ADVANCED POLICY ANALYSIS STUDENT REPORT:

Reparations for Black Communities in Oakland

2021

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Photo attribution
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Bottom: Ulinskas, Moriah, “Imagining a Past Future: Photographs from the Oakland Redevelopment Agency,” Places, January 2019, https://placesjournal.org/article/imagining-a-past-future/#.YG5e4ufmgHc.mailto.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks for the guidance of Darlene Flynn at the Department of Race and Equity in Oakland for accepting this student project and providing insight on how to shape a reparations proposal. Thanks are also owed to Dan Lindheim, professor at the Goldman School of Public Policy and Faculty Director of the Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement, for his detail-oriented feedback and crucial advice in developing the analysis.

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Executive Summary

As cities, states, and private organizations seek to redress past and present racial inequities, some are proposing reparations to Black communities. Oakland has an opportunity to emerge as a national leader in not only centering racial equity, but acknowledging and repairing past and present harms. Reparations are increasingly legitimized and politically salient.

Reparations are being paid not only for slavery in the U.S., but also ongoing and systemic racism and discrimination. As most Black people did not come to California until the Great Migration of the 20th century, racism in Oakland has been expressed less through slavery but more through public policies that distributed resources to white groups and displaced and harmed Black groups. Oakland's racialized history of urban renewal and housing and transportation policies that harmed the historically Black neighborhood of West Oakland is well-documented. Continuing impacts from job discrimination, police violence, and other injustices are well-documented as well.

This report first outlines the case for reparations in Oakland based on present disparities in income, poverty, wealth, home ownership, mortgage denials, and health. It then outlines historical decisions that shaped and segregated neighborhoods and access to opportunity, contributing to those disparities. This includes segregation, urban renewal, freeway construction, public transit, jobs, and police violence. These provide a basis of historical discrimination and thereby a justification for reparations paid today. There is also a brief discussion of how reducing disparities is of overall benefit to society at large.

The report establishes quantitative estimates of homes demolished by these urban renewal government policies. It provides a few methods of estimating the size of reparations that could make up for racism and discrimination. These include 1) How much wealth could have been created were homes not demolished, 2) How much wealth was lost when homes were taken through eminent domain for low sale prices, 3) How much it would cost to make homes today available at the prices they were when Black communities could not get mortgages, and 4) How much it would take to close income and wealth gaps in Oakland.

The report offers a brief history of ideas about reparations and current reparations around the country and in California. These include work on reparations in Evanston, Illinois, Asheville, North Carolina, Providence, Rhode Island, Burlington, Vermont, Amherst, Massachusetts, Manhattan Beach, CA, educational institutions, religious organizations, and others. The State of California and County of Alameda also have parallel reparations efforts.

The report then shifts to outlining how to approach reparations in Oakland:

- It shares some guidelines for basic models of how to pay reparations.

- It puts forth that community members advocated most strongly for a holistic and ongoing approach to reparations, covering a range of needs and policy areas.
- The report recommends a further community engagement process to make final determinations of how to pay reparations.
- It discusses challenges to thinking about reparations.
- It discusses that an appropriate scale and sustainability are needed for reparations to be truly impactful.

It then explores some policy and funding alternatives that could be further investigated with community members. The report first discusses the alternative of paying no reparations or continuing the status quo. The policy options explored include:

- Programs that provide housing
- Programs that provide jobs
- Restorative justice embedded in the project to remove I-980
- A "reparations-style infrastructure package"
- Programs to support business ownership and engagement
- Programs to address health issues
- Encouragement of reparations paid by banking or real estate industries
- Cash payments
- Programs in schools
- Museums, Monuments, or Art
- Issuing a formal apology

Lastly, the report discusses different funding possibilities, including:

- A bond measure
- Transportation programs
- Amending the business tax
- The Oakland Slavery Era Disclosure Reparations Fund
- Funds from a Wells Fargo lawsuit on discriminatory lending practices
- Building into transportation projects
- Federal funds
- State funds
- County funds
- Philanthropic funds

Key recommendation:
Coordinate with state and county efforts and advocate for listening sessions and community engagement including community-based organizations, community leaders, and marginalized community members, especially residents of color. Ad hoc groups may be formed to further investigate the ideas proposed here and to make recommendations for programming that can pay reparations. Lobbying for state and county funding to provide local reparations may be a strategy with the most resources and deepest reach.

Introduction

"It's one thing to say it's wrong, another thing to keep denying it's wrong, keep turning a blind eye to it."

-Pastor Harris

"America has something to atone for. How do we atone for it?"

-Leo Bazile

Congress has yet to pass H.R. 40 to create a commission to study the idea of reparations, and the federal government has yet to take action on paying reparations to Black people in the U.S. for a legacy of slavery and discrimination.[1] As this debate continues at the federal level, localities and organizations are stepping up. Evanston, IL, Asheville, NC, Providence, RI, Burlington, VT, and other municipalities and organizations are paying some reparations in grants and community programs to Black people in their towns. The State of California and Alameda County are investigating how to do the same. After a nation-wide racial reckoning following the murders by police of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and others in 2020 and beyond, reparations are politically salient.

Systemic racism and discrimination and inequitable applications of public policies have been well-documented throughout the U.S. There is also a well-documented history in Oakland, and specifically in the historically Black neighborhood of West Oakland. Racialized housing and transportation decisions made by the City of Oakland, state agencies, and the private sector, often with federal funding, have demolished homes and destroyed businesses, displacing people and leading to the decline of a once thriving neighborhood. Other programs have excluded Black people from their benefits. These include many decisions made in the mid-20th century with tools of "post-war urban design,"[2] but also include discrimination and disparities that continue to today. Many of these policies have led to trauma and generational trauma passed on. Many people who were affected by these policies are still alive today.

At the same time, there have been many government policies that have benefited white people, most notably the Federal Housing Administration's mortgage program. This enabled many white families to get 30-year mortgages and begin to build generational wealth to pass on to their offspring. This program overwhelmingly excluded Black applicants. Black residents were also confined to living in certain segregated

[1] H.R. 40 is currently moving through the House of Representatives. "U.S. Congress Advances Slavery Reparations Bill," Human Rights Watch, April 9, 2021, https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/04/09/us-congress-advances-slavery-reparations-bill.

[2] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

neighborhoods. There were largely not able to buy homes in the suburbs that were created in the mid 1900s. This has created a "racialized geography" that persists today.[3]

As historian Robert O. Self described, "Programs like urban renewal subsidized the accumulation of wealth and other resources among some groups - primarily white property holders - and denied those subsidies and protections to other groups - primarily African Americans."[4]

As Oakland city planners and politicians sought to revitalize the city post World War II and even in recent years with former mayor Jerry Brown's 10K plan, there has been a focus on bringing investment and people with disposable income to downtown Oakland. The focus in some of this planning has not been on serving the marginalized residents of West Oakland.

Though Black organizing did gain wins for Black communities over the years, and Oakland has been led by Black mayors and City Council members, especially since the 1970s, there has not been comprehensive redress for the systemic racism and discrimination perpetuated against Black communities.

Affirmative action programs in the 1990s sought to address historic discrimination. However, with the passing of Proposition 209, banning a preference for race or gender in public employment, education, and contracting, this has become more difficult. Racial equity has increasingly become a focus in government programs. However, equity programs cannot offer systemic, comprehensive redress for decades of racism and discrimination.

Over the years, racism has mutated and changed form, but is always circulating in the community. Present-day disparities clearly show the effects of ongoing discrimination.

Randall Robinson, author of *The Debt*, has written that, "Until America's white ruling class accepts the fact that the book never closes on massive unredressed social wrongs, America can have no future as one people."[5] Reparations are in the best interest of all racial groups, to acknowledge harm done. As long as reparations have not been paid to Black communities, the U.S. will not be able to overcome the injustices perpetuated.

[3] Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography,* 34, no. 5 (2013).
[4] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3.
[5] Randall Robinson, *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* (New York: Penguin Group, 2000), 208.

Robinson goes on to say, "...the psychic and economic injury is enormous, multidimensional and long-running. Thus must be America's restitution to Blacks for the damage done."[6]

Unfortunately, any effort by Oakland will necessarily be "piecemeal reparations," which are sometimes criticized. The City of Oakland can redress harm in Oakland, but cannot address the legacy of slavery and systemic racism throughout the country. It must be noted that Oakland is not unique in its racialized history, and that cities across the country used many of the same policies and have similar stories of segregation and discrimination. However, as federal action has been lagging, with H.R. 40 reintroduced in every session of Congress for decades, localities are taking up the mantle of reparations, and may contribute to a larger national movement.

Moreover, any reparations efforts undertaken by any city are unlikely to completely repair past harms. The magnitude of the harms inflicted could be valued at billions of dollars, and academics have made estimates of the magnitude of national reparations that are valued at trillions of dollars. However, significant action can still be taken. As organizations and agencies increasingly embed racial equity into their policies and programs, they can be spurred to build reparations into their equity plans, and have more comprehensive redress for past and present discrimination.

As scholars William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen have written, "*The fact that full amends cannot be made for a grievous injustice does not mean significant recompense should not be made.* Although the long-overdue bill will not match the price paid by the victims, the bill must be paid."[7]

It must also be noted that reducing disparities and inequities faced by Black communities does not benefit only those communities. Creating greater access to opportunity widely generates better economic and social outcomes. This includes a reduction in income and wage gaps, decreased need for social services, and increased tax revenues.

Though the City of Oakland did not solely make housing and transportation decisions that demolished and displaced homes and people in West Oakland, it has an opportunity to lead the charge, in conversation with state and county officials and agencies, and truly acknowledge the harm perpetuated against Black communities in Oakland.

Other communities of color have also been harmed through government policies. These are outside the scope of this project and should be addressed in subsequent plans.

