party was the most popular organization during this era (MacDonald, 1975).

The Afrocentric Movement (1980s–2000)

Push for Black people to reclaim pride and dignity through a connection to Africa, as a homeland. Strong academic influence. Advocated for adopting traditional African names, wearing African attire, separate education, and integrating African customs and norms into Black American life. The ethnonym, "African American," and the greeting "Hotep" became popular during this era (Asante, 1991).

The Black Lives Matter Movement (2010s-Present)

Push for Black lives to be valued within current social structures, and an end to the unfair treatment of Black offenders and victims in the criminal justice system. Use mobilization protest and social media to advance social change. Sometimes place Black liberation within the context of identity and intersectionality, by seeking to understand the Black struggle within the context of patriarchy, classism and heterosexism (Jones & Reddick, 2017).

Journal of the Center for Policy Analysis and Research

The national legacy of social injustices against African American and Black resistance through social conscious movements underscore the expediency of Black representation in the U.S. government and thought leadership. This issue of the Journal of the Center for Policy Analysis and Research presents scholarship and perspectives that chart course for the future of Black leadership and advocacy. Rep. Beatty's introduction is fitting because of her staunch and unwavering leadership in the Congressional Black Caucus in the information era. In the Ron Walters Forum, national scholars, including Dr. Elsie Scott, Dr. Afia Zakiya, Kobina Nketsia, Dr. Julianne Malveaux, and Dr. Errol Henderson address some of the most pressing social issues

facing Black Americans today. Topics like African culture, lynchings, and reparations tie the past with the present, and inspire us to dream bigger and act with urgency.

The research articles in this issue capture the spirit of modern Black movements. Dr. Manning deals with Black immigration with compassion, and Dr. Barlow and colleagues tackle intersectional issues. Paying homage to our past Attorney Lin and colleagues analyze the legacy of Congressman Ron Dellums. The importance of Black representation in the U.S. Census, amid changing demographics, is covered in research by Dr. Abrams, Edozie, and Lewis. A team of social justice oriented doctors deal with the physical and emotional dangers of inequity and structural racism. Finally, the work of Dr. Allen and colleagues uses economic theory to illustrate how Black Americans can work with continental African nations to uplift the Black African Diaspora.

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CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS PERSPECTIVE

REP. JOYCE BEATTY

CHAIR, CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

Our Power, Our Message: The Black Agenda in the 117th Congress

By Congresswoman Joyce Beatty,

Chair, Congressional Black Caucus

Overview

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was formed in 1971 as the voice of the Black people and our communities in the United States Congress. Over the past 50 years, the Congressional Black Caucus has established itself as the Conscience of the Congress and we remain dedicated to societal advancement, social justice and equality, and economic empowerment. Every day, our Members work to address the insidious effects of systemic racism and structural inequality that continue to plague our communities. he CBC has long sought to address these systemic issues in partnership and collaboration with our nation's leading civil rights organizations, social justice groups, and community activists. In the 117th Congress, in which we will celebrate of 50th Anniversary, the CBC will work and organize around themes such as economics and finance, access to adequate healthcare, improved education resources and choices, criminal justice reform, and enhanced transportation options.[1] And we will advance and leverage **"Our Power, Our Message."**

Economics and Finance

The racial wealth gap, defined as the absolute difference in wealth holdings between the median household among populations grouped by race or ethnicity[2], has expanded due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Between 2005-2009, the median Black household saw its wealth drop 53 percent.[3] Prior to the 2020 seminal event, Black households had begun to narrow the gap which had been greatly exacerbated by the 2008 financial crisis, and the financial pilfering which led up to the crisis. Despite tremendous progress and the 400 years that have passed since the Middle Passage, Black Americans continue to face significant structural obstacles in the quest for economic equality.

[1] https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/8352?s=3&r=2
[2] https://www.demos.org/research/racial-wealth-gap-why-policy-matters#Introduction
[3] https://www.epi.org/blog/the-great-recession-education-race-and-homeownership/

Homeownership is considered a gateway to stable wealth building and helping to narrow the racial wealth gap, even with notable income disparities.[4] Homeownership also has added advantages of increasing financial acumen and understanding of household economics. To help address the racial wealth gap[5], the CBC will work to support homeownership by passing legislation that strengthens penalties for predatory lending, abates student loans, and work to ensure stable mortgage markets in Black communities. In addition, the CBC will aggressively promote entrepreneurship, seed capital, and increased diversification of the financial services industry.[6]

Consumer Protection

Consumer protection laws, regulations, and policies protect consumers from harm perpetrated by businesses, companies, and industries. The CBC also categorically opposes the targeting of Black communities. The COVID-19 pandemic has, in many cases, made matters far worse in the consumer protection sector. In response, the Consumer Relief During COVID-19 Act[7] was introduced, which prevents collection of certain debt during the pandemic. According to the National Consumer Law Center, 42 percent of communities of color had a debt in collection prior to the pandemic.[8] The CBC will work with consumer protection organizations, state bars, and activists to mitigate the effects of unfair commercial practices on vulnerable consumers.

Reparations

The topic of reparations continues to resonate in the Black community. The CBC has continuously considered reparations a critical component of the Civil Rights movement. H.R. 40 is introduced in every Congress and establishes the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans to examine slavery and discrimination in the colonies and the United States from 1619 to the present and recommend appropriate remedies. In prior years, 35 cosponsors were considered a success, but in the past two Congresses, the bill has garnered far greater support. The CBC will continue to advocate for a comprehensive plan of economic restoration and restitution, which is the equitable remedy under which a person is restored to their original position had the breach not occurred.[9]

[4] https://www.urban.org/research/publication/closing-gaps-building-black-wealth-through-homeownership/view/full_report
[5] https://womenswealthgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Closing-the-Womens-Wealth-Gap-Report-Jan2017.pdf
[6] In testimony before the Senate Banking Committee, Federal Reserve Chairman Jay Powell acknowledged the existence of discrimination in the financial system. See https://www.banking.senate.gov/hearings/06/08/2020/the-semiannual-monetary-policy-report-to-the-congress
[7] https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/7796?r=3&s=2
[8] https://www.nclc.org/images/pdf/special_projects/covid-19/2021_Fed_COVID_Priorities.pdf
[9] https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/40?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22HR+40%22%5D%7D&s=5&r=1

Progressive and Fair Taxation

At the crux of economics in America is our regressive tax system which continues to contribute to the growing wealth gap. Although it is encouraging to see the Biden-Harris Administration's First 100 Days Agenda will seek to assess the impact of the tax code on racial inequality, more needs to done.[10] We will work to enhance the Child Tax Credit, the Earned Income Tax Credit, and other tenets of progressive taxation, while ensuring that millionaires and billionaires pay their fair share. [11]

Education

The advent of the internet and the web-based life has renewed the focus on science, technology, engineering, and math, or STEM education. The CBC created its STEM Initiative to help promote legislation, policies, and regulations to increase the participation of Blacks in these fields. And as expected, the nation's HBCU's will lead in this effort. Moreover, the media and anecdotal evidence have demonstrated that Facebook, Amazon, Apple, Netflix, and Google (FAANG) have woeful hiring records for Black people, even though our communities help generate billions of dollars in revenue for these entities.[12] We will continue to bring these issues to light while working to encourage Black students to enter these fields.

We will work to enhance the Child Tax Credit, the Earned Income Tax Credit, and other tenets of progressive taxation, while ensuring that millionaires and billionaires pay their fair share.

Criminal Justice Reform and Crime Reduction, and Voting Rights

The CBC worked tirelessly to ensure anti-lynching legislation passed. The Emmett Till Antilynching Act makes lynching a federal crime.[13] That it took 120 years to pass this bill is a travesty in itself, but we must also acknowledge that the racism and terror faced by the young Till, visiting relatives in the Deep South from Chicago, is not dissimilar to that faced in modern times by George Floyd in Minnesota, Michael Brown in Missouri, or Trayvon Martin in Florida.

[10] https://americansfortaxfairness.org/issue/proposed-joe-biden-day-one-agenda-tax-issues/
[11] https://nwlc.org/blog/trump-is-paying-for-his-tax-cuts-on-the-backs-of-women-and-families/
[12] https://edlabor.house.gov/imo/media/doc/EEOC%20letter%20re%20tech%20diversity%2012%2017%2015.pdf
[13] https://judiciary.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=2830

The tragedy of Tamir Rice in Ohio underscored the problem in America which criminalizes Black children at an early age for innocuous behavior.[14] **We shall protect our children.** Our responsibility as leaders, legislators, but most of all parents, friends, and family is to make sure that our people are not afraid to walk down their own block. Indeed, that is the minimum we can do in positions of power and leadership. And to fail to acknowledge that significant criminal activity happens in many of our communities would be disingenuous. For the victims of police brutality, who are mostly Black Americans, we must act assertively to undo the criminal-industrial complex which represents an existential threat to the health, vitality, and safety and security in our neighborhoods. We must balance this with increased law enforcement accountability to ensure that people are not stripped of their constitutional rights and privileges.

Furthermore, the rubric of the Constitution supports the enforcement of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The heroic efforts in the state of Georgia by activist Stacey Abrams demonstrated the power of the Black community and heralded a new day in elections in the United States. In addition, Ms. Abrams' voter registration methods stand to be replicated in other states in future elections to help thwart voter suppression efforts, arbitrary state and local enforcement, and unpredictable U.S. Supreme Court decision-making such as that in *Shelby v. Holder* in 2013.[15] With increasing population shifts in many states, efforts to dilute our vote will be prevalent, yet we shall remain vigilant and determined to exercise our right to vote.

Healthcare

The COVID-19 pandemic has reminded us of the urgent need for increased health access for Black Americans, as we have a much higher risk of contracting, and dying from, the virus.[16] And despite the many unfortunate outcomes, some individuals insist on downplaying the pandemic's significance and ignoring guidance from government and health authorities. But even before the pandemic, Black Americans endured a fractured relationship with healthcare in America.[17] Healthcare in America has become more of a corporate enterprise and business proposition, rather than a part of a coordinated system of care and prevention. In the United States, it is not uncommon for patients to return from routine procedures to find extraordinarily high

[14] https://firstfocus.org/blog/unfinished-business-the-civil-rights-act-of-2020
[15] https://judiciary.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=2130
[16] https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2020/12/pandemic- Black-death-toll-racism/617460/
[17] https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/the-state-of-healthcare-in-the-united-states/racial-disparities-in-health-care

medical bills.[18] In addition, once out of the hospital or medical facility, Americans are subject to unconscionable costs of prescription drugs and other medical-related billing.

In addition to broader issues, there are problems that must be addressed with urgency such as transportation options, healthy eating, diet and exercise, environmental justice, and agriculture and farming. Also, as the arts and music, entertainment and sports play a big role in the lives of Black Americans due, in part, to our overwhelming impact and influence, the CBC will continue to use maximum leverage to ensure accountability, fairness, and transparency for artists and entertainers.

As we enter a new decade, we have had one CBC member, Barack Obama, elected as President of the United States, and now are proud to see our CBC sister, Kamala Harris, as our nation's first woman and first Black Vice-President.

As we enter this new era, the CBC will continue to exert **Our Power**, and **Our Message** and work tirelessly in our efforts to demand justice, promote and create educational and economic opportunity, improve the quality of life for our country's Black communities, and raise the overall standard of living for Black people across this country. We shall continue to work and fight tirelessly for our communities and look forward to partnering with the Biden-Harris Administration and the Democratic Majority in the United States Senate.

[18] https://energycommerce.house.gov/newsroom/press-releases/house-and-senate-health-committee-leaders-statement-on-surprise-billing

THE RONALD WALTERS FORUM

The Ronald Walters Forum Introduction

By Dr. Elsie Scott

I am pleased to have been asked to again edit the Ronald Walters Forum section of the Journal of the Center for Policy Analysis and Research. I am especially pleased that this section recognizes the contributions Dr. Walters made to the literature and to our understanding of reparations. He talked about reparations at a time when many other academics and social activists were downplaying the notion of reparations for the descendants of Africans who were enslaved in North America. Many middle-class African Americans made light of the suggestion that the United States should pay for the free labor forced from Africans who were stolen from their homeland and from their descendants.

For over thirty years, Walters tried to educate persons across racial lines on what reparations meant and why H.R. 40, a reparations bill first introduced by Representative John Conyers in 1989, should be passed. Like Conyers was the consistent messenger who was ignored by many of his colleagues on Capitol Hill, Walters was the messenger in civil rights and social organization circles who was often ignored. He was a charter member of N'COBRA (National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America), and he served on the Reparations Committee for TransAfrica.

Instead of merely focusing on reparations as a payment for slavery, Walters presented evidence of how African Americans have continued to suffer from racism since the abolition of slavery. He argued that whites blamed Blacks for their economic conditions, sometimes saying that Blacks are lazy and have not worked hard enough or they are intellectually inferior to whites. Instead, Blacks suffered economically because of racial roadblocks put in their way. In his last book, Fighting Neoslavery in the 20th Century, published after his death, he used evidence and anecdotes to illustrate and prove that slavery continued to exist during the 20th century. In addition, he often pointed out that the prison system and Jim Crow laws were used to make life separate and unequal for Black people.

As he developed the case for reparations in the U.S., he studied the reconciliation process in South Africa to see what could be learned from how the South African government moved past apartheid. He traveled to South Africa where he interviewed South Africans and studied the reconciliation process. Out of his study, he concluded that the reconciliation process was flawed.

Walters was excited when new and increased attention was placed on reparations after the 2002 lawsuit against corporations filed by a Black law school graduate and after Randall Robinson published his book on reparations, *The Debt*. In his book, *The Price for Racial Reconciliation*, Walters states that he did not expect to see reparations in his lifetime. He acknowledged that it could take another one hundred years to achieve, but that did not deter him from his fight.

We are pleased to have three articles from three different perspectives for the Ronald Walters section. Each was written by a scholar who knew Dr. Walters.

- Dr. Julianne Malveaux, Lynchings – Real and Imagined
- Dr. Errol Henderson, Reparations and the On-going Struggle for Multiracial Democracy in the USA
- Dr. Afia Zakiya, The Sankofa Movement, Re-Envisioning African Liberation and Answering Our Ancestors: Ronald Walters and the Long-View Genealogy of African Culture, Education and Activism

Elsie L. Scott, PhD

Director, Ronald W. Walters Leadership and Public Policy Center, Howard University

The Sankofa Movement, Re-Envisioning African Liberation And Answering Our Ancestors: Ron Walters And The Long-View Genealogies Of African Culture, Intellectual Work And Activism

By Afia S. Zakiya, PhD[1] and Nana Kobina Nketsia V, PhD[2]

Abstract

This essay on liberation strategies for the global Black Diaspora posits that the long-view historical framework of African people's existence and culture must be a starting point of serious attempts to construct a suitable vision of African liberation. The scholarship and activism of the late Dr. Ronald Walters expressed a similar view that shaped his thinking and writing on Africana studies, Pan Africanism and the liberation of African peoples. By examining Walter's role in the formation of Africana/Black Studies as a discipline, his association with the African Heritage Studies Association and his lesser known yet critically important relationship with the "Sankofa/ReAfrikanization movement" of Ankobea, we show how Walters helped create shared understandings of the importance of African-centered and controlled education of Black peoples in communities and within academia as a prerequisite for decolonizing knowledge and achieving global African cultural, political and socio-economic unity, liberation and shared identity.

Keywords: *Liberation, Africana/Black Studies, Africology, Sankofa movement, Black Diaspora, African Heritage Studies Association, Epistemology, African-centered education, Pan-Africanism, Eco-philosophy, Methodology.*

Introduction

Dr. Ronald Walters was not only a founding architect of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), but a political activist, educator and scholar of great significance. He contributed to re-envisioning global Black liberation through African centered scholarship and Pan African activism particularly during the rise of Black/Africana Studies departments and social movements in the late 1960s -1980s. While his life's work is commonly associated with political coaching of presidential candidates like Jesse Jackson and campaigning against apartheid in South Africa,

[1] Vice-President, African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA), Political Scientist/Ecologist with focus on African Indigenous knowledge, eco-philosophy, endogenous development and global land, food, water and sanitation issues
[2] Paramount Chief/Omanhen - Sekondi, Essikado Traditional Area, Ghana and Lecturer University of Cape Coast, Ghana

Walters was also instrumental in shaping the politics of memory that justified reparations and he linked Africa's liberation, the Global Black Diaspora and the need for Black control of institutions to decolonize the education of Black peoples.

Walters, along with noted political scientist Dr. Mack Jones, historian Dr. John Henrik Clarke, and sociologist Dr. Joyce Ladner, among others, resisted incorporation into the German/ Anglo-Saxon model of intellectual training (Carr, 2011:12). Their work outlined the contours for liberating, alternative methodologies and epistemologies centering Africana history, culture and ways of knowing. For example, Walters' essay "Toward a Definition of Black Social Science" (1974), Jones' 1970 inaugural presidential address to NCOBPS[i] entitled, "The Responsibility of Black Political Scientists to the Black Community," that justified a break from the APSA[ii] to form the NCOBPS (Jones, 1970; Harris, 2018; Woods, 2019), Ladner's classic Death of White Sociology (1973, 1998) and Clarke's leadership in the "rupture" by Black scholars from the ASA[iii] in Montreal, Canada, to form a Pan African organization- the African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA), all called for activism and scholarship for Black liberation using Black analysis, concepts and history. The tumultuous times of the late 1960s to the early 1980s demanded such actions beyond theoretical musings: African decolonization struggles, the Black Power, Civil Rights, Independent Black School (IBI) movements, and the Black Studies protests movements in the United States all extolled existing Eurocentric frameworks as deficit and hegemonic.

Africana Studies And African Liberation: A Long View Genealogy Historical Perspective

Illuminating the African condition in 1997 in San Francisco, nearly 30 years after the first Black Studies program was created at San Francisco State University, the late African centered educational psychologist and Kemetic scholar Dr. Asa G. Hilliard III stated the obvious: "No matter where Africans are – on the continent or in the diaspora – our condition is the same. We are on the bottom and descending. … WE are unconscious, unorganized, unfocused, and lost from our purpose … We see minimal adjustment and temporary comfort by assimilating to whatever the political, economic and cultural order may be, even if that order is itself in chaos, or driven by values that are anti-African and anti-human" (Hilliard, 1997:3). Today's present challenges of

health care, food, land and water insecurity, global warming, and economic instability among African peoples even after the election for two terms of a "Black President" in the U.S. still paints a gloomy picture for the Black world- despite the proclomations of Africa as the richest continent in the world (Zakiya, 2016 & 2015). When added contested views on the existence of Black wealth, real declines in land and homeownership, and the constant state police attacks on Black lives including the murder of George Floyd, we cannot hide the lingering unresolved oppressive conditions of Black peoples. Yet, Walters left us with guidance to address many aspects of these issues if Black scholars, activist and communities were willing to do the necessary work. The work he suggests, the need for mass African centered education, is highlighted in this discussion.

In *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (1993), Walters contributes to the difficult methodological task of engaging the long view analysis of African people's past to understand the liberation strategies of his time. However, if one's imaginative ability or capacity or existential paradigm is incarcerated within another's culture, then no matter one's efforts, that foreign culture sets their direction, limits and possibilities. Responsibility is realized from the understanding and appreciation of the truth of our own history from African-centered, long-view genealogies of indigenous African culture and deep thought (Carr, 2010). Consciousness is streamed across the universe in time and space, informed by the experience of one's Ancestors, not the enemy's ancestors. Walters' association with the Sankofa Movement speaks to his profound efforts to cultivate a Black consciousness that eludes some of the ahistorical analysis of Black struggle today that looks new but is protracted.

For Liberation: Walters, The Sankofa Movement And AHSA

Two lesser known yet critically important institutional affiliations of Walters are important to discuss. Walters was a good friend of two remarkable African-centered leaders, historian educators and Pan African cultural nationalist activists, Nana Kwame Agyei Akoto and Dr. John Henrik Clarke. Akoto, based in D.C. and a graduate of Howard University,[iv] was a visionary who co-founded the Sankofa, ReAfrikanization and Afrikan centered independent school movements. Walters' and Akoto's ideological connection grew at Howard University. Walters would occasionally attend the annual Sankofa Conferences held at the historic Nationhouse Positive

Action Center and was thus linked to Akoto in revolutionary ways: strong desire to be conscious – i.e., know African history and culture, self in relation to this, and beliefs in the interdependent destiny of the race and Black control over the Sebayt of African children.

Within academia, Walters was widely known for working to decolonize African minds with Dr. John Henrik Clarke. An African Studies major in 1966, Walters supported the break by some diasporan and continental African studies scholars led by Clarke, Shelby Lewis and others in 1969 from the ASA[3] to form the AHSA.[4] Walters would eventually become President of AHSA from 1976-1980 and commit to AHSA's mission[5]:

> *"The intent of African Heritage Studies Association is to use African history to effect a world union of African people. This association of scholars of African-descent is committed to the preservation, interpretation and creative presentation of the historical and cultural heritage of African people both on the ancestral soil of Africa and in diaspora in the Americas and throughout the world. We interpret African history from a Pan-Africanist perspective that defines all Black people as African people… But this is only the beginning. We know that there is no way to move a people from slavery to freedom and self-awareness without engaging in political expediency and revolutionary coalitions… It will be our function as scholar activists to put the components of our heritage together to weld an instrument of liberation." (Guedj, 2016, par 28)*

Critically Walters, Akoto and Clarke were greatly influenced by C.A. Diop's profound scholarship on the cultural unity of Black/African people as were Marimba Ani and Nigerian scholar-activist Chinweizu (Ani, 1997; Chinweizu, 1987). All these individuals were allies with Dr. Asa Hilliard and accepted the charge to think in African cultural terms (Ajamu, 1998). Hilliard's brilliance is such that he profoundly knew that:

> *"Above all, we must understand that the structure of society and the embedded structure of education/ socialization systems in hegemonic societies are designed to maintain hegemony. It is the structure, including especially its ideological foundation that controls possibilities for African education/ socialization, even today. Hegemonic structures and ideologies cannot acknowledge or respect our traditions in education/socialization, profound though they are. Moreover, they shape the beliefs and the behaviors that guide miseducation, while blaming victims. No matter how much progress we appear to have made, more degrees and higher paying jobs for a few of us, there has been no shift in the power structure at all, anywhere in the African world…" (Hilliard, 2000:3)*

From this analysis, the achievement of African liberation has been problematic because African people haven't en-mass, carried out the responsibility for the intergenerational transmission of

[3] African Studies Association.
[4] African Heritage Studies Association.
[5] Walter's report on the 1975 AHSA meeting in the Black Scholar, indicates the depth and breadth of revolutionary thinkers, scholars and activist across the Black world who were seminal in the early formation and organizing of AHSA.

African history and culture in light of centuries of miseducation initially not of our own making (Shujaa, 1995; Hilliard, 1998; Tedla, 1995). Many Black parents today still opt not to place their children in IBI's or African centered schools. In fact, Hilliard posits that other ethnic groups have advanced precisely because they're united in their shared history and culture and have taken charge to define and control the education and socialization space and processes for their ethnic families. Too many Africans are still socialized to believe there's nothing of value in Africa, its indigenous culture is 'backwards' and not worth knowing let alone emulating. Even with signs of progress from the past organizational efforts of Walters, Akoto, and Clarke, and Nketsia's strong Pan Africanist organizing among youth in Ghana, globally African peoples remain ignorant of their history, fragmented, and unable to replicate salient aspects of, for example, the phenomena mass movement of Marcus Garvey's UNIA (Lewis, 1994). Sadly, higher educational institutions like HBCU's[6] or those in Africa are poor replicas of majority White institutions and are often anti-conscious spaces that foster continental African and Diaspora born African tensions, while myopically producing Black elites to serve liberal capitalism (Shockley, 2011). Africans cannot claim freedom from Western or European hegemony and yet live in a totally Western/ European inspired, designed and structured world. Such is a deluded freedom as is Africa's flag and national anthem independence.[7]

What Is To Be Done?

Frantz Fanon's dictum that "Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it," remains highly relevant (Fanon, 1968). A critical analysis of 21st century world African contexts clearly indicates that Eurocentric principles, values and practices are still evident while globalism, the newest phase of monopoly capital imperialism, creates disorder and general political-economic chaos everywhere, corruption, conflicts, and forced out migrations from Africa (Okome, 2012). There is increased foreign military presence (AFRICOM)[8] and continued plundering of Africa's resources to benefit Europe, France, and the USA; now Japan, India and China also sprint to gain control of Africa. The African revolution is stalled by the "trappings" of independence but no POWER. Many ask: where is the African Diaspora? Do they hear their ancestors? How relevant is Africana Studies and African centered education to today's challenges of African peoples?

[6] Historically Black Colleges and Universities
[7] Nketsia, Nana Kobina V. Goodwill Message. Presentation at the 2018 Birmingham Conference of the International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (INOSAAR).
[8] U.S. Africa Command. For a sobering analysis of AFRICOM which has increased US militarism in Africa see: https://www.blackagendareport.com/shutting-down-africom

In popular socio-political culture curious developments happen. Ghana's government launched the historic "Year of Return" tourist event that was paradoxically turned into more substantive talks on Pan African collaborations and re-examination of African Diasporic relationships with Africa. Africana studies scholar-activist are part of the conversations. Also, the idea of reparations has been revived in Africa (Nketsia, 2018), in African U.S. diaspora communities by NCOBRA,[9] of which Walters was a charter board member and testified for approval of H.R. 40 in 2005,[10] and by CBC members in 2019. South Africans and Zimbabweans are regrouping to tackle the land question. Most importantly African centered scholar-activists nurtured by the Sankofa Movement, AHSA, NCOBPS, ASCAC[11] and similar organizations are answering the call to reconstruct African indigenous worldviews, science, and languages (MDR NTR) for achieving sustainable education towards African sovereignty. The discipline of Africana Studies is being challenged to broaden its analysis and ideas of appropriate Black living-especially the urban bias, to address power struggles for land, food, water and energy using African centered political ecology (Densu, 2018; Fu-Kiau,1991; Zakiya, 2015, 2016; Akpabio, 2012). These events signal the relevance of long historical analysis and methodological shifts constantly needed for a liberatory education and Africana Studies discipline created in the tradition of Walters, Ladner, and Jones who all sought to build guiding frameworks grounded in empirical realities of what Blacks collectively faced to aid advancing everyone towards liberation!

Conclusion

The work of re-envisioning global Africa and diaspora liberation has in many ways been done. But it is not yet Uhuru! The discipline of Africana/Black Studies must arduously continue to recover, restore and transmit African culture (socio-political, ecological and historical knowledge, science and deep thought)– from the most ancient times to the present. Outside academia, the institutions that exist as homes for African centered scholars and community educators educators and activists are challenged to resolve internal contradictions, leadership transition issues, financial soundness challenges and create better initiatives to educate and attract Black youth to our world struggle. There's also the need to examine the proliferation of organizations addressing various aspects of Black oppression that claim to be about global African liberation to

[9] National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America
[10] Read Walter's testimony before Congress here: https://www.ncobraonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Dr.-Walters-April-6testimony.pdf Access 12/16/2020. [7] Nketsia, Nana
[11] Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations.

ascertain if they actual advance Black liberation or are integrationist and mainstream ideologies masked as progress. Documenting the impact on African identity formation amidst continued miseducation and ending state police violence towards African peoples in institutions outside of Black community control are essential. Walters was clear that African-centered education can prepare our children to address the realities of their past, present and future. Organizations like AHSA, ASCAC, NCBS,[14] ABPSI,[15] and NCOBPS were charged with creating relevant academic methodologies and approaches to Black liberation and power. They must fulfill this mission. African solutions to African problems exist and can create a more socially just, ecologically balanced society. Walters, a "Black political scientist," set standards for advancing Africana/Black studies. And he navigated different spaces to do so with ease as part of a long-view genealogy of Blacks engaged in Pan African intellectual work and activism. They must fulfill this mission. African solutions to African problems exist and can create a more socially just, ecologically balanced society. Walters, a "Black political scientist," set standards for advancing Africana/Black studies. And he navigated different spaces to do so with ease as part of a long-view genealogy of Blacks engaged in Pan African intellectual work and activism.

Author Biographies

Dr. Afia Zakiya is a Political Scientist, Ecologist and Africana Studies Scholar-Activist. She has worked and/or taught in 22 African Countries and is a former Assistant Professor, Africana Studies at Morris Brown College. She's been a volunteer in the Teachers for Africa program and visiting scholar at the Universities of Ibadan, Nigeria and Cape Coast, Ghana. Afia is currently Vice-President of the African Heritage Studies Association, an International Board member, Pan African World Heritage Museum and founding member Africa Studies Association of Africa.

Nana Kobina Nketsia V is the Omanhene of Essikado (Paramount Leader), an academician, Pan Africanist, and educator. He obtained his doctorate degree in African History from the University of Calabar, Nigeria. A published author and widely sought after speaker, his areas of research interests are Pan-Africanism, African Culture and Religion, and Governance, Law and Philosophy. He is a lecturer at University of Cape Coast and member of the African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA).

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[i] National Conference of Black Political Scientist
[ii] American Political Science Association
[iii] African Studies Association
[iv] Nana Kwame Agyei Akoto recently transitioned to ancestorhood in December 2019. This article is dedicated to his memory.

Lynchings – Real and Imagined

By Julianne Malveaux

As he battled increasing cries for his impeachment, President Donald Trump whined that he was subject to "a lynching." Unfortunately, this is not the first time we heard the word lynching used colloquially.

In his contentious Senate confirmation hearing for appointment to the Supreme Court, now-Justice Clarence Thomas described his treatment as a "high-tech lynching." Richard Nixon also used the term "lynching" to describe inquiries into Watergate. Had these people ever seen a photo of Emmitt Till? That was a lynching. Have they been to the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama (https://museumandmemorial.eji.org/memorial) = to see a chronicle of the thousands lynched? Lynching has been used both to enforce white supremacy and to stifle Black liberation, self-determination, and economic development.

To use the term lynching because you do not like the way you are treated politically is an act of historical erasure, an attempt to minimize the horrific act that lynching was. Horrendously, many white people seeing lynching as entertainment, brought their children to witness them. Simmered in their racist depravity, they pushed and shoved to get Black body parts for souvenirs. Frighteningly, for every lynching documented, there is probably another that fell through the cracks of history.

When Cindy Hyde-Smith ran for U.S. Senator in Mississippi, she said she would go to a "public hanging" if one of her supporters invited her (Bryce-Saddler, Paul), first saying she was "joking" and later issuing a tepid apology. Public hangings in Mississippi were also known as lynching. Between 1877 and 1950, about one-eighth of all people lynched nationally were lynched in Mississippi. Whether Hyde-Smith was winking and nodding her Confederate support or making an "honest mistake", her comment, like Trump's, illustrates how inextricably racism (and racist intimidation) is woven into our national fabric.

For my work on Black wealth development and economic empowerment, I have stumbled onto rich literature on lynching. Many of the lynchings that Ida B. Wells (2014), Walter White

(1929, 2001), and others documented, as well as some of the newspaper accounts of lynchings, are blood-curdling. Too often, the victims were burned alive. Too often, lynchings were the result of minor "offenses" – talking back, having too much money, failing to be deferential. Lynchings were economic acts, acts of economic envy. And the economic legacy of lynchings is seen in today's wealth gap.

Thomas Moss was a postal worker, husband, father, and an entrepreneur. He opened People's Grocery in an area outside Memphis, competing with another store that held a monopoly. Its proprietor, William Barrett, had several infractions for selling liquor illegally, and his store was frequented by gamblers. The People's Grocery was opened with patronage from the Black community. Whites were angry that the store opened without their permission, taking valuable patronage from Barrett.

All it took was an excuse, for whites to initiate a conflict with Moss and his colleagues, fabricate a justification for a lynching, kill three Black men, and acquire the People's Grocery assets at a fraction of their worth (Giddings, 2008). Two young boys, one Black, one white, were playing marbles. The white boy was getting beaten, and a fight ensued. He ran into Barrett's store and made an accusation against the Black boy. White men came to defend the marble loser, using guns to break up a boy's dispute. Some Black men fought back. Later, Barrett returned to the store with armed "deputies," a melee occurred, and shots were fired on both sides. The three Black men who owned or worked in the store were arrested, incarcerated, moved from the jail, and lynched. Armed white men vandalized the People's Grocer, and Barrett, acquired its assets at an eighth of its value.

The Memphis story is not unusual. Hundreds died in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1898. The historical record at that time recorded just a fraction of the deaths, but anecdotal and other evidence speaks to the "river running red" (Wilmington on Fire, 2015).

In 1921, the Greenwood community of Tulsa, Oklahoma (Black Wall Street) was burned down because of economic envy. A Governor's commission, convened in the aftermath of the Massacre, indicated that a root cause was white envy of a successful Black middle class. The Black Tulsans created their own libraries, hospitals, and businesses, generating white resentment, and

it combusted into at least 300 deaths (the true number is likely never to be known), and the destruction of millions of dollars of property (Ellsworth, 1983).

The lynching of Mary Turner and at least ten other people in Valdosta, Georgia, in 1918 had economics at its root. Hampton Smith, a white man who could only get workers through the contract labor system, bailed Sidney Johnson out of jail in exchange for his labor. There were disputes about how much time Johnson owed. Smith, known to beat workers, beat Johnson so often that Johnson snapped and killed Smith and shot his wife. In response, the white people of the area began apprehending, torturing and lynching Black people who were rumored to have any relationship with Johnson, although they had no connection to him. From May 17 to 24, 1918, at least ten people were lynched. The point of these lynchings was to teach Black people a lesson, to assert control over their labor, to exhibit the consequences for failure to submit to the shackles of white supremacy (NAACP).

