



A LOOK AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
60 YEARS LATER:

**DREAMS AND PROMISES YET TO BE REALIZED**





60 YEARS  
LATER...

RACIAL  
GAPS  
PERSIST

**THE DREAMS OF THE 1963 ORGANIZERS AND MARCHERS AND THE PROMISES THAT FOLLOWED REMAIN UNFULFILLED.** THE DATA PRESENTED HERE THROWS INTO SHARP RELIEF A COUNTRY WHERE **MILLIONS OF ITS CITIZENS ARE DEVALUED, DISENFRANCHISED, AND DENIED ACCESS TO THE MOST BASIC FREEDOMS ENJOYED BY OTHERS.** IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THIS INFORMATION IGNITES CRITICAL CONVERSATION AND AMPLIFIES THE CLARION CALL FOR ACTION THAT DISMANTLES THE STRUCTURAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS THAT HAVE PERSISTED FOR OVER 400 YEARS IN AMERICA.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## JOBS AND WAGES

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES  
FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE  
PARITY OF INCOME AND WAGES  
OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION  
POVERTY RATES  
WEALTH GAP

## PAGES 1-11

PAGE 3  
PAGE 4  
PAGE 5-6  
PAGE 7-8  
PAGE 9-10  
PAGE 11

## FREEDOMS

VOTING RIGHTS  
CRIMINAL JUSTICE  
VOTING RIGHTS & CRIMINAL JUSTICE

## PAGES 12-22

PAGE 13-14  
PAGE 15-20  
PAGE 21-22

## SOCIAL INDICATORS

HOUSING  
EDUCATION  
IMPACT OF SCOTUS RULINGS  
HEALTHCARE  
ENVIRONMENT AND NEIGHBORHOODS

## PAGES 23-40

PAGE 25-30  
PAGE 31-36  
PAGE 38-39  
PAGE 39-41  
PAGE 42

## 60 YEARS LATER - KEY TAKEAWAYS

## PAGES 43-47

## ENDNOTES

## PAGES 48-54

TO ACCESS THE SOURCES FOR EACH  
PAGE, CLICK ON THE HEADLINE ON  
THE RESPECTIVE PAGE.



# **JOBS AND WAGES**



# **BLACK PERSONS CONTINUE TO SUFFER HIGHER UNEMPLOYMENT & LOWER WAGES DUE TO DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE AND SYSTEMIC FACTORS**

- Black People experience **higher unemployment rates AND lower wages** across all educational attainment levels and age cohorts than White persons.
- Even as Black persons earn college and graduate degrees at significantly higher rates than in 1963, material gaps in employment and in wages remain between White and Black persons.
- **On average, Black persons earn 20% less than their White counterparts.**
- Due to occupation and wage segregation and wage inequity, **Black persons are disproportionately impacted by the suppressed federal minimum wage and outdated federal poverty measure.**
- **Pay differences** between the various occupations in which Black and White workers are concentrated and immorally low minimum wages **contribute to the stubbornly unshrinking wealth gap.**
- **Higher student loan debt for Black persons is another significant contributor to the wealth gap**, owing to lower earning power which prolongs paying off student debt and delayed purchasing power for known generational wealth-building mechanisms like homeownership.
- **Educational proficiency tends to be lower in communities of color due to underinvestment**, thereby impeding college readiness and college degree attainment and potential wage growth.



# UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

**REMAINS NEARLY DOUBLE**

## 1963

- **6.3% FOR ALL WORKERS**
- **5.6% FOR WHITE WORKERS**
- **12.0% FOR NONWHITE WORKERS**

In 1963, nonwhite unemployment was **double** White unemployment.

*\*For statistical purposes the Current Population Survey grouped all nonwhite individuals together during this period.*

## NOW

- **3.4% FOR ALL WORKERS**
- **3.1% FOR WHITE WORKERS**
- **4.7% FOR BLACK WORKERS**

The Black worker unemployment rate is **1.5x higher** than that for White workers.

*\*Unemployment rates are updated periodically by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.*

# FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE

WORSE

## 1963

- **\$1.25 AN HOUR**

## NOW

- **\$7.25 AN HOUR**
  - ***\$5.05 less*** than if the 1963 federal minimum wage had been adjusted solely for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI).
  - ***\$12.30 less*** than what would have been the CPI adjusted wage if the \$2.00/hour sought by marchers had been realized (***\$19.66 — almost triple the current federal minimum wage.***)

# WAGE PARITY

## SOMEWHAT IMPROVED

**1963**

**MEDIAN INCOME FOR WHITES - \$5,800**

**VERSUS**

**MEDIAN INCOMES FOR NONWHITES - \$2,900**

*\*For statistical purposes the Current Population Survey grouped all nonwhite individuals together during this period.*