[6] Randall Robinson, *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* (New York: Penguin Group, 2000), 9.
[7] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 55.

The objective of this research is to document past racialized harms in Oakland, learn from community members what their community priorities for reparations are, and to offer policy and funding alternatives for paying reparations in Oakland.

Methods

This project has involved research of secondary historical resources and government programs. I used Newspapers.com to search historical articles from the Oakland Tribune. I submitted Public Records Requests from CalTrans, BART, and the U.S. Post office to find out what sums had been paid for homes taken by eminent domain. BART provided approximately 146 records, only one of which was located in West Oakland. None of the other agencies were able to provide records. I used PolicyMap to generate maps and statistics on disparities.

I have also interviewed the following 14 community members and leaders:

- Alan Dones, Strategic Urban Development Alliance, LLC
- Regina Davis, Strategic Urban Development Alliance, LLC
- Margaret Gordon, West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project
- Leo Bazile, former City Councilmember
- Reginald Lyles, former police officer and Assistant to the Mayor
- Gilda Baker, West Oakland homeowner
- David Peters, Accounting Manager Consultant
- Reverend Chambers, West Side Missionary Baptist church
- Reverend Harris, Pleasant Grove Baptist Church
- Ernestine Nettles, Oakland city employee and West Oakland resident
- Maxine Ussery, the Post News Group
- Wilfred Ussery, former BART director
- Adrionne Fike, Mandela Grocery Co-op
- James Bell, Mandela Grocery Co-op

I conducted a two-hour workshop with seven interviewees to discuss reparations as a group. Stipends were given to community members who agreed to an interview and/or participated in the workshop.

I interviewed members of the following government agencies:

- City of Oakland Office of the City Administrator
- City of Oakland Department of Transportation
- City of Oakland Cannabis Equity Program
- CalTrans
- MTC
- California Transportation Commission
- California State Transportation Agency
- Lateefah Simon, Board of Directors at BART
- Link21
- Office of County of Alameda Supervisor Miley
- Office of Dr. Shirley Weber, Secretary of State
- Asheville, North Carolina Office of Equity and Inclusion

I also spoke with the following non-profit and advocacy groups

- Reparations for Black Students campaign
- Cypress Mandela Training Center

Present Disparities

Past policy decisions in Oakland (as across the U.S.) have persistent impacts, including racially segregated geographies, concentrations of wealth, and health and life outcomes. Black communities and white communities in Oakland remain segregated and have different outcomes by income and poverty, home ownership, mortgage denial rates, and health outcomes, including life expectancy and asthma rates.[8] The following are not meant to be an exhaustive list of disparities, but rather point to differential outcomes by race along a few key indicators. The existence of these persistent disparities provides a basis for redress and reparations.

The overall population of Oakland was tallied at 433,031 people[9] in 2019. The Black population is about 103,061 people.

For a look at how Oakland's largely still segregated neighborhoods fare on a number of indicators, please see first a map of Oakland. Note the location of West Oakland and the flatlands between I-580 and I-880. You can also see I-980 separating West Oakland from downtown.

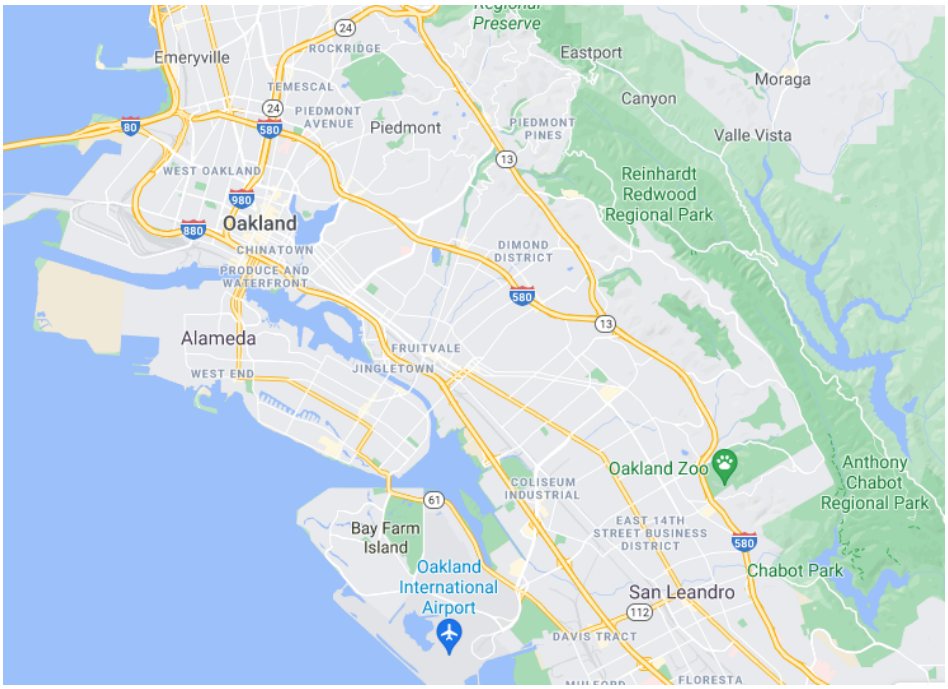

Figure 1: Map of Oakland with Freeways[10]
Source: Google Maps

[8] There are additional disparities between people of other racial groups, including Asian and Latinx communities. However, as this report is focusing on reparations to Black communities, disparities between only white and Black communities are reported.
[9] "Quick Facts: Oakland city, California," United States Census Bureau, Accessed May 7, 2021, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/oaklandcitycalifornia.
[10] Google Maps, "Oakland, CA," Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.google.com/maps/@37.7936409,-122.2439023,12z.

In maps of Black and white populations by census tract, you can see that Black populations are concentrated in West and East Oakland, and that there are very few Black people but a concentration of white people in the hills around Piedmont:

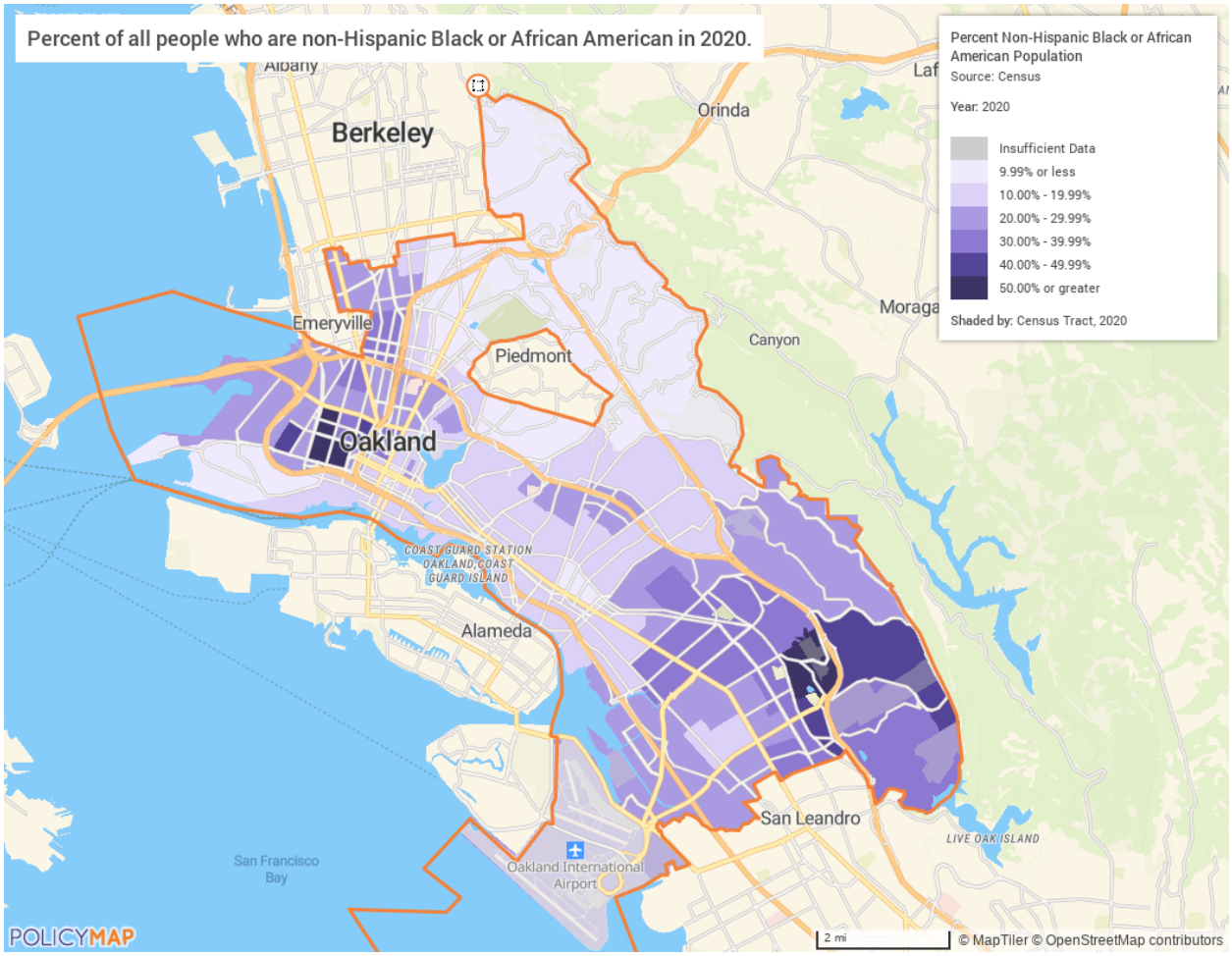

Figure 2: Map of Black Populations in Oakland
Source: PolicyMap[11]

[11] "Percent of all people who are non-Hispanic Black or African American in 2020," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7207/c73bbad7828f4080cf52172b5de972c5 (based on data from the 2020 Census; Accessed January 14, 2022).