Turner was lynched because she dared challenge injustice. She was nineteen years old and eight months pregnant when she went to the courthouse to complain about Johnson's lynching. It was reported a mob, "took exception to her remarks as well as her attitude." Turner was hung by her ankles, lowered face down from a tree. Her clothing was set on fire while she was alive. When she was dead, one of the mobsters slit her belly open, and her fetus came out, landing in a pool of blood. Then the sick and brutal white men crushed the infant's skull. (NAACP).

More than 200 Arkansas farmers were lynched because they dared organize. The six members of the Cabiness family were lynched in Walker County, Texas, because one of the sons resisted the draft, although he was not draft age (Littlejohn, et. al, 2018). When those lynched owned property, their property was often taken by members of the lynch mob. After Claude Neal was lynched in Florida in 1934, the mob threatened his family and anyone associated him. A great-niece shared her mother's recollection with author Marvin Dunn (2013);

> *"They left in a hurry, left everything, and they had been living good for those days. They had their own milk cows, hogs, chickens. Forty acres of land with houses on it, everything they needed to live. They left it all, even their clothes because the white folks was trying (sic) to kill and Black they could find, especially family members".*

Ida B. Wells wrote that the 1892 Memphis lynchings, were “our first lesson in white supremacy.” In the latter part of the 19th century, lynchings were a galling attempt to snatch back gains that African Americans had made. They were a depraved attempt to put Black people “in their place.”

Believing that we belonged, and that the nation would embrace us after enslavement was a mistake. Our gains were perceived as threatening, and laws were promulgated to both demean us and deny us opportunities.

George White, representing North Carolina from 1897 through 1901, detailed the progress African Americans had made post-emancipation in his last speech to Congress. From his words,

> *“We have 140,000 farms and homes, valued in the neighborhood of $750,000,000, and personal property valued about $170,000,000. We have raised about $11,000,000 for educational purposes. We are operating successfully several banks, commercial enterprises among our people in the Southland, including one silk mill and one cotton factory. We have 32,000 teachers in the schools of the country; we have built, with the aid of our friends, about 20,000 churches, and support seven colleges.”*

The progress that Congressman George White detailed was at the root of economic envy. How did a people emancipated with nothing but sheer determination, without the promised “forty acres and a mule” accomplish so much? With minimal government (if any) assistance, formerly enslaved people exhibited energy, entrepreneurial ability, and race pride. Jim Crow laws attempted to quell the energy, limit opportunities for entrepreneurship, curtail ambition, and eliminate any notion of race pride. Still, in 1901, Congressman White was able make this report on Black progress:

> *“We have done it in the face of lynching, burning at the stake, with the humiliation of “Jim Crow” laws, the disfranchisement of our male citizens, slander and degradation of our women, with the factories closed against us, no Negro permitted to be conductor on the railway cars, whether run through the streets of our cities or across the prairies of our great country, no Negro permitted to run as engineer on a locomotive.”*

Jim Crow laws, brutal Klan bigots and murderers, and ordinary white people who simmered in their supremacy attempted to obliterate those gains through lynching of people who dared to

compete, to own, to talk, to stand up for themselves.

Those who use the term lynching casually and colloquially have not felt the rope around their necks, nor spent their final moments engulfed by flames. They have not been run out of town, forfeiting family and property. Anti-lynching legislation was introduced in 1898, 1918, 1934, and in 2018, but neither passed both the houses of Congress.

White supremacist culture is alive and well, in resistance to Black Lives Matter, dismissal of racist workplace incidents, including the display of intimidating nooses on college campuses, in municipal buildings, fire and police headquarters, and other public spaces. White supremacist culture is on full display when people view the wealth gap as an individual failure instead of a structural, societal aberration. Too many embrace the lynching culture that has dominated our country (not just the South) since Reconstruction. Racial economic inequality is the product of a lynching culture, and the residual effects of the lynching culture are too frequently ignored.

For any contemporary politicians to describe themselves as lynched is callous, inhuman, and ignorant. It also represents a trivialization of African American history. The lynching culture is surely one of the many reasons to consider and embrace the movement for reparations and the passage of HR 40.

Many elected officials decried Trump's comments, notably Congressional Black Caucus Chair Karen Bass and House Majority Whip James Clyburn. In contrast, the two South Carolina Senators supported the odious remarks--with Senator Lindsey Graham forcefully defending the President, while Senator Tim Scott described the statement as "a poor choice of words". Many have been silent in the face of this outrage.

Perhaps the silence can be attributable to the fact that Trump's comments may well have been a diversionary tactic. In October 2019, the President was fielding criticism because of the troop withdrawal from Syria, withholding military aid for Ukraine, quid pro quo conversations with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, and a flagrant ignoring of the Emoluments Clause of the Constitution. Also, Trump's outrageous and offensive comments are so frequent that they have become unsurprising.

Some Trump defenders excused his comments, suggesting that his reference to lynching was just "a figure of speech". For a Black man or woman, like Thomas Moss or Mary Turner,

lynching was the price paid for being self-actualized, vocal, and willing to engage with whites on a level playing field. Lynching meant hanging from a rope, being burned alive, while relatives were also lynched or run out of town. For the nearly 5,000 African Americans victims of lynching and those impacted by lynching, the word is not one to be tossed around casually.

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Reparations and the Ongoing Struggle for Multiracial Democracy in the USA

By Errol A. Henderson

Reparations for African American descendants of chattel slavery and Jim Crow require a major transformation of the political, economic and social systems of the U.S. to establish an actual instead of a *professed* multiracial democracy. In this way, the promise of the revolution that slaves helped achieve militarily in the Civil War before their Union allies betrayed them by assisting former Confederates in instituting a regime of white racist terrorism and a century of institutional white supremacy against Blacks as a group can be fulfilled (Du Bois 1935). The failure of the U.S. to provide an economic floor to support its newly freed slaves through provisions of land and an effective franchise to ensure their political rights made reparations the major unresolved issue of social justice within the U.S. body politic. The moral argument for reparations was apparent: the enslavement of millions of Blacks by the U.S. for 250 years was clearly immoral (Baptist 2014). The expropriation of their labor provided for the industrialization of the U.S.—and the Industrial Revolution, itself. The imposition of a century of Jim Crow and its systematic repression of nominally free Black people, ranging from terrorism to taxation as full citizens while denying them the rights of white citizens, also demanded redress.

The legal argument for reparations is self-evident. It rests on historic claims of Blacks for support to return to Africa or for allotments of land in or around the English colonies in the 17th century; promises of land by Union military officials such as those made to Blacks in Savannah, Georgia and their spokesperson, Garrison Frazier, following General Sherman's March to the Sea (see Henderson 2019); and claims for reparations such as those of the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association, led by Isaiah Dickerson and Callie House in the late 19th and early 20th century (Berry 2005). It is also established in international law in the recognition of the human rights of national minorities in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which the NAACP under W.E.B. Du Bois (1947) had appealed on behalf of Black Americans.

Reparations entail reconsidering the basis of equality in the U.S. because the legal standing of the descendants of Blacks made chattel by slavery and oppressed by Jim Crow requires recognizing their equality as a group not just as individuals. Given that Blacks as a racial group were targeted by the U.S. government and its agents who violated their human rights collectively, then the U.S. and its agents are required to provide reparations for the political, economic, and social harm they inflicted on this racial group. Reparations would have to be political, economic and social; but also cultural because part of what was denied African Americans was their cultural value, practices, preferences, and often their cultural products. This cultural aspect requires educating Black Americans and non-Blacks—especially white Americans, so Americans could appreciate the extent and impact of depredations suffered by Black Americans at the hands of white racist institutions and individuals. It is necessary to teach generations of white Americans the social science and history to allow them to fathom the "crimes against humanity" of white supremacism in the U.S., while undermining ongoing and future white supremacism, and thereby preventing the need for future reparations. Thus, reparations involve a cultural claim whose provision would transform the major educational institutions of the U.S.

Politically, reparations challenge the interest group/melting pot myth of U.S. society, revealing its de facto white racial oligarchy. The presumed horizontal competition among ethnic groups conceals a vertical hierarchy among racial groups with whites at the top and Blacks at the bottom of every meaningful major life-giving and life-sustaining institution of U.S. society. This social matrix bred interethnic competition and assimilation for non-Anglo whites but interracial subordination and repression for nonwhite racial groups—particularly Blacks. In this context, reparations cannot be accommodated as an interest group claim any more than the pursuit of freedom by slaves a century earlier could have been. The latter was not reconcilable with Lincoln's original war aim of preserving the Union with or without slavery but required a revolution to end slavery as an economic, political, and social system in the U.S. Reparations focuses less on providing Blacks a "bigger piece of the pie" than on transforming the pie itself. Thus, reparations would not call for Blacks to enjoy greater "rights" under the present political

system but, recognizing that Blacks are not enfranchised adequately under majority rule systems in a racial oligarchy, new systems are necessary to provide weighted or plural voting such that Black representation would be secured against white majority tyranny. The establishment of the political rights of Blacks challenges how voting rights are extended to citizens, as well as the notion of one person, one vote, as well as the permanence of unrepresentative institutions such as the U.S. Senate and the Electoral College.

Economically, reparations require a major redistribution of wealth in the U.S., the greatest since the Civil War. This would include the transfer of property to members of its largest racial minority, which would, at minimum, permanently lift the poorest Black Americans out of poverty.

It entails an unequivocal assertion of the human rights of African Americans and a commitment to the recognition of such rights—in material ways—by the U.S. At minimum, reparations would take the form of allotments of land to descendants of slaves. Land redistribution would have to be protected by the establishment of special rights of recipients, akin to customary rights employed in postcolonial arrangements, so that Blacks would not be cheated out of their land but as a group would own the land in perpetuity. Reparations also would include permanent endowments to Historically Black Colleges and Universities, as well as pre-K-12 schools for the only Americans threatened with death for attempting to learn to read.

To appreciate the social requirements for reparations, it's important to examine the arguments of one of its historic proponents, the Republic of New Africa (RNA). More than any other organization of the last half century, the RNA promoted the issue of reparations. They argued:

> *We are the descendants of Africans wrongfully kidnapped and brought here by whites with the explicit complicity of the U.S. government and every arm of the United States[']* law-making and law-enforcing machinery. The kidnapping was a wrongful act for which our ancestors and we as their heirs are entitled to damages... The stealing of our labor was a wrongful act, as was the cultural genocide we suffered. We are entitled to damages—to reparations. The compensations we speak of are owed to us. (Obadele 1972: 29)

For the RNA, reparations took the form of both a monetary allotment of several hundred billion dollars as well as a dispensation of land consisting of the states of the historic Black Belt: Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina (and adjacent Black majority counties in Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Florida) to Black Americans. The RNA's claim was based on their view that this land was the inheritance of the descendants of slaves, and its dispensation to their progeny was an initial form of reparations—in addition to monetary allotments and technical assistance. They rested their claims in constitutional and international law in arguments of their leading theoreticians and jurists, Audley Moore, Gaidi Obadele, Imari Obadele, and, later, Chokwe Lumumba, Adjoa Aeyitoro, and Nkechi Taifa. In

the 1950s, RNA co-founder Audley Moore was the most prominent advocate of reparations. In 1957, she attempted to petition the UN for reparations for slavery and Jim Crow in the form of compensation for those who wished to return to Africa and an indemnification of $200 billion to Blacks choosing to remain in the U.S. She influenced a generation of Civil Rights and Black Power Movement activists on the importance of reparations (Henderson 2019).

For the RNA, the 13th amendment of 1865, which ended chattel slavery, left Blacks' status in the law as descendants of kidnapped Africans who should have been granted the choice of (1) returning to Africa, (2) establishing a new independent nation among themselves in the U.S. (3) or another country, (4) or becoming U.S. citizens in a multiracial democracy. These "four fundamental consequences of freedom" were the centerpiece of the RNA's theorizing on reparations. The RNA advocated the rights of Blacks to support any of these options and called for a vote among them to determine their preferred course(s) of action. Instead, the 14th amendment of 1868 *imposed* U.S. citizenship on Blacks in what should have been a grant or offer that could be accepted or rejected; but newly freed slaves were not given this choice. Further, what was imposed was not citizenship in any meaningful sense; and even this was set aside within nine years with the end of Reconstruction in 1877.

The RNA's thesis on reparations invoked Black Americans' right of jus soli (the right of the soil), the right of anyone born on the territory of a country to claim citizenship in that country, to provide legal justifications for their reparations claims. The RNA argued that with the passage of the 13th Amendment, jus soli required that the U.S. not deny to the African born on U.S. soil American citizenship if s/he desired it: it was their choice. Therefore, the 14th Amendment could only be a grant or offer of citizenship to the freed slaves; and as a sincere offer, it obliged the U.S. to provide a mechanism whereby Blacks could make a free and informed choice with resources to exercise that choice. Further, they were entitled to "full and accurate information as to [their] status and the principles of international law appropriate to [their] situation," which was essential given that they "had been victim of a long-term, intense slavery policy aimed at assuring [their] illiteracy, dehumanizing [them] as a group," and de-personalizing them as individuals (Obadele 1972: 28). Yet, the education provided freed slaves "confirmed the policy of dehumanization," and

"[i]t was continued in American educational institutions" up to the present (Obadele 1972: 28).

With the end of slavery, these Africans were not advised of their "rights under international law," but were "co-opted into spending [their] political energies in organizing and participating in constitutional conventions and then voting for the legislatures which subsequently approved the Fourteenth Amendment" (Obadele, 1972: 28–29). For the RNA, "advice given the freedman was so bad it amounts to fraud," and facilitated "a second stealing of our birthright". Given that "[a]dequate and accurate information" is "fundamental to an informed decision," the RNA argued that it is "incumbent upon the [U.S.], which heretofore used its great resources to misinform Africans in America about our status, options, and rights under international law, to make available… the airways and other media for dissemination of information" (Obadele 1972: 29). The existence of the RNA, Obadele asserted, signaled "that a large body of Africans in America now has accurate information as to our status and our rights under international law," and they were intent on acting on the information and exercising their rights fully (p. 29). Given the broader interest in reparations today, the arguments of the RNA remain salient (Taifa 2020).

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RESEARCH ARTICLES

Black Immigrant Invisibility within Immigration Advocacy and Policy

BY

Tatiana Benjamin, PhD
Senior Research Analyst

Abstract

Black, Immigrant, and Invisible: The Consequences of Invisibility complicates the experiences of Black immigrants by exploring the advantages and disadvantages of their invisibility within discourses on immigration, deportation, citizenship, and mobility. The twenty-first century has ushered in intense conversations about immigration in the United States. Yet the voices and experiences of Black immigrants remain absent from these debates— being Black, immigrant, and undocumented remains unfathomable. I argue that the invisibility experienced by Black immigrants is an extension of anti-Blackness that reaffirms the Black body, or subject, as unthought-of. I examine this invisibility by addressing the following questions: How does an emphasis on "invisibility" help us to better understand how immigrant rights organizations in the U.S. can effectively address and represent the needs of Black immigrants? What effect has (in)visibility had on Black immigrants social, cultural, and economic mobility? I rely on qualitative methods, including participant observation and in-depth interviews to explore these questions.

Policy Recommendations

· Congress should remove the criminal clauses that prevent (un)documented migrants from accessing policies and resources such as DACA, TPS, and Diversity Visas.

· Increase/expand the cap on refugee and diversity programs from predominantly Black nations.

· Reassess the 1996 IRRIA bill because it reproduces hyper criminalization of (un) documented peoples. Repeal the 1996 laws (in particular 287g and other components of these legislations that severely impact the mobility and livelihood of our communities).

· Creation of humane, just immigration reform that creates a pathway to citizenship that is attainable and reasonable (i.e. timely, affordable, and accessible).

· **"NO Mandatory E-Verify - aka locking people out of the workforce.** Mandatory E-Verify without legislation for the undocumented workforce does not work. It only creates further obstacles for people to work and pay taxes while creating an underground economy. And it limits business's ability to hire the workers they need." (UndocuBlack, 2019)

Key Words: *advocacy, anti-Blackness, invisibility, policy, secondary marginalization, intersectionality*

Black undocumented immigrants are a vulnerable and marginalized population. Their marginalization is due to several factors, but for the purposes of this paper, I focus on race, advocacy, and policy. I contend that Black immigrants experience marginalization due to pervasive anti-Blackness in the larger society and lack of representation within advocacy organizations. This paper argues that the invisibility experienced by Black immigrants within immigration organizing, advocacy, and reform is an extension of anti-Blackness that reaffirms the Black body, or subject, as unthought-of. I ask how do organizations that seek to represent all immigrants represent immigrants disadvantaged by anti-Blackness. I conclude that the experiences of being an immigrant, especially an undocumented immigrant, are shaped by anti-Blackness.

The following sections address how Black immigrants and Black immigrant rights organizations are responding to anti- Blackness and invisibility within our current immigration debate and reform. The two organizations explored within this article are the UndocuBlack Network (UBN) and Black Alliance for Just Immigration (BAJI). UBN is an emerging organization seeking to " Blackify" the immigrant rights movement. Black Alliance for Just Immigration is a leading advocacy organization committed to "educat[ing] and engag[ing] African American and Black immigrant communities to organize and advocate for racial, social and economic justice" (BAJI, 2016). Both of these organizations are tackling the invisibility of Black peoples in immigration policy reform and organizing in the 21st century.

A key theme that emerged from my research is that of Black immigrant invisibility. I contend that this is a part of a larger history of fractured citizenship, denial of full of Americaness, and political representation to Black Americans. I pay particular attention to how immigrant advocates render Black immigrants invisible in their policy work because it has implications for access to resources and has often resulted in the further criminalization of Black immigrants. Historically, immigration policy and reform have been a racialized process.[1] The racial project of U.S. immigration policy has determined who enters or is refused entry to the nation-state, who is labeled "illegal," and who is considered criminal. Many historical immigration policies were created to control or deny entry to specific groups or territories.

U.S. notions of Blackness cannot be separated from U.S. immigration policies. A prime example supporting this statement is how Blacks were affected by the 1965 immigration reform,

[1] Here, I use Omi and Winant's definition of racial project—efforts to reorganize and redistribute resources along racial lines from their seminal text *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990*s (2015).

which continues to shape America's immigration policy. This reform lifted the national origin quota system as well as the discrimination imposed against Asian immigration by the "Asiatic bar zone" (K.R. Johnson, 1198, p. 1121). However, the 1965 Immigration Reform Act was not intended to increase immigration from Africa, Asia, or Southern and Eastern Europe. This is exemplified in the following quote, "there will not be, comparatively, many Asians, or Africans entering the country…since the people of Africa and Asia have very few relatives here, comparatively few could immigrate from these countries because they have no family ties to the U.S." (Shulman, 2004, p.16). Familial ties were expected to be limited for African and Asian immigrants due to discriminatory country-of-origin quotas. The U.S. did not want an influx of Black peoples entering the U.S. This restriction in African immigrants demonstrates that immigration officials did not seek to encourage free Black migration. Lawmakers lifted national origin quotas to counter critiques that the U.S. was engaging in a racialized practices at odds with its call for democratic reforms abroad during the Cold War (Dudziak, 2000).

The intentions of U.S. immigration bills have historically been to increase European entry while limiting access from Africa, the Americas, and Asia into the U.S. This legacy of racism in U.S. immigration policy is seen in the passing of the 1996 laws (Immigration Reform, Welfare Reform, Anti-Terrorism) which have had lasting repercussions for Black immigrants, especially in terms of how immigration and criminality are further wedded together. These laws and policies resulted in the hyper surveillance and hyper criminalization of Black communities:

> *Black immigrants are deported at a higher rate than other immigrants as a result of the 1996 laws. Nearly 22% of immigrants facing deportation as a result of criminal contact are Black. As a result of the reforms to immigration policy introduced in 1996 thousands of Black immigrants are ineligible for immigration and executive action programs such as DACA, Temporary Protected Status (TPS) and Special Juvenile Status" (Tometi, 2016).*

The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) reproduced stratification, inequality, and inequity. Focusing on immigration, the 1996 laws made more immigrants deportable and lessened their chances for documentation or legal permanent residency. Immigrants were given limited access to legal assistance (no due process), detained, then deported (Macías-Rojas, 2018). The 1996 laws were increasingly punitive in nature and expanded the types of crimes that could lead to removal, as well as retroactive punishment. These crimes included, shoplifting, petty theft, DUIs, traffic violations, and low-level drug offenses were reclassified as aggravate felonies, which could lead to deportation (Arlene Roberts, 2009).

The possibility of detainment was increased under 287(g), a provision in the IIRIRA (1996), which allows state and local law enforcement officers to perform immigration law enforcement functions, also referred to as cross deputization. This provision impacts the mobility of undocumented immigrants and increases the potential for interaction with law enforcement and detainment.

Today's immigration system continues to be anit Black and classist. Similar to the 1996 reform, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA 2012), and the proposed Dream Act, have a clause that restricts access to any immigrant who has a criminal record. Black immigrants are harmed by this clause due to high levels of police violence and arrest within Black communities. Black immigrants are incarcerated at five times the rate of their Non-Black Latinx and Asian immigrant counterparts. DACA, was implemented in 2012 under the Obama Administration. This reform grants a temporary (two-year) relief and work authorization to undocumented youth who arrived to the United States as children. DACA focuses on documentation and protection from deportation, with little attention paid to other exclusionary practices within the nation-state. The result is a failure by advocates of DACA to recognize the realities and needs of the six million immigrants who would *not* benefit from DACA expansion. For instance, very few [Black and undocumented] immigrants have benefitted from DACA. Some of the challenges that hinder Black immigrant access to DACA are fee requirements, criminal records (misdemeanors), and educational barriers that cannot be understood apart from the historical segregation of Black communities in the U.S.

The DREAM Act has been the centerpiece of the immigrant rights movement for the past decade. Though it has never passed, it is considered a more feasible political proposition than a full overhaul of the existing immigration system (Comprehensive Immigration Reform). The DREAM Act allows undocumented youth access to higher education and a pathway to citizenship. Passing this act would allow for DREAMers to attain employment, specifically better paying jobs, which would mean higher revenues over time. The National Immigration Law Center (NILC) sums this up in the following statement: "Contributions that DREAM Act students will make over their lifetimes, once college educated, would dwarf the small additional investment in their education beyond high school" (NILC, 2010). This statement epitomizes the general framing that advocates use to garner support for the legislation. It covers opponents' concerns about DREAMers being a drain on the economy, by underscoring the fact that higher earnings mean increased tax revenue, increases economic productivity, and spending power (NILC, 2010). Proponents of the

DREAM Act also emphasize the deserving-ness of DREAMers, by framing them as highly successful undocumented youth of good moral character.

A major critique of the DREAM Act is its emphasis on the "deserving" immigrant,[2] which produced a good/bad immigrant narrative, a dichotomy produced by national immigration and social justice organizations advocating for immigrant youth. It relies on the idea that undocumented youth were unaware of their parents unauthorized status, that they embody the American dream, and that they are above all good subjects. The political expediency of this narrative is clear. There are also political costs, however. The "good immigrant/bad immigrant" dichotomy allows for vilification and exploitation of those that do not fit the DREAMer image, such as the Black immigrant.

Becoming Black American

Black immigrants remain an anomaly within immigration policy because they are Black. Blacks are understood as fundamentally a part of U.S. history and the U.S. population, but their unequal standing is also fundamental. That is their belonging is never questioned, but that belonging can only be understood in terms of subordinate status. The saliency of Blackness and the meanings attached to the Black body, whether native or foreign, are inescapable. Black peoples in the United States live in a racialized context that sets them up to experience racism. Anti-Blackness is not tangential or exceptional in U.S. history, but essential to the establishment of the nation. Black immigrants have long been subject to the same racial forces that drove the exploitation and oppression of Blacks born on U.S. soil, dating back to the experiences of immigrants from Haiti in 1803. Black Haitian immigrants seeking refuge in the U.S. raised anxieties about the consequences of Black freedom, signified by the Haitian revolts, for Whites. If we are truly going to overhaul immigration, we must also address how anti-Blackness affects how Black immigrants are received and seen. An advocacy organization or policy agenda that does not address the history of anti-Blackness in immigration reform is complicit in reproducing white supremacy.

Black immigrants enter a U.S. racial landscape that places Black peoples at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Blackness is the fundamental driver of formal and informal citizenship for Black peoples residing in the U.S. Documentation is only part of the U.S. naturalization process. As professor Devon Carbado argues, "naturalization [is] not simply a formal process that produces American citizenship but also as a social process that produces American racial identities" (637).

[2] The new iteration of the proposed Dream Act (2019) excludes DREAMers who have been "sent to a detention facility for a juvenile offense." https://www.themarshallproject.org/2019/06/17/the-new-dream-act-holds-some-dreamers-pasts-against-them

He delinks American citizenship and American identity in order to demonstrate the possibility of having one without the other. Thus, while citizenship may be uniform in a formal sense, American identity varies and is determined and made intelligible through the U.S. racial hierarchy.

I contend that Black undocumented immigrants are denied formal citizenship but achieve American identity through their immediate occupation of the "Black" category in the U.S. racial hierarchy. Black skin or being legible as Black marks Black subjects as "othered," or already outside of citizenship- due to the role of racism and the social hierarchies it creates. Yet Black people are also seen as unquestionably part of the U.S. racial state. Black immigrants receive an American identity that is entrenched in American racism and places them into subordinate identities. In light of this entrenched racial dynamic, the focus of the immigrant rights on the creation of a pathway to citizenship - without considering how "racial naturalization" operates within the U.S. - further marginalizes the issues Black immigrants face due to the intersections of immigration, criminal justice, and Blackness.

A focus on police brutality in particular demonstrates how immigrant status, along with obtaining a degree, or job, fails to protect Black immigrants from American racism. Their Blackness and immigrant status are constitutive of one another. For instance, Journalist Eugene Robinson echoes this point: "Anyone who might believe that immigrant status confers any degree of protection from the most corrosive residues of history should remember what happened to Abner Louima and Amaduo Diallo, two Black men, at the hands of New York City police" (V. Johnson, 2016,p.32) Amaduo Diallo was a twenty-three-year-old African immigrant from Guinea who was gunned down by four plainclothes NYPD on February 23,1999. He supposedly fit the description of a Black male rapist. Abner Louima is a Haitian immigrant who was beaten and sodomized by officers from the New York City Police Department. Seraw Mulugeta, was an Ethiopian immigrant who was attacked with a baseball bat by white skinheads in Portland, Oregon on November 13, 1998. All of these incidents exemplify the constitutive relationship between "Blackness" and "immigrant" identities. In fact, it was because of their otherness as both Black and immigrant that these men were attacked or mistaken for criminals. The coverage of each of these cases include racial and anti-immigrant slurs, such as, "go back to your own country," "Fucking Niggers," "Fucking Haitians," and "Fucking Haitians, dumb Fucking Haitians." The following statement by Rosemaries Saint Elien emphasizes the deep entanglement of Blackness and immigration, "We are really stigmatized, more so I think than African Americans. We have three

strikes against us: we're Black, we're Haitians and some people think we are just an ignorant and poor community" (V. Johnson, 2016). I highlight this quote because it underscores how intersectional identities manifest in Black communities. Black immigrants, both documented and undocumented are entering a racial terrain where race, particularly Blackness *and* anti-immigrant biases, are always at play. Their Blackness, or Black skin, is a marker of otherness and their immigrant status places them both outside and inside of presumed Americaness, making their positions as full members of the polity less secure. Their access to resources is shaped by both legal citizenship and race, particularly Blackness. Blackness has political, structural, and representational consequences for Black immigrants.

Advocacy: Invisibility of Black Immigrants

Black immigrants have a long and varied political history in America, but remain invisible in past and present accounts of immigration reform and advocacy. The invisibility experienced by Black immigrants is an extension of anti-Blackness because it reaffirms the Black body, or subject, as unthought-of. Black immigrants are hyper visible as Black and often overlooked when it comes to immigration advocacy. They are shown the same disregard as native-born Blacks, but also not visible as an immigrant. Black immigrants are fighting the double-burden of anti-Blackness within immigrant rights spaces and a U.S. police state that continues to murder Black peoples. Additionally, an unclear definition of who is considered Black and/or foreigner led to limited statistics on this population. This has led to a public image and narrative of immigration that excludes Black immigrant narratives and voices.

Within the contemporary immigrant rights movement, advocacy has centered on a specific immigrant narrative. The public image of undocumented or unauthorized immigrants propagated by many organizations and political supporters is one of the hardworking, non-Black Latinx deserving of citizenship because they contribute to the U.S. economy. This image is not Black. Carl Lipscombe, Deputy Director for the Black Alliance for Just Immigration and Alan Pelaez a queer undocumented afro-indigenous graduate student solidifies this point in the following statements:

> *Historically, when we've talked about Latino immigration, the context has been the "valedictorian" and the "Dreamer," the business owner and the immigrant worker—the person who is here to work. But the narrative about Black immigrants has been similar Black people in general: That Black immigrants are*

charity cases who are here to take advantage of whatever resources there are in the U.S.– Carl Lipscombe (Allan, 2017)

We're not asking for DACA or for the Dream Act because most Black undocumented folks who were eligible to apply in the first place, didn't apply because there was no nobody on the ground organizing for the undocumented Black community. -Alan Pelaez (Thompson-Hernandez, 2017)

Taken together these statements demonstrate the saliency of Blackness to immigration and advocacy. Blackness affects the narrative and policies being put forth.

Due to the racial context of the United States, Black immigrants do not escape the material consequences of Blackness either. Although Black immigrants have higher educational attainment than their Asian and non-Black Latinx counterparts, they still experience higher poverty rates (20%)[3], and like other Blacks, are disproportionately subject to mass incarceration and high unemployment rates. Black immigrants are also five times more likely to be deported for a criminal offense than their immigrant counterparts (Allan, 2017). Black experiences and Black racial formation in the United States are tied to immigration policy. It is within this context of increased migration from all over the world, a history of anti-Black racism, and policies based on criminalization and removal that Black immigrant rights organizations seek to advocate for immigrant rights.

Even within a marginalized group such as undocumented immigrants, inequality can be reproduced along gender, racial, and ethnic lines. The failure to address how the racialization of Black peoples directly affects immigration and deportation has resulted in advocacy organizations producing secondary marginalization (Strolovitch, 2007).[4] Advocacy organizations have championed policies that often have negative repercussions for Black immigrant communities. The creation and enforcement of DACA demonstrates the invisibility of Black immigrants within America's contemporary immigration debate. The invisibility experienced by Black immigrants is best articulated by the following statement from an UndocuBlack member and co-founder, "Black immigrants are excluded from when they develop policies but also the most impacted when they develop policies" (Jackson, 2017). She cites the proposed DREAM Act and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) as policies that largely excludes Black undocumented people. Less than 2% of Black immigrants receive DACA (Morgan-Trostle, Zheng, & Lipscombe, 2016). She called attention to how the requirements for DACA made many Black immigrants ineligible because it

[3] A share that is below U.S. born Blacks (28%). Monica Anderson. Pew Research Center. April 9, 2015.
[5] Secondary marginalization contends that disadvantaged subgroups experience marginalization along multiple axes Organizations that represent disadvantaged groups can exacerbate and/or reproduce secondary marginalization by advocating for laws and policies that focus on singular issues, particularly those that benefit an advantaged subgroup.

did not take into account factors such as criminality and age, which play out differently within Black immigrant communities. She states the following about DACA,

> *When it came to the discussion of the requirements for those, a lot of it depended on age, a lot of it depended on your, whether or not you had been involved in any kind of, quote/unquote, criminal activity, or had any charges. It depended on finances. Whether you could stand yourself up as a good immigrant. And while we had a number of people that were able to apply for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals many people were excluded because, one, they were not a childhood arrival. They arrived at 17 to go to college. Or they were an adult that they were the parent of children that are residing in the United States, whether they were American born or not. Financially, that was $465 to come up with when you're not supposed to be working. So what support system do these people have to be able to access that? (Jackson, 2017)*

Again, the invisibility of Black immigrants to policy makers, the general public, and within immigrant advocacy continues to marginalize Black immigrants by not taking into account how Black peoples in the U.S. are racialized and constantly interface with the criminal justice system or face racialized barriers to the economic means needed to pay application fees. Immigrant advocacy organizations often emphasize a formal pathway to citizenship that fails to address the growing and diverse immigrant communities in terms of police brutality, economic polarization, xenophobia, and racial segregation. The current political climate is anti-immigrant and anti-Black, therefore comprehensive immigration reform requires an intersectional approach that addresses multiple barriers to belonging and racial equality.

Combatting Invisibility: Strategies and Resistance

UndocuBlack Network (UBN) and Black Alliance for Just Immigration (BAJI) have successfully employed an intersectional lens to address the issues and challenges Black (un)documented immigrants face within contemporary political spaces. Despite these expressions of invisibility, interviews and participant observation reveal important efforts by both organizations to refuse this sense of invisibility or deep marginalization. Through coalitions and programs that keep multiple identities front and center, BAJI and UBN have contributed to the political representation of Black immigrants that is much more robust and coherent than in the past.