**NOW**

**MEDIAN INCOME FOR WHITES - \$56,420**

**VERSUS**

**MEDIAN INCOME FOR BLACK PERSONS - \$45,656**



# WAGE PARITY FOR PERSONS OF COLOR

**ALARMING**

**NOW**

- **WAGE GAP IS SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER FOR BLACK AND BROWN WOMEN WHO EARN \$0.64 AND \$0.55 CENTS RESPECTIVELY FOR EVERY \$1.00 WHITE MEN EARN**
- **WHITE WOMEN WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREES MAKE 19% MORE IN MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME THAN BLACK WOMEN**
- **WHITE MEN WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREES MAKE 30% MORE IN MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME THAN BLACK MEN WITH BACHELOR'S DEGREES**



# OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION AND PAY: MEN

## OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION NARROWED BUT PAY GAP REMAINS

### 1963

- The labor force was predominantly male and the majority of workers (both White and Nonwhite) were concentrated in few occupations.
- Professions where White workers were concentrated made approx. \$2,000/yr more than professions where Nonwhite workers were concentrated. In 2023 dollars this difference would be the equivalent of \$20,000/yr.

### NOW

- Overall, segregation in the labor force has decreased, but Black and Brown men remain more segregated into fewer occupations and are disproportionately represented in fields with lower earning potential.
- White men are the least segregated group, and in the fields where they are disproportionately represented, the average median wage is \$59,670.
- Black and Latino men are the most segregated groups (i.e., concentrated into the fewest occupations) and the occupations where they are disproportionately represented have average median wages of \$29,488 and \$30,424, respectively.

# OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION AND PAY: WOMEN

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION NARROWED BUT  
PAY GAP REMAINS STARK FOR WOMEN OF COLOR

## 1963

- The predominantly male labor force undercounted the labor performed by women, and especially nonwhite women.
- Nonwhite women predominantly worked in domestic labor – the lowest paid of all occupation types in 1963.

## NOW

- In general, women are more segregated in the labor force, with Black and Latina women being almost as segregated as Black and Latino men.
- Though White women are also highly concentrated in occupations with low median income, they are disproportionately represented in occupations with an average median wage of \$38,304 compared to Black women who are disproportionately represented in occupations with an average median wage of only \$30,789 and Latinas who are disproportionately represented in occupations with an average median wage of only \$23,196.



# POVERTY RATES

**APPEARS IMPROVED OVERALL BUT RACIAL GAP PERSISTS**

## 1963

- **NONWHITE POVERTY WAS 4.5X GREATER THAN THE WHITE POVERTY RATE**

**45% FOR NONWHITE HOUSEHOLDS BUT JUST OVER 10% FOR WHITE HOUSEHOLDS**

## NOW

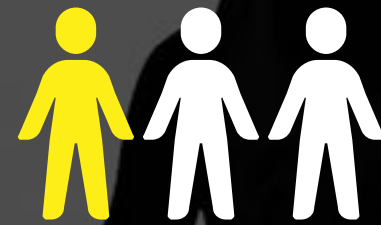
- **BLACK POVERTY RATE IS APPROXIMATELY 2.5X GREATER THAN WHITE POVERTY RATE**

**IN 2021, THE POVERTY RATE FOR BLACK HOUSEHOLDS WAS 19.3% COMPARED TO 17.1% FOR HISPANIC/LATINO HOUSEHOLDS AND 8.1% FOR WHITE HOUSEHOLDS**

**\*THE FEDERAL POVERTY RATE IS CALCULATED ANNUALLY USING AN INADEQUATE FEDERAL POVERTY MEASURE THAT DOESN'T FULLY CAPTURE THE TRUE COST OF LIVING, LEAVING MILLIONS WHO ARE STRUGGLING ECONOMICALLY UNCOUNTED AND UNSEEN.**