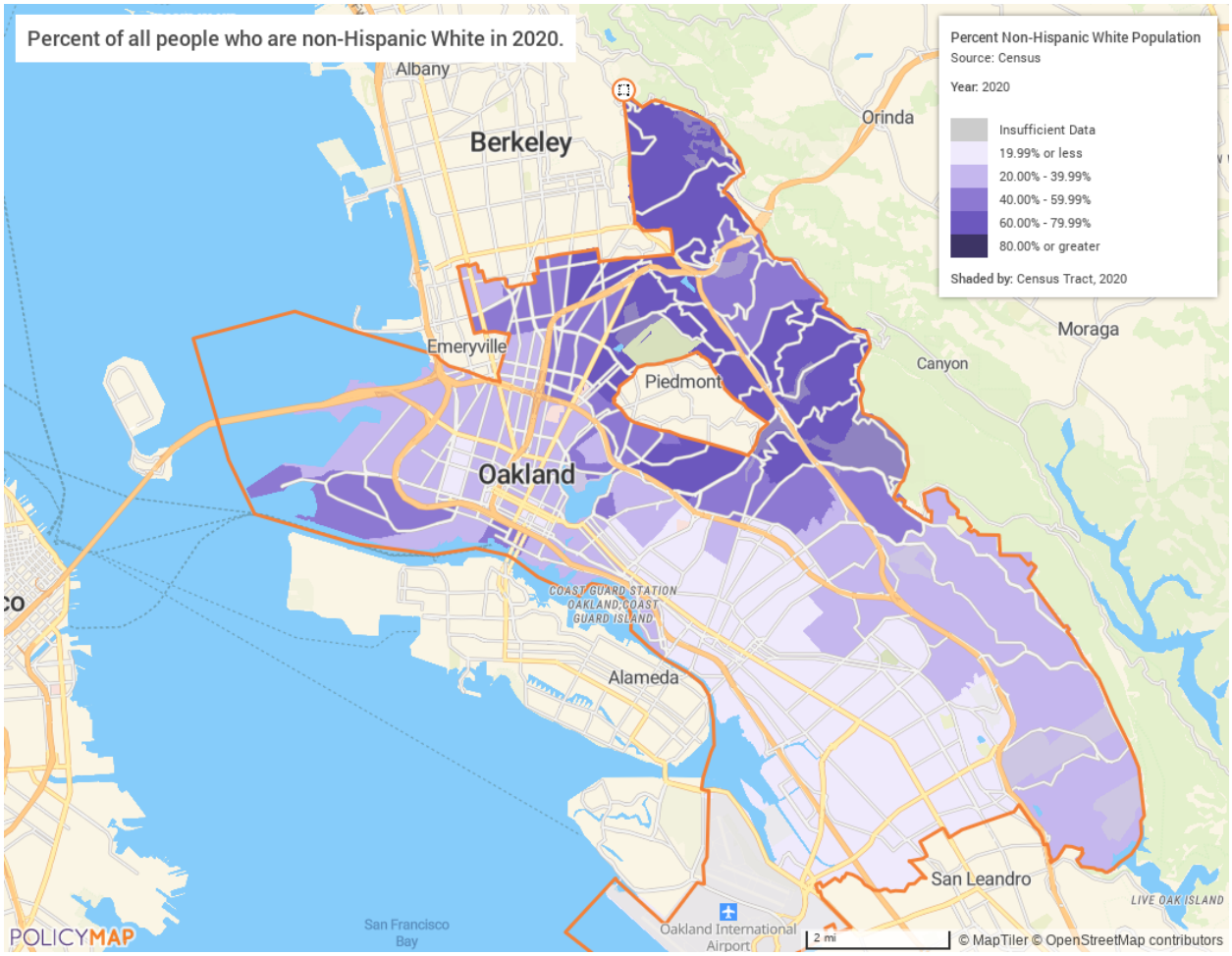

Figure 3: Map of White Populations in Oakland
Source: PolicyMap[12]

Dustin Cable, a former demographic researcher at the University of Virginia's Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, created racial dot maps in 2013.[13] They mark one dot for one person, with different races having different colored dots. Looking at the racial dot map, you can see that Oakland is very segregated by race, and that highways function as borders between different racial groups. I-580 marks a clear line between white residents in the hills and communities of color in the flatlands. I-980 also separates the majority Black West Oakland from the Asian Chinatown and mixed downtown area.

[12] "Percent of all people who are non-Hispanic White in 2020," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7208/90107764bfa9e134f2bfe32767803fb8 (based on data from the 2020 Census; Accessed January 14, 2022).
[13] "The Racial Dot Map," Demographics Research Group, University of Virginia Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, Accessed May 7, 2021, https://demographics.coopercenter.org/racial-dot-map.

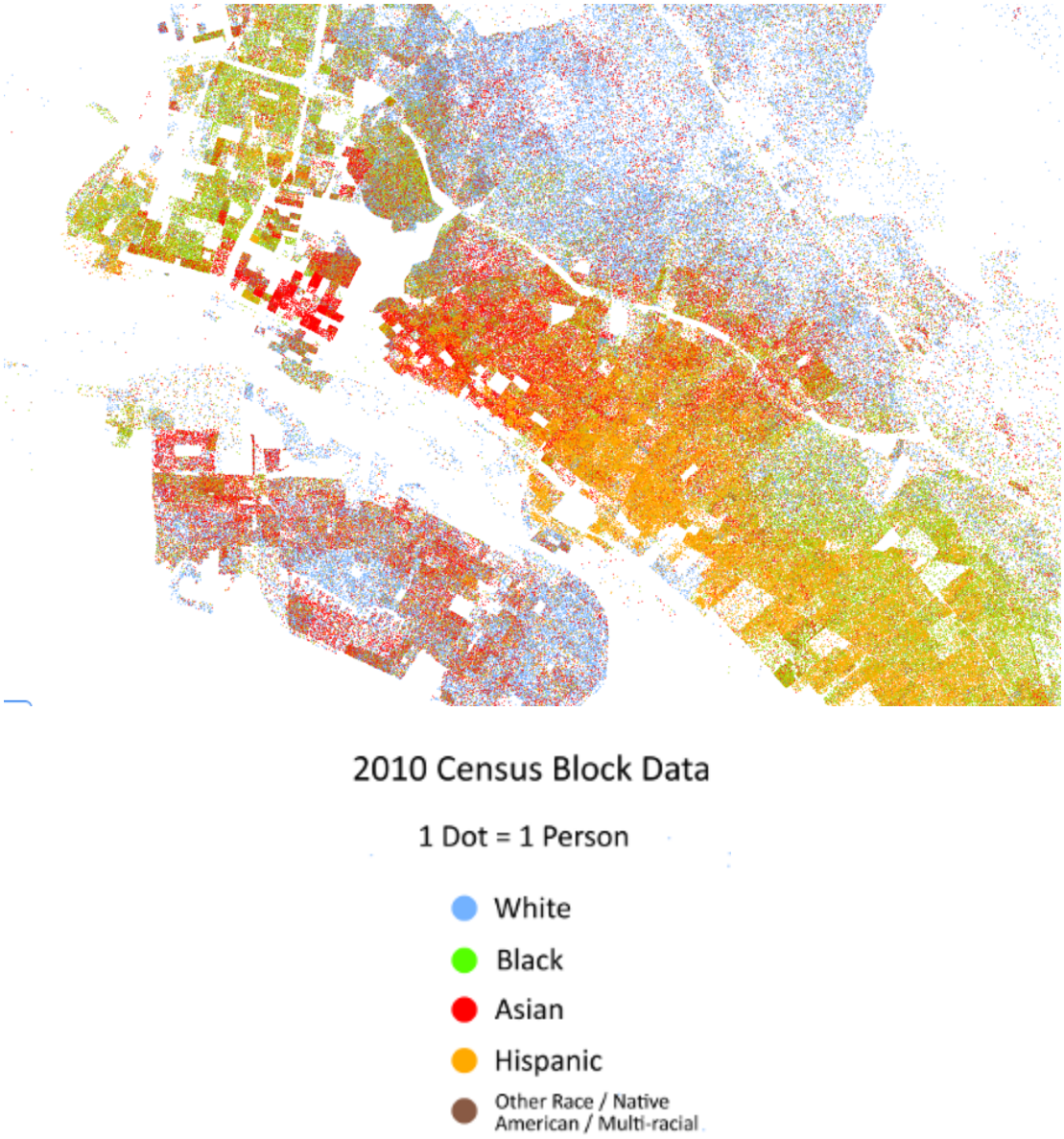

Figure 4: Racial Dot Map of Oakland
Source: Demographics Research Group, University of Virginia Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service[14]

[14] The Racial Dot Map," Demographics Research Group, University of Virginia Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, Accessed May 7, 2021, https://demographics.coopercenter.org/racial-dot-map.

In maps of income and poverty by race, you can see that areas that are majority Black tend to have a lower per capita income and more poverty, whereas the predominantly white areas have a higher per capita income and less poverty.