Black Alliance for Just Immigration and the UndocBlack Network exemplify the organizing

strategies articulated by Ella Baker in 1969,

> *"In order for us as poor and oppressed people to become a part of a society that is meaningful, the system under which we now exist has to be radically changed. This means that we are going to have to learn to think in radical terms. I use the term radical in its original meaning -- getting down to and understanding the root cause. It means facing a system that does not lend itself to your needs and devising means by which you change that system."*

Both organizations recognize the root causes that marginalize Black immigrants, such as racism, anti-Blackness, and socioeconomic systems that constrain and block upward mobility for Black people in the United States. These Black- and immigrant-led groups are not simply calling for fewer deportations and an end to racial bias in incarceration or detention. Rather, their end goal is the abolishment of an entire system that seeks to confine and disenfranchise. One of the most radical commitments associated with these groups is that they seek an expansive Black liberation regardless of immigration status or criminal record. They are calling for economic justice, an end to mass incarceration, and an end to mass deportation. For instance, BAJI's, "Our Safety Beyond Policing campaign calls for public investment in jobs, education, training instead of police/enforcement #BlackWorkMatters" (Malinowski, 2015). UBN has collaborated with several organizations in order to provide low cost resources (i.e. housing, legal, and educational services) that can be provided to (un)documented immigrants. In sum, they are advocating for a sharp move away from the neoliberal racial state and its obsession with the economic contributions of immigrants and Black people. Instead, they encourage a focus on the shared humanity of Black and other peoples. The radical sense of human flourishing that Black feminists developed in the Combahee River Collective statement more than four decades ago underlies the work of UBN and BAJI in terms of leadership praxis, coalitional-building, and political advocacy.

Highlighting and engaging anti-Blackness is a key contribution that both organizations have made salient to their organizing around immigrant justice. Many immigrant advocates contend that race, specifically a racial justice framework is necessary to fix our broken immigration system. However, there is a distinction between addressing racism in general and confronting anti- Black racism in an explicit way. For instance, immigrant advocates may address xenophobia but not anti-Blackness. Where do Black DREAMers exist in the immigrant rights narrative around DACA? I contend that the reason Black undocumented immigrants who meet the criteria for DACA do not apply at rates similar to non-Black Latinx undocumented immigrants is that they

do not see themselves and their experiences reflected in the larger immigrant rights movement (Oso, 2017). This perspective is supported in my research. According to BAJI's Deputy Director, Carl Lipscombe, DACA outreach efforts by mainstream immigrant rights organizations did not prioritize Black communities. Black immigrants were never featured when Obama discussed or publicized the program. Lipscombe tells TheRoot.com,

> *"What we've seen over the past 20 years in the mainstream immigrant-rights movement is this focus on integration and assimilation. But when they're talking about integrating and assimilating into the U.S., they're not talking about assimilating into Black America. They're talking about immigrating into white America and having that white picket fence and go[ing] to the Ivy League schools and start[ing] a business. All of those things are dog whistles against African Americans, who are stereotyped as being uneducated and lazy." (Ross, 2013)*

The racial assumptions that underlie the assimilation premise that DACA advocates so often adopts, highlights how anti-Blackness becomes embedded in the immigrant rights movement. Recognizing these assumptions forces us to interrogate the laws and policies that punish the poor and scapegoat Black immigrants.

Concluding Thoughts

True immigration reform cannot come at the expense of the most marginalized in our communities. We cannot move forward with humane immigration reform without addressing the root causes of today's broken and punitive immigration system, which include racialization and anti Blackness. Serving all immigrants requires a racial justice and economic lens that tends to how white supremacy and capitalism structure immigration policy. Yes, all immigrants are under assault, but they are affected in different ways, depending on their race. Claiming to represent all immigrants without accounting for this diversity will continue to produce secondary marginalization in immigrant advocacy. BAJI and UBN are offering a strong model of organizing rooted in intersectionality by addressing power, anti-Blackness, and the root causes of oppressions that reproduce inequality in immigrant advocacy.

If we want to dismantle deportation, we cannot perpetuate a one-dimensional narrative of immigration that often excludes and criminalizes Black bodies. It is important to

tell the stories of Black immigrants and all immigrants of color in order to move beyond dichotomies of “illegal/legal”, “good immigrant/bad immigrant”, and “border/no border”. These binaries, often accepted and perpetuated by immigrant rights organizations, end up reinforcing undesirable images instead of interrogating the forces that lead to migration and marginalization, including U.S. imperialism, colonialism, capitalism and other–isms. Focusing on these binaries keeps us wrapped in proving we are “good” subjects, instead of dismantling state structures. Incorporating a commitment to address anti-Blackness in immigrant organizing helps to bring these issues to the foreground of advocacy efforts.

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Congressman Ron Dellums' Public Policy Legacy: Stay True to Your Principles and Never Give Up

BY

Margaretta Lin, JD, MA, Dan Lindheim, PhD, JD, MCP, MPH

At the recent memorial service for former Congressman, Mayor, Congressional Black Caucus Co-Founder, and global humanitarian, Ronald V. Dellums, Democratic and Republican leaders alike spoke to the extraordinary impact of Dellums' life. Ron Dellums was a man of noble principle. A great visionary. A brilliant strategist. A warrior for peace and social justice. A man Nelson Mandela called the "man who gave us hope" (Mandela 1990).

The Pastor William H. Lamar IV recounted the biblical parable of Daniel, who when taken in to Nebuchadnezzar's court, rather than sell his soul to enjoy the benefits of power, refused to eat the king's meat. The Pastor's refrain was that too many leaders (political, religious, others) seek to eat the king's meat, but that Ron Dellums refused to eat the king's meat. Ron Dellums entered the halls of power, but remained true to his principles, and never sold out.

How do we distill the legacy of a person who for over 50 years took up the mantle for innumerable peace and justice movements that have defined public discourse and transformed public policy values? From the Vietnam War to South Africa Apartheid, to national defense, the environment, healthcare and housing, the HIV/AIDs crisis, and so much more, Ron Dellums had the uncanny ability to see what was right and just and moral, the brilliance to articulate solutions to problems, the courage to champion the cause (even if initially alone), and the persistence to see it through, even if it took decades.

We synthesize lessons from Dellums' career to provide a living roadmap for addressing the public policy problems of today and the future.

Who Was Ronald V. Dellums?

Dellums grew up in West Oakland, California to a family who taught him that he was worthy and brilliant. Dellums had a troubled youth and almost did not graduate from high school. After serving in the Marines, Dellums attended community and state colleges and eventually became a UC Berkeley trained psychiatric social worker and a community organizer. At the age of 31, Dellums was on his way to a PhD program at Brandeis when he was recruited by activists to serve on the Berkeley City Council. Three years later, in 1970, Dellums was recruited by a progressive coalition to run for Congress where he served with great distinction for 27 years, and then passed the mantle to Rep. Barbara Lee. In 2006, Dellums was again recruited by a grassroots movement to run for Mayor of his hometown. Dellums served as Mayor of Oakland from 2007 to 2010. He passed away in July 2018.

The policy legacy of Ron Dellums is particularly instructive for today's politically fraught times. His story is that of a man elected to Congress as an anti-Vietnam War activist and a prominent member of President Nixon's infamous "enemies list." Yet, he rose to become Chair of the powerful House Armed Services Committee, while always maintaining his integrity, activism, and principles. Decades ahead of the "mainstream," his initially lonely efforts fighting Apartheid in South Africa, and against major nuclear war-fighting systems, all eventually became the official positions of the nation.

Dellums was a staunch critic of discrimination and a key supporter of gay rights in the military, and consistently challenged the militarization of U.S. foreign policy, while still advocating for improving the living conditions of military personnel. Dellums also chaired the House D.C. Committee where he pushed for meaningful Home Rule and Statehood for the District of Columbia, and also focused on the problems in America's cities.

He was equally well known for presenting comprehensive policy proposals including the Dellums Alternative Military Budget and the Congressional Black Caucus Alternative Budget. He also authored comprehensive bills to provide free healthcare to all Americans and a national comprehensive housing program.[1]

After leaving Congress, Dellums led the development of his envisioned Marshall Plan for HIV/AIDs and the Dellums Commission on Boys and Men of Color, the precursor to President Obama's My Brother's Keeper initiative. In his 70s, Dellums was drafted to serve as Mayor of Oakland, where he opened up City Hall for Oakland's people to develop Oakland as a model city for the world.

Ron Dellums' Living Public Policy Principles- A Roadmap To Transforming The World

We examine various aspects of Dellums' career to distill six key public policy principles that provide a coherent theoretical framework rooted in the advancement of racial and social justice. Much current academic public policy analysis is rooted in methodologies for defining problems, analyzing alternatives, understanding trade-offs and opportunity costs, defining criteria, and considering political feasibility.[2] Dellums and colleagues analyzed all of the above. But what particularly distinguishes Dellums, and is most important in the public policy context, is Dellums' overriding approach or philosophy, which is detailed below. We believe that the following six public policy principles, based upon case study analysis

[1] Beginning in 1977, for 18 years, Dellums introduced the National Health Service Act that called for health coverage for all, an important part of the debate on national health insurance. In 1988, Dellums introduced the National Comprehensive Housing Act. Business Week called it "a superb blueprint" for addressing the housing crisis (Kuttner 1987).
[2]For example, the UC Berkeley Goldman School for Public Policy tutors its students in Eugene Bardach's, The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving

of Dellums' public policy leadership form a realistic and relevant theory of change. They are: (1) always act from a place of clear and moral principles; (2) never become a cynic; (3) short-term political feasibility (an idea that rules most public policy analysis) is not a fixed idea, but a dynamic concept; (4) short term policy reforms are important, but must be understood not as ends in themselves, but as part as part of a larger construct of change, transformation, and policy struggle; (5) creating substantive change requires inside/outside coalitions; and (6) when you take power, you have to transform the role of the powerful.

These principles are applicable to the profound national and global policy crises of today whether discrimination, poverty, national security, climate change, immigration. We use mainly primary sources to illustrate the challenges, strategies, and ultimately, the audacity and courage of Ron Dellums that characterized his remarkable policy life.

Dellums Overarching Guiding Public Policy Principle #1:
Be principled in whatever you do and these principles should be anchored in basic ideas of morality.

Throughout his lifetime, Dellums' ideas were rooted in principles of peace, justice, and equality. Dellums saw his moral compass grounded in the views of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (Dellums 2000, 6). As Dellums restates King, "peace is more than merely the absence of war, it is the presence of justice… and to pursue peace, it is necessary to challenge all forms of injustice" (Id.). Dellums challenged the nation's priorities and insisted on the inextricable link between the fights for peace and justice and the close relationship between national security policy and the internal problems of America.

Dellums' adherence to his principles, including integrity and fairness, helped him develop close relationships and alliances with members of Congress from all political vantage points. Former Congressman, and now host of Morning Joe, Joe Scarborough wrote that when he first came to Congress as a radical Republican in 1995, he met with the new House Armed Services Committee Chair Floyd Spence. Scarborough said:

Spence told me, "Son, let me give you some advice. Don't ever say anything bad about Ron Dellums in front of me….Ron is as good a man as you will find in Congress. He tells you where he stands, and his word is always good." I remember being moved by this one time segregationist extolling the character and goodness of a Black, Berkeley liberal whom Spiro Agnew had once labeled "an out-and-out radical" (Scarborough 2018).

Dellums Public Policy Principle #2: *Do not be cynical! Do not get caught up in the cynicism of this moment. Express your citizenship and participate.*

Dellums often said, "It's not cynics that change the world. You have to be hopeful and optimistic and upbeat. And you have to believe that you have a responsibility to step up, put your ideas on the table, and see where they go." (IIS 2000).

Many of Dellums' efforts were initially seen as quixotic. The idea that Apartheid could be brought down and Mandela freed, that one could challenge the Pentagon about national defense policy -- and actually win, were considered "unrealistic" and not "politically feasible". Yet, despite taking what were at first lonely positions, he persevered; and on many important issues, over time, the world began to catch up to him, and his positions ultimately prevailed. As he frequently told his staff, "I have two things going for me. The first is the fidelity to my principles, and the other is my ability to show up for the fight every day."

Regarding his ultimately successful fight against Apartheid in South Africa, Dellums wrote:

> *Whether in victory or defeat, the challenge is not so much to prevail at the moment as it is to remain faithful to the ideas and to the struggle, and to refuse to yield to the powerful temptation of cynicism. People often ask themselves, "Will this succeed, will this be effective?" Others ask "Why bother, you can't change anything?" My response has always been…while I never felt that I could control an outcome, I did have control over my own faithfulness to the ideas and principles of our movement. Simply put, showing up, and being prepared for the fight is the first step, and sometimes that has powerful unanticipated consequences. By moving from optimism, idealism and hope rather than succumbing to cynicism, we had believed it possible to help bring change to South Africa (Dellums 2000, 145).*

Another example of Dellums' resistance to cynicism resulted in the creation of the federal PEPFAR programs (Clark 2013) that have saved 17 million lives (PEPFAR 2018). Upon leaving Congress, Dellums devoted himself to tackling one of the moral imperatives of our times—ending the suffering of people with HIV and AIDS, especially in sub-Saharan Africa—the epi-center of the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. It was estimated that over 20 million people would die of AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa over the next decade, yet the world's response was anemic (Dellums 2000, 199). Dellums found that to be morally unacceptable and believed that the world could not sit by and do nothing about the cataclysmic crisis.

Serving as the Chair of President Clinton's Commission on HIV and AIDS and continuing

on the Commission under President Bush, Dellums developed a bold and ambitious solution—what he envisioned as an "**AIDS Marshall Plan**" for Africa. According to Dellums, "Such a plan would have to be large, comprehensive, and interrelated.... We must understand that AIDS cannot be treated in a vacuum and only an investment strategy that deals with access to health care, infrastructure requirements, and other related issues will succeed.... It is a cause that the world must come to embrace if we are to be true to King's vision of peace and justice" (Id. 200).

Dellums worked with Bristol Myers Squibb to develop and fund a pilot program. This served as the basis for federal legislation sponsored by Congresswoman Barbara Lee--the **PEPFAR programs**--which provide annual federal funds for HIV and AIDS prevention, services, and research (Clark 2013).

Dellums Public Policy Principle #3: *Politicians will always seek the "center" of a debate. But the center is not a fixed place; it is a dynamic position. The role of the progressive is to move the center of the debate to the left.*

In Dellums' view, the most important contribution for a progressive is to "push to redefine and move the center of the debate to the left" and to "not compromise prematurely" because that moves the center of the debate to the right. Dellums saw social change as a marathon, not a sprint. He saw success as taking positions that are right and just, even if not at first deemed "practical" or "winnable," and articulating and fighting for these positions until they eventually prevail.

A major problem in Washington D.C. (and in many other policy venues) is that too many "liberals" and advocacy groups compromise far too early in the pursuit of being on the "winning" side, rather than holding politicians feet to the fire and being faithful advocates of the positions their constituencies are demanding. This was a particular concern with many advocacy groups working on defense policy and the nuclear freeze. Dellums wrote,

> *Sadly, over time, a regrettable pattern emerged: the Left itself would often cut its deals too early and support an "attainable" liberal outcome, without understanding the essential requirement to keep the pressure on the system by validating popular support for the most progressive legislative alternative... Compromise is almost always inevitable in the legislative process, but I took the position that it would always be important that progressives refrain from yielding to the temptation to strike these deals prematurely (Dellums 2000, 70).*

Dellums had a clear understanding that whatever his views on a particular issue, his position would always be seen as representing the left wing of the debate. As such, he had a special responsibility to articulate the clearest and most progressive statement of an issue. While he often felt that he could cut better deals than many poll-watching, vote-counting, moderate politicians, that if he began to play that role and take more moderate positions, the whole debate would move rightward.

One remarkable thing about Dellums' Congressional career is the sheer number of issues in which he was initially a lone voice in the policy wilderness, considered too radical, too "out there," but eventually his positions became official Congressional policy. The South Africa anti-Apartheid fight provides a good example of both the marathon nature of struggle as well as the need to redefine the center of the debate.

In 1971, after an advocacy visit from workers from Polaroid,[3] Dellums introduced the first comprehensive anti-apartheid bill, with minimal Congressional support. He continued to do so in each subsequent Congress for 17 years. Despite the urgency of the South Africa situation, Dellums didn't:

"believe that our disinvestment resolution would be an overnight success, but we had raised the issue (of sanctions and disinvestment) before the elected representatives of the American people, and our resolution provided an organizing device for those on the outside to use to begin to build pressure on the Congress for legislative action." (Id. 123).

By 1984, international pressure was finally building to impose sanctions. Despite opposition from President Reagan, the issue was becoming more mainstream and more moderate bills began to appear. The anti-Apartheid movement was split on the best strategy: move toward the center and seek the "achievable" outcome; or press for maximum sanctions. Illustrative of this split, on behalf of the House leadership, Majority Whip and CBC member Congressman William Gray introduced a bill stopping new U.S. investment in South Africa. In contrast, articulating the demands of the U.S. anti-apartheid movement as well as the South African anti-Apartheid leadership, the Dellums bill called for a full embargo, sanctions and disinvestment.

Dellums wanted to ensure that some action would be taken by the United States and also

[3] A group of Polaroid workers were concerned that their products were used as a tool of apartheid in South Africa.

supported Gray's House leadership bill. But in Dellums view, "with our broad-based movement winning victories for disinvestment every day at the local and state level, we had the capacity to achieve more." (Id. 130). Dellums believed that it would take full disinvestment to end Apartheid. Dellums said, "It was necessary to keep the pressure from the left…I regretted that the movement would be split on these choices, and believed that it should have been prepared to support all of these effort – as the CBC had – accepting compromise only at the appropriate time." (Id. 130).

In 1985, a version of the House leadership's moderate alternative to Dellums' bill, passed the House. The Republican-controlled Senate passed an even weaker bill. President Reagan issued an Executive Order providing for minimal sanctions, but maintained his view that he would veto any legislation mandating meaningful sanctions. In 1986, the Gray bill continued as the mainstream House bill. Dellums remained convinced that his own bill was the better path for achieving the real goal – ending Apartheid. In the House debate, the Dellums "substitute" bill was the only amendment permitted and was seen as an effort to "provide an organizing target …and to help awaken the U.S. to its conscience." (Id. 132).

Surprisingly, the Dellums substitute passed the House, and became the House position in conference with the Senate. The conference report was approved and sent to the President. President Reagan vetoed the bill, but both houses of Congress overwhelmingly overrode the Presidential veto. This marked the most serious defeat Reagan had suffered on a foreign issue and one of the most stunning blows of his presidency (CQ 1986).

In 1988, in response to President Reagan's reluctance to impose sanctions, the House again overwhelmingly passed a new Dellums bill applying more serious sanctions. By many accounts, Congressional action led the South African government to reassess their positions and two years later in 1990, Nelson Mandela was freed, and in 1994 he was sworn in as President of South Africa.

Dellums believed that "by being persistent in our advocacy" events were set in motion that would alter history. More important, "victory was possible … because of the state of ferment in the nation…. Throughout the country, voters were demanding that their representatives in Congress take a moral, principled stand to disassociate the U.S. from the brutal regime in South Africa." (Dellums 2000, 135). By maintaining his more progressive position, he moved the debate's center and redefined the possible and the politically feasible.

Dellums Public Policy Principle #4: *Articulate broad visions of policy, based on serious analysis, and show how individual policies fit into that broader vision.*

In Dellums' view, policy debates should discuss ideas and their underlying assumptions. Instead, too many "policy" debates are not about policy at all, but are actually just numbers games without debating the underlying substance of those numbers. This absolves politicians from having to make tough policy decisions.

A case in point was President Reagan's military buildup that more than doubled military spending during the 1980's and devastated domestic programs. The debate was not based on specific defense policy needs; rather it was justified based on a completely arbitrary numbers game about the level of real (inflation adjusted) growth.

In contrast, Dellums always spoke to policy needs:

> *"If high levels of spending are necessary to ensure national security, then sufficient money should be provided. But these should be determined by debating policy priorities not by arbitrary rates of spending or growth. The threat to national security does not change by 3 or 5 or 10 percent per year, and there is no reason to feel compelled to allocate scarce budget resources in such terms." (Dellums & Lindheim 1988, 304).*

The Dellums Alternative Military budget showed that the country could have a reasoned, coherent, responsible national security policy without bankrupting social programs. Most attacks on the military budget were based on excessive waste, fraud, and abuse, and the high cost of dangerous war-fighting nuclear systems. Dellums argued that most defense spending was actually the result of implementing the policy assumptions that underlay the budget, and that if substantial reductions could be made, these underlying assumptions needed to be attacked (Dellums & Lindheim 1988). Rather than just railing against the massive and excessive cost of the major war-fighting systems (e.g., MX missile system, Star Wars and the B-2 bomber programs), Dellums attacked their underlying rationales and assumptions.

Another example is the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Budget, created originally by CBC Chair Congressman Walter Fauntroy and Dellums, and then subsequently led by Dellums. The CBC budget showed that an alternative vision was possible: that the budget could be balanced, that both national security and the country's domestic needs could be provided for, and a fair and equitable fiscal policy was attainable. While the CBC budget was never adopted, it

was deemed by then Budget chair Leon Panetta, the only budget that makes the "tough choices that neither the Congress nor the Administration has been willing to make." (Dellums 1990).

Critical to articulating his broad views, Dellums had the rare ability to explain issues simply and coherently. He believed that to change votes, he had to explain issues in ways that Congressional colleagues felt comfortable explaining these to their own constituents. This helped him develop coalitions with seemingly strange bedfellows. Two interesting instances involved conservative Democrat Marvin Leath, a self-described "good ole boy" from Texas, and then Republican Congressman John Kasich, both members of the Armed Services Committee.

Leath spoke to Dellums one day, "I just made a big mistake… of listening to you. I want you to know was the finest exposition on the MX missile I've ever heard…You're saying something… that everybody needs to hear – even my constituents." (Dellums 2000, 89). Leath invited Dellums to his District to meet with his ultra-conservative constituents. Dellums says, "As I faced Leath's constituents I realized that I would never get his vote to cut a weapons program unless he could see himself explaining the position to his constituents." (Id. 90).

Similarly, John Kasich had always supported the B-2 and all other weapons systems, but after listening to Dellums, and having Dellums explain the issue to him personally, Kasich became a co-sponsor and their "odd couple" effort resulted in slowing and then ultimately terminating the program.

Dellums Principle #5: *Develop broad inside/outside coalitions based on mutual self-interest--they are indispensable for bringing about significant policy change.*

Dellums had been drafted by progressive activists for every political office he held. He viewed his role to be a voice for movements and to facilitate a broader platform to advance their cause (Id. 2-3). According to Dellums,

> *Through patient adherence to principal, mastery of the process, and the mobilization of a constituency in favor of justice, a movement can contribute to events that change the world (Id. 129).*

Dellums was a staunch believer that elected officials cannot achieve meaningful structural change by themselves. For progressives on "the inside" to prevail, organized outsider communities

must constantly apply pressure or "street heat." The South African anti-apartheid effort is a prime example. According to Dellums:

> *Our three-pronged strategy had worked: first, consult with grassroots activists and provide them with the grounds to press in congressional districts for the most principled position….Second, work with willing national organizations to generate a lobbying presence on behalf of bold government action… –always creating pressure to move the middle to the left. Third, engage congressional colleagues and educate them about the issues and the pathways for change* (Id. 140).

There are also times when it's indispensable to reach out to non-traditional allies who may have common cause. For example, as part of his effort to build a broader coalition in opposition to the MX missile, Dellums decided to reach out to the Mormon Church both on moral grounds (in opposition to nuclear war) and on self-interested grounds (the potential targeting of Utah and Nevada for its locations). Dellums went to Salt Lake and met with Spencer Kimball, the head of the Mormon Church. Kimball was apparently so impressed with Dellums' arguments that soon thereafter, the Church came out in opposition to the MX (Id. 86, 87).

Dellums Public Policy Principle #6: *When you become the King, transform the role of the King*

There is a mainstream skepticism of progressive leaders' ability to actually govern, versus rabble rousing, because governing requires characteristics perceived as antithetical to progressives--pragmatism and compromise. As mayor of Oakland, Dellums proved these skeptics wrong. He was able to take the central seat of power, stay true to his lifelong principles, and also keep the city fiscally viable during the Great Recession while still delivering vital public services including those considered the meat and potatoes of local government--public safety and infrastructure. Dellums wanted to demonstrate that inner city problems were solvable and that what happened in Oakland would have relevance to other cities. He frequently said that "Oakland is small enough to solve its problems, but also large enough to be taken seriously." Oakland was also an extraordinarily diverse city and he saw it as a model for how all people could work together to advance a unified and higher vision--a model city. According to Dellums,

> *A model city is a coherent, cohesive city, anchored in a vibrant economy, where its citizenry is*

> *healthy, well-educated, well-trained, well-informed, and capable of effective interactions with the civic, economic, social, and cultural institutions of our community* (City of Oakland 2010, 1).

Despite governing the City of Oakland during the worst of the Great Recession, Dellums kept faith with his vision of Oakland as a model city for the world. We offer three illustrative examples for replicable public policymaking.

Opening Up Government

A peoples' movement drafted Ron Dellums to serve as mayor of Oakland. A movement based upon a sense that City Hall had become a corrosive and corrupt agent of special interests, especially private developers (Harris, Lin & Selbin 2007, 2103-2015) and the police union (Epstein 2012, 35). Dellums saw his mayoral term as a vehicle for Oakland's people to come together and develop collective plans for Oakland. Dellums passionately believed that:

> *Civic engagement is not a luxury. Civic engagement is fundamental to the democratic process. I have invited you to participate as equal partners. What I wanted was for you to feel the power of your citizenship, the power of your participation and the power of your vote. Now that the door is open, you must keep it open (City of Oakland 2010, 39).*

To institutionalize civic engagement, Dellums created 41 Citizen Task Forces that involved over 800 residents to develop policy recommendations (Epstein 2012, 28-32). This was historic! The Task Force recommendations resulted in policy changes such as the adoption of an industrial lands policy to facilitate economic development and jobs for Oakland residents, rather than the previous priority of market rate housing development; and strategies to improve air quality from Port operations that jeopardized the health of the largely minority population living near the Port. (City of Oakland 2010, 39).

Public Safety and Constitutional Policing

When Dellums became mayor, the police union was a powerful force in City Hall and had undue control over fundamental police operations and policy. Oakland Police Department (OPD) had been notorious for abusing its power over residents of color, and civil rights litigation (known as the Riders case) resulted in the Negotiated Settlement Agreement (NSA) in 2003. The prior city administration was slow to implement the NSA and when Dellums took office in 2007, only

11 of the 51 NSA Tasks were deemed in compliance (Burgess 2007). Dellums knew the political costs involved in taking on OPD reform and that it would take many years. Staying true to his principles, Dellums was willing to take it on. In four years time, the Dellums Administration had substantially reformed OPD, with 42 of the 51 NSA Tasks in full implementation compliance and all but two remaining tasks deemed in substantial compliance by the Federal Court Independent Monitor (Warshaw 2011).

At the same time, Dellums led the development of a comprehensive public safety plan for Oakland, integrating prevention, intervention, and enforcement strategies together. These strategies resulted in a 38% decline in homicides and a 25% decline in all Part I (major) crimes during Dellums' term (FBI 2007-2010).

A Sustainable Economy for All

In Congress, Dellums defined national security as including the basic needs of Americans at home--living wage jobs, stable and affordable housing, and access to healthcare. He had also been an early environmental leader and introduced climate change legislation in Congress.[4] As mayor, Dellums led unprecedented City including efforts involving the Oakland Chamber of Commerce (which had actively opposed his election) and other business, labor, education, and community leaders to develop a comprehensive vision for a sustainable and equitable local economy (City of Oakland 2010, 10-16, 49).

Dellums championed a sector-based approach that advanced industries that were well paying, good for the environment and people, and currently had an economic footprint in the Bay Area, which included green technology, healthcare, education, and bio-tech. He also emphasized the critical importance of ensuring that Oakland's people were adequately prepared and first in line for those jobs (City of Oakland 2010, 15-16). Working collaboratively under a unified vision, Oakland secured over $550 million of new federal, state, and philanthropic funds to advance this comprehensive economic justice vision and also generated over 14,000 critically needed short-term jobs in Oakland and the region during the Great Recession (City of Oakland 2010, 1, 50).

These inclusive economic justice efforts were a major contrast to Dellums' predecessor whose vision for Oakland was as a bedroom community for San Francisco workers; ensuing policies hastened Oakland's gentrification and displacement crisis (Harris, Lin & Selbin 2007, 2091).

[4] 1991-1992 HR 4154, 102nd Congress, The Emergency Climate Stabilization and Earth Regeneration Act.

Conclusion

We hope that we were able to inspire you, in whatever public policy role you hold, to believe that it is possible for you, like Ronald V. Dellums, to go into the halls of power and not eat the king's meat. We strongly encourage you to read Dellums' autobiography, Lying Down With the Lions, an important guide on continuing his legacy. We conclude with Dellums' exhortation to us,

> *I urgently want to instill in the current generation of youth the sense of power and righteousness that has animated centuries of struggle against racism and oppression, in this nation and throughout the world… I hope that those aspiring to bring about positive change in society will learn from my experience that entering public life can be both a principled and effective way to make a contribution (Dellums 2000, 6).*

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Gender, Health And Social Justice In Ghana: The Role Of Women's Manifesto For Ghana In African Diasporic Policy Recommendations

Moving From Superficial Engagement To Real Partnership With Africa

AUTHORS

Jameta Nicole Barlow, PhD, MPH
Assistant Professor of Writing, Women's Leadership and Health Policy & Management Affiliate Faculty, Africana Studies Program, Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies Program, Global Women's Institute and the Jacobs Institute of Women's The George Washington University

Anee Korme, MA, MBA
Director, Beyond Diversity Strategies, The Raben Group

Ebony Okafor, PhD
Clinical Assistant Professor and Outreach Coordinator for Counseling and Wellness Center, University of Florida

Abstract

Re-envisioning Black liberation throughout the Black and African Diaspora is required to address the effects of European, settler and exploitation colonialism and its effects and contemporary implications on policy. The intricate social relationships among and within African Diasporic communities are essential to this discourse, where gender and patriarchy, an effect of colonialist policy, is a prevailing social institution inextricably affecting the health of Black women throughout the Diaspora. Ghana, as a gateway to Africa, is the first sub-Saharan African country to gain its independence from European colonization in the twentieth century, and serves as a lens for us to explore the origin, impact and relationships with gender, feminism and African tradition. As the ancestral homeland for many African descendants in America, West Africa provides an opportunity to explore the past, present and future of the African experience. Rarely do policy analysis papers take a naturalistic observation case study methodological approach. This community informed praxis and intersectionality-based policy analysis disrupts Western approaches to knowledge, policy recommendations and solutions. We contextualized gender and health issues of Ghana as three case studies, informed by a study abroad student immersion program the authors designed and facilitated from 2016-2019. The genesis of the study abroad program (edited and revised each year) was the 2004 Women's Manifesto for Ghana; the Manifesto drove the curriculum design and the community informed praxis. Authors share case-study informed on-the-ground observations, lessons learned and offer policy recommendations. Implications for Black women's maternal health and economic liberation are discussed.

Key Words: *Black/African, women, gender, liberation, policy*

Policy Recommendations:

· Address intergenerational and gendered racialized trauma among Black women to disrupt cardiometabolic syndrome by adopting a Womanism framework to interventions; in the healthcare field, a Womanism framework and approach would help to support more positive maternal health outcomes

· Invest in and promote Black women's economic liberation through Black women-led financing institutions coupled with business education centered around the Black woman entrepreneurial experience; both of which to contribute to gender parity

· Protect Black women's reproductive health globally to stabilize the Black family and increase health and safety for Black children

· Lift up and support the calls to action by Black women activists and grassroots workers through centering their voices in policy created for Black women to create shared prosperity and inclusive governance

Discussions around reparations for descendants of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade rarely delve into the complex, capitalist-driven context that produced a global system with an ongoing legacy of colonialism and systematic oppression. The impacts of the genocide, trauma and the stripping of heritage still impact descendants of the Diaspora today. This, layered with the economic legacy of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, can be felt from the coasts of Africa, the islands in the Caribbean, to the shores of the Americas.

Sugarcane production colored the slave trade before and during what we have come to know as the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Much of European culture, such as teas, spices, candies, and desserts, previously garnered through Middle Eastern countries, are raw resources within the Black and African Diaspora. And, when Europeans removed the intermediary, Arab traders, they began to directly explore West Africa and what would become known as the New World, or the Americas. Trade and exploration led to a globalized system of slavery that directly benefited the European monarchies and the elite. The Dutch, Danes, French, English, Brandenburgers (Germans) and Americans all uniquely and collectively contributed to the colonization of Indigenous and African people through their spread of disease, ignorance of the geography and climate, and greed for commerce and goods. Collectively, this globalization sparked modern global economies such as insurance companies and the medical-industrial complex among others, further creating a system of power that maintains these inequities even today. In short, "settler colonialism, as an institution or system [that] requires violence or the threat of violence to attain its goals." was implemented in the United States (U.S.). Additionally, "people do not hand over their land, resources, children and futures without a fight, and that fight is met with violence...Euro-American colonialism, an aspect of the capitalist economic globalization, had from its beginnings a genocidal tendency" (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, pg. 8). Indigenous communities that once thrived, were now disrupted by the patriarchal Eurocentric norms. This genocidal, commerce-driven, culturally disruptive process not only divided families across continents but also disrupted African (and women) centered political, cultural, and familial systems.