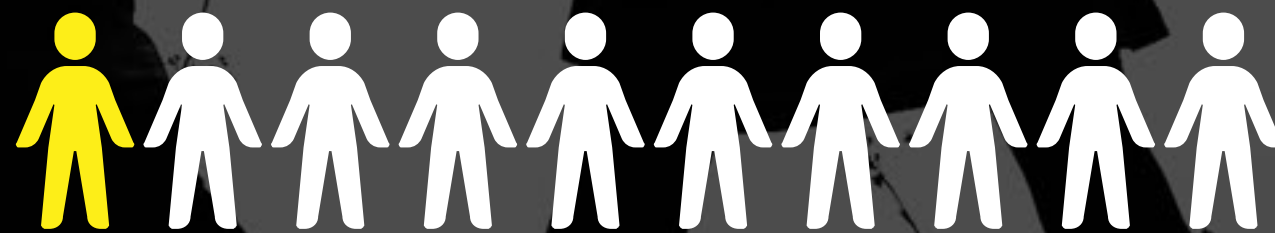
# CHILD POVERTY RATES TODAY

1 IN 3 BLACK CHILDREN LIVES IN POVERTY



COMPARED TO

LESS THAN 1 IN 10 WHITE CHILDREN



# RACIAL WEALTH GAP

**WORSE**

## 1963

**The racial wealth gap in 1963 was \$121,000**

- **THE MEDIAN WHITE FAMILY HAD \$140,633 IN ASSETS**
- **THE MEDIAN NONWHITE FAMILY HAD \$20,000 IN ASSETS**

## NOW

**The racial wealth gap in 2021 was \$161,000**

- **THE MEDIAN WHITE FAMILY HAS \$184,000 IN ASSETS**
- **THE MEDIAN NONWHITE FAMILY HAS \$23,000 IN ASSETS**



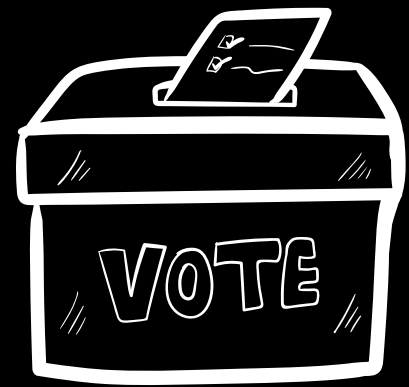


# FREEDOMS



# AMERICA'S CURRENT VOTING LANDSCAPE IS FAR MORE SIMILAR TO THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA THAN 1965, EFFECTIVELY ROLLING BACK 200 YEARS OF PROGRESS

The Jim Crow era of American history was brutal for Black people in all facets, but nowhere was the brutality of racism more evident than in the state-sanctioned violence and oppression of Black people exercising their rights to participate in democracy.



1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT  
BROUGHT A RECORD INFLUX  
OF NEW BLACK VOTERS ONTO  
THE VOTING ROLLS

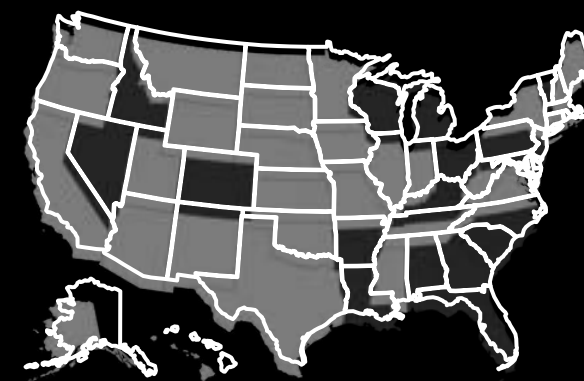
The machinery of the state in the form of over-policing and incarceration has continued in a variety of pernicious ways cementing the irrevocable link between racial oppression, disparate treatment by the criminal justice system, and disenfranchisement.

The 1965 Voting Rights Act prohibited the most egregious methods of excluding Black people from voting, bringing a record influx of new Black voters onto the voting rolls and making it among the most successful pieces of federal legislation in the history of the United States.

In the twenty years following the law's passage, the disparity between White and Black registration rates dropped from nearly 30 percentage points in the early 1960s to eight percentage points just a decade later.

Prior to 1969, only an estimated 23% percent of voting-age Blacks were registered nationally. However, in the most recent presidential election in 2020, 62.8% of Black voting-age Americans voted.

The Supreme Court's gutting of the Voting Rights Act in 2013 once again put voting rights squarely in the center of any agenda for justice.



STATES WITH RESTRICTIVE VOTING  
BILLS INTRODUCED IN 2023

As of January 25, 2023, state lawmakers in at least 32 states (see gray states) pre-filed or introduced 150 restrictive voting bills. America's current voting landscape is far more similar to the Reconstruction era than 1965, effectively rolling back 200 years of progress.

# VOTING RIGHTS

## ENDANGERED

### 1963

- There were no voting protections for any Americans but discrimination against Black Americans was prevalent.
- Data on voting by race isn't available for years before 1964, but the N.A.A.C.P. estimated at the time that 5 million Black people voted in the election of 1960, approximately 25% of the Black population.
- The 1963 March on Washington was a prime catalyst for the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

### NOW

- In *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013), a 5–4 Supreme Court gutted the Voting Rights Act by effectively rendering moot the law's Section 5, which declares that states and localities with a history of racial discrimination need permission from the federal government to enact any changes to their voting laws, and returned the matter of voter law changes to Congress to legislate.
- Congress has taken no action to protect voting rights for all Americans; states with a history of racial discrimination in voting no longer need advance federal approval to change election laws even if they may be discriminatory.
- Typically, voter restrictions today fall into the following categories: Stricter Voter ID Laws (51 bills); Bills to allow partisan actors to overturn elections (27 bills); Bills to penalize election activities or human error (21 bills).



# CRIMINAL JUSTICE OR INJUSTICE

- Black Americans report being stopped over **2x** as frequently as White Americans.
- Black men without high school diplomas are **3x** more likely to be imprisoned than White men with the same education level.
- **5%** of illicit drug users are Black, yet Black people represent **29%** of those incarcerated for drug use.
- Latinx and Black American residents are incarcerated at rates **3x** higher than white residents, respectively.



stopped over a five-year period over **2x** as frequently as White Americans.