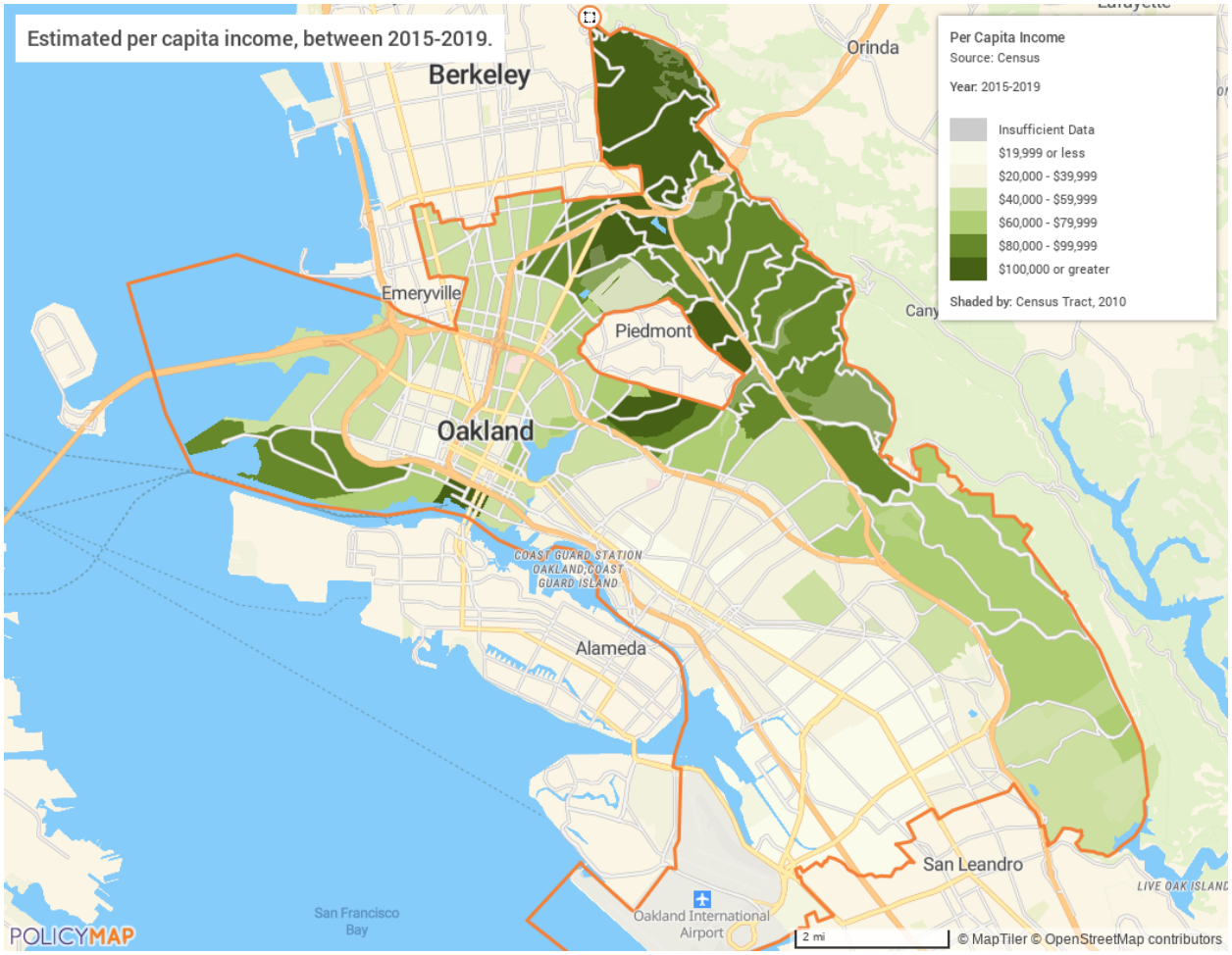

Figure 5: Per Capita Income by Census Tract
Source: PolicyMap[15]

[15] "Estimated per capita income, between 2015-2019," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7210/d6c11ba81a262799b309f44ed9fdef1b (based on data from 2015-2019 U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS); Accessed January 14, 2022).

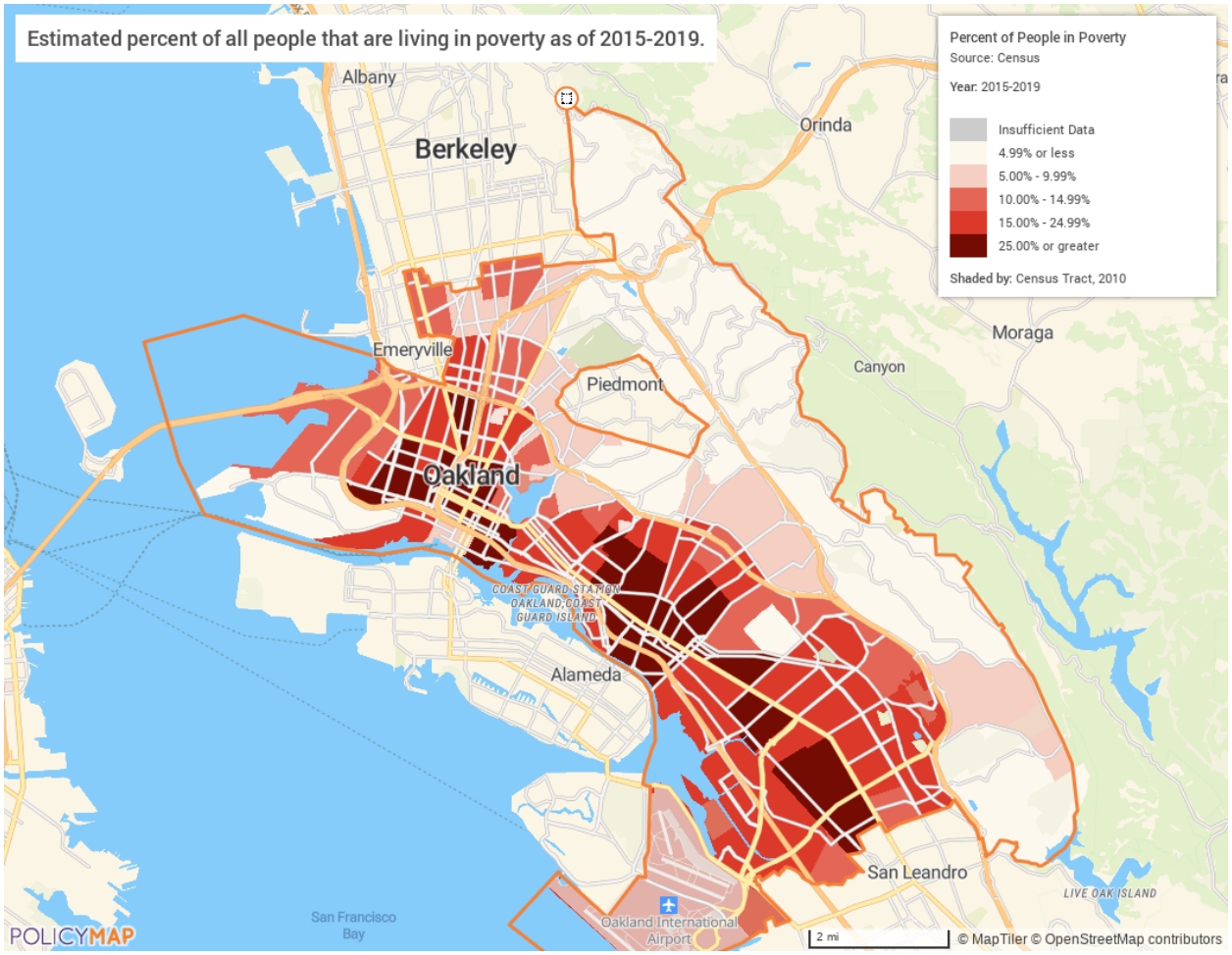

Figure 6: Poverty by Census Tract
Source: PolicyMap[16]

[16] "Estimated percent of all people that are living in poverty as of 2015-2019," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7211/eb27c0cb06442f260d780ddb6252d35c (based on data from 2015-2019 U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS); Accessed January 14, 2022).

You can see a correlation where neighborhoods with higher percentages of Black people have lower median incomes:

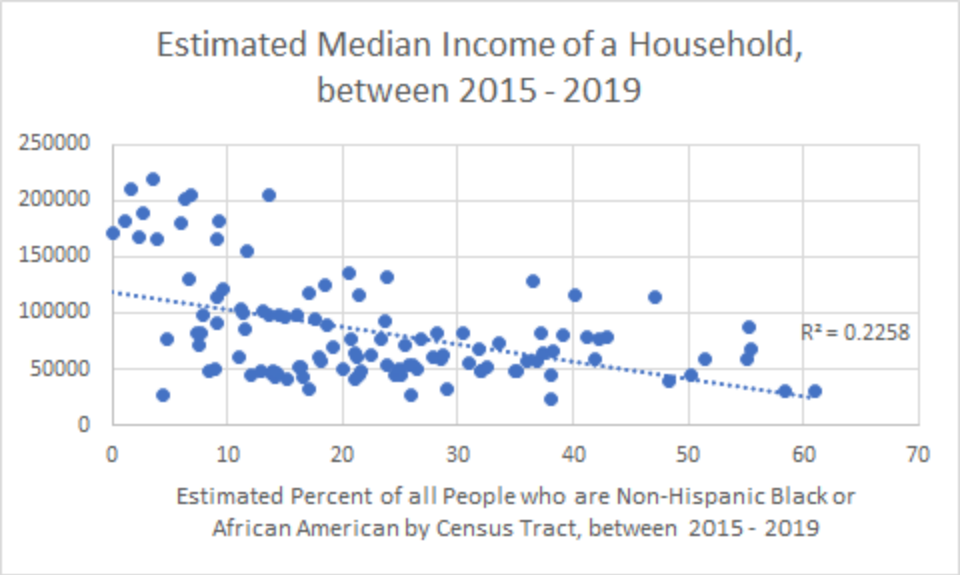

Figure 7: Median Income by Census Tract
Data Source: 2015-2019 U.S. Census American Community Survey

Neighborhoods with more Black people have higher poverty rates:

