Tomatoes, Farmworkers, and Social Justice

by Fr. Fred Kammer, S.J.

In the hot Florida sun and in the aisles of our nation’s supermarkets and fast food outlets, a small David contends with multiple Goliaths about what is fair and what is not, about human dignity and slave labor, and about what is the “common good” for those who harvest this nation’s crops. “David” is the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) (supported by their colleague organization Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida and The Student/Farmworker Alliance), an association of about 4,000 largely Mexican, Guatemalan, and Haitian farmworkers founded in 1993. Its headquarters are in the small town of Immokalee in the remote heartland of South Florida. This David’s goal is to have major purchasers of Florida’s tomatoes—over half of our nation’s fresh tomato crop—agree to pay one cent more per pound and sign a Code of Conduct guaranteeing certain rights and working conditions to tomato farmworkers.

Tomato pickers are paid on a “piece rate” basis, earning an average of 45 cents per 32-pound bucket of tomatoes—a rate that has remained stagnant since 1978. At this rate, workers have to pick 2.5 tons of tomatoes per day just to earn minimum wage. Workers often begin their days with a 6:30 a.m. pickup to ride to the fields, returning to Immokalee as late as 8 p.m. Excluded from the rights to overtime pay, union organizing, or collective bargaining by the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), farmworkers labor in the midst of dangerous machinery, toxic pesticides, heavy lifting, bending and stooping, using knives or machetes, and often without drinking water or toilets—hazardous and unhealthy conditions that most U.S. workers would not tolerate. This is why the majority of this nation’s crop farmworkers, including those in Immokalee, are “unauthorized” under our immigration laws.

Beginning with the boycott of Taco Bell in 2001, the “Campaign for Fair Food” of CIW has succeeded in achieving agreements with seven major purchasers of Florida tomatoes. (See box at left.) Supported by a number of campus, church, labor, and consumer organizations and funded in part by grants from the Catholic Campaign for Human Development, CIW has engaged the farmworkers in the struggle for human rights, educating and empowering them. Since 1997, CIW has helped investigate and refer for prosecution many of the eight farmworker slavery cases that have highlighted the worst of working conditions in the region. (See box on page 3.)

CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

In the annual Labor Day letter from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops in 2007, Bishop Nicholas DiMarzio of Brooklyn summarized the long-term position of the church on the rights of workers, including farmworkers:

...human dignity is a gift from God, not a status to be earned. Fundamental rights to work, decent wages, safe working conditions, a voice in decisions, and the freedom to choose to join a union do not depend on...
where you were born or when you came to our nation. Human
dignity and human rights are not commodities to be allocated
according to where you come from, when you got here, or what
documents you possess.3

Bishop DiMarzio singled out the accomplishments of CIW in
promoting the rights of workers as a sign of hope among workers in
this country. CIW members, he wrote, “organized, protested, fasted,
demonstrated, insisted, and would not be pushed aside.” He went on
to add, “When no one gave them much of a chance, they stood up for
their own lives, dignity, and rights.” He also noted that it was a sign
of hope for the church in Florida and nationally that it had stood
shoulder-to-shoulder with the Immokalee workers.

CHALLENGES AHEAD

The challenges faced by the workers in Immokalee continue.
Major purchasers of fresh tomatoes have been asked by CIW to join
other buyers in the two-fold agreements about the purchase price of
tomatoes and the Code of Conduct. Despite letters, requests for
meetings, consumer support, church advocacy, and protests, the
following have refused the agreements:

Kroger—The nation’s largest supermarket operator has 10 stores in
Alabama, 32 in Mississippi, 9 in Louisiana, and 199 in Texas. Sales for
fiscal 2009 grew 0.8 percent to $76.8 billion dollars.4

Publix—With 1,011 stores in five southeastern states, including 727
stores in Florida and 39 in Alabama, Publix had sales of $24.3 billion
in fiscal 2009 and profits of $1.2 billion, rising 6.6 percent from the
preceding year.5

Ahold USA (Stop & Shop; Giant Food; Peapod; Ukrop’s;
Martin’s)—This Netherlands parent company of various
supermarket chains (2,909 stores in Europe and the U.S.)
reports on its website 2009 net sales of $27.9 billion, an increase
of 6 percent over the previous year, with retail income of $1.4
billion (5.15 percent of net sales).6

Sodexo—The 22nd largest employer in the world has 380,000
employees in 80 countries with 14.7 billion Euros in annual
revenue. Its report for the first half of fiscal 2010 shows 7.5 billion
Euros in revenues and 426 million Euros operating profit.7 Loyola
University New Orleans contracts with Sodexo to provide food
service on campus.