The role of women and their daily lived experiences in Ghana is what motivated the authors to develop, design and facilitate a study abroad immersion program (2016-2019). Our goal was to explore these political, colonial and health legacies and intricacies. We contextualized gender and health issues of Ghana using the 2004 Women's Manifesto for Ghana, as a guide for the program's design. Unlike most study abroad programs where students learn about a country's

contemporary culture in a short time, this immersion experience introduced participants to Ghanaian history, tradition, culture, high-level governmental officials, non-profit organization leaders, national radio, community organizers, artisans and even an invitation to attend the funeral of 13th Queen Mother or Asantehemaa of the Ashanti Kingdom in Kumasi. As the Manifesto was developed to both better understand and solve the issues most impacting women, each of the study abroad programs sought to represent this mission by clearly connecting culture, history, economics and health to the lived experiences of Ghanaian girls and women. The Manifesto explored female participation and success in government, in reproductive health, in business and economics and the everyday lived experiences of women. The study abroad syllabi aligned with each of these pillars. Each iteration of this program sought to better understand the experiences of the women in Ghana. In the first year (2016), participants were focused on maternal and child health issues. The second year (2017), participants were focused on mental health issues. The third year (2019), participants explored girls' and women's sexual and reproductive health. Through brief service-learning activities, students worked with midwives, doctors, medical students, teachers, digital social entrepreneurs, health care practitioners and government officials. Students learned about the Ghanaian educational system and interacted with youth from the junior high school level through the university. By participating in an immersive, interactive approach to exploring how gender is experienced in Ghana, students were able to interrogate the role of feminism, gender, patriarchy, colonialism, health and social justice, and specifically Ghana's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. The policy recommendations described in this article are informed by the faculty's and students' naturalistic observations from each of the immersion programs.

Women's Manifesto for Ghana

Any discussion for liberation among the Global Black Diaspora is directly dependent upon the status of women. We know, according to an African proverb, that when you educate a woman, you educate a nation. When women are educated, the family's health improves, as well as their economic and social status. While women's health in Ghana remains in many ways "poorly understood and under-researched" (Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2018, pg. 2). There is increasingly more data that has become available on Ghanaian's women's health (Duda et al, 2007), including a dearth of studies, focused on "women's general health status, dimensions and the differentials

in a rapidly growing urban setting" (Frempong-Ainguah et al, 2018, pg. 2). As a result, we know the daily lived experiences of women are a major social indicator of the status of African people. We have learned much since the Women's Manifesto for Ghana was created, as a "political document to address critical issues of concern to women in Ghana and make demands for addressing them" (Women's Manifesto, 2004). Ghana, as a gateway to Africa in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, is the first sub-Saharan African country to gain its independence from European colonization in the twentieth century, and serves as a lens for us to explore the origin, impact and relationships with politics, capitalism, gender, feminism, Womanism and African tradition.

The Manifesto included a call to action, as well as served as a platform to address women and economic empowerment, land, social policy and development, politics and decision-making, human rights and the law, discriminatory cultural practices, media, conflict and peace and special needs populations. The coalition movement ignited by Rose Mensah-Kutin and Takyiwaa Manuh in 2003, is what fueled the development of the Manifesto. Since the Manifesto's publication, the Ghanaian Government has passed the Domestic Violence Act, the Human Trafficking Act, the Disability Act, set up a government fund to support women who intend on participating in local government elections and passed a law to abolish Female Genital Mutilation in the country (Mama, 2005 & Quaicoe-Duho, 2009). While many gender-based challenges remain, this moral, political document continues to guide research, education initiatives, and policy-making approaches seeking to both understand the experiences of women of the Diaspora and gender parity.

Gender, Feminism, Ritual, and the African Tradition

There is an intricate relationship between spirituality and individuals that is not isolated to Ghanaians. This relationship exists among many ethnicities and cultures within the African Diaspora, including both Black and Latinx. A very important aspect of the Ghanaian spiritual belief system is that every individual has a part of the Creator within him/her, which is known as the Okrah among the Akan people (Akesson, 1965). A person's Okrah lives in harmony with the body and upon death, the Okrah does not die but returns to its source. An individual's specific nature, or Okrah, depends on the day of the week on which s/he was born. The spirit of the Creator manifests itself a bit differently on each day of the week. The African spiritual tradition and religious practice of colonizing religions such as Christianity and Islam often co-

exist within Ghanaian culture, even if not explicitly stated. This ritual and African tradition are central to Ghanaian culture with implications for communication and community. Ritualizing life, which requires the invocation of spirits (or spiritual things) into ceremony, is viewed as a way of correcting ills (Somé, 1997). Thus, this tension between "old" and "new" serves to inform how Ghanaian people view life's purpose, ritual, healing, and community (Somé, 1998).

The origin, impact and relationships with gender, gender roles, feminism and African tradition are central to this discussion. Feminism is relevant to the African context (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994; Barlow, 2019). And, this relevance is a complicated phenomenon, entangled with history, politics, and culture. For example, students and faculty of the study abroad program in year one observed a Queen Mother, who historically was the chief author of political and social life in the Akan/Ashanti communities, but are often overlooked today, as a byproduct of colonialism. These are women who are connected on the grassroots level to their communities and descended from the first tribal settlers of their communities. This is considered a lifelong "job" for those selected and in some cases may be related to matrilineal practices such as land ownership and selection of kings.

Queen Mothers are tasked with being problem solvers, local decision-makers, caretakers, and wisdom-bearers to be honored. Participants learned that this practice was not practiced among the Europeans who colonized West Africa. Many of them did not understand the integral, spiritual, and powerful role of Queen Mothers in tradition, community, and policy. As a result, much of their negotiations and trade involved the men, marginalizing the women. Participants observed that Ghanaian women in many ways have much agency and power, but in many ways have no power, based upon this legacy of colonialism that has reinforced patriarchy through benevolent cultural practices. Feminism is widely viewed through a European/American lens, seeking social, political, and economic equality. Yet African Feminism engages holistic and African cultural principles and practices. For example, generally, marriage and family are viewed as more important than education. Women may be valued more for their families than for their education, reinforcing notions of a female body politic that is fortified culturally. In some cases, they are more valued for having girl children, as some Ghanaian ethnic groups remain matrilineal and families want to maintain their land and property wealth. This nuance represents the diverse within-group variation of beliefs, approaches and customs within the African Diaspora, even within the same country.

Black and African Female Body Politic and Legacies of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The Black and African female body politic is indistinguishably related to their fecundity. This is rooted in implicit bias and structured oppression, where Black women were viewed as more likely to enjoy sex and have bodies thought more fitting for procreation. At the root of the body politic is the legacy of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, where women did not have agency of their bodies. They were inspected for sale and regularly assessed based on their labor and breeding ability. This quantification of Black women's bodies continues until today, where women's value is based upon their reproductive decisions and maligned by government and policy intervention. When Black women's bodies were no longer economically beneficial to the state or private industry, their bodies became a nuisance and social liability. Government sanctioned control of Black women's bodies and reproductive decisions in the U.S. today is directly related to this notion. To our knowledge, there is no data available for the number of Black and African women who were raped, sexually assaulted, and sexually coerced during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The consequences of these phenomena (the sexualization of Black women coupled with the erasure of these injuries) are historical trauma and have led to Black women also having the highest rates of not reporting sexual assault.

Liberation cannot even occur until we collectively address intergenerational gendered racialized trauma, "the legacy of trauma within, among, and throughout generations of Black women, uniquely influenced by the construction of gender and race in the United States and consequential intersectional experiences and associated lifestyle comorbidities, all a direct result of colonialism" (Barlow, 2018). This was made apparent when participants visited the Assin Manso Slave River, where the enslaved Africans had their last bath and then walked to and were forced into the dungeons of Elmina and Cape Coast Castles. Participants learned about how the European slaveholders who would stand on their upper level and look out into girls and women in the area below to choose the one they would take to bed that night. For many participants, they recognized the powerlessness many Black women feel with respect to sexual violence in the U.S. Often, these connections regarding the trauma experienced by those enslaved were made by participants, and discussed with many of the community workers and government officials that they met throughout the trip. This collective trauma is not only experienced by those who were forced against their will into slavery and rape, but also by those who remained in what

became Ghana. They endured a different type of colonialism-induced oppression such as the sexual violence Ghanaian women experience today, which is rarely discussed, due to religious and cultural reasons. This is another example of an understudied and poorly understood issue.

Trauma has health consequences; and health is a socioeconomic indicator. Trauma that is not addressed, in concert with other social determinants, can manifest into poor physical health. Recent human epigenetic research suggests the effects of traumatic experiences can endure in individuals and across generations (Bowers & Yehuda, 2008), particularly as it relates to cortisol, the stress hormone often associated with chronic health conditions and diseases. Hypertension, dyslipidemia, visceral obesity, and insulin resistance distinguish cardiometabolic syndrome, a significant determinant of coronary heart disease, all disproportionately affect Black women's health. Similar to the U.S., Ghana is seeing an increase in cardiometabolic syndrome (Duda et al, 2007; Sanuada et al, 2018), perhaps as a result of more fast food restaurant offerings and the urbanization of Ghana, in addition to the effects of British colonialism induced stress and trauma. Though Ghanaian women have some different lived experiences than U.S. Black women, there are shared characteristics of Black women throughout the African Diaspora that are a direct result of colonialism. For example, there is an increase in the prostitution of girls in Cape Coast that, like throughout the world, is a direct result of economic challenges experienced by communities (Baah-Acheamfour, 2009). However, the cultural layers of religion, ritual and colonialism further malign how this issue is acknowledged and addressed. Liberation cannot occur without the full realization of colonialism's historical and contemporary effects throughout the Diaspora. Therefore, the Black and African women's body politic must be reclaimed by them and collectively protected through participant-informed research and policy.

Achieving gender, health, and social justice in Ghana and the Black and African Diaspora requires decolonizing approaches. Participants visited small community farms where palm oil, cocoa beans and art are produced. They then visited processing plants and learned about where Ghana's resources are exported and later, those same products are imported back into the country. By observing Ghana's raw resources exported from their communities at a lower cost and then the same products being imported at a higher cost, participants awakened to the ongoing economic challenges experienced throughout the Diaspora. What is essential in this awakening is that participants were exposed to a way of life rooted in mutual aid and community support that could nourish an entire town. They learned the roles that community members

play and the importance of ritual in the cultural systems. This awakening is marked by the understanding that the system is flawed and this barrier of selling for a low amount and being taxed upon import is a structural barrier that could benefit from a decolonizing approach, or an approach that is anti-colonialist and seeks to upend colonialism and its effects.

Womanism is one such decolonizing approach (Barlow, 2018). Defined as "a social change perspective rooted in Black women's and other women of color's everyday experiences and everyday methods of problem solving in everyday spaces, extended to the problem of ending all forms of oppression for all people, restoring the balance between people and the environment/ nature and reconciling human life with the spiritual dimension," (Marparyan, 2012; Phillips, 2006) Womanism is distinct from feminism. Feminism has many different schools of thought, including Black Feminism, where community, intersectionality and action-based solutions are centered. Womanism represents a transdisciplinary perspective that has been used throughout the world to address environmental issues, sexual violence, and mental health. Womanism informed our approach to this program design and our policy recommendations.

There are eight modalities characterizing Womanism: s*elf-care healing and wellness practices*, which are designed to rectify physical, emotional, mental and spiritual practices; *harmonizing and coordinating*, or disposition and activity to employ differential consciousness and move between divergent logics and conceptual schemes; *dialogue and the power of the word*, to express and establish connection and individuality as well as tension and connection; *arbitration and mediation*, where conflict is transformed into peace; *spiritual activities*, a socio-ecological transformational activity rooted in a spiritual belief system including religious participation to transmutation practices; *hospitality*, the transformative power of welcome that facilitates powerful encounters; *mutual aid and self-help*, or everyday collective grassroots methods garnered from life experience, wisdom, self-education and democratic knowledge; and *motherhood*, a social change methodology and social ecology that recognizes agency and interconnectivity with others (Marparyan, 2012; Phillips, 2006). Each modality uniquely contributed to participants' immersion experience throughout the meetings, nightly debriefs, visits and activities.

Gender, Health & Social Justice in Ghana: Lessons Learned from Study Abroad Experience

As the ancestral homeland for many African descendants in America, West Africa provides an

opportunity to explore the past, present and future of the African experience to develop draft policy recommendations. Study abroad immersion program participants were tasked with reading two books by Ghanaian women authors, *Homegoing* by Yaa Gyasi and *Ghana Must Go* by Taiye Selasi. The goal was for students to understand the African Diasporic connection, spiritual tradition and historical context of Ghana through the lens of women authors and then to visit many of the places described in both novels and use this knowledge to inform their participant observations. This assignment framed students' voices, introduced them to Ghana and without a doubt, framed their experiences. Students learned about the Ghanaian educational system and interacted with youth from the junior high school level through the university. By participating in an interactive approach to learning about issues in gender, while reading Ghanaian women writers, students interrogated the role of feminism, gender, patriarchy, colonialism, health, and social justice, specifically Ghana's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals.

Several lessons can be gathered from students' immersive experience that allowed for an interrogation of the role of feminism, gender, patriarchy, colonialism, health, and social justice in Ghana. These lessons were observed both within the dynamic of student and faculty participants and from the perspective of the observations of the communities they were connected to in Ghana. One, space was needed for students to be able to question or comment on those concepts in light of their experiences. Each year groups were diversified in terms of gender, ages, ethnicities, SES, and educational levels which ensured divergent discussion points.

One element of processing that was emphasized was to aid in students' understanding of the impacts of colonialism from a new perspective that was outside of their own context of experiences. By doing this, every student regardless of their ethnic background was able to rethink any preconceived notions and approach the new information and observation freshly. With Ghana being a survivor of colonialism and in the rebuilding process it was important to create a space where these divergent groups of people could think of ways in which that reconstruction could look as well as opening the dialogue to assess if that needed to be done through reparations.

Not only was it apparent that heterogeneity was important within the group, but it was necessary for the experiences as well. Students could see first-hand the role of women in Ghana, and their impact on Ghanaian culture over time. There was the ability to see that the first independent country from colonial rule was also leading the charge in making continued

progress in this African nation. From seeing the work done locally, whether that be in the palm oil and kernel farms to the variety of positions in leadership held by women leading the charge. The immersive experiences created an opportunity for those who were negatively impacted by colonialism to be in the expert seat of what was needed to continue improving the trajectory of their country and what allies could do or contribute to that overall plan.

Students observed the effects of colonialism among the Ghanaian people. In fact, the ongoing modern colonialism seen throughout the Black and African Diaspora continues to be linked to policy, albeit distinct from settler colonialism. This distinction is important when considering the liberation of African people throughout the Diaspora: "The form of colonialism that the Indigenous people of North America have experienced was modern from the beginning: the expansion of European corporations, backed by government armies, into foreign areas, with subsequent expropriation of lands and resources. Settler colonialism is a genocidal policy. Native nations and communities, while struggling to maintain fundamental values and collectivity, have from the beginning resisted modern colonialism using both defensive and offensive techniques, including the modern forms of armed resistance of national liberation movements." (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, pg. 6). Our policy recommendations employ Womanist modalities for the goal of achieving social justice and re-envisioning liberation throughout the Global Black and African Diaspora.

Policy Recommendation Analysis

The below policy recommendations were derived based upon the pillars outlined in the Manifesto and strengthened and affirmed through the case study observations from the study abroad programs.

Women's Economic Liberation

During the program, students were able to experience a tour of the African Women's Development Fund, an organization focused on elevating the work of women and works to strengthen the support offered to small business owners. Students were able to hear directly from women entrepreneurs how access to education and capital allowed them to be the authors of their own journey and provide support for their families and communities. Students also attended a tour of ABANTU for Development- this organization located across the African

continent is centered around building the capacity of women to participate in decision-making on all levels. Students were able to learn about the organizations' investment in women's business coupled with the advocacy work the organization does on behalf of women. Palm oil/kernel farms operated by women-palm oil production not only ensures food/livelihood security for the farmers, it also supports other adjacent business for the community including transportation, refineries, etc. In Ghana, many of the palm oil farms are owned and operated by small scale farmers however they only contribute to about 39% of the national output (Ofusu-Budu & Sarpong, 2013, p.5).

Effective support of women's economic liberation must, therefore, provide both business skill development and an investment of financial capital. Any economic policy addressing the everyday challenges women face across the Diaspora must allow women to be authors of their own journey. This policy must also start on the household level (with consideration of unpaid labor in the home from women) (Women's Manifesto, 2004, pg 14). In fact, according to the Mastercard Index of Women's Entrepreneurship (MIWE), Ghana represents an excellent case study for Black women in the Diaspora and economic liberation. Ghana is producing more female entrepreneurs than any other country. The implications for the Black Diaspora as a result of this recommended policy is family stability, national (and global) economic progress and stability for the community.

Women's Health

There must be global protection of African/Black women's reproductive health; this includes education and policy that empowers women to make decisions about their sexual and reproductive health; safe, effective and affordable access to health-care and global data collection around maternal mortality rates. Poor women's access to health is not guaranteed, therefore a reduction in institutionalized and structural support for health adversely impacts poor women; the collateral damage from this is economic and social instability for their children and families. Health education impacts how women can make choices around their sexual and reproductive health. Students visited the Nurses and Midwives Council of Ghana, an organization that provides support for maternal health and childbirth in rural areas by training midwives and educating practitioners and patients-midwives as mother advocates. These organizations are models for

providing advocacy and education to Black women. Their work is done in the community on a grassroots level and in government through the authorship of legislation.

Students were also able to visit both a teaching hospital and a traditional healing hospital on the trip as well. The contrast in the health outcomes for women at the Western/Eurocentric teaching hospital and the traditional healing hospital were quite different, wherein the latter, students learned about how local plants and herbs can contribute to health and wellness for families. Here, there was a dismantling of colonialist approaches to health in the traditional healing hospital that elevated the voices of the patients, provided care and education to patients, and focused on holistic care.

The implications for improving health conditions for women across the Black Diaspora is the stability of the Black family and increased health and safety for Black children. For example, according to the CDC (2019), in the U.S. Black women are 3 times as likely to die due to pregnancy-related causes. However, in the U.S., sixty percent of pregnancy deaths can be prevented with better health care, communication, access to stable housing and support (Rabin, 2019). The health and safety of mothers are integral to the health and safety of children and the rate of maternal deaths is a public health crisis that must be addressed not just in the U.S. but throughout the African Diaspora.

Women as Authors of Policy for Women

Women in Ghana have historically played a pivotal role in the family and political life. Women's participation and representation in modern-day politics and government are extremely low. While the country is made up of 51% women, at the time of the drafting of the Manifesto, women made up only 10% of people in public office (Women's Manifesto, pg. 32). They called for 30% participation by 2008 and 50% by 2012 and guiding practices to achieve such. Study abroad immersion program participants learned about the Queen Mother. In modern-day Africa, queen mothers also hold jobs such as journalists, professors, teachers, business owners, etc. (Mistiaen, 2015). In 2017, we were able to attend the funeral for Ohemaa (Queen Mother), Nana Afia Kobi Serwaa Ampem II, the thirteenth Queen Mother of the Ashanti region. The ritual of funerals is not only sacred but centers women throughout the process. The visits to the Queen Mother were powerful in that each study abroad trip was led and created by women and women authored and shaped the experiences of students as they went on this immersive educational journey.

The implications are that having inclusive women-centered policy leads to shared prosperity and inclusive governance (The World Bank, 2014): "When more women are elected to office, policy-making increasingly reflects the priorities of families, women, and excluded groups." Further, when women create policy, they are well positioned to address poorly studied and under researched areas such as inequities in laws and policies related to familial land ownership and property. Much progress has been made since the Manifesto, yet more progress should be made to address the inherent sexism within cultural and legal practices, despite the integral role of women in the Ghanaian society. This trend is evident throughout the Diaspora.

Conclusion

The impact of colonialism and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is widely known to have been devastating to the mental, physical, political, and economic health and welfare of the Black, Latinx and African Diaspora. The Women's Manifesto (2004) addressed some of these cumulative effects of national social, political, and economic repression in Ghana and offered guidance on making amends, a way of correcting historical wrongs. The document affirms the special needs and challenges of women; calls for public acknowledgment of the repression of women (an "apology") and normalizes the discourse on equality across gender. Payment comes in the form of changed daily lived experiences and equal access and protection under the law.

In developing the study abroad immersion program many things were considered: pedagogy of the oppressed, where students were co-creators of knowledge; restorative practices, to foster healthy dialogue and safe learning environments, healthy conflict resolution and community cooperation; utilization of the Women's Manifesto: as a curriculum guide and Pan-Africanism, the political union of Black women across the Black and African Diaspora. This is how we get free. Our collective liberation is rooted in our collective herstories and histories. Women will author our way to liberation. This is the imperative.

Authors' Contributions:

Jameta Nicole Barlow, PhD, MPH, a community health psychologist, is an assistant professor in the University Writing Program and Affiliate faculty in the Africana Studies Program, Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies Program, Global Women's Institute and the Jacobs Institute of Women's Health in the Milken Institute School of Public Health at The George Washington University. Dr. Barlow utilizes decolonizing methodologies to disrupt intergenerational trauma, cardiometabolic associated diseases, and structural policies adversely affecting Black girls' and women's health.

Anee Korme, MA, MBA, is the former Associate Director for Student Diversity & Development at Towson University. She has worked as a program manager, educator and professional development and diversity trainer for over 10 years. Currently she is a Director at Raben Group leading corporate, government and nonprofit diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice consulting solutions. She creates thriving spaces for minoritized communities in education and harmony in spaces while holding multiple truths.

Ebony Okafor, PhD, LGMFT currently serves as Clinical Assistant Professor and Outreach Coordinator at the University of Florida, overseeing the mental health needs of the university through campus wide partnerships. Dr. Okafor is a marriage and family therapist whose work focuses on addressing trauma and developing coping skills to aid in the healing process for individuals and families.

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JCPAR

Inequity Kills: Reparations to Address Colonialism and Structural Racism Driving the Unjust Global Distribution of Physicians and Poor Health Outcomes`

AUTHORS

Michelle Morse, MD, MPH[1]
Jonas Attilus, MD[2]
Tinashe Goronga, MD[3]
Thomas L. Fisher, MD, MPH[4]
Brooke Cunningham, MD, PhD[5]

CORRESPONDING AUTHOR

Michelle Morse

[1] Department of Global Health and Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School
[2] Rutgers University, School of Public Health, Department of Health Behavior, Society, and Policy
[3] Social Medicine Consortium, Campaign Against Racism
[4] Headwaters Consulting, LLC, Section of Emergency Medicine, The University of Chicago
[5] Department of Family Medicine and Community Health, University of Minnesota Medical School

Abstract

Historically the Global North extracted goods and labor from Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean regions to feed colonial and imperial desires, but today it extracts talented physicians. Calls to achieve health equity and policy initiatives to advance Universal Health Coverage (UHC) and Medical for All (M4A) are gaining momentum but are not using reparative justice frameworks to achieve their goals. The ongoing inequitable distribution of physicians will prevent global success in achieving racial justice and healthcare for all if not addressed explicitly. Resources allocated by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) are being expanded to address the shortage in graduate medical education placements through Congressional Bill H.R. 1763. These resources should be distributed using a reparations framework which both corrects the lack of physicians in Black American communities while also compensating Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries for the service of physicians they have invested in training but who do not remain in those countries. Equitable distribution of physicians in the USA and reparations for physicians pulled from Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries is just and benefits many communities, particularly in the current era of the COVID-19 pandemic. These new health policies addressing unjust physician distribution are urgently necessary to ensure that a healthy future emerges from troubled past.

Key Words: *Health inequity, global health, human resources for health, colonialism, racism*

Policy Recommendations

· In order to achieve Universal Health Coverage and Medicare for All, the USA must explicitly address the physician shortage and the inequitable distribution of physicians.

· The health of Black Americans is disproportionately affected by the shortage of physicians despite proportional contributions through taxes, which constitutes unequal protection by the law.

· USA policies have led to the extraction of resources and talented physicians from Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean, which leaves their health systems unable to ensure healthcare access for all citizens, constituting a significant harm.

· By implementing new policies to address the inequitable distribution of physicians in the USA while compensating Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries for their contributions to U.S. healthcare, we have the opportunity to ensure that Black Americans achieve their fullest potential and that Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries have funds to transform their healthcare systems.

Introduction

Health is multifactorial, hinging on access to high quality education, stable employment, housing, healthy food, healthcare, and strong social connections. The transatlantic slave trade, 400 years of U.S. slavery, and decades of colonialism disrupted thriving communities, extracted labor, and created the present-day conditions under which Africans and the African diaspora still struggle to achieve their full potential, including optimal health outcomes (Mukherjee 2018). Here in the United States Black Americans, suffer disproportionately from chronic disease, violence, infant mortality (Bailey 2017). Further the United States of America (USA) has developed and supported international fiscal policies, such as structural adjustment policies reducing government investments in health and imposing privatization strategies, which have contributed to the impoverishment of Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries (Mukherjee 2018). This includes the ongoing "brain drain," which robs countries of both their high skill workers and the monies spent educating those individuals. Structural racism, a system of concentrated advantage for whites and concentrated disadvantage for people of color, best describes the net sum of the forces of oppression at work (Jones 2000). Structural racism, the legacy of colonialism and American slavery can be most effectively reconciled by structural policy solutions. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by the United Nations Member States in 2015 provides a visionary direction for global poverty alleviation and health equity, but depends on global cooperation, which is more threatened than ever (UN 2020). Nothing has made this more clear than the COVID-19 pandemic. As Black physicians representing Zimbabwe, Haiti, and the USA, we call on policymakers to redress these harms through two new policies. First, we propose changes to graduate medical education (GME) resource distribution in order to increase the number of GME placements in underserved Black American communities. Second, we propose that the USA compensate Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries for America's systematic appropriation of talented Black physicians. While this will not fully address the roots of health inequities and historical injustice, it will begin to address the poor quality and culturally incompetent care Black Americans receive. Further it will rebalance and recognize the harm from priceless human resources extracted from Caribbean and Sub-Saharan African countries.

Structural Racism and Health Across Africa and the African Diaspora

In the United States, chattel slavery - abolished in 1865 - was quickly replaced by other systems of labor (e.g., Black Codes, sharecropping which often led to debt slavery, and convict leasing) and racial stratification (Jim Crow segregation) that directly harmed Black health (Coates 2014). Policies were written or implemented in ways that restricted Blacks' ability to access resources. For example, agricultural and domestic workers were excluded from Social Security, Black veterans from World War II were denied access to full benefits of the GI bill and bank redlining restricted Black mobility and derailed Blacks' ability to accumulate wealth through homeownership (Coates 2014). Health defining conditions, where we live, learn, work and play have been racialized through these systemic policies.

Although 86.3% of Black Americans are insured, other resources critical to ensuring good health have been systematically and historically withheld from neighborhoods like Roxbury through racial redlining and other policies (Bailey 2017). Nationally, Black Americans have similar rates of insurance to Whites but have double the rates of infant mortality, lower life expectancy, higher rates of psychological distress, higher diabetes-related mortality, and higher mortality related to cardiovascular disease, among others (Bailey 2017). This is due to factors such as inadequate and biased providers as well as the politically determined inequitable distribution of society's resources (also known as the structural determinants of health).

The December 2017 report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights clearly demonstrated that the USA is far behind other developed nations in poverty alleviation and equitable healthcare access (Allston 2017). Life expectancy in the USA consistently declined from 2015-2017, the only developed nation in the world with this abhorrent trend (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2017). In the USA, the average life expectancy is 75.6 years for Blacks and 79 years for Whites (Bailey, 2017). In certain communities the life expectancy gaps are even starker. For example, in Boston, MA, the predominantly Black community of Roxbury has a life expectancy of 58.9 years compared with the predominantly white community of Back Bay, which has a life expectancy of 91.9 years, a life expectancy gap of 33 years (Zimmerman, 2012). Even when elite academic medical systems are located in historically Black communities, they often prioritize attracting wealthy patients from the USA and abroad instead of serving their surrounding communities. Continuing with our Boston examples, the

Boston Globe series on racism revealed that only 5% of patients receiving care at the Dana Farber Cancer Institute's (DFCI), a global leading institution in cancer care, are Black, despite its broad catchment area that spans regionally to internationally (Kowalczyk, 2017).

In Africa, colonial governments extracted wealth through the exportation of natural resources from the continent (Rodney 1981). Black men and women were used as labor on farms and in mines, often under brutal conditions. Many died from exposure to new diseases, brought by Europeans (Packard 1993). Colonial governments did not invest in their education or living conditions. The results of these choices which prioritized profit over humanity are still being quantified and felt today (Ziltener 2013). Africa is the continent that will have the highest rates of extreme poverty in 2030 while it will have been largely eliminated on most other continents (World Bank 2018).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the lowest life expectancy is in Sierra Leone (52 years); the highest life expectancy is found in Mauritius (75 years) (World Bank, 2017). Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest under-five mortality rate in the world, with 1 child in 13 dying before their fifth birthday, a rate 14 times higher than in high income countries (World Health Organization, 2018). This leaves most Sub-Saharan African countries far from achieving the Sustainable Development Goals of reducing under five mortality to 25 per 1,000 by 2030 (USAID 2017).

Haiti is an important case study in the status of the Caribbean, which holds a significant part of the African diaspora. Although Haiti was the first independent republic in Latin America (1804) and the first to abolish slavery, of all the Caribbean and Latin American countries, it has the lowest life expectancy, the highest under five mortality rate, and the highest maternal mortality rate (PAHO, 2018). Haiti's forced payments to France after its ground-breaking independence, estimated at $21 billion U.S. dollars in the 1990's, impoverished Haiti's government (Farmer, 2006). Charles X, king of France, threatened to invade if Haiti didn't pay reparations to its former French slaveholders who lost their valuable property after losing the war. The payment took Haiti more than 120 years to complete. Additionally, the U.S. Marines invaded Haiti in 1915, occupying it until 1934, and installed a government sympathetic to U.S. interests (Danticat 2015). As part of the American occupation, the Haitian constitution was amended to give the USA more control over institutions like the national treasury and bank and gave foreigners land-owning rights (Office of the Historian 2020). This resulted in more economic challenges and a peasant rebellion (Farmer 2006). Thus, despite a precocious end to slavery, extractive systems of colonialism and racism

persisted, leaving Haiti's government unable to ensure adequate health care access despite independence.

In the Caribbean, life expectancy ranges from 63 years in Haiti to 79 years in Cuba (World Bank, 2017). Haiti currently has only 0.65 doctors, nurses, and midwives per 1,000 people, far below the WHO recommendation of 4.45 per 1,000 to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (USAID, 2017).

The Health Care Workforce

Health care providers are the cornerstone of health care systems in the USA and globally and represent the largest area of spending for most health systems. Health providers are critical human capital. They care for the sick, design and implement preventative health strategies, conduct crucial research, and are first-responders in public health emergencies, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. As with many types of capital, current social, economic, and political systems limit Black people's access to health care and to opportunity.

In the United States, this has led to significant racial inequities in health and health care across multiple disease categories. Racial inequities in health and health care are due to a myriad of factors. One major factor is a lack of access to high quality health care. In the United States, health professional shortage areas (HPSAs) are designated by the Health Resources and Services Agency (HRSA) as geographic regions, population groups, and facilities that have a lack of primary, dental, or behavioral health care providers (HRSA 2020). HRSA defines medically underserved areas (MUAs) as those that lack access to primary care services defined through the ratio of primary medical care physicians to 1,000 population, infant mortality rate, percentage of the population with incomes below poverty level, or percentage of the population age 65 or over (ASPE 2014). Black people are more likely to live in HPSAs and MUAs (Allen 2011). As a result of racial segregation, 50% of U.S. Blacks use only about 10% of the hospitals in the country. "Minority-serving" clinics and hospitals often experience high levels of organizational stress, including staffing and resource shortages, which impact the quality of care provided. (Jha, 2007).

In the USA, Black people face significant barriers to entering the health professions. In the United States, only 4% of physicians are Black (AAMC, 2015). Affirmative action programs in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a doubling of underrepresented minority (URM) matriculants in medical schools (Komaromy, 1996). Unfortunately, the leveling off in URM matriculants

correlated temporally with the Supreme Court ruling against admission quotas in the Bakke case, which outlawed the consideration of race in admissions. Programs like the Association of American Medical College's program "3000 by 2000", which were very successful in increasing representation of URMs in medical school, have unfortunately not been funded to continue. As a result of these trends, there were less Black men in medical school in 2014 than there were in 1978 (AAMC, 2015).

Once they complete training, Black doctors face heavy debt loads, housing segregation, and police misconduct leaving them with less flexibility than White physicians. Nevertheless, Black physicians disproportionately care for underserved patients (Bach, 2004). Additionally, Historically Black medical schools - Morehouse, Howard, and Meharry - have some of the highest scores in social mission across the USA. Social mission is defined by a combined metric measuring enrollment of racial and ethnic groups underrepresented in medicine, the rates of medical school graduates that enter primary care, and the rate of graduates who go on to work in underserved settings (Mullan, 2010). Black institutions and physicians are making disproportionately positive contributions to the U.S. health system and yet Black Americans are receiving a disproportionately low investment in their health from the public system.

In addition, health care professionals are inequitably distributed across local and global communities. To provide care to underserved communities, the U.S. health care delivery system depends on the systematic appropriation of international physicians. Talented Black physicians in the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa have migrated to the USA for better job opportunities, improved salaries, the option to work in better equipped hospitals and clinics, and for more career development opportunities. In Haiti for example, 80% of physicians leave the country within five years of graduating from medical school (Clemens, 2008).

Some physicians who immigrate from Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean to the USA received free publicly financed medical school education in their country of origin. The USA systematically avoids its duty to train Black Americans to be physicians while it benefits from the educational investment made by the Black immigrant physicians' countries of origin without having to compensate countries of origin for their investment. For several decades, there has been a redistribution of human capital from low resource countries in Sub-Sahara Africa and the Caribbean to the USA, leaving countries of origin with even worse healthcare access and quality.