Black men without high school diplomas are **3x** more likely to be imprisoned than White men of the same education level.

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Latinx and Black American residents are incarcerated at rates **3x** higher than white residents, respectively.

# CRIMINAL JUSTICE: POLICE BRUTALITY

STAGNANT

## 1963

- The Civil Rights Movement challenged police brutality in both the urban North and the Jim Crow South.
- Police dogs, fire hoses and other aggressive dispersion tactics used against individuals in peaceful protests and sit-ins were the most widely publicized examples of police brutality, but it was pervasive violent policing in communities of color that built distrust.

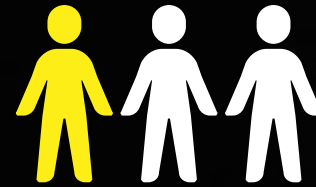
## NOW

- Police brutality and over-policing remain salient flashbulb issues for Black Americans.
- Black people make up 13.4% of the population but 22% of fatal police shootings.
- Police killings of unarmed Black Americans are responsible for more than 50 million additional days of poor mental health per year among Black Americans.

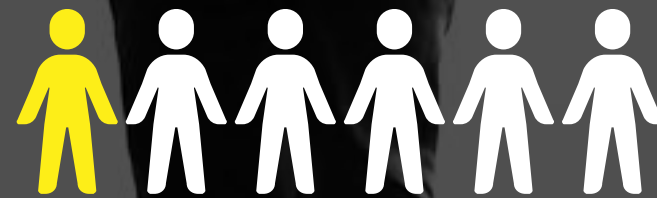
# CRIMINAL JUSTICE: INCARCERATION RATES

**WORSE FOR BLACK AND BROWN MEN**

**1 OUT OF EVERY 3 BLACK BOYS  
BORN TODAY CAN EXPECT TO BE SENTENCED TO PRISON**



**COMPARED TO 1 OUT 6 LATINO BOYS**



**AND 1 OUT OF 17 WHITE BOYS**





# CRIMINAL JUSTICE: INCARCERATION RATES

## NO PROGRESS

### 1963

- Black Americans made up only 10.5% of the U.S. population, but 33.5% of persons incarcerated in U.S. prisons.
- White Americans made up 88.6% of the U.S. population but only 64.7% of persons incarcerated in U.S. prisons.

### NOW

- Black Americans make up only 13% of the U.S. Population, but 38% of persons incarcerated in U.S. prisons.
- White Americans also make up 38% of persons incarcerated in U.S. prisons, but they make up 60% of the U.S. population.

# CRIMINAL JUSTICE: SENTENCING

## STAGNANT

**BLACK PERSONS MAKE UP 13% OF THE US POPULATION, YET ACCOUNT FOR**

- **48% OF PERSONS SERVING LIFE OR “VIRTUAL LIFE” (50+ YEARS) SENTENCES**
- **42% OF DEATH ROW POPULATION**
- **43% OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT**

**WHITE PEOPLE MAKE UP 60% OF THE US POPULATION, YET ACCOUNT FOR**

- **32% OF PERSONS SERVING LIFE OR “VIRTUAL LIFE” (50+ YEARS) SENTENCES**
- **42% OF DEATH ROW POPULATION**
- **39% OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT**

# CRIMINAL JUSTICE: SURVEILLANCE AND PAROLE

**STAGNANT**

**BLACK INCARCERATED PERSONS ARE LESS LIKELY TO BE APPROVED FOR PAROLE AND MORE LIKELY TO HAVE THEIR PAROLE REVOKED THAN WHITE PRISONERS DESPITE COMMITTING SIMILAR CRIMES OR INFRACTIONS**

**APPROXIMATELY 70/1000 BLACK AMERICANS LIVE UNDER COURT-ORDERED PROBATION OR PAROLE  
COMPARED TO  
APPROXIMATELY 20/1000 WHITE AMERICANS**



# VOTING RIGHTS & CRIMINAL JUSTICE: FELONY DISENFRANCHISEMENT

**STAGNANT**

## 1963

- Laws providing for felony disenfranchisement were present in 48 states. Rooted in racialized campaigns, disenfranchisement based on criminal conviction provided a useful and potentially permanent way to eliminate voters.

## NOW

- Though most states have eliminated permanent disenfranchisement laws for those with criminal convictions, 11 states still do not restore formerly incarcerated individuals' rights to vote.
- 1 in 19 Black persons of voting age is disenfranchised, 3.5x that of non-Black persons (less than 1 in 67).
- More than 1 in 10 Black adults is disenfranchised in 8 states — Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Dakota, Tennessee and Florida.
- 5.3% of Black adults are disenfranchised compared to 1.5% of Whites adults.

# VOTING RIGHTS & CRIMINAL JUSTICE: PRISON GERRYMANDERING

## STAGNANT

The practice of counting incarcerated persons as residents of the voting district of the prison (not the voting district of the person's home) inflates the number of residents in the predominantly rural, White communities that typically house prisons at the expense of urban areas populated with more residents of color. These white communities, in turn, receive more government federal funds and representation.