Chipotle Mexican Restaurants—This Denver-based chain of a
thousand restaurants, with 2009 revenue of $1.5 billion and net
income of $126 million (after taxes),8 has refused to sign the
agreement with CIW. Instead, Chipotle bypassed CIW and arranged
their own agreement with a Florida grower in September 2009 to
raise the payment for tomatoes and to apply their own supplier code,
not the CIW Code of Conduct.

WHAT CONCERNED CONSUMERS CAN DO

Actions by consumers and students include letters to corporate
management and to local supermarket and food service managers,
joining a campus-based Dine with Dignity program, joining marches
such as the ones to Publix headquarters and stores held April 16-18
in Tampa, Plant City, and Lakeland, Florida. It all starts with
educating oneself about the issues. See: Coalition of
Immokalee Workers (www.ciw-online.org), Interfaith
Action of Southwest Florida (www.interfaithact.org), and
The Student/Farmworker Alliance at (www.sfalliance.org) for
extensive resources and analysis.
Modern Slavery in Florida Fields

In an 11-year period, eight farm labor operations were successfully prosecuted for servitude in Florida—involving more than 1,000 workers and more than a dozen employers. CIW was involved in investigating most of these cases and their disclosure to authorities. These “worst cases” reflect the extremes of continuing “sweatshop” conditions for many workers.

U.S. vs. NAVARETTE In 2008, four family members from Immokalee were sentenced in federal court to as many as 12 years in prison for en-slaving and brutalizing nine Mexican and Guatemalan migrant tomato pickers, including multiple acts of violence and chaining and locking workers inside U-Haul trucks.

U.S. vs. RONALD EVANS In 2007, an employer and family members were sentenced to as many as 30 years in federal prison on drug conspiracy, financial re-structuring, and witness tampering charges, among others. The defendants recruited homeless U.S. citizens from shelters across the Southeast with promises of good jobs and housing. In Florida and North Carolina, defendants deducted rent, food, crack cocaine, and alcohol from workers’ pay, holding them “perpetually indebted” in labor camps surrounded by a chain link fence topped with barbed wire.

U.S. vs. RAMOS In 2004, defendants were sentenced to 15 years each in federal prison on slavery and firearms charges, and the forfeiture of more than $3 million in assets. The men, with a workforce of more than 700 farmworkers in Florida citrus groves and North Carolina fields, threatened workers with death if they tried to escape.

U.S. vs. LEE In 2001, one defendant was sentenced to four years in federal prison and three years supervised release on a slavery conspiracy charge. He pled guilty to using crack cocaine, threats, and violence to enslave Florida workers. The defendant recruited homeless U.S. citizens and created a “company store” debt structure through loans for rent, food, cigarettes, and cocaine.

U.S. vs. TECUM In 2001, one defendant was sentenced to nine years in federal prison on slavery and kidnapping charges. He kidnapped a young woman from her village in Guatemala, smuggled her into the U.S., and forced her to work against her will both in the tomato fields around Immokalee and in his home.

U.S. vs. CUELLO In 1999, one defendant was sentenced to 33 months in federal prison on slavery charges. He had held more than 30 tomato pickers in two trailers in isolated swampland west of Immokalee, keeping them under constant watch. Three workers escaped the camp, only to have their boss track them down later. The defendant ran one of them down with his car, stating that he “owned” them.

U.S. vs. FLORES In 1997, defendants were sentenced to 15 years each in federal prison on slavery, extortion, and firearms charges. More than 400 men and women workers, mostly indigenous Mexicans and Guatemalans, were forced to work 10-12 hour days, six days per week, for as little as $20 per week, watched by armed guards. Those attempting escape were assaulted, pistol-whipped, and even shot.

Source: The CIW Anti-Slavery Campaign is reported at www.ciw-online.org/slavery.html

ENDNOTES

1 From 1938 to 1966, FLSA excluded farmworkers even from basic hourly minimum wage protections.
6 See Ahold website at www.ahold.com (accessed 5/19/10).
Who Dat? Immigrants in the Gulf South

By Anna Alicia Chavez, JSRI Immigration Specialist, and Christi Schott

IMMIGRATION BY THE NUMBERS

Between 2000 and 2008, the immigrant population in the United States grew from an estimated 31 million to 37.9 million. Much of this growth has been in the Gulf South. In fact, the Gulf South is home to one fifth of the nation’s immigrants. Recent updates from the Migration Policy Institute show that between 2000 and 2008, Mississippi ranked fifth and Alabama sixth in the nation for the largest percentage growth in immigrant populations. Texas ranked second and Florida third for the largest numeric growth in immigrant populations, and Texas ranked third and Florida fourth for the largest immigrant populations. Today, as is in past generations, immigrants contribute to our society in significant ways. In this summer’s issue of JustSouth Quarterly, we feature statistics and characteristics of immigrants in the Gulf South.