U.S.-endorsed brain drain reduces the capacity and infrastructure of the health systems of

Sub-Saharan Africa and Caribbean countries while filling an urgent and unmet physician supply need in underserved communities in the U.S. Some international medical graduates (IMGs) leave their home countries due to fragile health systems. At the same time, the U.S. focuses on subspecialty care, which reimburses at higher rates and is considered more prestigious, leaves over 77 million Americans living in HPSAs without adequate primary care (KFF 2019). IMGs have been pulled to the USA to meet these gaps because increasingly elitist and indebted American physicians refuse to work in underserved settings. To meet the primary care demands of these 77 million Americans, we need an additional 14,000 primary care providers (KFF 2019). The result is that 40% of primary care physicians practicing in the USA are IMGs, and they tend to practice in the most economically and educationally deprived communities (Pinsky, 2018). What percent of these IMG primary care physicians are from Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean is not known, but Americans and Canadians completing medical school outside the USA and East Asians and Southeast Asians, are the majority of IMGs (ECFMG 2019).

Physicians from sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean should have the right to access opportunities, training, and the upward economic mobility that flows from graduate medical education programs and physician employment opportunities in the USA. At the same time, the USA owes a debt to these regions because its current economic, military, and social policies and history of imperialism and colonialism create the poverty and weak health systems in sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean (Mukherjee 2018). At this time, the functioning of the U.S. health system is fully dependent on physicians from outside the USA who may be from countries with failing health systems who need them more (Mills, Schabas et al. 2008). This extractive process and series of policies likely contributes to an avoidable rate of morbidity and mortality in Sub-Sahara Africa and the Caribbean. The USA has enough resources to increase its primary care provider supply by increasing the number of domestic medical school spots, physicians assistants, and nurse practitioners. In order to rebalance the equation and advance justice and health equity, the USA could increase the number of GME positions in underserved Black American communities while compensating Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries for their historical and ongoing loss of physicians through brain drain.

Inequitable Distribution of Human Resources for Health Thwarts Progress and Puts Black Lives at Risk

Studies show that increasing the primary care workforce reduces mortality and increases life expectancy (Basu, 2019). For every 10 additional primary care physicians per 100, 000 population, life expectancy increases by 51.5 days (Basu, 2019). Increases in specialist physicians only led to a 19.2 day increase in life expectancy. Primary care physicians are critical for preventive care, community outreach, chronic disease management, and other essential population health functions. Unfortunately, the mean density of primary care physicians relative to population size has decreased, from 46.6 per 100 000 population in 2005 to 41.4 per 100 000 population in 2015, with greater losses in rural areas in the USA (Basu, 2019). As the primary care provider shortage grows, the adverse effects will disproportionately harm Black communities because they already have worse health provider shortages and suffer from a higher burden of chronic disease and poor health due to an unfair exposure to increased risk (Mayer, 2010).

In the era of COVID-19, the increased risks experienced by Black communities in the USA, Caribbean, and sub-Saharan Africa are even more pronounced. As of January 8, 2021, the USA had over 21.5 million cases of COVID-19 and over 365,000 deaths (Center for Systems Science and Engineering, 2020). Some models predict 1.1 to 1.2 million deaths in the USA as a best-case scenario, even with aggressive suppression strategies (Imperial College 2020). Between 40 and 86 percent of the mounting damage to the U.S. economy from the COVID-19 pandemic could have been averted had the country acted earlier (Shapiro, 2020).

In the USA, we know that people residing in poor, Black, and immigrant communities are less likely to be tested despite having a higher likelihood of a positive test (Borjas, 2020). Local demographic data has been released in some settings – and the trends are alarming. For example, in New York City, COVID-19 is killing Latinx and Black people at two times the rate of White people, and the disparities are even worse in other communities across the nation (NY Times, 2020).

The Caribbean and sub-Saharan Africa currently represent about 5% of total global cases as of January 2021, but the number is rising (Our World in Data, 2020). One projection suggests between 300,000 and 3.3 million African people could lose their lives as a direct result of COVID-19, depending on the intervention measures taken to stop the spread (UNECA, 2020).

Others are concerned that those projections are inflated, oversimplify the diversity of countries on the continent, and that the continent's experience with other epidemics make it more prepared to deal with this one (Okereke, 2020). Haiti's Prime Minister recently declared victory over COVID-19 but the country had only performed about 400 tests (Charles, 2020). Time will tell, but infrastructure to deliver low-cost, widespread, and frequent COVID-19 testing is needed across all regions. The United Nations has raised alarms for rising hunger and economic collapse and is calling for raising U.S. $90 billion to protect the world's most vulnerable 10% (UN OCHA, 2020).

Momentum for achievement of Medicare for All, Universal Health Coverage, and poverty alleviation through the Sustainable Development goals represent a timely opportunity for a more equitable distribution of health professionals in the USA and globally, particularly in the COVID-19 era. By implementing new policies to address the inequitable distribution of health professionals in the USA while compensating Sub-Saharan Africa and Caribbean countries for their contributions to USA health care, we have the opportunity to ensure that Black Americans achieve their fullest potential and that Sub-Saharan Africa and Caribbean countries receive owed funds to invest in transforming their healthcare delivery systems.

Redistributing Health Professionals in the USA and Compensating Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean Countries Advances Equal Protection and Justice

There have been increased calls to align GME programs with U.S. health system needs, such as the urgent primary care physician shortage. The Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS), funded by the tax dollars of all Americans, invests $10 billion annually in GME (Chen, 2013). While CMS has played a role in incentivizing disparity reduction, e.g., through pay for performance to reduce disparities, CMS has not exercised its role as the primary source of GME funding to redress the inequitable distribution of health professionals and disparities in access to primary care by create more GME spots in underserved Black communities. We propose that Congressional Bill H.R. 1763 (Congress, 2019), which aims to reduce the shortage in resident physicians and GME placements be amended to increase the number of GME spots in underserved Black communities in the USA. This goes beyond the bill's stated intention to fund expanded residency slots, but to target those slots in underserved areas and prioritize programs

that demonstrate the ability to attract, train, and graduate Black physicians.

We further recommend that new GME spots created through this program be given a unique designation within GME nationally, making physician participants eligible for additional loan repayment funds. The physicians who fill these designated spots will convene annually at a conference sponsored by CMS where a health equity curriculum centered in structural competency will be administered and where a longitudinal learning community will be organized. Additional financial incentives will be provided to these physicians upon completion of residency if they commit to remaining in the community where they trained for an additional three years, similar to the National Health Service Corps.

Changing the distribution of GME spots in the USA will have significant long-term effects on health equity. Because physicians often stay in the geographic location where they completed residency, increasing GME spots in underserved Black communities will likely have an ongoing generational impact (Seifer, 1995). In addition, training in underserved and rural settings during residency increases the likelihood of staying in those settings (Reese, 2008). Other minority communities will benefit as ethnic minorities are often co-located geographically. Thus, our proposed policy change will be beneficial to the U.S. government, the American people, IMGs from sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean, and their countries of origin.

We recommend that Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries be compensated for their historical and future contribution to the functioning of the U.S. healthcare system through supplying physicians to the USA. Reparations paid to Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries will be based on the number of physicians educated in public medical schools over the past twenty years who have immigrated to the USA to serve as practicing physicians. These funds will be earmarked for rural health systems strengthening and medical school improvements in Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries and will be allocated to the national government's Ministry of Health and monitored through the Unites States Agency for International Development (USAID). Additional funds will be allocated to Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries that are the most successful in decreasing brain drain and improving health outcomes for their citizens over the course of ten years. A smaller reparative payment will be made to Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries for ongoing brain drain that occurs over the next ten years and will be similarly earmarked for rural health systems strengthening and medical school programs.

International graduates from Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean that immigrate to

the USA will be offered participation in the conferences and curriculum and will be offered opportunities to participate in health systems strengthening initiatives in their country of origin while completing residency training. Opportunities for international medical graduates to support health system strengthening will be managed by their country of origin. IMGs will also be incentivized financially to return to their country of origin upon completion of training in the USA. Aligning the priorities of government, health, and education infrastructure with community priorities to achieve improved health outcomes represents the most viable approach to reach a more equitable distribution of health professionals. Trends in healthcare policy in the USA over the past several decades have created well-resourced academic medical centers in urban U.S. settings who are accountable to insurers and research grantors rather than communities. By holding American academic medical centers more directly accountable to local communities through new governance mechanisms which prioritize health professional distribution equity, the coexistence of poverty in Black communities and inequities in health professionals and healthcare access will be directly addressed.

The University of New Mexico (UNM) model for accountability, outlined in their Vision 2020 initiative, provides a powerful road map that could be adopted across all 50 states and their respective public academic medical centers. Vision 2020 seeks to strengthen community capacity and respond to community priorities via pipeline education programs, workforce development programs, community-driven and community-focused research, and community-based clinical service innovations. From 2009 to 2014, the Vision 2020 approach led to a significant increase in medical school diversity, immunization rates, the ratio of primary care doctors to population, and New Mexico making more progress in health than 46 states, rising in rank from 36th in 2012 to 32nd in 2013 in United Health Foundation's America's Health Rankings (Kaufman, 2015).

The budget of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) is directly impacted by the inequitable distribution of health professionals and at a federal level represents one of the greatest levers to influence academic medical centers. By incentivizing initiatives like our proposed changes to H.R. 1763 and Vision 2020, CMS will address both the inadequate numbers of health professionals and poverty. By expanding an adapted version of the Vision 2020 program across the USA funded by CMS, we could aim to reduce the number of areas qualifying as health professional shortage areas by 20% over 5 years, while also measuring population health outcomes for Black communities and medical school diversity.

Potential Unintended Consequences

If not explicitly addressed, this policy has the potential to increase the number of physicians in Black communities in the USA without correcting the avoidably low number of Black physicians across the USA. This could result in physicians being available but not understanding the needs, historical context, and cultural strengths of the communities they are serving. Our policy could be paired with additional policies targeting undergraduate medical education to ensure a thriving pipeline of new Black physicians.

Brain drain has historically been intractable and difficult to change. If health systems strengthening in Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries is ineffective, there is the potential for prolonged reparative payments without a significant decrease in brain drain in these countries. This could be remedied by additional studies in Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries to better understand drivers of brain drain, as well as additional investments in health systems strengthening in these countries. Ultimately, the reparative payments are owed and are still insufficient to address hundreds of years of extractive, colonial, imperial U.S. economic policy.

If not paired with other socially progressive policy solutions, this policy could strengthen the healthcare delivery system in Black communities within the USA without changing healthcare outcomes, which are driven predominantly by policies outside healthcare. This policy could be paired with other policies addressing racial inequity in wealth, housing, education, and employment opportunities in order to be most effective.

Conclusion

We have spent too much time documenting racial inequities around the world, including in the USA, but struggle to push for the implementation work necessary to correct them through equitable health policy rooted in distributive justice and reparations. We know that more than eighty percent of the drivers of premature morbidity and mortality are not associated with clinical interventions in health care settings (Wisconsin, 2013). Policies to increase GME spots and compensate Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries for their contributions to American health will have a significant impact on global Black health outcomes but are insufficient if not paired with other social investments.

In order to achieve health equity and optimal health for Black Americans and Sub-Saharan

African and Caribbean citizens, we need a fundamental transformation in how society, power, and wealth are arranged and distributed. In fact, racism is best described as a system to distribute resources in order to reinforce white supremacy. Longitudinal structural and societal change which equitably redistributes access to healthcare, housing, education, wages, and opportunity, would have the most potential to drastically improve health for Africans and the African diaspora.

A more equitable distribution of physicians has the potential to transform communities. Racial health inequities are a patient safety emergency and a justice emergency resulting from 400 years of slavery, Jim Crow, and decades of colonialism, imperialism, and structural racism. Just investments in Black American communities and Sub-Saharan African and Caribbean countries will ensure that a healthy future emerges from troubled past.

Author's Contributions:

Michelle Morse, MD, MPH is an internal medicine and public health physician-activist who works in the realms of global health, social medicine, and medical education. (Brigham and Women's Hospital, Harvard Medical School). She led the initial conception, writing, editing, and submission of this paper.

Jonas Attilus, MD is an MPH candidate at Rutgers University with interest in upstream determinants of health who trained in Haiti and Mexico and researches health inequities and global mental health in the Dominican Republic. He contributed to the writing and editing of this paper.

Tinashe Goronga, MD is a General Medical Officer in Binga rural district Zimbabwe and passionate about social justice and health equity and is a lead organizer of the Social Medicine Consortium's Campaign Against Racism. He contributed to the writing and editing of this paper.

Thomas Fisher, MD is an emergency medicine physician at The University of Chicago and is a health policy executive leading Headwaters Consulting, LLC. He contributed to the development and editing of this paper.

Brooke Cunningham, MD, PhD, is an internal medicine physician, sociologist, and assistant professor at the University of Minnesota Medical School who is developing strategies for health care providers to address racism as a health risk factor. She contributed to the initial conception, writing, and editing of this paper.

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Black America's Rising Tide To Lift All Boats:

Moving From Superficial Engagement To Real Partnership With Africa

BY

Dr. Wilmot Allen, Founder, VentureLift Africa and VLA Capital Advisors
Principal Author

Mr. Larry Yon, Senior Partner, B&C International Inc.

Mr. Greg Marchand, Partner, Avencion

Abstract

Despite a nominal buying power of over $1 trillion and population of nearly 45 million, African Americans (historical diaspora) are largely disconnected economically from sub-Saharan Africa, a promising frontier market for trade and investment and their historical ancestral home. Cultural assets of African Americans are a commodity in Black Africa but little real investment in financial or hard assets which significantly impacts Africa or Black America has been made by African Americans. The article explores the critical path towards sustainable economic development for Black America and Sub Saharan Africa, highlighting direct, structured and long-term economic partnership.

The report addresses two fundamental questions: how should Black America engage Sub-Saharan Africa for economic partnership and how can this play a significant role in the economic advancement of both constituencies? The study employs primary and secondary research, focusing on economic trends in Black America and Sub-Saharan Africa. The report recommends practical approaches for increasing the historical diaspora's engagement with Sub-Saharan Africa through partnership with African immigrants (contemporary diaspora), existing U.S.-Africa economic programs and the creation of new mechanisms premised on strategic alignment among African American businesses, high net worth individuals and financial institutions. The contribution of the combined African diaspora in the U.S. to the U.S.-Africa economic agenda is largely underserved. The article makes the case for this contribution to support strengthening U.S.-Africa economic relations.

Africa Engagement Policy Recommendations

· The fundamental and prioritized norms for African American economic engagement with Africa include: i) facilitation of social capital and relationships with African immigrants in the U.S.; and, ii) support of greater economic self-reliance for Africa as the ultimate goal

· Three pathways for this economic engagement focusing on Africa include: i) direct partnership through trade, franchising, supply chain procurement, foreign direct investment and direct investment into African companies; ii) influencer partnership through capital allocations by Black manager at financial institutions; iii) enabler partnerships by means of service exports and research and development collaboration with African American academics and technical experts

· The value proposition for African engagement with African Americans focusing on the U.S. market includes: i) leveraging the brand-building power of African American consumers on mainstream America's spending behavior; ii) creating distribution relationships with business and individuals to expand into urban economies in America; iii) investing in structured vehicles for financial return on investment, economic development and in return for capital gains tax relief or clearer path to citizenship

· Diverse U.S. governmental policies and programs exist to support greater African American economic engagement with Africa; however, African American institutions and professional associations must better mobilize their constituencies to access theses existing resources

· African American economic and educational institutions, private sector and political officials must redefine how urban centers in the U.S. can become international hubs of commerce and economic partners with Africa, prioritizing collaboration with African immigrants in the U.S. and targeting young entrepreneurs in Africa.

Key Words: *Economic growth, trade, investment, partnership, strategy, Diaspora, immigrant*

Introduction

For any casual road traveler in Nairobi Kenya, the kings of the city streets are the public transit vehicles known as matatus which dart through traffic at a frenetic pace that forces most drivers to stubbornly give way. Perhaps, in the eyes of foreigners, these vehicles also standout because their outside panels mostly bear the images and symbolic representation of iconic African American recording artists, such as Tupac Shakur, Jay-Z, Beyonce, Biggie Smalls, Alicia Keys, and Whitney Houston. While their artistic production has widespread currency throughout Africa, African America's $1 trillion buying power does not.[1]

In 2019, there is an intriguing juxtaposition of narratives for Black America and Africa presenting both evidence of economic advancement and challenges. Despite the United States currently having historically low levels of unemployment, Black Americans have lower labor force participation among teenagers and those with less than a high school education and higher unemployment rates at all ages and education levels, but a higher share of employed population for prime age women and about a $20,000 median income gap in comparison to the general population.[2] Sub-Saharan Africa's economy is growing at current rate of 3.4% and has GDP of about $1.5 trillion which is expected to increase to $26 trillion by 2050, but sub-Saharan Africa still faces the specter of being the poorest region of world.

As America looks to strengthen its economic engagement with Africa, African American and African business partnership should be explored for mutual benefit in economic development and to enhance the U.S.-Africa economic agenda.

This article explores the critical path towards sustainable economic development for Black America and Sub Saharan Africa, highlighting direct, structured and long-term economic partnership.[3] **This report will address two fundamental questions:** how should Black America engage Sub-Saharan Africa for economic partnership and how this can play an important role in the economic advancement of both constituencies? The study employs primary and secondary research, focusing on economic trends in Black America and Sub-Saharan Africa. The report will recommend practical approaches for increasing Black America's engagement with Sub Saharan Africa through partnership with African immigrants, existing U.S.-Africa economic programs and innovative approaches to direct and indirect investment. This article makes the case for this African American economic contribution to support increasing two-way trade and investment between the U.S. and Africa.

[1] This amount represents the gross figure and excludes taxes and other non-discretionary expenses such as housing, healthcare and food which could reduce the actual amount to less than $600 million.

[2] https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2018/02/15/reduced-unemployment-doesnt-equal-improved-well-being-for-Black-americans/ and expert interview.

[3] Africa Diaspora references in this article refer to communities from Sub-Saharan Africa unless otherwise indicated.

Background: Sub Saharan Africa's Recent Economic Trends And Economic Promise

Africa continues to show economic promise as a frontier market. Despite, cyclical economic growth, six of the top 15 fastest growing economies are based in Sub-Saharan Africa.[4] Although resource rich with 20% of the world's top oil producers, economic diversification is improving. The Africa Continental Free Trade Agreement that will make the continent a single market for goods and services was ratified by 24 countries and has officially taken effect. Although overall Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has been up and down over the last few years, these investments (projects) are more evenly dispersed throughout the continent than at any other time.[5]

Regionally, sub-Saharan Africa is experiencing economic recovery with 2019 growth expected to hit 3.5% before stabilizing at close to 4 percent over the medium term.[6] This growth is however varied, considering individual countries and regional economic blocs. In commenting about economic opportunity in Africa, Henry Childs, the National Director of Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA), remarks: "when you think about global expansion and access to new markets, if Africa isn't in your list of top 3 places to do business, you're going to limit your potential for growth".[7]

At the same time there are many challenges that impede Africa's economic progress. First, the region's economic growth rate further remains below the population growth rate for four years in a row.[8] Also, while economic growth is expected to continue in 2019, its pace will only minimally offset extreme poverty in Africa.[9]

Public debt levels continue to grow and create fiscal instability for many African countries.[10] Finally, diaspora remittances outpace foreign direct investment into some countries in Africa and represent the leading flows of private capital into the continent.[11] However, remittances are unable to overcome the need for greater foreign direct investment needed to facilitate growth that leads to a sustainable increase in per capita income.**Given the economic progress and challenges facing Africa, how should Black America engage Sub Saharan Africa for economic partnership?**

[4] https://www.focus-economics.com/blog/fastest-growing-economies-in-the-world
[5] Ernest and Young, Global Attractiveness Africa Report, 2018.
[6] https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/REO/SSA/Issues/2019/04/01/sreo0419
[7] Interview quote received by Larry Yon in May 29, 2019 from the MBDA.
[8] https://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr/overview
[9] https://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr/overview
[10] https://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr/overview
[11] -https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/business/Diaspora-remittances-east-africa-outpace-FDI/2560-5070004-c30kfhz/index.html

An Innovation In Values For Engaging Africa

Establishing the norms of this economic agenda with Africa is important, given the shared history of the quest for greater economic autonomy on the part of Africans and African Americans. The following norms present an innovation in the sense of aligning ethics with economics that privileges Africa's interests, agency and well-being.

The Foundation: Prioritize Relationship-Building with African Immigrants in the U.S.

The cornerstone of economic engagement with Africa by African Americans should consists of establishing meaningful social connections with Africans. There is a new scramble for wealth in Africa over the control of land, commodities, real estate, infrastructure and technology IP among foreign nations. The history of colonialism and the slave trade across Africa illustrate how the humanity of African people can be transformed into merely material assets or the means to acquire them when economic gain drives social interaction. How can the historical diaspora begin to create this social capital with Africans? Traveling to Addis, Lagos, Johannesburg or Kigali should be on the bucket list of those with a serious interest in Africa.

However, an easier way to start is by connecting socially with the contemporary African diaspora in the U.S.: Africans in the local neighborhood, schools, places of worship, boardrooms, or workplace. Given the gaps in understanding and trust between Africans and African Americans, a social agenda can undergird a sustainable pathway to longer term partnership that can be mutually beneficial economically begins with concrete actions: share stories, debunk stereotypes, create a foundation of respect, teachability and tolerance.

Among millennials in the tech sector in the U.S., these social ties are nascent but gaining strength through enterprises such as I/O Spaces, a co-working and entrepreneurship support organization in Silver Spring Maryland that has a significant number of contemporary and historical diaspora clients and 6 beneficiaries who interact as entrepreneurs. Through other institutions such as the Africa Center, East Africa Chamber of Commerce, National Business League, Initiative for a Competitive Inner City, U.S. Black Chambers as well as conferences, festivals and meetups from coast to coast, there are real opportunities to establish this new beginning.

Who are these African immigrant neighbors that African Americans should engage? African immigrants comprise about 2% of the U.S. population and about 5% of the U.S. overall immigrant population.[12] In 2015, the African immigrant population in the U.S. totaled about 1.7 million with a spending power of $40.3 billion and higher average educational levels then the general population.[13]

The top five countries of origin of these African migrants are Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Ghana and Kenya.[14] The states with the largest number of these immigrants are Texas, New York, California, Maryland and New Jersey.[15] Clustered by region, the patterns are: South (39%), Northeast (25%), Midwest (18%) and West (17%).[16] In addition to remittance contributions, African immigrants to the U.S. invest and operate businesses in both the U.S. and their home countries. Nigeria, Ethiopia and Kenya and other countries have very active Diaspora communities in the U.S. and abroad. Given the local and international business connections African immigrants have on the continent, these social connections can be leveraged for economic and social value in Africa. One contemporary success story of an African immigrant entrepreneur is Richelieu Dennis, founder of Sundials (sold to Unilever in 2017), which produces shea butter and other beauty products. Dennis was born in Liberia and began selling shea butter products made by his grandmother on the streets of New York.[17] Dennis has built a nearly $1billion business empire.[18] In 2018, Dennis launched a $100 million fund for investments in enterprises of women of color. He recently acquired the mansion of legendary haircare product entrepreneur, Madame C J Walker, to transform it into an economic empowerment center for women. Dennis also purchased Essence Communications in 2018 from Time Warner.

The Ultimate Goal: Support Greater Economic Self-Reliance for Africa

The African American journey to freedom and economic well-being has come a long way and continues. With this understanding, African Americans should engage Africa with an innovation that will help more countries and people on the continent have better lives: support greater economic self-reliance. An Africa rising narrative completely driven by Africans or her Diaspora at this historical juncture is impractical and ill-advised, if for no other reason than the amount of embedded international resources and ownership throughout the continent and the need for international contributions to investment and entrerpreneurship to advance economic

[12] As of 2015: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/14/african-immigrant-population-in-u-s-steadily-climbs/
[13] http://research.newamericaneconomy.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/01/NAE_African_V6.pdf
[14,15,16] Ibid.

development. This innovation in business ethics is an approach to investment, trade and other engagement by African Americans that: supports African (co-)ownership and not merely employment, contributes to good governance standards to ensure financial sustainability and not just wealth creation, and amplifies local solutions and creativity and does not settle for simply an international imprint. As the historical ancestral home of most African Americans and the richest region of the world (by natural endowment) which has the poorest population, Sub-Saharan Africa deserves this values-based approach to economic engagement by African Americans.

Current And New Approaches To African American Economic Engagement With Africa

In 2017, the U.S. accounted for 6.4% of Africa's imports and 13.5% of her exports and a total of $34 billion in two-way trade.[19] Leading imports were mineral fuels, precious metals, cocoa, vehicles and iron and steel.[20] Top exports were machinery, vehicles, aircrafts, electrical machinery and mineral fuels.[21] African American businesses number about 2.6 million and produce revenue of about $150 billion annually.[22] According to a survey published by Black Enterprise in 2018, Black businesses operate mostly in business services, health and beauty, food restaurant, general retail and other (cross industry) sector.[23] Less than five percent of these businesses have more than 5 employees, most are sole proprietorships.[24] With mixed success, Africans Americans have worked on the continent commercially through investment funds, advisory firms, media companies, real estate investments, and procurement of creative industry goods among other ways.[25]

Understanding the varying types and levels of business engagement in Africa, will further determine actual versus perceived risk. Nevertheless, pathways exist to engage Africa as direct partners, influencers and enablers in support of creating reciprocal economic value between the U.S. and Africa.

[17] https://lifehacker.com/im-richelieu-dennis-owner-of-essence-and-sundial-brand-1826418739
[18] https://www.Blackenterprise.com/shea-moisture-richelieu-dennis-madam-cj-walker/
[19] https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2018/03/07/figure-of-the-week-africas-new-trading-partners/
[20] https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa
[21] https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa
[22] https://community-wealth.org/content/tapestry-Black-business-ownership-america-untapped-opportunities-success
[23, 24] https://www.Blackenterprise.com/Black-business-ownership-400-year/
[25] Charitable enterprises and faith-based missions of African Americans and their institutions have and continue to impact lives in Africa for good.

[19] https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2018/03/07/figure-of-the-week-africas-new-trading-partners/
[20] https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa
[21] https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa
[22] https://community-wealth.org/content/tapestry-Black-business-ownership-america-untapped-opportunities-success
[23, 24] https://www.Blackenterprise.com/Black-business-ownership-400-year/
[25] Charitable enterprises and faith-based missions of African Americans and their institutions have and continue to impact lives in Africa for good.

Direct Partnership

Direct partnership entails direct contribution of assets owned by the partnership initiator resulting in a real financial transaction, include trade, FDI, franchising and investment.

Trade

Although, the U.S. Black population of 45 million is larger than that of most countries in Africa, less than 2% of Black businesses are engaged in trade with Africa. Forward-thinking African American entrepreneurs can capitalize on the high demand of American products and services in Africa such as consulting, technology-related consumer goods, industrial equipment, automotive parts, agricultural and agro-industry equipment and products, hair and body-care, mining and extractive industry products, clothing, and packaging. **TABLE 1**[26] below presents the country distribution of African business exports, with Nigeria and Ghana being the top destinations by number of firms and South Africa leading by revenue.

Innovative Global Supply (IGS) based in Greenville, South Carolina is an export-only company of nutritional products to Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. IGS CEO Cherrod Weber is bullish on exports to Africa, stating that "any product or service that's marketed in the U.S. also can marketed in Africa. However, companies will need to perform a market analysis to determine the best markets for their products".[27] Weber advises that an effective logistics strategy and the right local partner on the ground in Africa is crucial for success.[28]

[26] U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Business Owners (SBO) – U.S. Exporting Firms: 2012 Tables https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/sbo/tables/2012/Table_1_All_Firms_by_Exporting_Status_Export_Destination_2012.xlsx?#

[27] Interview of Cherrod Weber by Larry Yon on May 22, 2019.

[28] Ibid.

TABLE 1. African American Business Exports to Africa

Top Export Destination by Revenue	Black or African American owned Firms	**Revenue**: Sales, receipts, or value of shipments
All countries (worldwide)	1426	$13,563,271,000
All African Countries	650	N/A
All Sub-Saharan African Countries	550	N/A
Nigeria	142	$645,537,000
Ghana	85	$153,725,000
Egypt	35	$141,425,000
South Africa	18	$572,333,000
Ethiopia	14	$45,905,000
Kenya	14	$52,537,000
Morocco	9	$63,359,000
Mozambique	8	$71,533,000
Liberia	3	$19,376,000

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2012 Survey of Business Owners, Data Collected by Black Demographics

Franchising

African Americans now operate nearly 760,000 franchises in the U.S., ranging from car dealerships to restaurants, and the trend is expected to increase by almost 4%.[29] This management experience is valuable and can be leveraged potentially into supporting franchise development in Africa in partnership with local entrepreneurs in Africa. **TABLE 2**[30] below highlights the percentage of businesses in franchised form based upon headcount. The data indicate that larger Black owned companies (employees > 500) have a significant number of franchises (nearly 38%). One strong candidate for such a move or FDI is the haircare company, Madali based in Georgia.[31] Asian companies dominate the hair enhancement market in Africa through distribution centers connected to overseas suppliers. This strategy can be adopted by African American and African Diaspora haircare companies.

[29] https://www.Blackenterprise.com/economic-impact-of-franchises-continues-to-grow-in-2018/

[30] International Franchise Association Foundation, Franchised Business Ownership by Minority and Gender Groups: An Update for the IFA Foundation, (2018)

[31] https://www.madalihair.com/

TABLE 2. Percentage of Businesses In Franchised Form By Employment Size 2012

Employment Size	Asian-owned	Black- owned	American Indian-Owned	Pacific Islander-Owned	Other Minority-Owned
Firms with no employees	6.7%	7.3%	4.4%	0.0%	5.8%
1 to 4	5.4%	5.3%	2.2%	2.3%	5.1%
5 to 9	14.2%	8.0%	5.7%	3.1%	10.0%
10 to 19	19.6%	10.5%	13.8%	2.6%	12.1%
20 to 49	20.7%	14.2%	12.2%	24.1%	20.0%
50 to 99	23.6%	21.9%	8.3%	0.0%	16.2%
100 to 499	23.5%	21.1%	7.5%	22.2%	9.0%
500 or more	27.7%	21.1%	16.7%	0.0%	27.8%
ALL FIRMS	9.4%	37.8%	4.6%	3.4%	7.6%

Source: PwC calculations based on data from the 2012 Survey of Business Owners. PWC Franchised Business Ownership Report, 2012

Supply Chain Procurement

Agricultural commodities and minerals are widely sourced from Sub-Saharan Africa, and, unfortunately, mostly processed and finished outside the continent. Light manufacturing of textiles and apparel contribute to the retail supply chain in the global fashion industry.

Given that employment opportunities fall far short of labor demand from educated young adults, lower labor costs make the region an attractive destination for procurement of skilled workers across several sectors.

In the technology sector, a growing number of designers and coders are available for capacity-building and to showcase their talent to international consumers. Briant Biggs, Director of Mobile Strategy for Roc Nation and Chairman of Unanimous Games (UG), a game division of Roc Nation based in New York City, views the billion-dollar mobile game market as a boon sector for young African tech talent. Biggs indicated that UG "has 250 developers from Africa building games that are integrated with music content."[32] He has personally been working on the continent since 2006 in artist development and distribution for Roc Nation in West Africa.

Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is an investment by a company from one country in a firm that it controls in another country and includes joint ventures, real estate firms, mergers and acquisitions (M&A), logistics enterprises, data centers and manufacturing facilities. From 2010- 2016, Sub-Saharan Africa attracted only 1.87% of the total global net FDI, significantly lagging Europe at 30.34%, East Asia and Pacific at 26.45%, North Africa at 17.33%, and 13.25% for Latin and the Caribbean.[33] Although evenly distributed by regions[34], the ranking of top FDI country destinations in Africa for 2016 was Angola, Egypt, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Ghana, with services and manufacturing as leading sectors.[35] African American FDI in Africa is virtually non-existent given the small base of Black companies in the U.S. The U.S. was the global leader in FDI investments (number of projects) in 2017. African Americans can seek out opportunities with these firms to work in Africa.

Investment

Across Africa, promising business opportunities in diverse sectors exist that, with increased investment, will create more successful entrepreneurs and unlock avenues of wealth, employment opportunities, and success for the continent:

[32] Interview with Briant Biggs by Wilmot Allen on June 6, 2019.

Shared-Asset and Marketplace Platforms: Amazon.com, Airbnb and Booking.com have successfully penetrated African markets and made it feasible for both active and passive income investors to leverage these platforms to trade between Africa and the U.S.A. Low-risks investors can look at vacation rental properties as an option for entering the market; either as a renter, property developer or owner-operator.

Agriculture: According to the United Nations, Africa's agribusiness industry is expected to be worth $1 trillion by 2030. The continent has a huge domestic market, owns 60% of the world's unused arable land, and has abundant labor resources, and a favorable climate in most parts.[36] Most of Africa's food is produced by poor smallholder farmers in rural areas, employing crude farming methods. "Crowd farming" is a concept that allows for investors to pool funds together, invest in the rural farmers and take a share of the profits at harvest time. Investment in agri-processing is also a significant opportunity on the continent.