A data set for 12 states that have ended prison gerrymandering shows that incarceration is deeply concentrated in a few neighborhoods and the communities missing the most residents to incarceration are often disproportionately low-income, under-resourced and overpoliced communities of color.

# SOCIAL INDICATORS





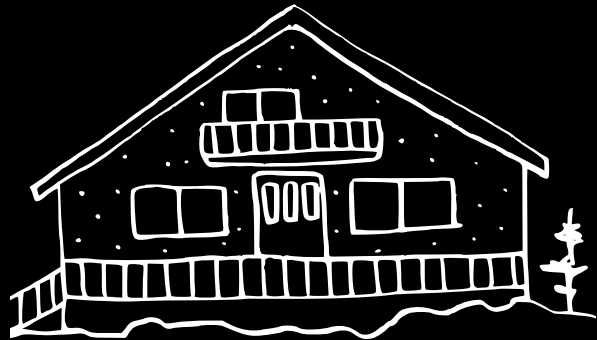
**Among the demands of the 1963 March were calls for equality in education, desegregated and safe housing, and opportunities to thrive in healthy and safe neighborhoods. Tragically, many of the key indicators measuring housing, education, and health conditions today remain as dire as they were in the 1960s.**

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**The story these indicators tell is one of systemic and intentional oppression via the levers of structural discrimination and deprivation in jobs, wages, and freedoms. Here, we see the outyear effects of chronic underfunding, environmental degradation, racism in policing, housing, and community investment on the economic, social, and physical health of Black people and communities.**

# **HOUSING SEGREGATION:**

## **RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION REMAINS AND IS GETTING WORSE**



**While some progress was made in desegregation with the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968, the full spirit of the Act's calls to "affirmatively further fair housing" were never heeded.**

**While overt residential discrimination has diminished, residential segregation remains and is getting worse.**

**The racist history of redlining and other forms of racial segregation in this country have never been addressed, leading to Black Americans being systematically excluded from the benefits of homeownership, including but not limited to access to quality education, opportunities for wealth building and creation, and fair access to safe and environmentally healthy neighborhoods.**

# HOUSING SEGREGATION

## TRENDING BACKWARDS

### 1963

- The Great Migration began in 1916 and continued over six decades with six million people leaving the South for the North and West.
- By 1963, nearly half of Black Americans were living in the North and West.
- In 1960, 27% of all Black-occupied housing was without some or all plumbing facilities. Of Black-occupied rural housing, 54% was without some or all plumbing facilities. 76% of all Black-occupied housing in the North and West was without some or all plumbing facilities.
- In 1960, 7% of renter-occupied and 11% of owner-occupied Black households were occupied at 1.51 or more persons per room, as opposed to 1% and 3% respectively for White households.
- The Fair Housing Act was not passed until 1968.

### NOW

- Today, due to a shift in migration patterns, the location of Black persons is now concentrated, or segregated. 10% of neighborhoods in only 113 cities house 15.5 million Black people or 41% of the Black population in America.
- More segregated metropolitan areas produce less upward mobility for the Black children who grow up in those communities and correlates with the devaluation of homes in Black neighborhoods.
- 81% of metropolitan cities with more than 200,000 residents are more segregated as of 2019 than they were in 1990
- In somewhat of a reversal of The Great Migration, favorable business climates, new infrastructure, and other conditions paved the way for industries and employers to head to southern states with 56% of Black Americans living in the south.



# HOUSING: RENT BURDEN

## SIGNIFICANT GAPS REMAIN

RENT BURDENED: PAYING 30%+ OF THE HOUSEHOLD'S INCOME TO RENT

SEVERELY RENT BURDENED: PAYING 50%+ OF THE HOUSEHOLD'S INCOME TO RENT

Black people make up 13% of overall population and 14% of renting population

**If you are Black and renting** in America, you are **34.4% likely to be rent burdened** and **12.3% likely to be severely rent burdened**

White people make up 62% of overall population and 77.3% of renting population

**If you are White and renting** in America, you are **26.2% likely to be rent burdened** and **9.1% likely to be severely rent burdened**

# HOME OWNERSHIP

**RACIAL GAP HAS WIDENED FROM 27% TO 30%**

## 1963

- 65% of White families owned their home
- 38% of Black families owned their home

## NOW

- 75% of White families own their home
- 45% of Black families own their home
- 48% of Latino families own their home

# HOUSING DEVALUATION

## TRENDING BACKWARDS

Homes in neighborhoods where the share of the population is **50% Black** are valued at roughly **half the price** as homes in neighborhoods with no Black residents.

Homes of similar quality in neighborhoods with similar amenities are worth **23 percent less** in majority Black neighborhoods, compared to those with very few or no Black residents (on average \$48,000 less, amounting to \$156 billion in cumulative losses).