Number of Immigrants in the Gulf South (2008)
Total number of immigrants in the United States in 2008: 38,016,360
- Gulf South (AL, FL, LA, MS, TX) 7,605,360
- United States

Immigrant Population by Region of Nativity in Gulf South (2008)
- Latin America: 80%
- Europe: 74%
- North America: 8%
- Asia/Oceania: 14%
- Africa: 2%

IMMIGRATION POPULATION IN THE GULF SOUTH IN 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>% of population</th>
<th>Estimated Undocumented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gulf South</td>
<td>7,605,360</td>
<td>131,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALABAMA</td>
<td>131,909</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLORIDA</td>
<td>3,404,395</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOUISIANA</td>
<td>134,704</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISSISSIPPI</td>
<td>59,505</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXAS</td>
<td>3,874,847</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total population of children</th>
<th>Citizen children with immigrant parents</th>
<th>Living below poverty line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALABAMA</td>
<td>1,119,517</td>
<td>8,000 (22.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLORIDA</td>
<td>4,016,408</td>
<td>153,000 (16.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOUISIANA</td>
<td>1,111,291</td>
<td>9,000 (15.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISSISSIPPI</td>
<td>763,312</td>
<td>3,000 (15.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXAS</td>
<td>6,604,356</td>
<td>516,000 (32.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52,555 (4.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>955,347 (23.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46,650 (4.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35,000 (4.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,788,755 (27.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMMIGRANT WORKFORCE IN THE GULF SOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrants in workforce</th>
<th>ALABAMA</th>
<th>FLORIDA</th>
<th>LOUISIANA</th>
<th>MISSISSIPPI</th>
<th>TEXAS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78,146 (3.9%)</td>
<td>1,193,939 (23.8%)</td>
<td>80,097 (4.2%)</td>
<td>31,803 (2.6%)</td>
<td>2,256,912 (20.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants earning &lt; $25,000</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 3 industries that employ immigrants</td>
<td>Manufacturing, construction, education/health/social assistance</td>
<td>Construction, education/health/social assistance, retail trade</td>
<td>Construction, education/health/social assistance, tourism/food services</td>
<td>Manufacturing, construction, tourism/food services</td>
<td>Construction, education/health/social assistance, manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants among low-wage workers</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants living below poverty line</td>
<td>27,930 (20.8%)</td>
<td>488,444 (14.4%)</td>
<td>24,430 (17.6%)</td>
<td>9,773 (20%)</td>
<td>836,361 (21.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WORK, BUSINESS AND THE ECONOMY

The primary “pull” factor for most immigrants is work and the means it provides for sustaining working families. Immigrants contribute their work to the economy and often become entrepreneurs themselves.

Number of Immigrant Small Business Owners for U.S. and Gulf South

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Owners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1,436,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>4,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>146,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>7,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>2,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>125,184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immigrants in the Gulf South from Top Sending Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>2,110,596</td>
<td>2,738,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carribean</td>
<td>1,161,432</td>
<td>1,404,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>182,085</td>
<td>241,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>169,328</td>
<td>216,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>127,612</td>
<td>213,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>122,782</td>
<td>207,707</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. IMMIGRANTS ARE SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS

Immigrants constitute 12.2% of the total U.S. workforce.
12.5% of small business owners in the U.S. are immigrants, along with 16.7% of new business owners.
30% of immigrants are more likely to start a business than are non-immigrants.

$67 billion was generated by immigrant business owners, out of the $577 billion in U.S. business income in 2000.
30% of all new immigrant business owners each month are concentrated in Florida, Texas, and New York.

ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS, EDUCATION, AND ENGLISH PROFICIENCY OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE GULF SOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALABAMA</th>
<th>FLORIDA</th>
<th>LOUISIANA</th>
<th>MISSISSIPPI</th>
<th>TEXAS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total purchasing power</td>
<td>Latinos: $3.1 billion</td>
<td>Latinos: $101.3 billion</td>
<td>Latinos: $4 billion</td>
<td>Latinos: $1.6 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian: $1.8 billion</td>
<td>Asian: $15.8 billion</td>
<td>Asian: $2.2 billion</td>
<td>Asian: $862.1 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Losses to state if all unauthorized immigrants were removed</td>
<td>Gross state product: $1.1 billion</td>
<td>Economic output: $2.6 billion</td>
<td>17,819 jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expenditures: $43.9 billion</td>
<td>Economic output: $19.5 billion</td>
<td>262,436 jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expenditures: $947 million</td>
<td>Economic output: $421 million</td>
<td>6,660 jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gross state product: $259 million</td>
<td>Economic output: $583 million</td>
<td>4,680 jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expenditures: $69.3 billion</td>
<td>Economic output: $30.8 billion</td>
<td>403,174 jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 – 09 foreign students’ economic contribution</td>
<td>$129 million</td>
<td>No Data</td>
<td>No Data</td>
<td>$44.3 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of naturalized U.S. citizen immigrants with a bachelor’s or higher degree</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 2007, children of immigrants ages 5 – 17 who spoke English “very well”</td>
<td>67.4%</td>
<td>79.1%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Latino workers were and continue to be essential to rebuilding the Gulf Coast region after Hurricane Katrina. According to a study from the Americas Society and Council of the Americas, Latino workers contributed to making 86.9% of households habitable after Hurricane Katrina in six parishes surrounding New Orleans in 2008. FOR ADDITIONAL ENDNOTES, SEE PAGE 6.
A Way Where There is No Way

The Rev. Bryan N. Massingale

*Racial Justice and the Catholic Church*  
(Orbis Books, 2010)

Dr. Alex Mikulich, Research Fellow

Moral theologian Bryan Massingale’s *Racial Justice and the Catholic Church* fills a long-standing void in moral theology that has largely failed to contend with racism. Deeply compassionate and prophetic, Massingale delivers an incisive analysis in a lively and widely accessible prose.

*Racial Justice* breaks down three obstacles to address racism in the U.S. First, we lack a common understanding of racism—we really don’t know what we are talking about. Second, in mixed-race contexts, we really don’t know how to talk about race. Finally, we—especially white European Americans—don’t want to talk about racial tensions in the U.S. because we don’t want to contend with the multiple ways that we benefit from racial hierarchy.

Yet it is precisely the unease, tension, denial, fear, anger, and confusion that we whites must work through. Massingale tenderly challenges us to engage reality honestly.

Too often, white Americans over-emphasize the negative impacts of racism without contending with the way our white way of life creates racial injustice. At best, this over-emphasis leads to a distanced relationship of charity without justice. Worse, the failure to address the dynamics of whiteness reinforces the culture of racial hierarchy.

*Racial Justice* illuminates the dynamics of whiteness through history, critical race analysis of U.S. Catholic pastoral letters on racism, and Massingale’s experience of urging the U.S. Catholic Bishops to issue a new pastoral letter.

In a meeting of U.S. Catholic Bishops to consider Massingale’s proposal for a new pastoral letter, two bishops responded in the meeting this way:

“If we say what you want us to say, our people will get mad.”

“My people won’t understand white privilege.”

Massingale responded: “Thank you for your comments. They are more helpful than you realize. But I need some clarification. When you say ‘your people’ will get mad, or ‘your people’ won’t understand, who do you mean? After all, I am sure that there are many Black, Latino, and American Indian parishioners in your dioceses who will not only welcome this document, but also understand exactly what is meant. So, who are ‘your people’?”

The bishops’ response was silence. Massingale concludes: “Through their comments, these church leaders and officials inadvertently revealed a core reality of U.S. Catholic Church, that is, what they really believe yet seldom make explicit. Namely, that ‘Catholic’ = ‘white.’”

The church does not reflect its multicultural reality, and it pervasively demonstrates that “European aesthetics, music, theology, and persons—these and only these—are standard, normative, universal, and truly ‘Catholic.’” More importantly, the church lacks the compassion to recognize the full humanity of persons of color, it lacks the passion to take responsibility for the enduring wounds of racism, and it offers no process for repairing the material harms caused by white systemic advantage.

*Racial Justice* invites all to risk a new way of life—to learn humbly, for example, the uncommon faithfulness of African American Catholics who witness how “there is a way when there is no way.” Dare we whites risk a new way of hope and love?

ENDNOTES FROM PAGE 5


Racial Wealth Inequality and the Myth of a “Post-Racial” America

Dr. Alex Mikulich, Research Fellow

Since Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in 1968, the income gap between blacks and whites has narrowed by just three cents on the dollar. In 2005, the median per-capita income for blacks stood at $16,629 and $28,946 for whites. In Mississippi, whites’ average personal earnings are more than $10,000 more than African Americans. Many scholars note that at this rate of progress, income equality will not be achieved for 537 years.