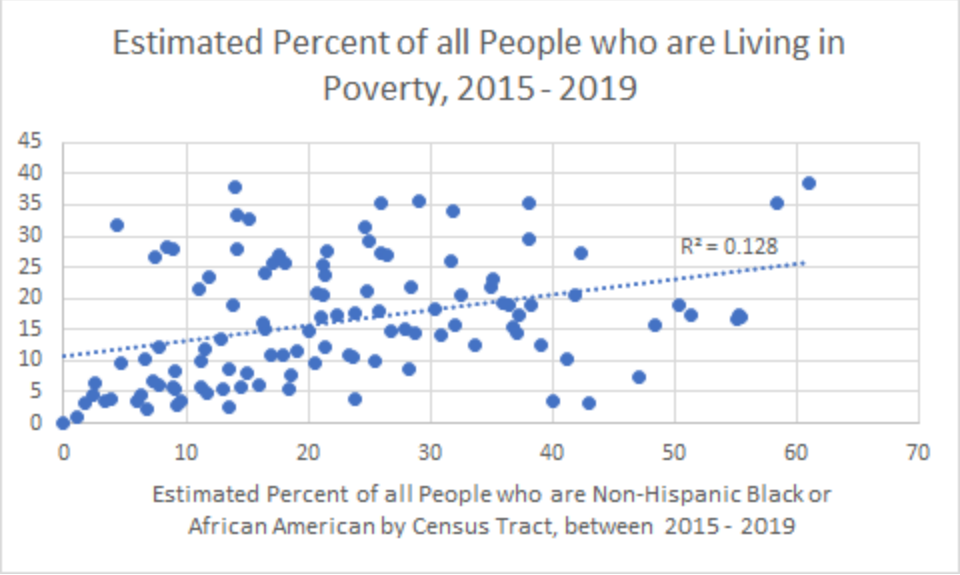

Figure 8: People in Poverty by Census Tract
Data Source: 2015-2019 U.S. Census American Community Survey

The Oakland median income for white people is $94,236, whereas the Black median income is only $38,619, in the 2019 Oakland Race and Equity Baseline Indicators report.[17] This is a gap of $55,617 per year. In 2017, 9% of white people in Oakland were in poverty, while 28% of Black people were.[18] This is a 19% difference. Furthermore, in 2017, 29% of white workers owned a business in Oakland, while only 16% of Black workers owned a business.[19] This is a 13% difference.

The Wealth Gap

The wealth gap is an essential and elegant way to quantify the differential impacts of intergenerational racism. Lack of access to land and home ownership have prevented many Black families from building wealth to pass on to their children. Unfortunately, statistics measuring the wealth gap in Oakland are not readily available. However, the wealth gap in the L.A. region and in the U.S. at large (the most recent data found) are offered here as one way to demonstrate the gap in how Black and white families have been able to accumulate wealth:

Location	**White Median Wealth**	**Black Median Wealth**	**Differential**
Los Angeles (2014 data)[20]	$355,000	$4,000[21]	$351,000
Nationwide[22] (2019 data)	$188,200	$24,100	$164,100

[17] Veronica Cummings, "Oakland Race and Equity Baseline Indicators Report," City of Oakland Department of Race & Equity, Oct. 14, 2019, https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/2018FullReport-12021edit.pdf.
[18] "Poverty: No one should experience poverty or economic insecurity," National Equity Atlas, Accessed May 7, 2021, https://nationalequityatlas.org/indicators/poverty#/?geo=07000000000653000.
[19] "Business Ownership: Race and gender should not be a barrier to owning a business," National Equity Atlas, Accessed May 7, 2021, https://nationalequityatlas.org/indicators/Business-ownership#/?geo=07000000000653000.
[20] Melany De La Cruz-Viesca et al., "The Color of Wealth in Los Angeles," Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, A Joint Publication of Duke University, The New School, the University of California, Los Angeles and the Insight Center for Community Economic Development, 2016, http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/besol/color_of_wealth_report.pdf.
[21] This calculation disaggregated data on "U.S. Black people" and "African Black people" and reports numbers for U.S. born Black people as opposed to people who have immigrated from Africa. Melany De La Cruz-Viesca et al., "The Color of Wealth in Los Angeles," Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, A Joint Publication of Duke University, The New School, the University of California, Los Angeles and the Insight Center for Community Economic Development, 2016, http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/besol/color_of_wealth_report.pdf.
[22] Neil Bhutta et al., "Disparities in Wealth by Race and Ethnicity in the 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances," FEDS Notes, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, September 28, 2020, https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/disparities-in-wealth-by-race-and-ethnicity-in-the-2019-survey-of-consumer-finances-20200928.htm.

You can see that the wealth gap is not solely due to income gaps, as the median income gap in Oakland is only $55,617. There have been disparities in how people of different racial groups have been able to accumulate assets, including homes, and how they have been able to pass on wealth to future generations. These figures do not include updates from Covid-19, which likely worsened income and wealth gaps.

Home Ownership

Home ownership is a key way to build intergenerational wealth. Being able to build equity in a home rather than sink money into rent-paying is a major way many American households have built wealth and joined the middle class. The federal government subsidized wealth-building among primarily white families through subsidized mortgages. Only 2% of Federal Housing Administration loans given between 1934 and 1962 (totaling $120 billion) went to families of color.[23] Wealth-building and access to the middle class was thus offered to white families, but not to Black ones at the same scale. Disparities in home ownership persist to today. You can see homeownership is concentrated in the hills and lower in the flatlands, with many census tracts having less than 30% home ownership:

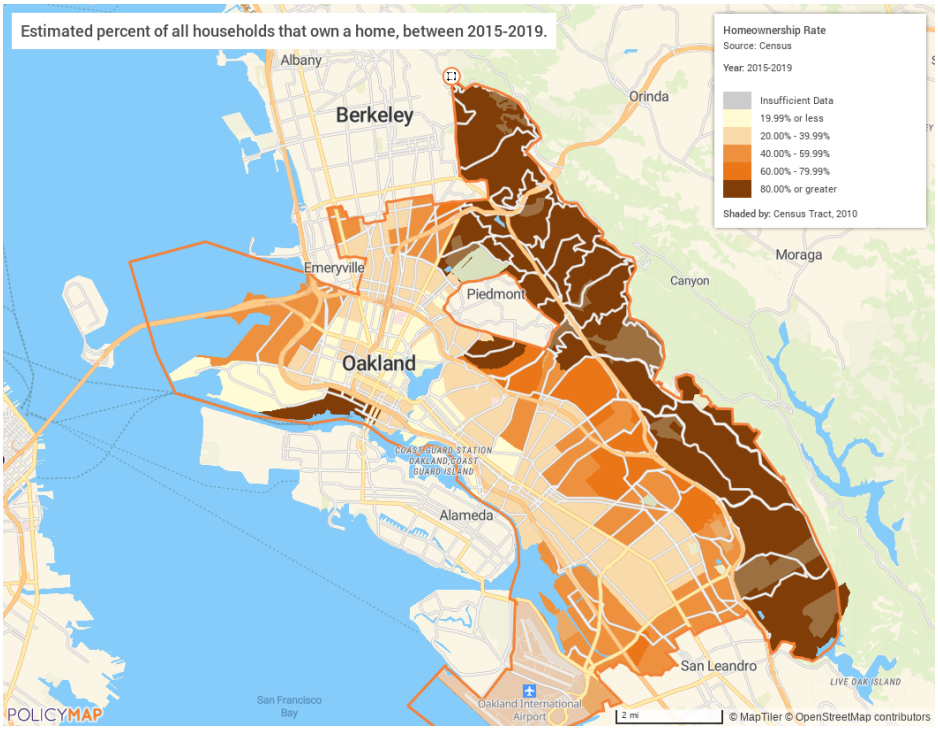

Figure 9: Home ownership by census tract
Source: PolicyMap[24]

[23] "Go Deeper: Where Race Lives, Uncle Sam Lends a Hand, Did the Government Racialize Housing and Wealth?" Race - The Power of an Illusion, PBS, 2003, https://www.pbs.org/race/000_About/002_06_a-godeeper.htm.
[24] "Estimated percent of all households that own a home, between 2015-2019," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7212/ec45f782d013adff25d31429ad3d9f57 (based on data from 2015-2019 U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS); Accessed January 14, 2022).

In 2017, 52% of white households in Oakland owned homes, while only 33% of households owned by people of color did.[25]

Nearly a century later, the maps still correspond to the redlining map created in the 1930s by the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and used by the Federal Housing Administration to determine which neighborhoods to give mortgage loans to. The yellow areas were inhabited by white people, while the red areas were blocked from mortgages due to desirability factors including "Infiltration of: Negroes."[26] When the maps were created, not many Black people lived in Oakland, but as they migrated in, they were relegated mainly to West Oakland, which was redlined.