# HOMELESSNESS

**GAP REMAINS**

**BLACK PERSONS MAKE UP  
13% OF THE  
GENERAL POPULATION BUT MORE THAN  
40% OF THE  
HOMELESS POPULATION**

## HOMELESSNESS BY RACE TODAY:

NATIVE HAWAIIAN/PACIFIC ISLANDER ARE  
**1600% MORE LIKELY** TO BE HOMELESS THAN WHITES

AMERICAN INDIAN/ALASKAN NATIVE ARE  
**700% MORE LIKELY** TO BE HOMELESS THAN WHITES

BLACK PEOPLE ARE **600% MORE LIKELY**  
TO BE HOMELESS THAN WHITES

LATINOS ARE **200% MORE LIKELY** TO BE HOMELESS  
THAN WHITES

ASIANS ARE **60% LESS LIKELY** TO BE  
HOMELESS THAN WHITES



# EDUCATION: DESEGREGATION

## STAGNANT

### 1963

- 76.6% of Black children attended majority Black schools, which were underfunded and inadequate

### NOW

- 74.1% of Black students still attend majority nonwhite schools, which were underfunded and inadequate

# EDUCATION: FUNDING

## STAGNANT

# 1963

- Underfunding and low quality of Black schools was a primary driver for the 1963 March.

# NOW

**ON AVERAGE BLACK STUDENTS OF ANY INCOME ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE IN A LOWER FUNDED SCHOOL DISTRICT THAN EVEN THE POOREST OF WHITE STUDENTS**

- School districts with predominantly students of color, irrespective of income, receive \$23 billion less in funding than predominantly White districts — approximately \$2,200 less per student per year.
- School districts attended by predominantly lower income White students receive just \$150 less per student per year than the national average.

# EDUCATION: HIGH SCHOOL ATTAINMENT

IMPROVED

## 1963

In 1960:

- 41.6% of White men
- 18.2% of Black men
- 44.7% of White women
- 21.8% Black women

Finished 4 years of high school

By 1965:

- 50.2% of White men
- 25.8% of Black men
- 52.2% of White women
- 28.4% of Black women

Finished 4 years of high school

## NOW

The gap in high school diploma attainment rates has virtually disappeared:

88% for Black students

*Versus*

90% for White students

**BUT GAPS IN PROFICIENCY  
REMAIN STARK**



# EDUCATION: PROFICIENCY

## ACHIEVEMENT GAP WIDENED

### 1963

- In both math and reading 87% of White 12th graders placed ahead of the average Black 12th grader.

### NOW

- 81% of White 12th graders placed ahead of the average Black student in math and 78% placed ahead in reading.
- Only 7% of Black test-takers score at least 600 on the math portion of the SAT exam compared to 31% of White test-takers.
- Only 55% of Black students were at least on grade level in mathematics, compared to 86% of White 4th graders.
- White students scored 20% better on 12th grade reading and math assessments.



# EDUCATION: COLLEGE ATTAINMENT

## STAGNANT

### 1963

#### In 1960:

- White men were 3.7X more likely to graduate from a 4-year college than Black men.
- White women were 1.8X more likely to graduate from college than Black women

#### By 1965:

- White persons were 2.1x more likely to graduate from college than Black persons

### NOW

- White persons are 1.5X more likely to graduate from college than Black persons

#### Percentage of adults age 25 and older with a bachelor's degree:

41.9% for the non-Hispanic White population

*Versus*

28.1% for the Black population

**HIGHER GRADUATION RATES HAVE NOT CLOSED THE EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE GAP BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK WORKERS.**

# EDUCATION: STUDENT DEBT

## GAP WIDENED

BLACK COLLEGE GRADUATES  
**OWE AN AVERAGE OF  
\$25,000 MORE**  
IN STUDENT LOAN DEBT THAN WHITE  
COLLEGE GRADUATES

## FOUR YEARS AFTER COLLEGE GRADUATION:

**48% OF BLACK STUDENTS OWE AN AVERAGE OF 12.5% MORE THAN THEY BORROWED, WHEREAS 83% OF WHITE STUDENTS OWE 12% LESS THAN THEY BORROWED.**

**BLACK STUDENT BORROWERS ARE THE MOST LIKELY TO STRUGGLE FINANCIALLY DUE TO STUDENT LOAN DEBT MONTHLY PAYMENTS AND LOWER WAGES BECAUSE EVEN WITH COMPARABLE OR IDENTICAL COLLEGE DEGREES, A BLACK PERSON MAKES, ON AVERAGE, 20% LESS IN WAGES EACH YEAR.**

**BLACK COLLEGE ATTENDEES HAVE A NET WORTH THAT IS \$8,500 LESS THAN THEIR WHITE PEERS.**



# U.S. SUPREME COURT'S DECISION TO STRIKE DOWN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND PRESIDENT BIDEN'S STUDENT DEBT LOAN FORGIVENESS PROGRAM WILL DEEPEN RACIAL INEQUALITIES

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## RULING ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

As of 2020, 14% of the college age population was Black, and 23.1% was Hispanic or Latino, however they made up only 6.5% and 14.7% of elite universities respectively, showing that even prior to these decisions, Black and Brown people were already significantly underrepresented at elite universities whose degrees lead to the highest wages. The Supreme Court's decision in *Students For Fair Admissions, Inc. V. Harvard College and University of North Carolina* to strike down affirmative action in the college admissions process will only deepen that disparity.