The gap in wealth is perhaps more significant because wealthier families are able to afford the best education, access capital to start or expand a business, finance health coverage and expensive medical procedures, reside in safer neighborhoods, procure better legal representation, transfer wealth to subsequent generations, and withstand financial hardship resulting from economic downturns or emergencies. Perhaps the most consequential indicator of racial inequality, the wealth gap exposes the myth that we live in a “post-racial” society.

As of 2004, white median household net worth was $118,300 and black median household net worth was $11,800. Eighty-five percent of African American households have a net worth below the median white household. Regardless of age, household structure, education, occupation, or income, black households typically have less than a quarter of the wealth of otherwise comparable white households.

The Insight Center for Community Economic Development reports in a new study, “Lifting as We Climb,” that “single black and Hispanic women have one penny of wealth for every dollar of wealth owned by their male counterparts and a tiny fraction of a penny for every dollar of wealth owned by white women.” Women of color suffer the greatest disparities.

“Lifting as We Climb” refers to the motto of the National Association for Colored Women, founded in 1896 by African American women who signaled “their understanding that no individual woman of color could rise, nor did they want to rise, without the improvement of the whole race.”

Then, as now, women of color are over-represented in jobs like housekeeping and elder care—work that is under-valued and under-paid. The study highlights impressive achievements against formidable obstacles, including, for example, the fact that women of color own 1.9 million firms in the United States, employ 1.2 million people, and generate $165 billion in annual revenues.

However, “Lifting as We Climb” extends two decades of scholarship that finds that the racial wealth gap is widening. White women in the prime working years of 36-49 have a median wealth of $42,600 (61 percent of their male counterparts), while the median wealth for women of color is only $5. Women of color practically have no wealth prior to age 50.

Some concede there is a racial wealth gap, yet maintain that we live in a “post-racial” society. They advance two explanations for the wealth gap: first, blacks are less frugal; and second, blacks do not manage financial assets as well as whites. This argument was expressed by Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke in an April 2009 lecture. Neither explanation is true.

Economists on the political right and left have found that blacks save at a rate moderately higher than whites. Many higher-income blacks offer more support to lower-income relatives than do whites, suggesting even greater black frugality with less to save.

The second explanation for lower black wealth claims that blacks’ asset management is deficient. Recent research finds no significant racial differences in asset appreciation rates for families with positive net worth.

It is commonly assumed that Americans gain wealth through savings plus portfolio management. Yet these are not the primary ways Americans gain wealth.

The combination of inheritances, bequests, and intra-family transfers account for the racial wealth gap more than any other demographic factor, including education, income, and household structure. These intra-familial transfers—the primary source of wealth for most Americans with positive net worth—are transfers of blatant non-merit resources. These transfers account for 50 to 80 percent of wealth position conferred to subsequent generations. Six percent of blacks compared to 24 percent of whites receive inheritances.

Contrary to the common white refrain—the past is over, so get over it—history is critical for understanding the racial wealth gap. Simply put, wealth begets wealth and lack of wealth begets lack of wealth. Economist T. Kirk White developed an economic model to demonstrate that the conditions of wealth inequality at Emancipation (1863) could dictate current disparity even if there had been no further “bumps in the road.”

Emancipation conditions were that generations of slave labor had built wealth—Continued on back cover
for whites while nearly 100 percent of black households had zero net worth at the time. At the beginning of the Civil War, more than 95 percent of slaves were illiterate.

In fact, there were multiple bumps in the road for African Americans after Emancipation. Not only did the nation fail to endow ex-slaves with the promised “40 acres and a mule” after the Civil War, blacks were also systemically deprived of property—especially land accumulated between 1880 and 1910—by government complicity, fraud, and seizures by white terrorists.9

The original Social Security legislation of 1935 denied many women and African Americans the benefits widely available to white men. The Federal Housing Administration’s selectively administered mortgage program effectively financed development of white suburbs as it redlined black urban neighborhoods. Suburbanization of the white middle class was further facilitated by federal highway and transportation policies that included building highways through formerly healthy urban neighborhoods. Restrictive covenants, as well as housing and lending discrimination, inhibited blacks from accumulating wealth. All of these practices and public policies have exacerbated historic racial inequalities.

Given the paramount importance of intergenerational transfers of wealth, past and present barriers that prevent black wealth accumulation, and the inability of market forces alone to close an unjust racial wealth gap, public intervention and repair is necessary.

ENDNOTES

4 Ibid., Chang.
7 Ibid., Hamilton and Darity.