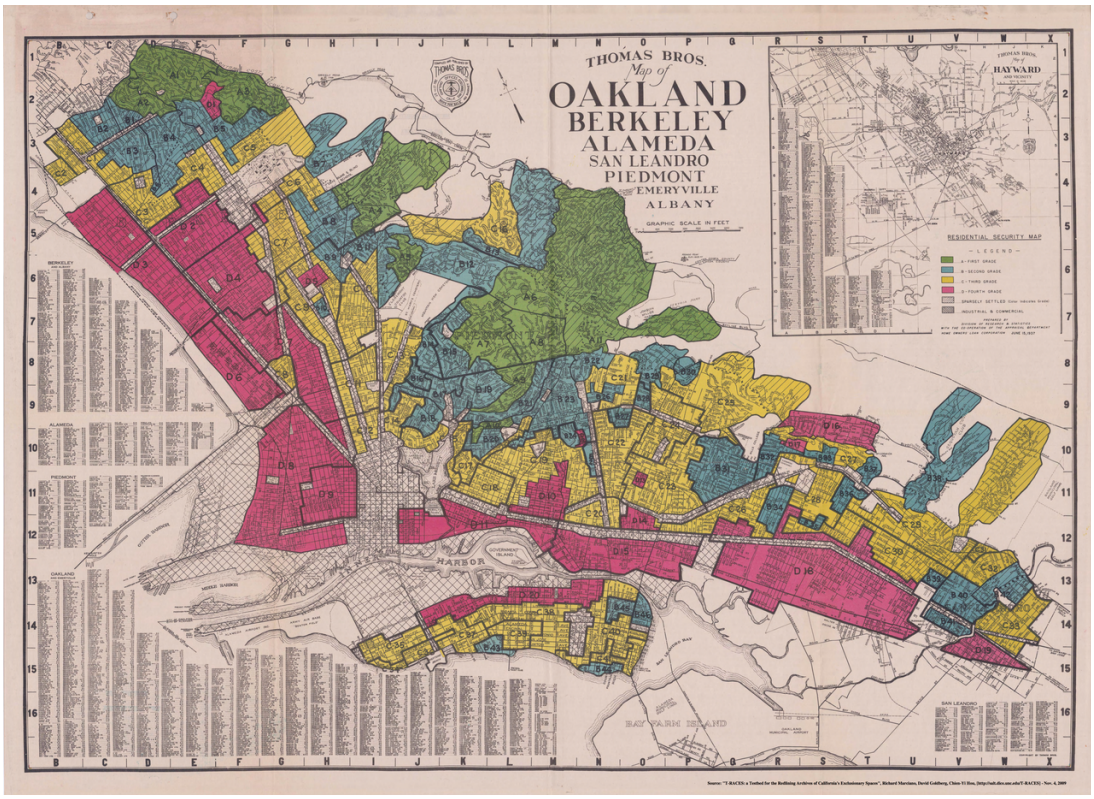

Figure 10: Home Owners Loan Corporation Redlining Map of Oakland
Source: ResearchGate[27]

[25] PolicyLink and the USC Equity Research Institute, "National Equity Atlas," 2020, www.nationalequityatlas.org.
[26] Camila Domonoske, "Interactive Redlining Map Zooms In On America's History Of Discrimination," The Two-Way, NPR, Oct. 19, 2016, https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/10/19/498536077/interactive-redlining-map-zooms-in-on-americas-history-of-discrimination.
[27] "Fig 6 - uploaded by Nathan McClintock," Research Gate, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/A-1937-redlining-map-of-Oakland-published-by-the-Homeowners-Loan-Corporation-Areas_fig5_280021484.

Some of these neighborhoods have disparities that persist to this day. Nationwide, 74% of the "hazardous" areas are still low to moderate income today.[28] In Oakland, you can see that the present-day, highest rates of mortgage denials are in the flatlands between I-580 and I-880:

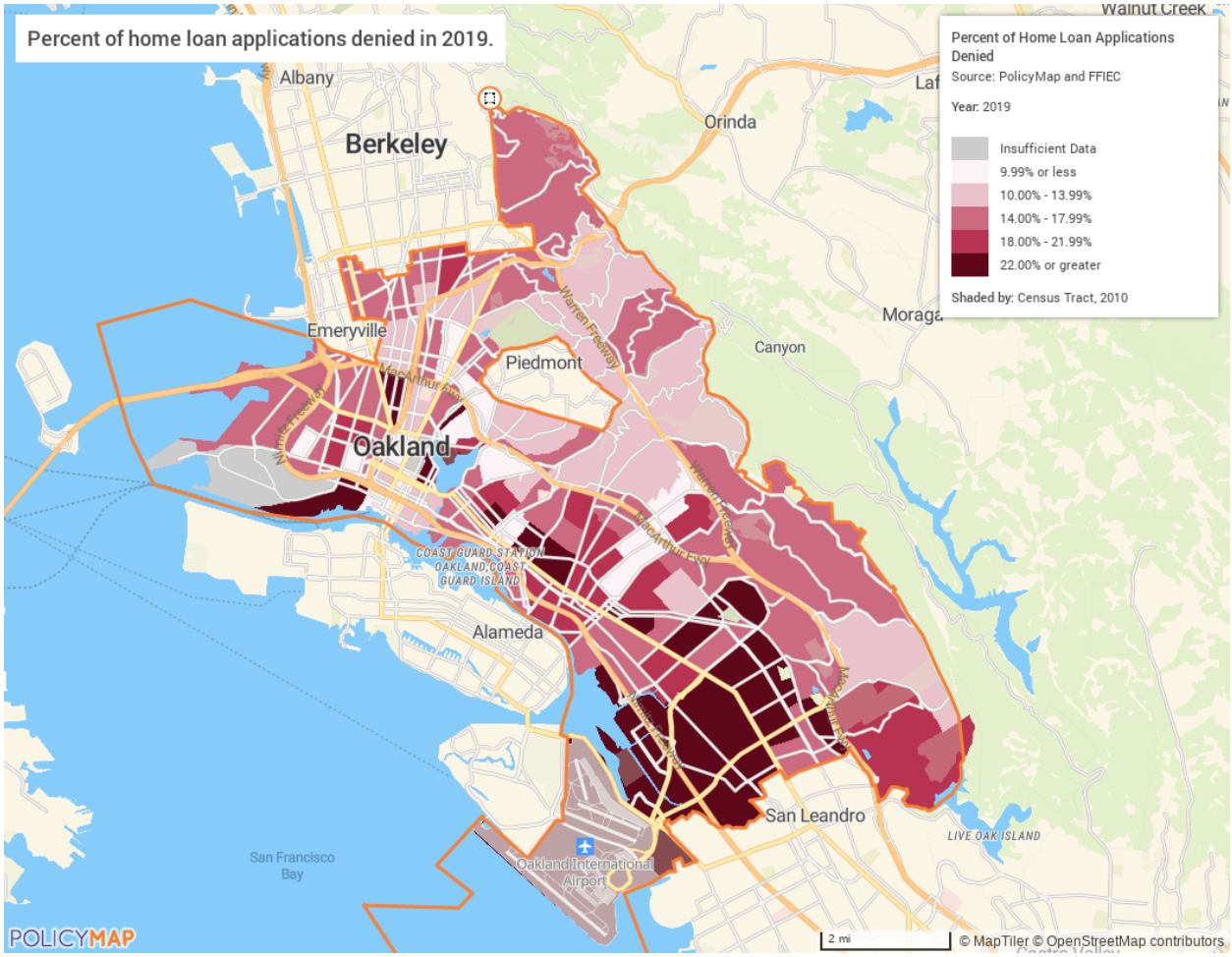

Figure 11: Home loan denials
Source: PolicyMap[29]

Using 2010 Census data in Oakland (the most up to date available in the mapping tool), an average of 13.5% of white applicants across census tracts were denied home loans,[30] while

[28] Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro, "Systemic Inequality: Displacement, Exclusion, and Segregation," Center for American Progress, Aug. 7, 2019, https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/reports/2019/08/07/472617/systemic-inequality-displacement-exclusion-segregation/.
[29] "Percent of home loan applications denied in 2019," PolicyMap, https://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/ (based on data from Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC): Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Summaries; Accessed April 8, 2022).
[30] "Percent of Home Loan Applications from Wlack Applicants that were Denied," PolicyMap, https://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/ (based on data from Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC): Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Summaries; Accessed April 8, 2022).

an average of 26.11% of Black applicants across census tracts were denied.[31] Black applicants are denied mortgages at almost double the rate of white applicants.

Notably, the Great Recession also decimated some of the wealth that people of color had built. Financial institutions targeted people of color for subprime loans, and one study found that subprime loans to families of color increased from 2% to 18% between 1993 and 2000.[32] Another found that Black households lost 47.6% of their wealth due to the Great Recession, while white families lost 26.2%.[33]

Health Disparities

The West Oakland neighborhoods where Black people were permitted to live had industrial zoning that has had health impacts on residents. The freeways built through the neighborhood have also led to disproportionate health impacts. Further exacerbating the inequities between the hills and the flatlands, trucks have not been allowed along the northern I-580 corridor since its construction in 1963, routing them to take I-880, which runs through West Oakland.[34] The West Oakland Environmental Indicators project has made evident the health risks that have accrued to West Oakland residents from these policies. They have found that children in Oakland living near freeways have an asthma rate that is twelve times higher than children in the suburb of Lafayette.[35] This is likely due to combined impacts from traffic on the freeways and the industrial activities of the nearby Port of Oakland.

[31] "Percent of Home Loan Applications from Black Applicants that were Denied," PolicyMap, https://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/ (based on data from Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC): Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) Summaries; Accessed April 8, 2022).
[32] Jacob S. Rugh and Douglas S. Massey, "Racial Segregation and the American Foreclosure Crisis," *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 5 (2010): 629 - 651, cited in Nick Carey, "Racial predatory loans fueled U.S. housing crisis: study," *Reuters,* Oct. 3, 2010, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-foreclosures-race-idUSTRE6930K520101004.
[33] Signe-Mary Mckernan, Caroline Ratcliffe, Eugene Steuerle, and Sisi Zhang, "Impact of the Great Recession and Beyond: Disparities in Wealth Building by Generation and Race," Urban Institute, April 2014, http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/413102-Impact-of-the-Great-Recession-and-Beyond.PDF.
[34] "A Tale of Two Freeways," Environmental Defense Fund, Accessed Oct. 11, 2021, https://www.edf.org/airqualitymaps/oakland/tale-two-freeways.
[35] "West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project," Accessed Oct. 11, 2021, https://education.ucdavis.edu/sites/main/files/file-attachments/margaret_gordon_woeip_overview_slides.pdf.