## RULING ON STUDENT DEBT LOAN FORGIVENESS PROGRAM

The overturn of President Biden's student loan debt forgiveness program in the *Biden v. Nebraska, Supreme Court* decision will not be felt equally because the burden of student loan debt is not shouldered equally. Our latest analysis shows that Black college graduates owe an average \$25,000 more in debt because even with identical degrees, they make far less per year than their white peers. Lower earning power contributes to longer times to pay off student debt, and delayed purchasing power for known generational wealth-building mechanisms like homeownership.

**The gutting of affirmative action in higher education will continue to exacerbate the already stark economic divide for Black and Brown people in this country. Higher education, particularly at elite universities, is one of just a few pathways to true, sustainable economic mobility and security. By narrowing the door to opportunity made possible with affirmative action to redress past and continuing discrimination and impact, the Supreme Court has only reinforced occupational and wage segregation. Foreclosing entryways into higher paid professions will prevent millions of people living in poverty from grasping a rung out of the intergenerational financial precarity demonstrated elsewhere in this deck.**

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**And, then by eliminating President Biden's plan to reduce overwhelming and unaffordable student debt for millions of Americans, disproportionately those of whom identify as persons of color, the Supreme Court doubled down on their disregard for Black and Brown students who long have been compromised by inequitable systems. Due to the systemic inequalities laid out in this deck, Black and Brown students start off with an appreciable disadvantage compared to their White counterparts, often coming from families and communities with significantly less material and social capital. Families living in or near poverty (as 1/3 Black children grow up in) do not have the resources to both meet their daily needs and provide for college savings funds or other ways of contributing to their children's education at the same rate as families with significant resources. These disparities lead to Black and Brown students borrowing more than their White peers. Further, with wage and occupational segregation (which the Supreme Court just helped to deepen) Black and Brown students pay off their student debt slower and with less consistency. This debt often becomes a millstone around their necks, diminishing their ability to secure wealth-building assets (such as home and business loans), which then prevents them from aiding future generations with their educational pursuit, thereby perpetuating the cycle of debt and economic instability.**



# HEALTHCARE

## STAGNANT

### 1963

- In 1963 Black people made 2.8 doctors visits for every 4 visits (.7x) that White Americans made.
- Disparities narrowed in the 1970s following landmark civil rights legislation, the advent of community health centers and implementation of Medicare and Medicaid, but subsequently widened.

### NOW

- In 2019 Black people made 4.7 visits for almost every 8 visits (.6x) that White Americans made.
- While the Affordable Care Act massively increased healthcare coverage for Black Americans (89% of Black Americans have healthcare, compared to about 93% of White Americans) racial disparities in access and quality continue.
- Black people in the US have higher rates of chronic disease, such as diabetes, hypertension, cardiovascular disease (CVD), chronic lung diseases (such as asthma), obesity, and even higher mortality rates for certain types of cancers.
- Black people have shorter life expectancy than their White counterparts.

# HEALTHCARE

## STAGNANT

RACIAL TRENDS FROM THE SUMMER OF 2020 SUGGEST THAT  
**INFECTION AND DEATH RATES** DUE TO THE COVID PANDEMIC  
IN BLACK COUNTIES WERE **THREE AND SIX TIMES**  
THOSE IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COUNTIES, RESPECTIVELY

# MATERNAL HEALTH

## STAGNANT

- **African American women in the United States experience disproportionately high maternal mortality rates and are three to four times more likely to die from pregnancy-related complications than White women.**
- **White women experienced 12.7 deaths per 100,000 births compared with 40.8 deaths per 100,000 births for Black women.**
- **A 2012 study found that, after adjusting for medically necessary procedures, cesarean deliveries were more common among Black and Latina women than White women. Three of the six leading causes of maternal mortality are associated with cesareans: hemorrhage, complications of anesthesia, and infection.**

# ENVIRONMENT AND NEIGHBORHOODS

## STAGNANT

### 1963

- The 1956 National Interstate Highway Act authorized the construction of the interstate highway stretching from coast to coast in the largest public works program ever undertaken, but when it came to where those highways would be built many communities of color were uprooted to make way for construction.

### NOW

- Black persons are 75 percent more likely than other Americans to live in areas situated near facilities that produce hazardous waste.
- On average, the level of cancer risk from industrial air pollution in majority-Black census tracts is more than double that of majority-White tracts.
- An estimated 70% of contaminated waste sites are located in low-income neighborhoods, and an upwards of 2 million Americans live within a mile of sites that are vulnerable to flooding — the majority of which are in Black and Brown communities.
- Black people are exposed to 54% more particulate matter than the average American.
- Formerly redlined areas have less green space, and on average are 2.6 degrees Celsius warmer than neighboring areas.