Urban Transportation Services:

Currently, about 60 African cities have a population of over 1 million people. The future of Africa is in the cities, and by 2030, up to half of the continent's 1.4 billion people will be in cities. Most cities on the continent do not yet have well-diversified transport systems, so getting around town can be a very frustrating endeavor. In Kenya, Twiga Foods uses technology to pool the orders and makes deliveries to urban retailers. The business raised $10.3 million in 2017.[37]

Off-Grid Energy:

As of 2016, 68% of Africans were living in rural areas without electric power. "Pay-as-you-go" energy services for off-grid customers is a growing industry in Africa.[38] Extensions of public utility grids in Africa are costly and lack the infrastructure necessary to provide low-cost energy to the rapidly growing population.

Start-up Companies:

Since 2012, the amount of seed funding and venture capital flowing to Africa has grown 1,400% with an upward trend. There are now more than 60 angel investor networks in Africa but more of this class of capital is needed.[39] In 2017, African tech start-ups received $560 million in funding

[33] http://www.africa.undp.org/content/rba/en/home/blog/2018/addressing-the-foreign-direct-investment-paradox-in-africa.html

[34] Ernest and Young, Global Attractiveness Africa Report, 2018.

[35] Ibid.

[36] https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/special-edition-agriculture-2014/all-eyes-1-trillion

from local and international investors. This amount represents a 53% jump from the $366 million raised one year earlier, in 2016. The size of venture capital investments made globally exceeds $100 billion.[40] Currently, Africa gets less than 1 percent of this global deal flow.

Waste Management:

Waste has been a huge problem in Africa's urban areas for decades. Many communities reject common waste management practices and most of the waste generated in Africa is burned and household garbage is dumped along rivers or roads. As a result, more than 80% of solid waste produced on the continent ends up in landfills or gets dumped in water bodies.[41] This presents an opportunity for capacity building on waste management by providing equipment and protective clothing, training and expanding community activities into recycling and composting.

Affordable Housing:

While Africa has the world's highest rate of rural-to-urban migration, Africa's housing market has few local developers with the technical and financial strength to construct large-scale projects. By 2030, about 50% of the continent's population will be living in cities. Africa's housing crisis opens opportunities for several industries; ranging from cement production, furniture making, construction and mortgages.[42] Providing quality affordable housing is a growing opportunity for investment. As in the U.S., the need for affordable housing is directly tied to few economic options, high unemployment and education.

Automobile Industry:

With a rapidly growing population, an overall growing economy and relatively few vehicles per residents, Africa may have the next emerging auto market. Estimates suggest that vehicle sales on the continent could reach 10 million units per annum within the next 15 years, as inequality decreases and incomes rise for more families. Currently, there are just about 44 vehicles per 1,000 people in Africa. The global average is 180.[43] Limited investment in the auto industry in Africa has restricted its focus to the assembly of imported vehicle parts rather than the full design and manufacturing; nevertheless, Toyota, Volkswagen and Mercedes are already entering the African market by setting up assembly plants on the continent. With the automobile sector being a sizeable employer of African Americans, Africa's relatively low demand for American vehicles will have to change if automobile trade with Africa is to benefit African Americans.[44]

[37] https://disrupt-africa.com/2017/07/kenyas-twiga-foods-raises-10-3m-series-a-funding-round/

[38] Africa Development Forum; Electricity Access in Sub-Saharan Africa: Uptake, Reliability, and Complementary Factors for Economic Impact; Moussa P. Blimpo and Malcom Cosgrove-Davies: 2019 International Bank for reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank.

[40] https://issuu.com/e-paymentreview/docs/e-payment_review__march_2018

The auto industry will create business and investment opportunities inclusive of dealerships, spare parts, auto-service shops, auto financing, and even ridesharing services. Not only investors can play in this sector, African Americans with auto industry experience are especially marketable as African car manufactures seek experienced professionals to grow this strategic industry.

Fintech:

Only 34% of adults in sub-Saharan Africa have bank accounts or access to formal financial services.[45] The traditional model of banking is incapable of spreading financial access at the pace the continent requires; however, with the spread of mobile phones and the Internet across Africa, the continent's entrepreneurs are leveraging technology to deepen financial access.

Regarding overseas remittances, Africa loses more than $1.4 billion annually in charges alone.[46] Western Union and MoneyGram have been long-time monopolies in the remittances segment. Opening up, growing and disrupting Africa's financial services market will certainly transform millions of lives on the continent and create a cohort of millionaires in the process. San Francisco- based fintech Branch International, is using big data to provide small scale loans in Africa and has raised $254 million U.S.D in start-up funding since 2015; including a series-C round of $170 million in 2019.[47]

Healthcare Services:

With 25 percent of the global disease burden, a rapidly growing population, and a rising middle class, Africa's healthcare market presents a huge opportunity. According to the IFC, Africa's $21 billion healthcare market could double in size in just 10 years. In Nigeria, Lifebank – a startup that develops smart ways to deliver critical blood supplies to hospitals in busy cities – raised $200,000 to support and expand its operations.[48] A private sector-led transformation of Africa's healthcare industry is needed requiring both the innovation of local entrepreneurs and investment from local and international investors.

Low-cost private schools:

Rapid population growth, poor funding, corruption and neglect have caused a serious deterioration in the quality of education in public schools on the continent. As a result, more African parents are looking to private schools to ensure their kids get a good education. The

[41] Municipal Solid Waste Management Services in Africa: Sandra van Niekerk and Vera Weghmann: March 2019

[42] https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/12/01/growing-african-cities-face-housing-challenge-and-opportunity

[43] https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/African_Economic_Outlook_2018_-_EN.pdf

demand for this alternative is skyrocketing. Rather than set up exclusive private schools for the elite, investors can make good returns and find fulfilment in providing low cost private education, focused on the middle-class growth in Africa.

Influencer Partnership

Influencer partnerships impact economic transactions indirectly through ownership of capital or assets. Managers of investment vehicles that provide capital to third party financial institutions for investment in Africa represent roles that many African Americans currently have across the U.S.

Asset Management Allocations to Funds

A growing number of African American fund manager and consultants influences the investment of billions of dollars across global equities and debt instruments. Some of the professionals are now targeting opportunities in Africa. The National Association of Security Professionals in partnership with U.S. AID seeks opportunities to invest in infrastructure in the continent. African American managers with decision-making power at institutional investment institutions are also engaging Africa. Alliance Bernstein invests in select African equities through a program financed by the International Finance Corporation and other funders.[49] In 2018, the Chicago Teachers Board of Education invested $10 million in two Africa-focused Private Equity Funds: Development Partners International
and AFIG.

Enabler Partnership

Enabler partnerships consist of services and research delivered that support economic exchange. Often overlooked is the opportunity for trade that takes advantage of the human capital of African Americans. Where many African American businesses may lack access to capital or experience in international trade, their industry-specific expertise can be of tremendous value in the form of service exports. With continued growth in the U.S. service economy and the integration of the Internet and cloud-based communication, service exports are primed for growth. Research and development are also underserved for African American technical experts, academics and the institutions where they work.

Advisory Firms

[44] https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/pubs/2015investinafrica.pdf
[45] http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/293281461702870101/N8-SSA.pdf
[46] https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8901.pdf
[47] https://techcrunch.com/2019/04/08/partnering-with-visa-emerging-market-lender-branch-international-raises-170-million/
[48] https://www.abibitumi.com/community/?wpfs=%C2%91Growing-Up-Hip-Hop%C2%92-Season-3-Premiere

Consulting contracts are the currency of development advisory work provided by Development Institutions, NGOs and Expert engagements throughout Africa. Opportunities exist for consultants and transaction advisors to work with U.S.AID, the World Bank and development firms in the U.S. on trade and investment initiatives.

Financial Services

With many firms seeking new paths to growth, technology strategies or simply to stave off international competition, mergers and acquisitions and investment banking services to the middle market are increasingly a need. Wall Street executives and young professionals can find local partners for JV relationships before making a bigger commitment to fully expand into the Africa markets.

Educational Institutions

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have granted degrees to numerous African immigrants over the last 120 years.[50] These ties to Africa can be strengthened through direct collaborations on research, knowledge-sharing among healthcare practitioners and expanded engagement with the 1890 land grant colleges that have extensive curricula and degree programs related to careers in agriculture and engineering. Strategic alliances between HBCUs and colleges in Africa can also attract significant financial contributions from philanthropic institutions interested in Africa's educational progress and redressing brain drain, such as the $1 million gift Morehouse College received from the Buffett Foundation.[51]

Reciprocal Economic Engagement

The conviction that trade and investment with Africa can profitably flow both ways answers the unavoidable question as to why African Americans should not solely focus on investing in their own communities in the U.S., given rates of poverty and underdevelopment in many areas.
For some Black businesses, growth has been stunted due to oversaturated, mature markets.
This can potentially be addressed by accessing new markets internationally through joint ventures with African entrepreneurs, under the conditions of effective management, strategy and adequate resources. The entry of African American financial capital and business expertise into African markets can potentially enable those African enterprises to increase their capacity, scale and geographic reach. The revenue generated from those African ventures can be reinvested back into

U.S. based growth strategies, such as capital markets, real estate and new business ventures. For the mutual partnership to support economic growth in the U.S. through the entry and scale of African businesses into the country, marketing of these enterprises for wider customer reach, joint venture distribution and structured investment vehicles are important.

Consumer Power of African Americans for Branding-Building in the U.S. Market

As influencers of consumer brand adoption for mainstream society and distribution, African Americans can be key allies for African entrepreneurs eyeing the U.S. consumer market. According to a Nielson study, African Americans have "outsized influence" over consumer goods spending decisions through social media and otherwise, based on a "cool factor that has created halo, effect, influencing not just consumers of color but the mainstream as well."[52] As a key segment of the millennial population of color representing 43% of this generational group, Black consumers help drive the growth strategies and brand development of consumer goods.[53]

Consumer Influence Leveraged for International Distribution of African Products

The strong positioning of African American consumer buying power can potentially provide the grounds for the distribution of food, fashion and other cultural production into the U.S. market. The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act offers duty-free export of certain goods to the U.S. market, lowering transaction costs. Understanding the international certifications and other federal regulatory requirements is essential. Building these distribution partnerships can advance the development of logistics chains between the U.S. and Africa.

Structured Investment Vehicles

African Americans have four billionaires on the Forbes World Billionaires List, most of whom are household names, while Africa has nineteen, of which seven are Black Africans and largely unknown by most Americans.[54] There are many other high net worth and middle-class Africans who invest in the capital markets and in real estate. Programs such as Opportunity Zone funds and EB5 investment programs could be a fit for wealthy Africans with capital gains tax exposure in the U.S. or desiring a fast-track process to U.S. citizenship, respectively.

[49] This portfolio is by co-managed by a Senior Analyst who is an African American woman.

[50] Many leaders of Africa's independence movements were trained by HBCU's, including: Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah , Lincoln University (PA) '39 (BA); Nigeria's Nnamdi Azikwe a graduate of Storer College (Harpers Ferry, WV) '28 (AA), Howard University '30 (BA) and Lincoln University (PA) '32 (MA); and, Malawi's John Chilimbwe, Virginia Theological Seminary '00. https://www.morehouse.edu/aycgl/programs/rugari.html; https://hbculifestyle.com/african-diaspora-at-hbcus/

[52] https://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2018/Black-impact-consumer-categories-where-african-americans-move- markets.html

[53] Ibid.

[54] https://www.Blackenterprise.com/Black-billionaires-rich-forbes/. https://www.forbes.com/africa-billionaires/list/#tab:overall

Greater Action On Existing Programs And On Strategies For A New Africa Agenda

To expand the presence of African American businesses in African markets, the awareness and successful usage of existing U.S. governmental policies and programs such as those of U.S. AID, the Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration and funding from sources such as the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation (formerly the Overseas Private Invest Corporation), Export Import Bank (EXIM) and U.S. Minority Banks are critical.

These programs support trade and investment in Africa across several sectors with various financial products ranging from equity, loan guarantees, debt, grants and more.
For example, Prosper Africa aims to facilitate two-way trade and investment and the international guarantee program of the SBA can help de-risk investment for exports into Africa. The EXIM Bank has made export-import trade with Africa a focus area and has facilitated nearly $7 billion in transactions through loan guarantees, credit insurance and project finance.

The following action steps can position African American businesses, entrepreneurs and investors to better engage Africa:

1. African American economic institutions such as the U.S. Black Chamber of Commerce, National Urban League, Council of Mayors, MBDA, and others must re-define their strategies for economic engagement with Africa and mobilize their constituencies to better take advantage of U.S. federal and state programs targeting Africa.

2. These stakeholders along with educational and research institutions and trade associations must re-define how urban centers in the U.S. can become international hubs of commerce, prioritizing engagement with Africa in collaboration with African immigrants in the U.S.

3. An intergenerational and gender diverse contingent of African American entrepreneurs, private sector professionals, investors, policymakers, technology experts and their African immigrant and African counterparts must develop a roadmap for economic engagement with African youth, given that the media age in Sub-Saharan 19.5 years. The planning must address the economic development priorities of African states and the needs of the private sector.

4. Reliable and consistent reporting on data related to Black business enterprise needs to be improved through concerted efforts by federal, state and local business agencies and Black business associations and chambers of commerce.

Conclusion

Black American diaspora engagement should explore a variety of approaches from investment, small-scale trade, franchising, supply chain partnership, professional services, technology transfer and research and development through educational institutions. Though foreign direct investments in Africa from other nations has outpaced the U.S., those investments have not eliminated certain African challenges such as: high unemployment, deficits in utility and connectivity infrastructures, longer investment horizons, the perception of low quality of imports, a relatively small but growing middle class with limited true purchasing power, and low levels of global brands. Challenges more germane to economic engagement with Africa by historical diaspora include: i) lack of international business experience; ii) unaddressed areas of cultural detachment between Black Americans and Africans; iii) a lack of understanding of regulatory policies in Africa and specific market opportunities; iv) limited resources to invest in R&D and due diligence; and v) a paucity of on-the-ground relationships with trusted partners.

To overcome these weaknesses associated with economically engaging Africa, Black businesses should: i) utilize partnerships and joint ventures with African businesses; ii) de-risk the receipt of payment through programs such as those with the U.S. EXIM bank and the SBA; iii) explore Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in Africa as opportunities for business engagement; iv) build relationships with contemporary diaspora and their organizations in the U.S. to create social capital and economic alliances v) utilize proven investment vehicles to take advantage of high growth market sectors; and vi) exercise patience and perseverance as these opportunities may take time and failure should not be a reason to cancel African engagement aspirations.

In her book, *African Americans and Africa: A New History,* Dr. Nemata Blyden examines issues of African American identity conditioned by perceived linkages to Africa and opens with a chapter entitled What is Africa to Me? This chapter title references the famous poetry collection, Color, by Harlem Renaissance poet Countee Cullen and represents the primary consideration this article aims to provoke. African American economic engagement with Africa is about reciprocal investment, impact and meaning. Regarding the meaning of the Africa opportunity, Ambassador Andrew Young, Co-Founder of the Goodworks International advisory firm, remarks "as the population [of Africa] grows half the world's population is going to be on the African continent and the African American community is essentially America's task force into the African market".[55]

African Americans can play a role in aligning and supporting America's global interest in the

[55] Interview of Ambassador Young by Larry Yon, May 29, 2019.

region, U.S. urban economic development and advancing Africa's prosperity and economic self-reliance. Given that America's pursuit of economic primacy was a fundamental motivation for Africans being uprooted from the continent and forcibly taken to the United States over 400 years ago, it is significant that economic collaboration can become the major impetus to reconnecting African Americans with other diaspora to Africa today.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Dr. Wilmot Allen is the Founder of VentureLift Africa (VLA), an investment and trade advisory firm (VLA Capital Advisors) with a digital marketplace that connects diaspora investors, trade partners, supply chains, talent, and other resources to top African businesses to help them grow and scale. He is based in Nairobi, Kenya. Dr. Allen is the principal author and general editor for the manuscript. He conducted interviews and contributed to all sections of the manuscript as researcher and author.

Mr. Larry Yon is Senior Partner and Chief Operating Officer at B&C International Inc, a minority-owned global strategy and business management firm. He is based in High Point, North Carolina. Mr. Yon conducted interviews, researched and wrote principally on African business trends, challenges confronting Black businesses seeking to engage Africa, and U.S. government programs that can strengthen this engagement.

Mr. Greg Marchand is Partner at Avencion, an emerging technology and consulting firm focused on operations and organizational digital transformation in high-growth sectors. He is based in Lusaka Zambia. Mr. Marchand researched and wrote on investment opportunities in Africa.

Acknowledgments

Mr. Adhere Cavince researched market and investment trends in Africa and the economic profile of the global Africa Diaspora. He is a PhD student of International Relations at Central China Normal University, China. This article was originally submitted in 2019.

FIGURES AND TABLES

TABLE 1. African American Business Exports to Africa

Top Export Destination by Revenue	Black or African American owned Firms	**Revenue**: Sales, receipts, or value of shipments
All countries (worldwide)	1426	$13,563,271,000
All African Countries	650	N/A
All Sub-Saharan African Countries	550	N/A
Nigeria	142	$645,537,000
Ghana	85	$153,725,000
Egypt	35	$141,425,000
South Africa	18	$572,333,000
Ethiopia	14	$45,905,000
Kenya	14	$52,537,000
Morocco	9	$63,359,000
Mozambique	8	$71,533,000
Liberia	3	$19,376,000

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2012 Survey of Business Owners, Data Collected by Black Demographics

TABLE 2. Percentage of Businesses In Franchised Form By Employment Size 2012

Employment Size	Asian-owned	Black- owned	American Indian-Owned	Pacific Islander-Owned	Other Minority-Owned
Firms with no employees	6.7%	7.3%	4.4%	0.0%	5.8%
1 to 4	5.4%	5.3%	2.2%	2.3%	5.1%
5 to 9	14.2%	8.0%	5.7%	3.1%	10.0%
10 to 19	19.6%	10.5%	13.8%	2.6%	12.1%
20 to 49	20.7%	14.2%	12.2%	24.1%	20.0%
50 to 99	23.6%	21.9%	8.3%	0.0%	16.2%
100 to 499	23.5%	21.1%	7.5%	22.2%	9.0%
500 or more	27.7%	21.1%	16.7%	0.0%	27.8%
ALL FIRMS	9.4%	37.8%	4.6%	3.4%	7.6%

Source: PwC calculations based on data from the 2012 Survey of Business Owners. PWC Franchised Business Ownership Report, 2012

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Black America Counts:

Participating in the 2020 Census to Secure the Future of Black America

BY

A. Jeanine Abrams, PhD

This article was prepared during the course of numerous changes to census operations.
For more information, contact **info@faircount.org.**

Author Details: Dr. A. Jeanine Abrams (also referred to as Jeanine Abrams McLean) is the Vice President at Fair Count, Inc., a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization focused on facilitating and ensuring a fair and accurate count during the 2020 Census in Georgia and nationally while building pathways to continued civic engagement in historically undercounted communities. She completed her doctorate in Ecology, Evolution, and Behavior at the University of Texas at Austin, and she subsequently worked as a Biologist at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention where she applied her expertise in computational biology and population research to advance public health initiatives.

Abstract

The decennial census is at the very core of our democracy, and when the numbers are inaccurate due to inequity and disenfranchisement, every other aspect of our democracy is threatened. Since its inception, the decennial census has failed to accurately represent the Black population and its diversity, leading to the disproportionate and unfair allocation of resources and political power a decade at a time. Despite numerous challenges associated with the 2020 Census, including the unexpected onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, innovative efforts and outreach strategies are being employed to increase participation of the Black population. This article discusses the importance of the 2020 Census with regard to future resources and political power for Black people across the country. Furthermore, the impact of undercounts and omissions in past censuses on the Black population as well as predicted undercounts for the 2020 Census will be examined. Lastly, the myriad of challenges faced by the Black population in the 2020 Census, including issues associated with capturing the diversity of Black ethnicities within the African diaspora, and the efforts in place to mitigate them are reviewed.

Policy Recommendations

- Efforts designed to increase participation of Black persons in the decennial census should focus on education, targeted campaigns, and building pathways to continued civic engagement.
- In the face of challenges, including the COVID-19 pandemic, national networks of organizations focused on the needs of the Black population are essential to improving participation in the decennial census, capturing the diversity of Black ethnicities in the country, and promoting continued civic engagement.
- The decennial census and its annual iteration (the American Community Survey) should be consistently (as opposed to every nine years) touted as essential to achieving fair distributions of federal resources and political power.
- The process of prison gerrymandering should be eliminated to ensure the fair distribution of federal resources and political power to impacted communities.

Key Words: *2020 Census, democracy, hard-to-count, redistricting, undercounts and omission*

Introduction

Every 10 years, the United States government attempts to count every person living in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and five U.S. territories (American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands). The count is not limited to U.S. citizens, but it instead seeks to count every person, regardless of their citizenship status. This count, formally known as the decennial census, is mandated by the Constitution, and it represents the largest peacetime effort conducted by the nation. For the 2020 Census, the Census Bureau aims to recruit over 2 million applicants to reach its goal of up to 500,000 part-time enumerators (i.e., census takers) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020a). Moreover, the 2020 Census is estimated to cost $15.6 billion, making it the most expensive census in history (U.S. GAO, 2019a). In 2020, the census will be conducted primarily online for the first time, ushering in a new wave of challenges to accurately and fairly conduct one of the most complicated efforts of the federal government.

The accuracy of the data collected during the decennial census impacts several aspects of our society and democracy as the data are used to apportion seats of the U.S. House of Representatives, guide the drawing of lines for political districts and school zones, allocate trillions of dollars for critical services like health care and education, and inform businesses and employers about opportunities for economic development.

If an accurate count is not achieved, the consequences could have crippling effects on businesses, schools, and political representation for the following decade. Historically, the results are skewed, with an overcount in white, home- owning populations and an undercount and extensive omissions in what the Census Bureau refers to as hard-to-count (HTC) communities, which include populations of color, low income persons, LGBTQ persons, young children, ethnic minorities, undocumented persons, renters, persons experiencing homelessness, persons with disabilities, and those in very rural areas.

These undercounts and omissions cost communities millions of dollars and reduce their political power a decade at a time. The Black population (defined by the Census Bureau as “Black Alone or in Combination”) is one of the most omitted and undercounted populations in the country. Black men represent a historically undercounted group, and Black women experience relatively high omission rates. Furthermore, Black children under the age of five are often missed in the census.

Not only is the Black population at risk of unfair representation when the census is conducted, but communities are often negatively impacted by the practice of prison gerrymandering where incarcerated individuals are counted where they are imprisoned instead of at their home addresses. This practice often shifts federal funding and political power from the incarcerated person's community to the towns where the prison is located. In many cases, rural, predominantly white towns are the beneficiaries of this practice.

This article will discuss the importance of the decennial census and challenges faced in the 2020 Census, including the unexpected onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the impact of undercounts and omissions in past censuses on the Black population as well as predicted undercounts for the 2020 Census will be examined. Lastly, the myriad of challenges faced by the Black population in the 2020 Census, including issues associated with capturing the diversity of Black ethnicities within the African diaspora, and the innovative efforts in place to mitigate them will be reviewed.

The Decennial Census: A Decade's Worth of Money and Power

The U.S. decennial census is mandated by Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, and 22 censuses have occurred since the first was conducted in 1790. The Constitution states, "Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this union, according to their respective Numbers...The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct." (U.S. Const. art. I, § 2). The goal of the census is to count every resident of the U.S. and its territories once and in the right place, but this massive effort is often fraught with challenges.

9.As the population grows, the required strategies, human resources, and funding become increasingly complex. Moreover, history has shown that inaccurate census counts tend to negatively impact underrepresented groups. For instance, in the 2010 Census, White (non-Hispanic) populations were overcounted, while Native American, Hispanic, and Black populations were undercounted (U.S. GAO, 2018). These discrepancies not only effect the distribution of resources that undercounted populations deserve, but it also their stifles their political and civic power a decade at a time.

As stated in the Constitution, census data are used to reapportion the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. Based on the count, states with growing populations could potentially gain seats, while those with dwindling numbers could lose representation. According to Election Data Services, 15 states could be impacted during the reapportionment process, with seven states (Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Montana, North Carolina, Oregon, and Texas) poised to gain congressional seats and eight states (California, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and West Virginia) at risk of losing congressional representation (Brace, 2019). In addition to reapportionment, census data guide redistricting processes, which utilize census data at national, state, and local levels to draw the lines for congressional, state legislative, and school districts. Reapportionment and redistricting determine the political and civic power of the people living within the demarcated districts, so an inaccurate count directly leads to an erroneous and potentially unfair distribution of power.

Because the legislative redistricting process relies on census data at state and local levels, undercounted and underrepresented groups have poorer prospects with regard to setting and securing preferred political agendas and policies, and this problem is exacerbated when gerrymandering occurs (Bullock, 2010).Census data also direct the allocation of federal funds, and the accuracy of the census count determines whether state and local areas receive their fair share. A study of 316 federal programs determined that approximately $1.5 trillion were distributed to state and local governments, nonprofit organizations, businesses, and households in fiscal year 2017 (Reemer, 2019a). These census-guided federal programs included the following: 305 financial assistance programs that distributed $1.5 billion, including $710 billion and $405 billion for Medicare and Federal Medical Assistance Percentage (FMAP) programs, respectively; three programs that dispensed $16.5 billion in matching payments from states to the federal government; seven tax credit programs that allocated $14.9 billion; and one procurement program that awarded $7.5 billion federal contract dollars to small businesses.

These census-guided federal programs impact healthcare, public assistance benefits, emergency and disaster responses, mental health services, domestic violence and child abuse services, highway planning and construction, Section 8 housing programs, environmental protection and wildlife restoration services, federal education grants, national school lunch programs, Title 1 and special education grants to schools, and rural education, among others. These programs and services impact the lives of people living in the country, ranging from those with the least to the most need, so an inaccurate count could negatively impact some of the nation's most vulnerable communities.

The Census and the Black Population

The first U.S. census was conducted in 1790, and the main challenge that impacted the Black population was the count itself. The 1790 Census occurred in the wake of the Three-Fifths Compromise of 1787, which counted three out of every five slaves as people when determining political representation. This compromise was reached to satisfy Southern interests, which sought to benefit from the slave count during the apportionment process, and Northern interests, which resisted what they considered a disproportionate representation of slaves (Prewitt, 2010). Considering that most slaves were of African ancestry, it is safe to say that the Black population of 1790 was undercounted because Black people were not counted as whole persons.

To understand how people are undercounted and/or missed in the decennial census, two terms are commonly used, omissions and net undercounts. Omissions occur when people are missed in the census. Net undercounts occur when the number of people omitted is greater than the number of people that are counted more than once (i.e., those who are overcounted). The Black population has historically been undercounted in the census, and relatively high net undercounts for the Black population have consistently occurred since 1940 (O'Hare, 2019a). In the 2010 Census, the Black population had the highest net undercount rate (2.1) of any major race/Hispanic group, while Non-Hispanic White populations were overcounted at a rate of 0.8 (O'Hare, 2019b). Furthermore, the omission rate of the Black population was 9.3, corresponding to approximately 3.8 million Black people being missed in the 2010 Census. After assessing several potential risk factors for the 2020 Census, the Urban Institute estimated that up to 1.7 million Black people could be undercounted, leading to disproportionate impacts on communities across the nation (Elliott et al., 2019). At varying amounts allocated per capita to each state, all 50 states and the District of Columbia could lose at least $3.3 billion in federal funding annually for the next decade if this predicted undercount of the Black population occurs, ranging from $451,000 lost per year in Wyoming to $392 million lost per year in New York (Reamer, 2019b).

While historical and predicted undercounts paint a grim picture for the Black population heading into the 2020 Census, a closer look at the data indicates an even more dire situation. A breakdown of undercount rates reveals that Black men, women, and children are at high risk of being undercounted. For instance, the undercount rates of Black men ages 18–29, 30–49,

and 50+ were 5.9, 10.0, and 3.1, respectively, representing some of the highest undercount rates observed in the 2010 Census (O'Hare, 2019a). Moreover, young Black children (age 0–4) were undercounted at a rate of 6.3. To put this into context, approximately 2.2 million young children were omitted in the 2010 Census, and young Black children were undercounted at twice the rate of non-Black children (O'Hare, 2015). In contrast, Black women ages 18–29, 30–49, and 50+ were overcounted at rates of 0.4, 0.2, and 3.1, respectively. While these data appear positive, Black women ages 18–29, 30–49, and 50+ were omitted at rates of 9.7, 6.2, and 2.8, respectively, thus indicating that Black women comprised a significant portion of the 3.8 million Black people missed in the 2010 Census. Several hypotheses exist about why people are omitted in the decennial census, including distrust of the government, socio-economic status (e.g., those who live in poverty, experience unemployment, etc.), and the presence of complex households (e.g., co-parenting, kinship care, etc.). Regardless of the reason, the Black population has been and continues to be at risk of being missed and undercounted in the census, so efforts must be made to ensure a fair, accurate, and complete count of Black men, women, children, citizens, immigrants, and undocumented residents in the 2020 Census.

Challenges Faced in the 2020 Census

The decennial census is the largest peacetime effort conducted by the U.S. government, and an undertaking of this magnitude is understandably bound to have challenges. However, challenges associated with the 2020 Census are particularly concerning, since it is the first to be conducted primarily online. In 2019, the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) added the 2020 Census to its High Risk list, and several challenges were identified, including the following: filling vacant positions at the Census Bureau; implementing best practices for scheduling 2020 Census activities; improving management and oversight of IT systems; addressing cybersecurity weaknesses; and resolving issues that arose during testing (U.S. GAO, 2019b). A subsequent GAO report released in February 2020 indicated that 28 of the 112 recommendations made to address risks and concerns had not been fully implemented (U.S. GAO, 2020). At the time of the report, the Census Bureau was behind in its recruitment goal for census workers (e.g., enumerators), and it still needed to address concerns associated with the readiness of its Internet Response System and other cybersecurity challenges. In addition to those identified by the GAO, five other significant challenges were found to impact HTC communities, including the Black population:

- First, concerns about underfunding of the 2020 Census at both federal and state levels are particularly troubling. At the federal level, reduced budgets for enumerators could limit the number of census takers who could act as trusted voices in HTC communities during the Nonresponse Followup period (NRFU). Moreover, as of November 2019, 24 states failed to allocate funding for census outreach, while the remaining 26 states allocated a combined total of $350 million, ranging from $100,000 in Montana ($0.09 per resident) to $187 million in California ($4.73 per resident) (The Associated Press, 2019).

- Second, although providing access to the census online could improve accessibility in some communities, the digital divide might result in continued or exacerbated undercounts of HTC populations. This is because at least 20 million households in the country lack broadband Internet access, particularly those in rural areas, which are also historically undercounted (FCC, 2019).

- Third, the lack of access to census questionnaire centers was identified as major challenge after the Trump administration eliminated all 39,000 Questionnaire Assistance Centers (QACs) that were available during the 2010 Census. According to the Census Bureau, the replacement of QACs with the Mobile Questionnaire Assistance (MQA) program built upon and improved the QAC program by allowing deployment to areas experiencing low self-response rates (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 2019). However, while the utility of MQAs in urban areas was apparent, the program was predicted to be ineffective in rural communities.

- Fourth, the debate over the citizenship question sowed increased fear and distrust in vulnerable communities, particularly Latinx, Asian, and non-English speaking persons (Wang, 2019a). The Trump administration's attempt to add a citizenship question to the census was blocked by the Supreme Court. Records indicated that the impetus to add the question stemmed from direct contact from GOP redistricting strategist, Thomas Hofeller, who concluded that adding the citizenship question would produce the data needed to redraw voting districts in a way that would be "advantageous to Republicans and Non-Hispanic Whites" (Wang, 2019b; Hofeller, 2015).

- Fifth, the process of prison gerrymandering, which counts prisoners where they are imprisoned instead of where they are from, poses a major problem for the Black population. The Census Bureau counts prisons as “group quarters”. Unfortunately, this practice shifts money and political power from communities of color to the predominately white, rural communities where prisons are often located. Considering that prisons are disproportionately made up of Black and Latinx people, the practice of prison gerrymandering during the 2020 Census (and future censuses) is extremely concerning (Wang and Devarajan, 2019).

As described above, the 2020 Census is fraught with challenges, including those that could lead to an undercount of the Black population. However, despite identifying and developing plans to mitigate the aforementioned problems, no one could have predicted the onset and consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the wake of the pandemic, unforeseen challenges arose, forcing the Census Bureau, organizations, advocates, organizers, and volunteers to rethink operations and strategies. As social distancing practices expanded, the Census Bureau implemented several major changes to 2020 Census operations (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b), including the following:

- First, since the decennial census is constitutionally mandated, the 2020 Census will likely not be canceled, even during a pandemic. Instead, the Census Bureau elected to extend the self-response period, which includes responses done online, by phone, or by mail, until October 31, 2020. While this extension is helpful, the amount of work needed to mitigate the challenges associated with the COVID-19 pandemic are formidable, and the potential delay of the redistricting process could have abysmal impacts on elections and the overall distribution of political power.

- Second, several operations were delayed, including the enumeration of Group Quarters and homeless populations. The counting of people experiencing homelessness outdoors was delayed indefinitely. Moreover, the in-person enumeration of persons living in group quarters (e.g., colleges, nursing homes, prisons, etc.) was delayed until July 1, 2020. This is particularly concerning for colleges and universities that have closed due to the pandemic,

since there is some confusion about how the institutions will count the students (e.g., submitting records directly to the Census Bureau versus requesting in-person enumeration) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b; Wang, 2020a)

- Third, census field operations were suspended until June 1, 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b; Wang, 2020b). The delay of the Update/Leave Operation (i.e., the hand- delivery of census packets) primarily impacts rural households and most American Indian reservations, resulting in millions of households failing to receive 2020 Census information (e.g., paper forms and instructions to complete the form online) along with the rest of the nation.
  Given the lack of Internet access and the cessation of in- person outreach, these communities are notably at risk of being undercounted in the 2020 Census.