These disparities can also be seen visually in life expectancy and asthma rates in Oakland. People in whiter areas are actually expected to live longer than those in poorer or more Black areas:

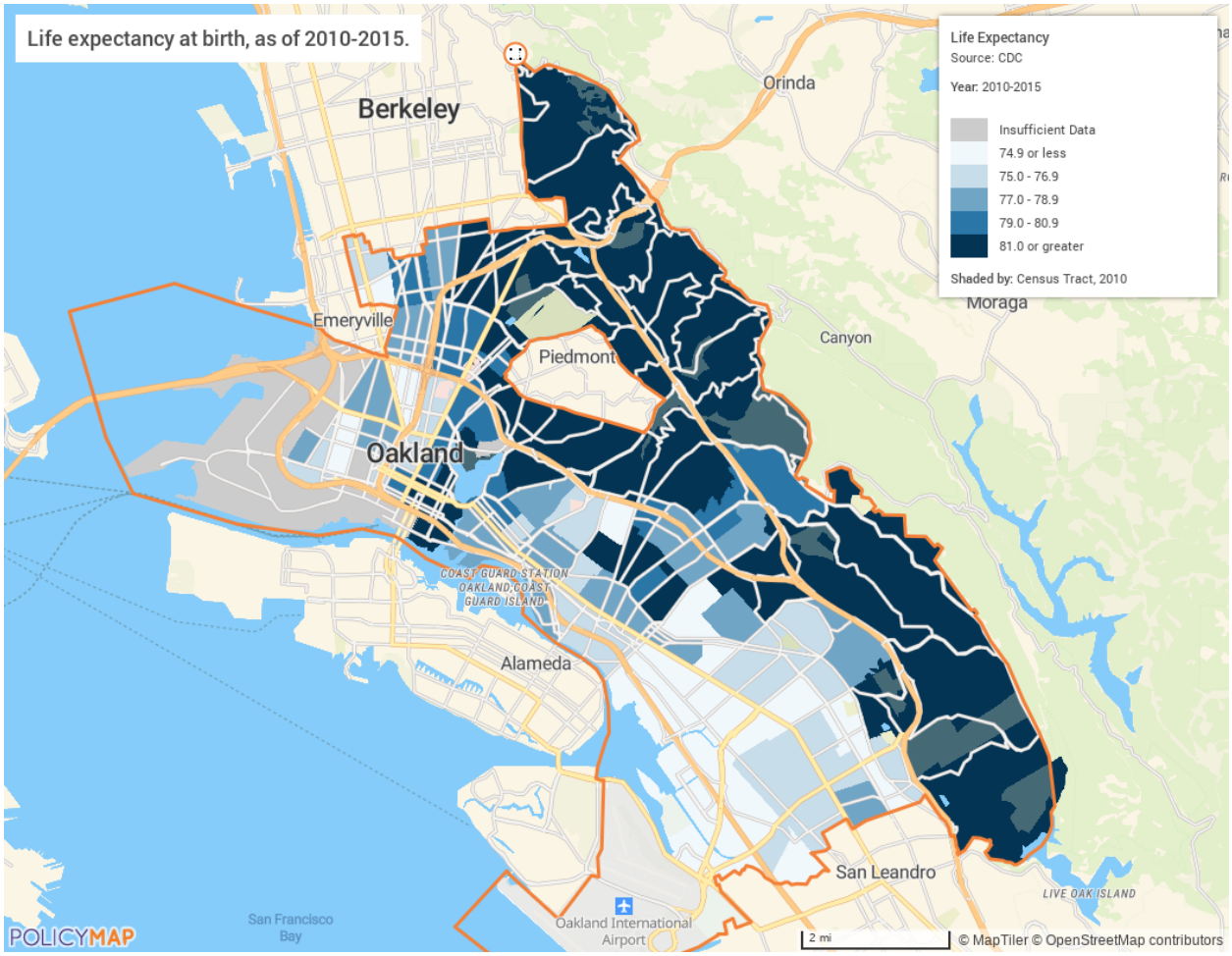

Figure 12: Life Expectancy by Census Tract
Source: PolicyMap[36]

[36] "Life expectancy at birth, as of 2010-2015," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7213/af854427f063712aa6bfa9b4c3251a0e (based on data from CDC National Center for Health Statistics, the United States Small-area Life Expectancy Estimates Project (USALEEP); Accessed January 14, 2022).

There are also higher asthma rates in the majority Black neighborhoods:

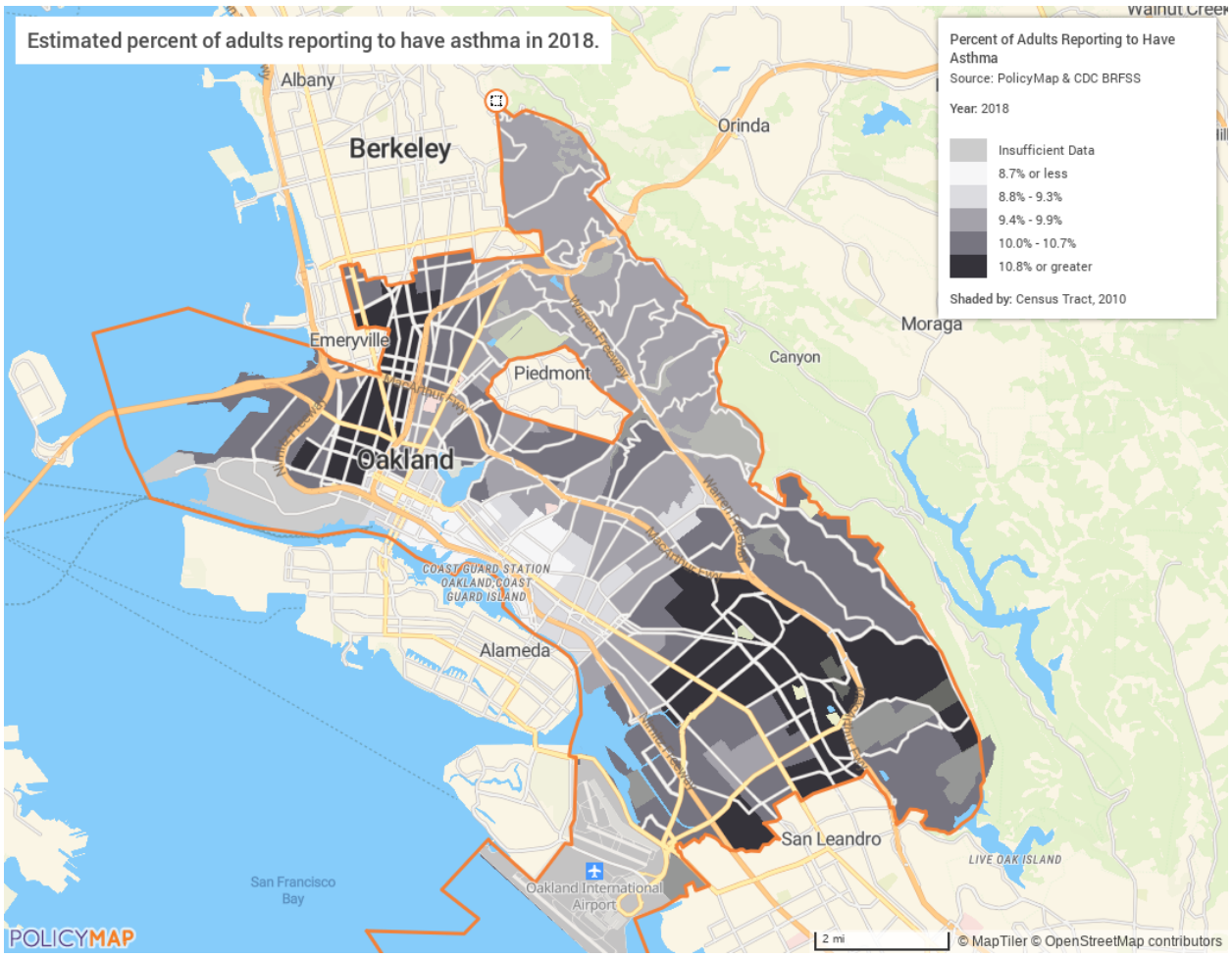

Figure 13: Asthma rates by Census Tract
Source: PolicyMap[37]

[37] "Estimated percent of adults reporting to have asthma in 2018," PolicyMap, https://www.cdc.gov/brfss/annual_data/annual_data.htm (based on data from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, Health Outcome Estimates and Risk Factor Estimates; Accessed April 8, 2022).

There is a correlation between neighborhoods with a high percentage of Black residents and asthma rates:

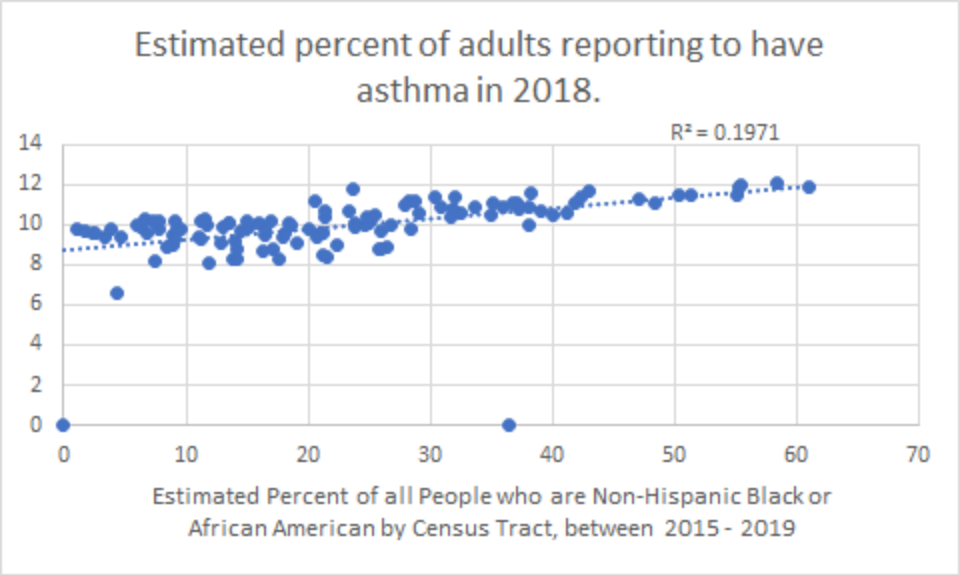

Figure 14: Asthma rates by Census Tract Plotted by Percentage of Black Residents

The West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project (WOEIP) has documented some of the environmental harms done to the neighborhood of West Oakland due to diesel particulate matter from trucks on the highways and from ships at the Port. They have found that, "About 42 percent of local diesel PM impacts and cancer risk come from heavy-duty trucks; about 38 percent of PM2.5 impacts come from road dust." At the Port, "About 33 percent of diesel PM comes from ocean-going vessels associated with the Port, while 18 percent comes from rail. Thirty percent of cancer risk from local sources comes from ocean-going vessels."[38]

[38] "Owning Our Air: The West Oakland Community Action Plan -- A Summary," Bay Area Air Quality Management District and the West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project, Oct. 2019, https://www.baaqmd.gov/~/media/files/ab617-community-health/west-oakland/100219-files/owning-our-air-plan-summary-pdf.pdf.