# 60 YEARS LATER...

RELATIVELY UNCHANGED OR  
**UNEQUAL**

In 1963, Black Americans marched on Washington to demand fair and equal access to jobs, adequate wages, and the dignity and freedom to live as full citizens in this country. In the years since, individual persons of color have succeeded, but the systemic marginalization of Black and Brown Americans remains unmitigated. While some economic and social indicators appear to have improved, they often mask a legacy of disinvestment and disparate outcomes.

While it is heartening to see that Black and White Americans are graduating high school at nearly equal rates, Black children attending deeply segregated and maliciously underfunded schools has greatly contributed to their disproportionately limited proficiency in basic skills and lesser rates of college degree attainment. This gap in college attainment helps explain why Black and Brown Americans end up segregated into low wage occupation, making tens of thousands of dollars less than White Americans.

And, for Black women, the primary and more often sole breadwinners in Black households, occupation segregation and wage deprivation, particularly in jobs immorally devalued but also in jobs requiring college degrees saddling them with high student debt, have resulted in their children growing up in poverty at alarming rates.



# 60 YEARS LATER...

## THE FUNDAMENTALLY FLAWED FEDERAL POVERTY MEASURE

USED TO JUSTIFY AN IMMORALLY LOW MINIMUM WAGE REMAINS IN PLACE,  
PROVIDING FOR PERSISTING STRUCTURAL  
ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION FOR LOW INCOME AMERICANS,  
WHO DISPROPORTIONATELY ARE PERSONS OF COLOR

Poverty, as measured by the Official Poverty Measure, has “fallen”, but it is inadequate and outdated, masking the true cost of what is required to live in most counties throughout this country.

The fundamentally flawed federal poverty measure justifies a paltry federal minimum wage, a tepid government response to systemic need, and a social safety net that remains the most anemic in the highly developed world.

Even when Black Americans do attend college, they leave more debt-burdened than their White peers and enter a labor market where they are paid between 19% and 30% less than White people, preventing them from effectively paying off their loans at the same rate.

The erosion of the Voting Rights Act and proliferation of voting laws designed to disenfranchise and prevent Black, Brown, and poor Americans from voting is the beginning of the death knell for the Civil Rights era’s most important battle. Access to the ballot box without persecution and threat was what helped move this country somewhat closer to equality (even if imperfectly).





# 60 YEARS LATER...

**FRIGHTENINGLY WHAT LOOMS ON THE HORIZON  
HOWEVER IS NOT SLOW-BUT-STEADY PROGRESS  
BUT RATHER A EXISTENTIAL THREAT  
TO BLACK AND BROWN PROGRESS  
THE LIKES OF WHICH THIS COUNTRY HASN'T SEEN IN NEARLY TWO CENTURIES.**

With the gutting of the most important provisions, states hostile to voting rights are given carte blanche to trample on those rights and absent new legislation, the federal government remains hamstrung to stop them.

But Black Americans don't simply face existential threats to their freedom; they face real and tangible limitations imposed on them by a deeply broken and racist-since-inception criminal justice system. It is of little surprise when you see the stark differences in policing and incarceration that prison remains the last vestige of constitutional slavery in this country.

Black communities are over-policed, over-surveilled, and punished at rates so disproportionate to their actual levels of criminal behavior that it becomes impossible to separate racism from "justice" when discussing the penal system. Even more horrifically, most states still use the bodies of incarcerated persons to systemically disinvest from the communities where they come from and transfer political power and resources to communities where they are held but cannot participate civically — a chilling call back to the 3/5ths Compromise.





# 60 YEARS LATER...

**BLACK AND BROWN COMMUNITIES  
CONTINUE TO BEAR THE BRUNT  
OF ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, ECONOMIC DISINVESTMENT,  
AND UNEQUAL ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE SERVICES.**

These compounding inequalities, present in some ways since the founding of the country, and highlighted by the March on Washington, are perhaps driven home most clearly when you look at the legacy of disinvestment and devaluation of Black and Brown communities. The passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 was a crowning achievement of the Civil Rights era, but much like the Voting Rights Act it too has been steadily eroded and hollowed out.

60 years later, the gap in homeownership remains relatively unchanged; segregation – while shifting scale from state-level to municipal level — too remains stubbornly flat; and the devaluation of Black and Brown communities, and diminishment of Black wealth continues unmitigated, costing Black families, fortunate enough to own their own homes, billions of dollars in wealth accumulation.

The loss in economic value doesn't begin to approach the loss in human potential due to abhorrently high levels of homelessness seen in Black and indigenous communities across this country. Black and Brown communities continue to bear the brunt of environmental degradation, economic disinvestment, and unequal access to healthcare services. These social determinants of health were starkly revealed as Covid-19 ravaged communities of color.



# 60 YEARS LATER ...



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