Despite these challenges, organizations across the country have developed innovative ways to reach communities during the pandemic by pivoting to digital outreach, virtual meetings and events, phone- and text-based efforts, and written strategies to conduct the work needed to achieve a complete count of HTC communities.

The 2020 Census: Overcoming Challenges to Ensure an Accurate Count of the Black Population

To mitigate challenges facing the Black population in the 2020 Census, organizations, advocates, organizers, and volunteers at national, state, and local levels developed plans and strategies to increase the participation of Black communities. For instance, the Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congresswoman Karen Bass, announced the launch of the 2020 Census Taskforce. Led by Congressman Steven Horsford, the taskforce works with Black leaders from around the country to discuss the tools needed for effective outreach to HTC communities, specifically Black communities (Congressional Black Caucus, 2019). Moreover, the National Urban League and the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation convened the 2020 Census Black Roundtable to organize and strategize with national organizations to ensure an accurate count of young Black children, Black men, and returning citizens. In addition to regular meetings and updates about the status of 2020 Census operations and challenges, the 2020 Census Black Roundtable also hosted two national tele-town halls that featured leaders from around the nation as well as convenings to

share best practices and strategies. The following organizations are members of the 2020 Census Black Roundtable: Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., National Council of Negro Women, Color of Change, Black Voters Matter, Fair Count, Sigma Pi Phi, The Lawyer's Committee on Civil Rights, The African American Mayor's Association, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, United States Black Chamber, YWCA U.S.A, National Black Child Development Institute, National Association of Black Journalists, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Howard University, Black Alliance for Just Immigration, Lawyers' Committee on Civil Rights, The National Coalition on Black Civic Participation, National Action Network, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Skinner Leadership Institute, Institute of Caribbean Studies, National Redistricting Foundation, The McSilver Institute for Poverty Policy and Research at New York University's Silver School of Social Work, Black Voters Matter, and Urban League Affiliates. Select campaigns that were implemented to ensure a fair and accurate count of the Black population are described below:

Fair Count: Black Men Count, Sisters for the Census, and Faith and Innovation Resources

Fair Count is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to partnering with HTC communities to achieve a fair and accurate count of all people in Georgia and the nation in the 2020 Census and to strengthening the pathways to greater civic participation. To achieve these goals, Fair Count leverages a network of locally-based, trained organizers who have experience entering HTC communities and building relationships with community and faith-based leaders/organizations and other stakeholders. The organization also works to bridge the digital divide by developing effective digital and technological infrastructure to increase online participation and provide access within HTC communities with limited Internet accessibility. Lastly, Fair Count supports the development and dissemination of community-specific advertising and promotional materials via social media, radio, television, and local newspapers. Regarding the Black population, Fair Count launched three main initiatives to ensure a fair and accurate count:

- **'Black Men Count'** began as a statewide Complete Count Committee in Georgia that launched in May 2019 with a roundtable discussion led by former Attorney General Eric Holder, raising awareness of the impacts of undercounting Black men in the census (Bluestein, 2019).

The committee met with leaders from around the state to brainstorm and develop key strategies to encourage the participation of Black men in the census. Fair Count then partnered with Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, Inc.'s Collective Impact Cooperative, which includes representatives from Black fraternities, to build a national coalition to provide resources and representation in HTC areas. 'Black Men Count' is composed of faith leaders, elected officials, barbers, students, fraternity leaders, and returning citizens. Video and digital content specifically targeting Black men was created and disseminated, and trainings were conducted in several states to encourage local organizations and leaders to invest in achieving a complete count. The initiative created innovative outreach approaches, including national tele-town halls and a program called 'Black Men Speak' that was created to give Black men space to gather and strategize to ensure that they are counted and civically engaged. These efforts ultimately led to the education and engagement of countless Black men across the nation.

- **'Sisters for the Census'** is a joint civic engagement campaign with Fair Count and the National Council of Negro Women that is focused on ensuring that Black women, children, and families are fairly and accurately counted in the 2020 Census. This effort combines the tools and strategies developed by Fair Count with the National Council of Negro Women's vast network of over 2 million Black women across the nation, including over 30 affiliate organizations with representation from sororities, professional societies, and faith-based associations. Goals of this effort include working to help recruit women across the country for census jobs, forming a Rapid Response Taskforce that will focus on communities that have low self-response rates, and developing specific advertisements and digital content to educate Black women on the importance of the 2020 Census and the power that they have to influence the resources and political power that the Black population deserves. These efforts are designed to encourage continued civic engagement in communities across the nation. The campaign kicked off with a virtual roundtable that featured Stacey Abrams (founder of Fair Count) and Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole (National Chair and President of the National Council for Negro Women) (Glazer, 2020). Moreover, Fair Count partnered with Comcast NBCUniversal to develop and air 'Sisters for the Census' content nationally throughout the self-response period (Blanco, 2020).

- **Faith and Innovation Resources (F.A.I.R)** is a program designed in partnership with Fund II Foundation to help expand the outreach and engagement of faith-based organizations,

particularly those in HTC communities, by providing a web-based platform that allows faith leaders to manage membership, share information, and promote 2020 Census participation and continued civic engagement within the faith community. Faith institutions enrolled in the F.A.I.R. program are provided with free access to a commercially available church management application, which allows faith leaders to educate their members about the importance of the 2020 Census, encourage members to commit to be counted, and notify members about census- related events and activities. The application will also allow faith leaders to send text messages or emails to members, organize and advertise events, and offer online and text-based giving. Moreover, Fair Count has developed a web-based platform that will facilitate real-time communication and the dissemination of census information to churches enrolled in the F.A.I.R. program at national, state, county, and/or local levels. The ability to communicate with and through faith leaders, who are trusted voices in their communities, will be particularly invaluable during the COVID-19 pandemic, because it will bolster rapid response efforts at local levels and allow the sharing of best practices and strategies.

Congressional Black Caucus Foundation: Black America Counts

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. is a nonpartisan, nonprofit, public policy, research, and educational institute committed to advancing the global Black community by developing leaders, informing policy, and educating the public. In an effort to help guide outreach and mobilization efforts in HTC communities, particularly Black and Latinx communities, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation partnered with Fair Count to launch the 'Black America Counts' campaign (CBCF, 2019), which included a series of data trainings to create targeted census maps to help guide outreach and mobilization efforts in HTC communities across the nation. Using Fair Count's mapping models to identify vulnerable communities, the organizations reviewed census turnout rates in low income Black and Latinx communities with insufficient Internet access, as well as other communities that lack the resources to accurately complete the 2020 Census in numbers comparable to other communities, populations, or regions. The resulting maps for all 50 states provided demographic data and identified the areas of greatest need at the county level. Moreover, the analyses identified counties that are not considered HTC but that are at risk of undercounts because of significant populations of people of color combined

with a significant number of households that lack Internet access. In addition, the organizations launched a nationwide awareness campaign targeting Black and Latinx populations, with the goal of increasing participation in the 2020 Census undercounts because of significant populations of people of color combined with a significant number of households that lack Internet access. In addition, the organizations launched a nationwide awareness campaign targeting Black and Latinx populations, with the goal of increasing participation in the 2020 Census.

Black Alliance for Just Immigration: Experiencing Blackness Together

For the first time in history, the decennial census will allow Black persons to provide information about their nationalities and ethnicities. After selecting "Black or African American" under race, people will be given the choice to write their non-Hispanic origins (e.g., African American, Jamaican, Haitian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Somali, etc.). While this option will provide valuable data about the diversity of Black ethnicities in the country, advocates worry that distrust of the government, fallout from the citizenship question debate, and anti-immigrant sentiments in the country may lead to lower participation of Black immigrants (Wang, 2018). To combat this potential challenge, the Black Alliance for Just Immigration launched several initiatives to ensure that Black immigrants, who are often left out of conversations about immigration, are accurately counted in the 2020 Census. To address the issues associated with actually filling out the 2020 Census form, the organization launched its #CheckBlackPlus initiative. This initiative encouraged Black persons to check "Black" as their race before adding nationality/ethnicity information instead of placing these data in the "Some other race" section of the form; thereby, ensuring an accurate representation of the diversity of the African diaspora in the country. According to the Executive Director of the Black Alliance for Just Immigration, Nana Gyamfi:

> *"We experience Blackness together with our African American siblings and should respond to the race/ethnicity 2020 Census survey question by checking our race as 'Black' and then adding our nationality/ethnicity. Whether battling double-digit poverty and unemployment rates, disproportionate criminalization and detention, or healthcare inequities, Black immigrants and African Americans are negatively impacted because of our race and this country's legacy of anti-Blackness. We must stand as Black people and fight this legacy together. One way that we show up and fight together is to make sure we count together. At the same time, we need the specific national and ethnic information to address those issues where our Black*

experiences are different." (N. Gyamfi, personal communication April 24, 2020).

In addition to the #CheckBlackPlus initiative, the organization translated a variety of census materials into Haitian Kreyol, Amharic, Somali, Yoruba, Wolof, Fulani, and West African French, with more translations on the horizon.

Black Census Week

To engage the Black communities around the nation in the 2020 Census, the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation's Unity Diaspora Coalition, the 2020 Census Black Census Roundtable, and over 40 national and state-based partner organizations participated in Black Census Week, which was held March 23–29, 2020. The weeklong initiative utilized social media-based outreach, and each day focused on different themes, including counting Blackchildren, youth, women, men, immigrants, LGBTQ persons, seniors, and workers. Black Census Week launched with a teleconference featuring Marc Morial (National Urban League President and CEO), Reverend Al Sharpton (National Action Network Founder and President), and Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole (National Council of Negro Women President and National Chair) (Edward, 2020). The week culminated in Black Census Count Sunday, which encouraged faith leaders and congregations to be counted in the census. Despite having to change planned activities and tactics (e.g., door-knocking and neighborhood canvassing) in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, the coalition-based effort was able reach millions of Black people in communities across the nation through Twitter town halls, virtual roundtables, webinars, and other digital strategies.

Conclusion

Our democracy is built on three pillars—the census, redistricting, and voting. Unfortunately, it is being threatened in new and frightening ways. For instance, active forces attempted to silence entire communities under the auspices of a citizenship question on the 2020 Census, partisan gerrymandering was upheld by the Supreme Court, and proof continues to emerge of massive tampering within our elections and widespread disinformation campaigns from both domestic and foreign threats. Suppression, repression, and oppression are not only the sought-after results but the means to an end for those wreaking havoc on our democracy, and our most vulnerable communities suffer the most. Census results are at the very core of our democracy, and when

the numbers are inaccurate due to inequity and disenfranchisement, every other aspect of our democracy is threatened.

Since its inception, the decennial census has failed to accurately represent the Black population, leading to a disproportionate and unfair allocation of resources and political power for Black people throughout history. Considering the numerous challenges associated with the 2020 Census, including the unexpected onset of theCOVID-19 pandemic that disproportionately impacts Black communities, the obstacles blocking a fair and accurate count of the Black population may appear insurmountable. However, efforts are currently underway to educate Black people about the census and how it impacts their lives and communities a decade at a time.

Leaders, organizations, coalitions, funders, and volunteers are working diligently to engage historically undercounted, marginalized, and disenfranchised Black communities around the country. By employing traditional and innovative outreach strategies, investing in long-term power building in historically undercounted communities, engaging often ignored Black immigrant populations, and using the census as a catalyst for continued civic engagement, the course of history can be changed, providing Black men, women, and children living in this country the resources that they deserve and need to thrive over the next decade.

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JCPAR

Changing Demographics and Policy Reflections:

The Case for Historic and Foreign Blacks in Greater Boston

BY

Rita Kiki Edozie
University of Massachusetts – Boston

Barbara Lewis
University of Massachusetts – Boston

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Abstract

Greater Boston is undergoing a movement of changing demographics that is fostering the emergence of diverse, global Black communities who are making dynamic impact in the region. The changing demographic movement is attendant socio-political-economic transformations that have implications for significant policy impacts. Examining two majority-minority Black/African American communities in Greater Boston- Roxbury and Brockton - with a 26% foreign Black share in Roxbury and 43% in Brockton, the article discusses the policy implications of these changing demographics on the lived experiences of Blacks in in the region. We examine the shifting racial and ethnic identities related to intra-mural Black diversity, as well as the changing educational attainment in these communities. Further, we analyze historic and foreign Blacks' transformative socioeconomic statuses from the standpoint of gentrification, displacement, homeownership, and income disparities. We relate economic status to evaluate the state of political leadership and representation and the implications that this has on resource control and political organizing and decision-making.

In examining these changing demographics in relation to these three inter-related policy areas; we document the dynamic and rich civic engagement and community based-organizing of Black communities – historic and new (foreign)- emerging to effect change, inclusion, and prosperity for their communities and the region. For Roxbury and Brockton, as communities experiencing substantive demographic change, we conclude that despite challenges, the changes are fostering a deepened diversity of the Black community in the region. We reveal Black ethnic and racial self-identification's contributions to changing Black identities. We show how newly diverse Black communities in the region are also generating both common socio-economic benefits of prosperity as well as challenges of inequality. Finally, we illustrate how it is that demographic change among African Americans in the Boston region is leading to the emergence of new movements of collective political solidarity and shared advocacy for policy change.

Policy Recommendations

- Ensure that the U.S. .Census Bureau takes steps to minimize the undercount in communities of color and Black immigrant communities.
- Support the Greater Boston region's affirmative action and diversity initiatives, goals, and policies that ensure opportunities and advancement for entrepreneurs and political representation from underrepresented populations.
- Reestablish desegregation policies and initiatives to reverse the resegregation of schools, promote teacher diversity programs, and support multicultural and multilingual education
- Support anti-gentrification policy strategies, such as land trusts, speculation taxes and moratoriums on new developments in Black urban neighborhoods with high percentages of renters.

Introduction

By 2030, the U.S. population is projected to become more racially and ethnically diverse, and by 2060, the nation's foreign-born population is expected to rise from 44 million to 69 million, growing from about 14 percent to 17 percent of the population. The Census Bureau projects the crossover point when the non-Hispanic white population will no longer be a majority by 2044. Then, no one group will comprise a majority, and the U.S. will become a plural nation of different ethnic and racial groups, giving the country the status, "majority-minority" (Sandra L. Colby and Jennifer M. Ortman, 2015).

Changing demographics shape an understanding of a collective identity and future in the U.S. in documenting demographic transformations, census classifications reflect how groups impacted by these changes perceive and experience their identity, and how they are treated. For example, changing demographics are reshaping the political economy of the U.S. They are influenced by global transformations and impact transnational relations. U.S. racial and ethnic identity transformations are exerting important pressure points on the nation's politics. For example, while the race question on the Census process has undergone many changes since 1790, census categories still reflect the political motivations and racial thinking of changing political regimes. Censuses reflect how notions of whiteness and power have constructed racial groups, how they are named, and how they are identified by census officials in observing and recording the race of participants. On the other hand, for decades, Black civil rights groups have advocated for a change in the Census Bureau's racial and ethnic categories in order to document the nation's inequality.

The current article examines the implications of the census on changing demographics in the US where in the millennium, the Black community is now one of the fastest growing groups. According to the recent American Community Survey, the Black community makes up 12.7% of the total U.S. population; in Massachusetts, it makes up 7.4% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). The percentage growth of Blacks in America is the third largest percentage change for any race, according to the Census's race and ethnicity definition. Nationally, people who identify as Black or African American (including tri-racial heritage -Black, red, white- as well as African Diaspora;

and Blacks born outside the U.S., such as in Canada, or the island nations of the Caribbean, Central and South America, in other transcontinental regions such as the Middle East or, in continental Africa, Europe, Asia) – constitute the country's third largest population, according to the 2018 American Community Census Survey, and their numbers are growing.

In Massachusetts, where Blacks are in the minority, Boston reports 25.3% of its total population as Blacks, living mainly in the Roxbury neighborhood. Statewide, the highest concentration of Blacks is in Brockton, twenty-five miles south of Boston. According to 2016 demographic data, 26% and 43% of the Black populations in Boston's Roxbury and Brockton, respectively, identify Africa as their continent of birth. The presence of foreign-born African Americans is now a significant feature in Boston and Greater Boston. This trend is evident in population shifts occurring in Greater Boston. While the Boston share of Black and African American residents has remained rather stable in recent decades, the Black community has expanded, diversified, and dispersed beyond Boston's urban core. The Black population of Greater Boston expanded by 54,697, from 202,759 in 1990 to 257,456 in 2016. Of those 54,697 new Black residents in Greater Boston, just 13,150 live in Boston proper, while the majority of this new growth, 41,547, occurred in towns and cities surrounding Boston.

As a result, the share of the region's Black population living outside Boston proper increased from 32 percent to 42 percent, with suburban communities within the Route 128 perimeter seeing a 63.2 % increase in their Black population since 1990 (UMDI Calculations, Decennial Census and 2016 ACS 5-YR data via IPUMs). This shows that Boston's majority-minority status is increasingly becoming the reality in surrounding cities and towns.Brockton is a case in point, with a 56.1% majority-minority population compared to Boston's 53%. With 25% and 41% of the populations of Boston and Brockton respectively identifying as Black or African American, the Black demographic is the largest minority population in both cities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

In this article, we address how changing demographics have affected the Black/African American census racial category in Massachusetts' Greater Boston region, and what are some policy implications of these changes. Note that we use Black or African American interchangeably. Since the 1960s, the term "Black" has been the common descriptive term for peoples of African descent in the U.S., although it has at times been used pejoratively toward people with darker complexions, marked by a history of forced enslavement and of lesser cultural status than European-predominant communities. As the complexity of African-descended peoples increased,

the descriptive terminology shifted to African American. However, many Black immigrants consider African American too restrictive to accommodate people with backgrounds and nationalities from outside of the U.S (Watanabe et al, 2019). To this end, the article's subtitle awkwardly and quite imprecisely refers to Blacks who reference their African diasporic heritage to involuntary enslavement in the US as "historic" and recent Black immigrants as "foreign".

Significantly, the share of the foreign Black born population in Greater Boston has almost doubled since 1990. The top 5 countries of origin are Haiti, Cape Verde, Jamaica, Nigeria, and Kenya. To this end, we use this finding to illustrate the changing identities of Blackness in the US as a result of new waves of Black immigration and the distinctiveness in how these demographic changes are experienced in Greater Boston. Looking at two majority-minority Black/African American communities in Greater Boston- Roxbury and Brockton - with a 26% foreign Black share in Boston's Roxbury and 43% in Brockton, we note the policy implications of these changing demographics on the lived experiences of Blacks in contemporary Greater Boston in the areas of shifting racial and ethnic identities related to intra-mural Black diversity.

Greater Boston's changing demographics occurring as a result of a wave of Black immigration since the 1980s have caused the State to increase its attention to immigration policy. The State legislature has proposed an immigrant integration policy to foster a two-way process in which immigrants and the host society work together to build secure, vibrant and cohesive communities. The mayor's office of the City of Boston has also established a number of programs that support the region's diversity initiatives, Black immigration policies, and processes that ensure opportunities and advancement for candidates from underrepresented populations.

To evaluate how Greater Boston's changing demographics among African American communities is experienced socio-politically, we examine the impact that demographic transformations are having on changing educational attainment of Blacks in the region considering legacies such as segregation as well as new policy impacts, such as teacher diversity and multicultural education. In this regard, as we engage Boston's history of school segregation, which has re-emerged in paradoxical ways since the 1990s with the diversification of student enrollments in schools beyond Black and White; we engage in policies that support teacher diversity as well as multicultural and multilingual education.

Further, we examine the transformative socioeconomic statuses of Blacks/African Americans in the region from the standpoint of gentrification, displacement, homeownership, and income disparities. To this end, we engage the political-economic impacts of the changing demographics of

African Americans vis a vis anti-gentrification policy strategies, such as land trusts, speculation taxes and moratoriums on new developments in Black urban neighborhoods with high percentages of renters. We link resource control to examine the impact that changing demographics among Blacks in Greater Boston has on political leadership and representation and the implications that this has on resource control and political organizing and decision-making.

In examining these changing demographics in relation to these three sets of policy implications; we capture the dynamic and rich civic engagement and community based-organizing that Black communities – historic and new – that are facilitating change, inclusion, and prosperity for their communities and the region. For Boston's Roxbury and Brockton as communities experiencing this demographic change, we argue that the changes are effecting a deepened diversity of the Black ethnic and racial self identification that are generative of common and relative socio-economic experiences of inequality, and emergent movements of collective political solidarity to foster inclusive prosperity and policy change.

We conclude that although Blacks in both communities are contributing positively to these communities; they also experienced significant challenges. For example, areas where Blacks are in the majority, they tend to be segregated and under-resourced, living with under-resourced neighborhood schools and limited access to the labor market. More often than not, Blacks are renters, not home owners, thus targets of gentrification and displacement. Moreover, while Black communities in Greater Boston leverage a legacy of civil rights mobilization, there is still a lag in educational access and attainment, political and economic representation and inclusion, as Boston's Roxbury and Brockton show. In this regard, we underscore local politician and community groups' support or anti-gentrification policy strategies, such as land trusts, speculation taxes and moratoriums on new developments in Black urban neighborhoods with high percentages of renters.

Changing Migrations and Shifting Identities

In November 2018, Liz Miranda, a Cape Verdean woman who grew up in Roxbury, was elected to the Massachusetts State House from the 5th Suffolk district. Miranda belongs to a new generation of millennial activists and officials of color. In her 2018 campaign, she noted the community's changing demographics and continuing inequality.

> *As we see gentrification happen in our community, which is traumatic, as you see the 20 percent unemployment rate in the Suffolk District. You see a 36 percent poverty rate. I went to Wellesley and came back. That's the first time that I realized that things were different between towns and cities (Miranda, 2018).*

In 2014, Shayna Barnes was the first Black woman to win a council seat in Brockton, a city of close to 100,000 south of Boston. Her mother had moved the family up from Alabama several decades before. In 2017, Barnes stepped down after three years, noting that, for decades, the Brockton city council hadn't kept pace with the increasingly diverse city:

> *The Haitian community is very close-knit. They're doing things for their own.*
> *But everything is kind of separate. Cape Verdeans as well. They have their own way of … helping one another. …the meshing hasn't happened …. I'm just speculating, but I can see how someone can say, I don't really see (the council) doing anything that I really want to happen. I'm going to do it for my own community (Barnes, 2013).*

These observations by an elected Black female politician (Miranda) and a former and first female Black politician (Barnes) offer a prism for reviewing recent demographic transformations and their policy implications for Blacks and African Americans in Greater Boston. Assemblywoman Liz Miranda is a Roxbury native of immigrant Cape Verdean heritage. As a city councilwoman of Brockton, Shayna Barnes, a native African American, presided over a diverse constituency of Blacks whose heritages largely comprised Haitians and Cape Verdes in Brockton. In the Civil Rights era, Roxbury became Boston's newest neighborhood for Black families, whether up from the South, from the Caribbean, or from other countries and continents. As the 1960s gave rise to the Black Power and Black Arts Movements, Roxbury was recognized internationally as the residential heart of Boston's Black community, which had moved from the North End in the

17th & 18th centuries, to Beacon Hill in the 19th century, to the South End in the first half of the 20th century. In 1950, 25% of Roxbury's population was Black, surrounded by a majority White community, including a substantial Jewish minority. Starting in the 1950s, Whites and the Jewish community began a mass exodus to the suburbs and other Boston neighborhoods, with more Blacks moving in. By 1980, 79% of Roxbury's population identified as Black; by 2016, that figure had declined to 53%.

With 23 percent of the population recognized as foreign-born a decade after its incorporation in 1881 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1890), Brockton has long been a place of settlement for immigrants. In contrast, its Black population has grown from very small beginnings. As early as 1900, there were only 600 Blacks in the city; in 1950, Brockton's population was about 1% Black. By 1990, the Black community had grown to 12%, and by 2016 that figure reached 41%. Blacks have had good reason to be attracted to Brockton—the city is close to jobs, has an excellent public bus system, and offers affordable housing, including rental stock, close to Boston (Bluestone and Stevenson, 2000).

In the 21st century, both Boston and Brockton reflect significant and dynamic global Black diversity. During the Great Migration of the 20th century, Blacks moved to Boston from the south, drawn by the city's abolitionist roots and reputation as a place of educational and employment opportunity. Between 1990 and 2007, Black immigrants were arriving, including newcomers from the Caribbean and Africa. Greater Boston became destination for a growing number of Haitians, with its 75,600 Haitian population making up close to 9% of Haitians living in the United States. They were joined by immigrants from the Dominican Republic, about 26% identifying as Black. African immigrants have played a significant role as well. The largest and longest-standing African immigrant group in the area is Cape Verdeans, from a chain of islands off the west coast of Africa, who began arriving in the 1800s to work in the whaling industry (City of Boston, 2016). Throughout the 20th century, their numbers grew, particularly after the country's independence in 1975. Increasingly, immigrants from Africa are contributing to the diversity of Black Boston, including Nigerian immigrants, whose levels of education surpass those of whites and Asians in several U.S. cities, including Boston. (Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

These changing demographics have significantly shaped Roxbury and Brockton. Today

Cape Verdeans and Haitians are dominant populations in Roxbury, accounting for 12% and 10% of the neighborhood, respectively. In Brockton, these two groups are exerting a greater impact, with Cape Verdeans making up 37.3% of the population and Haitians 27.2%. Of the Black populations in Roxbury and Brockton, 26% and 43%, respectively, identify continental and coastal Africa as a place of birth. As these statistics show, while Roxbury has had an influx of foreign-born Blacks, Brockton has experienced an even greater increase.

Greater Boston's changing Black demographics will impact the way that the region's diverse communities participate in the next census. In the millennium, changes to the race question on the 2020 Census will cause difficulties in distinguishing ethnic identity from racial identity as it pertains to self-identity, in discerning multi-racialism and overlapping identities; and in determining what and why racial and ethnic groups should be counted. (Hephzibah V. Strmic-Pawl et al, 2018). For the first time, the Census will delve deeper into the specific origins of "Black, Not Hispanic" and "White, Not Hispanic." In this census, in addition to checking "Black," peoples of African descent residing in the US can write in "Jamaican," "Ghanaian" or "African American."

Some view this policy change positively as an appropriate nuanced distinction between race and ethnicity while also allowing for greater self-identification for Black immigrants who prefer to identify by country e.g. Cape Verdes. Others view the change in classification, negatively, as a tool to foster further division among African Americans, Africans who were born on or have a direct connection to the continent, and Blacks from the Caribbean and elsewhere, which could result in further undercounting and thus disempowerment of Black communities.

Educational Diversity, Equity, and Attainment

Greater Boston's increasing diversity has had far-reaching effects on educational attainment for Blacks and African Americans in Boston's Roxbury and Brockton. The school districts in both communities have become increasingly diverse. As the regions' schools have become sites of multi-culture-related conflict and inequality, legacies of historical inequity remain. The racial diversity of the student body, the diversity of students' cultural backgrounds and districts, the disadvantaged economic statuses of the students, and the percentage of students belonging to the most represented gender are all factors influencing educational outcomes in the region (Niche, 2019).

Policy questions addressing educational challenges matter as demographics shift. What effects do newly diverse schools have on educational outcomes for Blacks and African Americans of differing socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds? How successful are Roxbury's schools in accommodating a growing diversity of Black students? How successful are the schools at hiring teachers who can give students the best chance for success? In Brockton, with a large number of foreign Blacks in the public school system, what effects do multicultural educational models and the immigrant paradox have on educational outcomes? Are Black immigrant youth academically successful vis-a-vis children of U.S.-born parents? Is mobility trending up or down, given the resources immigrant youth bring with them, or on how they are seen in the destination community?

Education is a critical area in which both Boston's Roxbury and Brockton Blacks experience lack of representation. Research shows that students of color benefit from exposure to teachers of color (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). According to the 2018 statistics provided by Niche, an educational research institute, Boston Public Schools— where Roxbury residents typically attend—rank fourth in diversity in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Yet in both the Boston and Brockton public schools, teachers of color teach few children of color. In Boston, there are 31.5% students of color in the public schools, but only 22.7% teachers of color, an 8.8% disparity.

Moreover, in Boston, the shifting student population has gradually created more schools where the majority of the students are white; these majority-white schools are emerging in the same neighborhoods where they had existed before court-ordered desegregation in 1974 (Hilliard and Williams, 2018; Vaznis, 2018). In 2016, the U.S. Attorney's office in Boston found that Boston Latin School (BLS), famed as "America's first public school" paid scant attention to racial issues (Boston Latin School, n.d.; Mosley, 2016). The BLS case highlighted how racial diversity was sidelined in the Boston Public School system (Kenworthy, 2016).

It is unclear if changing Black demographics will lead to more equitable educational outcomes for students from Roxbury and Brockton, as both communities face complex policy questions embedded in unraveling issues of diversity, inclusion, and equity. Waning teacher diversity increases the trend to regional re-segregation. Classroom diversity is multi-dimensional, including who is standing and presiding in the front of the classroom and who is being taught (Boser, 2014). Research shows that students of color benefit from exposure to teachers of color (Villegas & Irvine, 2010).

According to Niche, Boston Public Schools (BPS), ranked 4th in diversity in Massachusetts,

is an above average public school district serving 53,653 students in grades PK and K-12. Its student-teacher ratio is 14 to 1. According to state test scores, 47% of students are at least proficient in math and 53% in reading. Brockton Public Schools (BrPS) ranks as 5th in diversity in Massachusetts, and it covers 17,154 students in grades PK, K-12 with a student-teacher ratio of 16 to 1. According to state test scores, 41% of students are at least proficient in math and 53% in reading. In Brockton, the teacher- student diversity ratio is starkly higher at 51.2% disparity between a 58.2% student of color representation and only 7% teachers of color.

With inadequate resources, many of Boston's segregated schools are low-performing. A shifting student population has created more schools, with white students in the majority. These majority-white, high-performing schools are in the same neighborhoods as before court-ordered desegregation (Hilliard & Williams, 2018; Vaznis, 2018). Brockton is now facing similar issues in the schools. In 1995, Brockton passed a desegregation plan due to the failure of four of its schools to meet the Commonwealth's racial imbalance law (Ayscue, Greenberg, Kucsera & Siegel-Hawley, 2013). Brockton's increased diversity, especially among immigrants in schools, is also contributing to mixed educational outcomes for Blacks and African American residents. Increased competition and conflicts among the different Black and Black immigrant groups have escalated efforts to preserve students' cultural differences through multicultural educational practices, including bilingual education for Haitian and Cape Verdean student majorities (Brockton Public School, n.d.).

In Brockton, the percentages of African Americans with at least a college degree (16 percent) are lower than that for whites (19 percent) and Asians (31 percent). Brockton, like Roxbury, must consider policy adjustments to address local educational challenges as demographics change. With its high concentration of foreign-born Blacks in the public school system, considerations must include: What effects do multicultural educational models and the immigrant paradox (where recent immigrants often outperform more established immigrants and non-immigrants, despite the numerous barriers they face in achieving successful social integration) have on educational outcomes for Blacks and African American communities?

Changing Wealth, Income, Resource Control, And Political Representation

Unlike sizeable Black populations in comparable cities in other areas of the country, Blacks do not command major economic or political power in Boston (Boston Globe, 2017). Economically, the impact of changing demographics on Blacks in Boston and Brockton is brought into high relief through the experience of one of its Black immigrant residents, a young mother with a son. Naomi Cordova, a Roxbury resident, was reluctant to buy in Brockton, given its reputation for gang violence. But Cordova, a single mother of Puerto Rican and African American descent had few options on her $90,000+ salary at a Boston tech company. Home ownership in Boston was so expensive, well beyond her pocket; but single-family homes in Brockton were affordable (Johnson, 2017). Brockton was where she had to put down roots if she wanted her share of the American dream. Cordova's story shows how gentrification unfolds along racial and ethnic lines in the Boston-Brockton artery. Opportunities for home-owning and wealth-building in Roxbury have virtually disappeared, as Brockton becomes the new site of economic opportunity for new Black immigrants and other Blacks priced out of Boston, which is increasingly becoming a white ownership city.

Although Blacks are in the majority in Roxbury and Brockton, many neighborhoods still have stark racial divides, despite efforts to desegregate schools and public housing. Brockton was among five cities in the state — with Boston, Worcester, Springfield, and Randolph — accounting for nearly half of all 2015 home purchase loans to Black borrowers, according to a report by the Massachusetts Community & Banking Council (McFarlane, 2017). However, these five cities accounted for only 12 percent of the state's total mortgages to Black borrowers. At 17.2%, loans to Massachusetts Blacks are highest in Brockton. According to a 2016 Boston Magazine report, the average price of a single-family home in Roxbury is about $680,000, which is more than twice the Brockton cost ($297,000). Roxbury is particularly vulnerable to gentrification since 81% of its residents are renters, not homeowners (Boston Planning and Development Agency, 2017).

Recently, home values soared in Greater Boston. Boston home prices rose 391% since 1996, with Roxbury experiencing disproportionately high growth, on the order of 531%. Still, the average cost of a home in Roxbury is $100,000 lower than the city average. From 2012 to 2018, Brockton experienced much less growth in home values versus the region overall. With an average home value of $285,200, housing costs are much lower in Brockton than the regional average of $458,000.

Median household income varies dramatically in Greater Boston, across cities and across demographic subgroups within cities. The U.S. Census Bureau's data (2016) suggests that cities with relatively high densities of Black and African American residents have fewer income disparities than neighboring communities, but also tend to have lower incomes.
In Roxbury, median household income is slightly higher among Black households than it is for the total Roxbury population. However, income is much lower in Roxbury than it is citywide. Income among Black households in Boston overall is more than $10,000 higher than for Black households in Roxbury. Brockton has a smaller income disparity between Black households and the city overall, yet this disparity places Black households at a disadvantage. The largest income gap between Black households and the total population occurs at the regional level, where median household income for all households in Greater Boston is nearly $80,000, versus just $46,412 for Black households.

Black immigrants in Greater Boston have a high percentage of entrepreneurs, able to keep dollars circulating in the community, sustaining "jobs … (and) … buying products from their community's entrepreneurs [through] a culture of recycling dollars (Tisdale, 2015)." This is true for Cape Verdeans and Haitians, who are creating a new class of homeowners and landlords that are providing rentals in the Black community as a low-cost alternative to public housing (Jackson 2007; Jackson, 2011). In Greater Boston, Nigerians and Jamaicans are the top Black ethnicities by population size, median household income, and degree holders (William Monroe Trotter Institute, 2015). For generations, U.S.-born Blacks have faced institutional racism, such as predatory lending, that some immigrants do not face. It remains an open question if the same socioeconomic and psychological disadvantages will impede Black immigrant achievement.

With regards to political representation, until 2019, there were no Black faces among Massachusetts' congressional representatives. The only Black to win election to statewide office since 1972 is former governor Duval Patrick, a lawyer. In 2021, Boston is now in line for its first Black mayor, who is also a woman. Kim Janey. Boston City Council President, will step into office when Mayor Marty Walsh is confirmed as U.S. Secretary of Labor. Significantly, Boston has never had a Black mayor. In the private sector, just 1 percent of board members among Massachusetts' publicly traded companies are Black, and only two of 200 companies have Black chief executives.

Most major law firms lack Black partners. Greater Boston has only one Black leader of a major union, and the power group of chief executives known as the Massachusetts Competitive Partnership has no Black members (Wen et al, 2017).

Nonetheless, Black political representation is on the upswing in the region. In 2018, Boston City Councilor Ayanna Pressley was elected to Congress. In Brockton, political representation is trying to catch up, but Whites hold 85% of the political seats. In 2010, Jass Stewart became the first person of color on Brockton City Council. Since then, Brockton sent a Cape Verdean and a recent Haitian immigrant, as well as a Black female to the City Council. Both communities are also seeking office at higher and higher levels. Moises Rodriguez, a Cape Verdean immigrant, became the first mayor of color the city has ever had when he was selected to replace the late mayor, Bill Carpenter who died in office in 2019. Jimmy Pereira, who is Cape Verdean, and Jean Bradley Derenoncourt, who is of Haitian heritage, were both in their twenties when they ran for the Mayor's position in 2019. Derenoncourt's story is especially illuminating of the Black immigrant story.
After settling in Brockton, following the 2010 Earthquake in Haiti, Derenoncourt learned English through an ESL program at a branch of the Brockton Public Library. Then he earned his GED, and completed his bachelor's degree at Suffolk University in Boston. Unfortunately, both Derenoncourt and Pereira lost the election to a white candidate, former city councilman, Robert F. Sullivan.

Black and African American elected figures are calling for needed change in Roxbury and Brockton. Kim Janey, on Boston City Council, is addressing gentrification in Roxbury, arguing for a property tax on new luxury buildings to help Roxbury residents keep their homes. In Brockton, elected officials are seeking ways to bring Black immigrants into the political core. In her dissertation research on political incorporation of immigrants, Victoria Show interviewed Brockton's Cape Verdeans. Respondents noted that "[t]he new immigrants are not part of the story Brockton tells …" (Show, Victoria, 2016), and that "the European immigrants of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were … seen as the real Brocktonians." And that is clear in Brockton's fixation on boxer Rocky Marciano, who is Italian, as the city's favorite son. (Show, Victoria, 2016).

Black immigrants continue to assert their presence through inter-ethnic community coalitions to influence Brockton politics, and, in Boston, they are gaining greater and wider visibility and influence.

Conclusion

Changing demographics as well as changes to the way that the state documents and classifies demographic transformations have important implications for Black communities in cosmopolitan Boston. Greater Boston Blacks are increasingly becoming internally diversified and ethnicized resulting in their association with far-flung identities ranging from African Americans, Cape Verdeans, Haitian-Americans, and Nigerians, for example. While diversification can lead to intra-mural Black conflict, Greater Boston Blacks also work together in solidarity. Change is occurring. In Brockton, Black immigrants are shaking hands across ethnic lines. In 2009, Haitians and Cape Verdeans collaborated on a radio station, 'The Brockton Heat'. The station broadcasts announcements on health issues, job opportunities, religion, and community programs. The station's founder, a Haitian immigrant, said, "We … get together to be heard and communicate … [that] the Cape Verdean community and the Haitian community finally got a whole voice."

Demographic change in Boston is also triggering significant transformations throughout the nation as national headlines cite Congresswoman Pressley as representative of a rising tide of women of color challenging the status quo. These women reflect the diversity of their constituents, who have long lacked one of their own in Congressional seats or governor's offices. Presley's slogan, "change can't wait," has served as a rallying cry for Roxbury and other neighborhoods in the state's only Black minority-majority district. (Katharine Q. Seelye, The New York Times, Sept. 4, 2018).

The win was the biggest sign yet that a "new Boston" was emerging in the shadow of the city's historically white, union-driven political establishment. This new electorate is powered by minorities, immigrants, and young college students who have flocked to the city's start-ups and tech-friendly industries (Seelye, NYT, Sept 4, 2018).

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Water Justice, Reparations And Human Rights:

Advancing Black Liberation Through Equitable Water And Healthcare Policies Beyond The Covid-19 Pandemic

BY
Afia S. Zakiya, Ph.D,[1]
Principal Author

[1] Former Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Sr. Fellow, Water Infrastructure & Workforce Development.

This article is an adapted version of a larger study on water affordability and race.

> ...Ko s'ohun to'le se k'o ma lo'mi o
> Nothing without water
> Ko s'ohun to'le se k'o ma lo'mi o
> Omi o l'ota o
> Water, e no get enemy
> Omi o l'ota o (water e no get enemy)
>
> I dey talk of Black man power (water e no get enemy)
> I dey talk of Black power, I say (water e no get enemy)
> I say water no get enemy (water e no get enemy)...
>
> **(excerpts of lyrics Water no get enemy –by Fela-Kuti)**

Abstract

Re-envisioning Black liberation requires sharp focus on new dimensions of local and global water and environmental justice movements. Using a Black political ecology and long view historical approach, this essay documents various contours of racial discrimination, medical and psychological injury and harm suffered disproportionately by Blacks denied clean, safe, affordable water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services in the United States (U.S.).

During the 1800s when the U.S.' water infrastructure was built, racist ideologies of disease elevated whiteness as clean and Blackness as disease and shaped dehumanized treatment of Blacks powerless to change water governance decisions . Examining early patterns of Black human rights, water equity and health violations, is done not only because Black lives were devalued, but their location and income remain disadvantages to Black power evidenced by injustices faced by Black people during the current global health pandemic-COVID-19. Examinations of water justice and human rights organizing and movements by Blacks in the U.S. is relatively sparse but growing.

This essay fills a critical niche on the topic from a reparations and restorative justice viewpoint and problematizes white supremacy, urbanization, and neoliberalism. Black liberation processes create new relations of water justice politics in empowered Black sacred spaces where a Black political ecology/African centered "water no get enemy" paradigm becomes reality.

Key Words: *WASH, Reparations, water/environmental justice, human rights, water governance, Black political ecology, racism*

Introduction

A crisis of massive importance is threatening the health, family stability, and lives of Blacks[2] in the United States of America (U.S.) linked to access and control politics of water and sanitation services (WASH). To be clear, the mistreatment of African Americans is not new, nor is their resistance to all forms of oppression. Africans born in the U.S. were captured and enslaved over 400 years ago, held on plantations and in other non-liberated spaces, denied rights, and always subjected to subhuman conditions where disease and illness ravaged their bodies. This article examines the plight of Blacks as a result of historical WASH access and service provision inequities to support renewed calls for reparations defined by N'COBRA[3] as "a process of repairing, healing and restoring a people injured because of their group identity and in violation of their fundamental human rights by governments, corporations, institutions and families."

Blacks have faced centuries of discrimination and white supremacy oppression by those controlling access to water and sanitation[4] (and hygiene) services part of government or privatized structures. While there is a critical need for WASH utilities to balance the need to serve lower-income customers and fund operations to maintain infrastructure (Teodoro, 2018, LaFrance 2017), doing so calls for democratic governance and shared power and decision making with Black communities since sustainable and affordable services are slipping daily out of their reach during a tragic period of the coronavirus[5] pandemic.

2 African Americans and Blacks is used interchangeably.
3 National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations: www.ncobraonline.com
4 Sanitation, wastewater, sewage and/or sewer are used interchangeably.
5 The word COVID-19 is used interchangeably with Coronavirus as an abbreviation.

Water justice struggles are political struggles for control and power in urban and rural areas to determine the price, quality, and sustainable access of water that can provide social, environmental and economic benefits to various groups. After exploring the historical evolution of 19th and 20th century racist WASH policies, practices and ideologies found in early sociology of health and disease, contemporary issues influencing the rising price of WASH services and their impacts on Black people are discussed using a Black political ecology lens that analyzes the effects of U.S. water cultural hegemony and eco-philosophical ideals on Black life. Despite COVID-19's grip on the nation, prevailing norms and power relationships in the water (and health) sector are on the brink of change.

The last sections cover how change from water rights activism has happened but isn't complete. Recommendations for multi-level policy remedies are made to empower Black communities to shape WASH policy decisions in the interests of the global Black community guided by Fela-Kuti's "Water No Get Enemy" sacred song of water as a liberated, healing and peaceful vision of human-water relationships. Such a view is embedded in an African cultural ecology that views nature as a historical actor that can empower people and give human dignity if treated not as an enemy. This is in contradistinction to Western liberal environmentalism and water politics that sanctions cultural practices that deny access and control of WASH to Black communities.

Early U.S. WASH Infrastructure: Centering Race And Urban Conflicts

In the U.S., despite a clear preference by the dominant neoliberal culture to sell water, many water justice groups advocate for the human right to affordable WASH services for everyone, often at no cost for the poor. Water policy and pricing decisions are political and shaped by factors including dominant cultures and ideologies of nature and natural resources. Such views play out at a practical level by those in power deciding how water is provided, when and at what cost– if any. Water helps maintain public health, facilitates spiritual customs, grows food, construct roads, provide electricity, and it drives global and local industries. It facilitates interrelationships known as the "food-fuel-energy" nexus. Living without water, 70% of the human body makeup, is impossible so yes, "water no get enemy". The mostly hidden

infrastructure that supplies the essential WASH services across the nation and how well this infrastructure is governed is at center stage of debates about water affordability and the hidden truths about the racist defining characteristics of U.S. 20th and 21st century water (and land) planning.

The crisis of water affordability and shutoffs is best understood as part of a long historical trajectory of discriminatory acts by those who view Black bodies as the 'other' and 'less than' that of whites.

U.S. water policy evolved alongside the colonizing of North America and appropriation of land, water bodies and other resources from indigenous peoples during the late 18th and 19th centuries. The indigenous cultures here and in Africa viewed water sources as plentiful like the colonizer and with access for anyone without cost. In some U.S. claimed areas, water use was governed by a system of "prior appropriation 'rights'" where the first person to a water source "owned" it, and any health risks from its use (Reimer, citing Tarlock 2001; We The People of Detroit, 2016). While times have changed, water policy remains situational and problem driven, tied to an underlying, problematic eco-philosophy of Western liberal free-market utilitarian belief that nature should be conquered, and sold for profit. There is no human right to water in this framework.

Water policy and privatization decisions, chiefly between 1800-1830's, were influenced by the rapid growth of semi-urban and urban cities, the ability of local officials to finance expansion of water infrastructure, and by public outcries to fight prevailing health pandemics (Sedlak, 2019). In emerging cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, as populations increased, water become unsafe and scarce. By 1860, over half of U.S. waterworks systems were private, but those in larger cities remained public systems and residents demanded low water prices (Smith, 2013).

In New York, class privilege allowed the rich to import water from 40 miles north through canals, pipes and reservoirs with infrastructure backed by the Manhattan Water Company–known today as Chase Bank.

During the 1920s, overconsumption of water and larger urban populations and waste production from indoor toilets caused sewage to overflow, pollute rivers, angering downstream cities as these issues caused epidemics of typhoid fever and other waterborne diseases. The

major Western health technological advancement of the 20th century that stopped such disease outbreaks like smallpox, cholera, and influenza was expanded water infrastructure with treated drinking water (filtration and chlorination). Sanitation issues remained a public health threat until the 1972 Clean Water Act (Cutler &Miller, 2005; Sedlak, 2019). At this time Black neighborhoods were largely segregated and denied equal access to public services, including WASH. While many herald the resourcefulness of segregated Black communities, no community could have survived without water and sanitation.

The 2019 landmark NAACP/Thurgood Marshall Legal Defense Fund study WATER/COLOR: A Study of Race and the Water Affordability Crisis in America's Cities (Montag, 2019) WATER/COLOR adeptly explores the historical experiences of Black communities at the onset of the building of major water systems useful for this essay.

By the time of the Civil War, Zimring (2015) notes that death from disease was greater for all in the Civil War than on the battlefield. Whites viewed "social disorder the same as infectious disease" and saw disease spread as mainly by Blacks. Racist fears led to stigmatizing Blacks as dirty, and these fears grew more pronounced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as growing numbers of urban cities became overcrowded, with unsanitary conditions. These racist views continued throughout Reconstruction as larger numbers of white foreign immigrants and Blacks migrated from the South to northern cities. A strong ideology of purity propagated the idea that white people were cleaner and purer than any person of color.[6] This "racial construction of waste" was strong and "informed what work particular Americans performed, where particular Americans lived, and the proximity of waste materials to those work and residential patterns" (Zimring, 2015:106). Then as now, wastewater facilities with foul odors were located near Black residential areas.

According to Melosi (2008:11, 41), in 1887 Black mortality was twice that of whites when denied equal access to WASH services. The influenza epidemic of 1918 and the subsequent Black deaths are indicative of prevailing racist ideology and discriminatory health practices. Blacks didn't have adequate health care coverage, were treated unfairly and suffered disproportionate deaths from disease due to pre- existing conditions. During the 1918 flu pandemic, Blacks were left to fend for themselves or receive subpar, segregated hospital care. The Baltimore city sanitation department refused to dig graves for Black flu victims (McDonald, 2020). Nothing much has really changed (Lubin, 2020).

Because it was difficult to build water systems that avoided entire neighborhoods or town sections, early built water infrastructure, couldn't totally deny WASH services to Blacks who were about 20% of most city residents. This remained so even with greater segregated housing patterns in 1910 (Troesken, 2004). Still, harm was experienced even as life expectancy rose by nearly 50 percent from 1900-1940. W.E.B. DuBois' study of Black Philadelphia in the late 1800s revealed high death rates where families lacked indoor plumbing, poor sewers, or inadequate public urinals. Overall, patterns of discriminatory WASH services were common. Things changed not by altruism, but of necessity to prevent diseases spread to white communities where Blacks were servants and caregivers living on the "other" side of the tracks (Ibid, 78-79).

The 1970s, 'white-flight' from cities heightened inequitable access to water and health care entrenched in the built environment. Discriminatory housing loans by the FHA and VA (Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration), redlining and predatory lending practices led to the creation of neighborhoods that were 70% Black in urban areas in the North, or similarly segregated communities in the South, often outside the border of a municipality. As recounted in WATER/COLOR, a 1967 legal victory won against the city of Shaw, Mississippi proved intentional discrimination towards Blacks who lived in an area of town without a public water system until the 1930s, paved roads until 1960, and sewage until 1963. Though a subsequent Supreme Court decision increased the burden of proof for future claims, a municipality could be found liable for racial discrimination of WASH services under the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. There are still predominantly Black and brown towns in Alabama (Flowers, 2018), North Carolina (Leker & Gibson, 2018) and California (Francis & Firestone, 2011) at the edge of municipal cities denied connections to water and sewer mains, even during COVID19. These untenable situations require greater focus for reparatory case law building. WASH utilities operate and are influenced by race as much as fears and politics of water scarcity, dominant Neo-Malthusian perspectives[7] and other prevailing challenges of climate, air, and land pollution (Reimer, 2013:5-25).

The Cost of Water and Crumbling Infrastructure Nexus

National and global human and civil rights-based campaigns and organized political movements have grown to challenge WASH governance inequities in the U.S.. Leading the way most notably since 2000 are local groups from Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, Oakland, and DC, with high WASH

[6] The ideology was globally promulgated to include continental Africans.

utility shut offs and water quality challenges (Walton, 2016).[8] Another area of resistance by progressive Black activists has been against privatization of WASH services. Privatization trends come and go, with little infrastructure improvements and cost savings to customers (Bel & Warner, 2008)[9]. While profits made from water and sewage services in 2015 was over $160 billion, investments by both government and private U.S. utilities for aging water infrastructure, rated D in 2019 by U.S. civil engineers (ASCE, 2017), has declined. Federal funding fell more than 60 percent since the late 1970s. Yet, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (2018) estimated a cost $472.6 billion over 20 years to fix U.S. WASH infrastructure. Where will the money come from?

During the global financial crash in 2008, water utility leaders turned to financial instruments offered by Wall Street banks to manage operations. The devastating consequences of these bad deals for the poor and working-class is still unfolding. Cities like Baltimore and Detroit are case studies of finance deals called "toxic interest rate swaps." Detroit's financial crisis and community battles with the powerful Detroit Water and Sewage Department (DWSD) ended with water rates rising 120 percent in a single decade to pay off bankers (Sloan, 2016). We know the National Association of Clean Water Agencies (NACWA) requested nearly 30 billion in COVID19 financial relief for water/wastewater utility losses (WEF, 2019). *Today's pandemic and financial crisis may also have similar past consequences that Black policy makers, scholars, and activists must study to learn from and anticipate how to repeat the past harm.*

Water Shut-Offs, Income And Race

In 2012, U.S.A Today surveyed 100 municipalities to see where water costs were rising the fastest.[10] At least 25% surveyed had water costs that had doubled since 2000. The cities with the fastest increases in municipal water rates were Atlanta, GA (233%), San Francisco, CA (211%) and Wilmington, NC (200%) (Sales, 2014). Water and Waste Digest, citing Bluefield Research (2018, 2019) found that between 2012-2017, as water prices increased by 5.7% per annum, so did mass services cut-offs, mainly among resource poor non-whites. Residential water and wastewater bills outpaced average annual income growth (5%) and inflation (1.9%) during this time.

People who lived in 30 major cities with combined (water and sewer) utilities had the highest price increases in 2015, especially in Atlanta and Seattle (Circle of Blue, 2015). Detroit became the first major city to do mass water shutoffs in May 2014, sparking widespread outcries by activist. Estimates vary, but nearly 50,000 poor households received shutoff notices.

Food and Water Watch (2016) and the Water/Color study reveal how race, location, employment rate and poverty levels determined water shutoffs. The average majority Black city had a water bill burden twice that of the average majority white city while low- income households paid more than 7% of their income on average for water versus 3% for white, low-income households.

The data on poverty and unemployment rates indicated, not surprisingly, that while the national average of water shut offs was 13%, cities with higher unemployment and poverty

Congressman John Conyers, Jr., (D-Mich.) joins demonstrators July 18, 2014 in Detroit, Michigan in protests against disconnected water to thousands of Detroit residents delinquent with their bills. (Photo by Joshua Lott/Getty Images)

rates had disproportionately higher rates of shutoff. Regional patterns showed the South had more cutoffs.

Blacks in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana were projected in 2017 to face more water shut offs than other states (Mack & Wrase, 2017). Between 2014 and 2018, Cleveland Water was sued by the NAACP LDF because of 11,000 liens attached to properties between 2014 and 2018 for non-payment of

[7] Neo-Malthusianism is the advocacy of population control programs, supposedly to ensure resources for current and future populations. Earth's resources only support a finite population. Due to limited resources, society must keep population growth in check, especially among the poor.

[8] Notable groups include: the Massachusetts Global Action's Color of Water Project, in Boston; the People's Water Board, in Detroit; the Michigan Welfare Rights Organization; the Environmental Justice Coalition for Water, in California and Blacks in Green, in Chicago.

[9] See also http://www.remunicipalisation.org/

[10] See U.S.A Today survey where water costs are rising the fastest. https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2012/09/27/rising-water-rates/1595651/

bills, nearly two-thirds of the liens were in majority Black communities. New Orleans is a city of concern. In 2016 the city's high water shut off rate–17% affected 46,572 people (Food and Water Watch, 2016). Today the city also condones the economic oppression of Black sanitation workers. Indeed, the struggle for decent pay in 2020 by City Waste Union sanitation workers in New Orleans has been compared to the historical time when civil-rights leader M. L. King, Jr. fought for economic justice for sanitation workers in Memphis, TN.

It was noted in one story that the New Orleans sanitation workers have even less bargaining power than workers in the 1968 Memphis strike (Wilken, 2020). Nonetheless, in these times the Black workers turned to social media and have gained national support, including from the Rev. William J. Barber of the newest poor people's campaign.[11]

[11] See Wilken's statement on the sanitation strike here: https://www.facebook.com-videos/wilkens-testimony/.

Impact Of Water Shut Offs

Alarmingly, many cities have been quite aggressive in collecting fees, punishing customers for their inability to pay their bills by shutting off their water and taking their homes - a main source of Black wealth. But when unpaid bills are added as property liens on homes, parents also face the loss of children due to "child neglect" if no WASH is provided. Other legal consequences include arrest, fines and felony charges if one reconnects to service lines without permission. Customers may also be wrongly billed or have insufficient means to dispute bills as in the case of the city of Jackson, Mississippi's meter fiasco with Siemens.[12]

In 2019, in the richest economy in the world, an estimated three million people were without access to adequate WASH services (Dig Deep, 2019). In many rural areas where poor households are not connected to the service mains or have deficient sewage services, families are exposed to diseases like hookworms, believed eradicated in so called 'advanced' nations.

Even short-term exposure to parasites, bacteria, and viruses in raw sewage can cause diarrhea, and long-term health issues such as cancer, dementia, and diabetes. Scholar-activist Dr. Catherine Flowers provided powerful testimony on this appalling condition in Lowndes, County Alabama in 2019 to the Congressional Subcommittee on Water Resources and Environment. Clearly radical change is needed now as lives hang in the balance. Reparations can be a solution to help re-envision liberation for Blacks in such wretched conditions found during enslavement.

[12] Reported here: https://www.jacksonfreepress.com/water/

Black Resistance To The Water Affordability Crisis

Black Water justice activist across the nation, and at a global level, loudly protest utilities denying people access to safe, equitable and affordable WASH services as health, psychological (Gaber et al., 2020) and legal harms mount. Michigan has seen the most vigorous activism, garnering a national spotlight in the past decade. In 2014, courageous Black community women who were 'sick and tired' of the water injustices, elevated their struggle to the global human rights stage. They were able to get the United Nations Special Rapporteur for Water and Sanitation, Catarina de Albuquerque, to visit communities in Alabama, Michigan (Flint) and other cities to hear about the water affordability crisis, neoliberal governance abuses and lack of access to WASH by millions around the country. Also, a national campaign for affordable water in 2014 and social protests of water shutoffs in Detroit in 2015 by a coalition of activists from Flint, MI, Highland Park, Detroit and others led to the International Social Movements Gathering for Affordable Water and Housing (International Social Movements Gathering, 2015).

Organizations that link climate justice with water equity, food and land justice, or housing and environmental justice now routinely come together to strategize, share stories of resistance, and build community power. Such networks have grown stronger over the years and in California, coalition politics led to progress in gaining citizens the right to water, at least in theory. The state passed AB 685 in 2012 stating every person has a right to clean, safe, and affordable drinking water. In 2019 California Governor Newsom sign SB 200 to allocate funds. Though water justice activists have been effective, more remains to be done. A core challenge to progress is neoliberalism's ability to make reforms without systemic change and embrace a human rights perspective. To date the U.S. has never recognized the human right to water and this is documented in "**Views of the United States of America on Human Rights and Access to Water**," submitted in 2007 to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.[13]

[13] Statement Accessed here: https://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/water/contributions/UnitedStatesofAmerica.pdf

Customer Assistance Programs (Caps): Reform Vs. Systemic Change

Customer Assistance Programs (CAPs) are the main liberal reform instruments used to forgive or partially pay for a customer's WASH bills. Water justice and rights advocates seek to influence policy and criteria for accessing and expanding these programs with emphasis placed on water affordability and subsidized service when unable to pay. In 2019, U.S. Representatives and CBC members Marcia Fudge and Bobby Rush introduced legislation for assistance programs to help customers pay for heat and electricity [14] and to stop shut-offs and restore any offed services during COVID-19.[15] Others have done similarly because not all WASH utilities have CAPs and no national legislation mandates service in a pandemic. Elected officials are under pressure from Black and other human rights activists to change this situation. Governor Jerry Brown (CA) signed Senate Bill 998, which required utilities from February 2020 onward, to post shutoffs on their websites and report to the Water Board the annual number of shutoffs for unpaid bills. Shutoff data is only accessible through a public records request, so this is a win, but overall there are unknown numbers of people without restored services. A drawback is that these measures don't erase pre-existing bills. Water and housing activists often step in to fill this service. Nonetheless, tracking this data, and other utility shutoffs data is essential to hold utilities accountable since rate increases by many utilities are set through 2053.

The sustainability and relevance of CAPs requires a more comprehensive review of the financial and legal issues than permitted here. Under neoliberal frameworks and law, CAPs can only be a stopgap measure to the systemic change and eco-philosophical view needed that fully acknowledges the humanity of Blacks over the ability of entities to profit from an essential life resource- water.

[14] https://fudge.house.gov/press-statements

[15] Representative Bobby Rush also crafted a bill to stop water shut-offs during the COVID-19 pandemic: https://thehill.com/policy/energy-environment/497411-house-coronavirus-bill-aims-to-prevent-utility-shutoffs.

Recommendations

- Reparations activists like N'COBRA and IBW21st Century, and water/environmental justice activists must collectively re-imagine demands for the right to WASH in liberatory terms through a Black/African centered political ecology lens and eco-worldview. Joining WASH struggles for Diasporan and continental Africans should shape visions of water rights and political struggles of our common destiny.
- Link WASH discrimination to public health services and psychological damage when denied due to historical and current realities and craft policies that simultaneously provide redress.
- Water politics should lead to human rights to water to be enshrined in law and practice as part of a WASH defined restorative justice agenda. However, Blacks must explore more relevant indigenous African and worldview based eco-philosophies to form the basis of social justice claims, negotiate conflicts, and make political decisions. WASH governance decisions under current realities, don't promote African humanity, justice or equity with whites.
- In addition to direct engagement with utilities and each other, activists must continue to document historical examples of white supremacy and racial discrimination in the water and environment sectors, and share this information with national legislators who support their cause like the co-sponsors of H.R. 40 (Congressional Reparations Study Bill), first introduced by Representatives John Conyers and Shelia Jackson Lee in 1989. Championed by N'COBRA and others, H.R. 40 presents an opportunity to study the impact of over 400 years of Black dehumanization and oppression since enslavement and include WASH injustices from a Black/African political ecology lens.
- Black liberation and reparations cases can also be advanced by examining external hiring and internal discrimination claims by water and sanitation utility workers but also the broader environmental sector. Blacks in Chicago (Dardick and Long, 2017), Phoenix (Biscobing, 2017) and other cities have cases proving lost opportunities. WASH jobs have consistently been primarily reserved for white men including apprenticeships mainly used to get such jobs (Zakiya, 2019). The environmental sector discriminates in private and non-profit settings. (Taylor, 2014a). The issue is not to just get a job in the system oppressing Black people' before the word but, and then at the end of the sentence add 'and to help change from within and outside the system to the extent possible but secure means to a dignified life in service of African liberation.

Conclusion

From Black communities across the U.S. in Detroit and Baltimore, to indigenous nations in Nevada and California, and rural households in the Mississippi Delta and Lowndes County, Alabama, the COVID-19 pandemic has illuminated multi-U.S. societal failures at the intersections of race, water and health. This study has shown how aspects of Black health inequities are linked to the devaluing of Black life, and how discriminatory WASH infrastructure service provision in the early history of the U.S. persists. The point has not been to seek moral grounds for reparations but to inspire movements that empower Black communities to fight for those most likely to suffer inhumane water cut-offs due to spending a disproportionate amount of income on WASH services.

For safe and affordable water to be available to all and deemed a human right regardless of income, location or race, the systemic issues outlined above must be resolved. Black lives must be truly valued and water justice politics shift water governance power to Black communities. This is one step towards Black liberation that must be re- imagined through an Africana/Black political-ecology analysis of the movement for reparations. It is suggested that basing this movement on African indigenous philosophies, as illustrated in the Yoruba proverb that acknowledges the power of nature and the need to be in harmony with nature to have real power and access an element of power- water, as Fela-Kuti writes in his song Water No Get Enemy, is necessary for Blacks to not just live, but thrive in dignity and deserved liberation where water is free, shared with everyone, and at least affordable in a real sense, if one must pay.

Author's Contributions

Dr. Afia S. Zakiya is a Political Scientist, Ecologist and Africana Studies Scholar-Activist. Her research interests include Africana culture, education, politics and eco-philosophy. She is currently a Fulbright Specialist Scholar and a former Sr. Fellow, Water Infrastructure & Workforce Development-Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. Prior to joining CBCF she served as Country Director, WaterAid Ghana. Afia leads on Water Policy and Human Rights for Blacks in Green, and is globally active and consults on water and environmental justice, education and careers issues.

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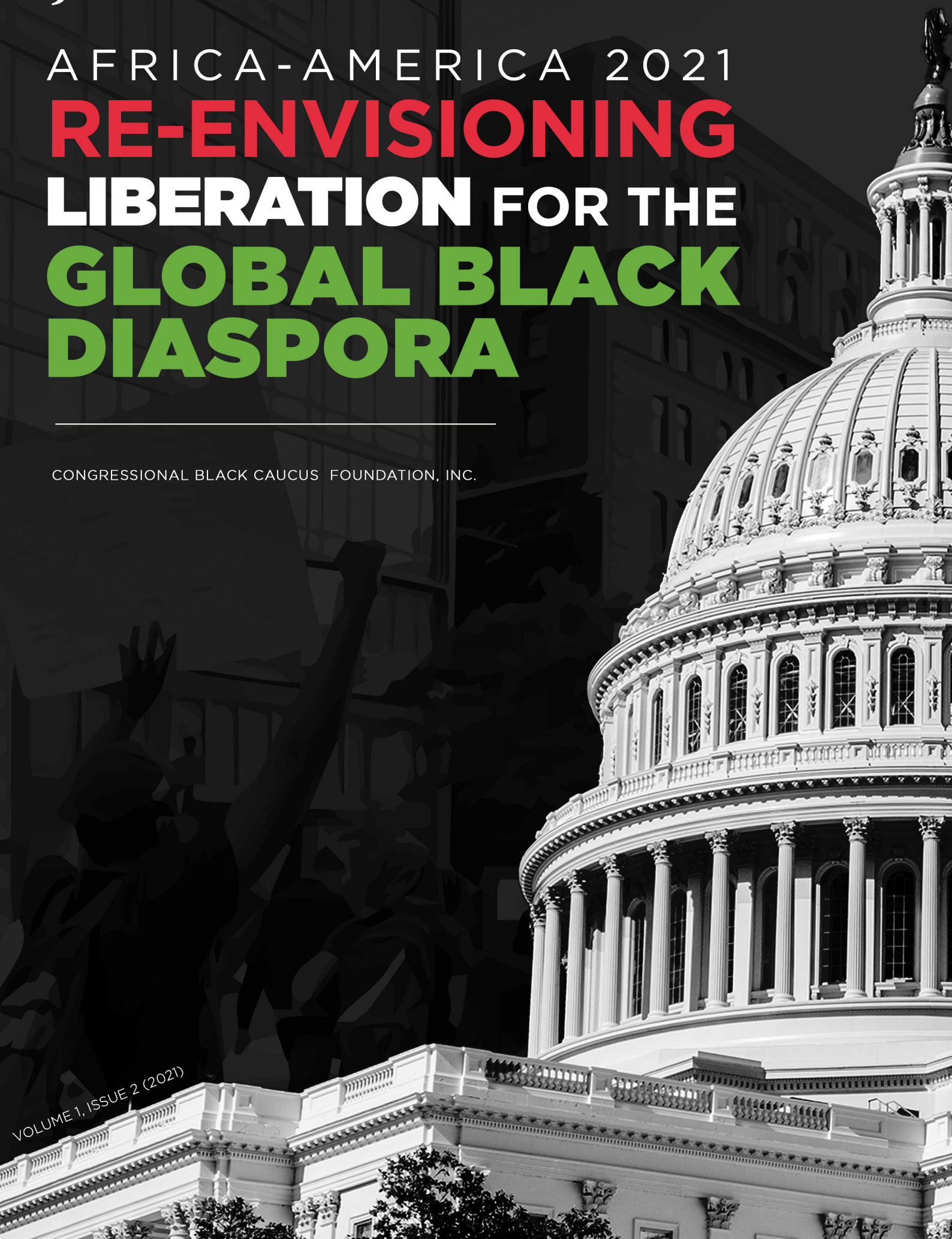

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