Some of the images from the WOEIP Owning Our Air report outlining the particulate matter and cancer risks follow. You can see the outlines of the highways that surround West Oakland:

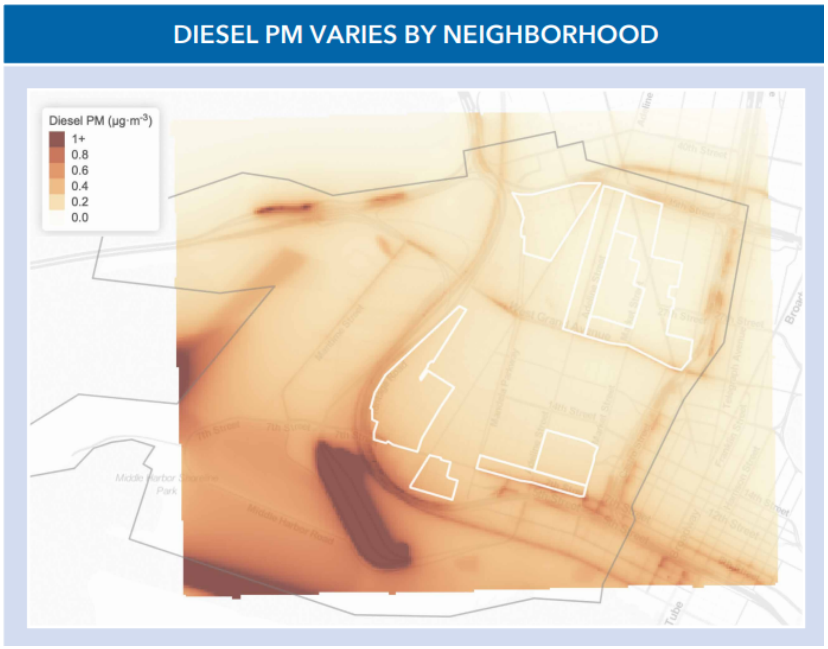

Figure 15: Diesel Particulate Matter in West Oakland
Source: Owning Our Air Report[39]

[39] "Owning Our Air: The West Oakland Community Action Plan -- A Summary," Bay Area Air Quality Management District and the West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project, Oct. 2019, https://www.baaqmd.gov/~/media/files/ab617-community-health/west-oakland/100219-files/owning-our-air-plan-summary-pdf.pdf.

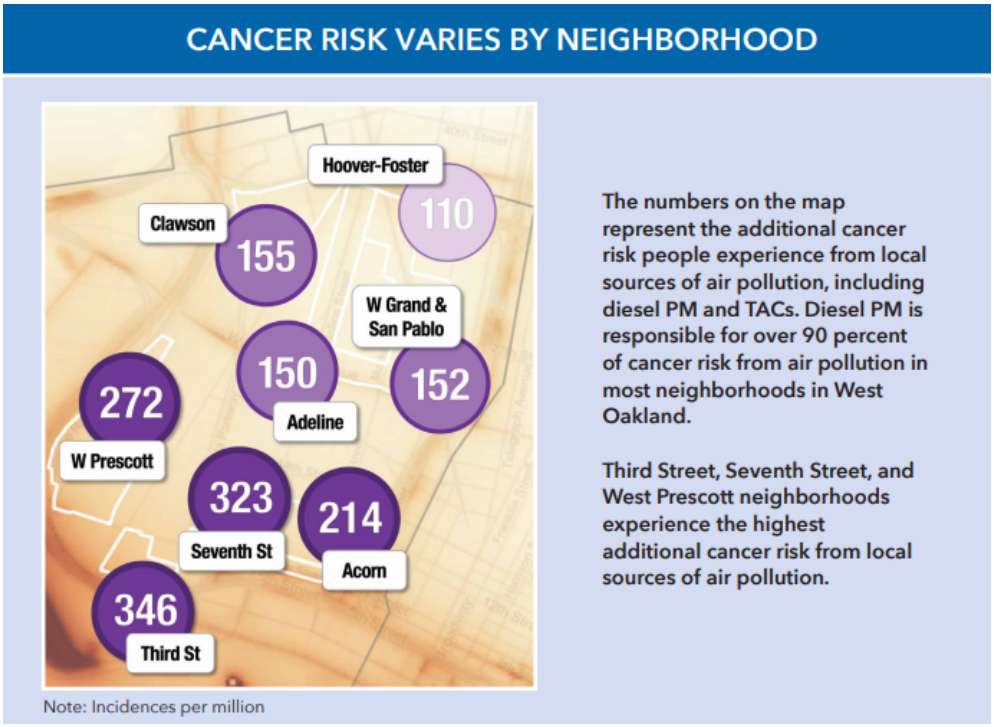

Figure 16: Cancer Risk in West Oakland
Source: Owning Our Air Report[40]

Assembly Bill 617 has directed local air districts to look at local air pollution; however, one of the bill's main proponents, Ms. Margaret Gordon, has noted that they are struggling with funding initiatives from the bill.[41]

Further documentation of present disparities can be found in the Oakland Race and Equity Baseline Indicators Report.[42]

[40] "Owning Our Air: The West Oakland Community Action Plan -- A Summary," Bay Area Air Quality Management District and the West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project, Oct. 2019, https://www.baaqmd.gov/~/media/files/ab617-community-health/west-oakland/100219-files/owning-our-air-plan-summary-pdf.pdf.
[41] Ms. Margaret Gordon in discussion with the author, March 2021.
[42] Veronica Cummings, "Oakland Race and Equity Baseline Indicators Report," City of Oakland Department of Race & Equity, Oct. 14, 2019, https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/2018FullReport-12021edit.pdf.

Oakland History as a Basis for Past and Present Inequities

Brief History

"The freeways took houses, BART tracks took houses, the post office took houses…This community has suffered environmentally, economically, and through gentrification…it's a system that has traumatized people of color and people that are low income."

-Reverend Ken Chambers

"*It's been government-sanctioned every step of the way."*

-Leo Bazile

The following provides a brief, broad stroke of the history of Black Oakland. I provide more detailed historical information after the initial brief history. This historical information laid out presents evidence of discriminatory public policies as a basis for paying reparations today. Over decades, specific decisions were made to build public projects through and around the historically Black neighborhood of West Oakland, displacing residents and demolishing homes, with homeowners sometimes unable to purchase replacement housing. These policies also had a racialized aspect, as urban renewal programs in Oakland and across the country targeted Black communities to erase "blight" and through which to build transportation networks. After post-World War II urban renewal, Black communities have continued to suffer from racism and discrimination. The following historical information serves as evidence of racism and discrimination against Black people in Oakland, which caused some of the disparities seen in the previous section, and provides an impetus for the payment of reparations.

Slavery did touch California, as the state upheld the federal Fugitive Slave Act, where enslaved Black people in the state were not protected and could be returned to the "slaveowner" they had escaped from.[43] However, as significant numbers of Black people did not come to the state until the Great Migration of the 20th century, this brief history and reparations proposal focuses instead on harm done from governmental public policies that disenfranchised and discriminated against Black people in Oakland after the second World War.

Black migrants came to Oakland largely during World War II and in the decades afterward, as part of the Great Migration, when many Black people left the South and moved to the North and West of the country. The Great Migration was approximately from 1915 to 1960. Black migrants to Oakland enjoyed ample employment in shipyards and military bases in Oakland during World War II. After the war, some struggled to find employment, working in factories or services, though the military bases remained a stable source of employment across further decades. West Oakland was a center for the Black community, as discriminatory policies caused them to be unable to live in many other neighborhoods. A

[43] Susan Anderson, "California, a 'Free State' Sanctioned Slavery," California Historical Society, Apr. 2, 2020, https://californiahistoricalsociety.org/blog/california-a-free-state-sanctioned-slavery/.

thriving commercial center, Seventh Street, hosted numerous small businesses, including the jazz clubs for which it was well-known.

Figure 17: Slim Jenkins jazz club
Source: FoundSF.org[44]

"Post-war urban design," to use a term employed by historian Robert O. Self in a history of post-World War II Oakland with a racial lens titled *American Babylon*, involved remaking the historically Black neighborhood of West Oakland with urban renewal projects. These projects aimed at reducing "blight" (which was often racialized) and improving transportation corridors. They involved housing projects, demolishing and redeveloping housing, and transportation projects such as the freeway system and the new Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) tracks. Many projects had a goal to bring shoppers into downtown and raise property taxes.

The highway and BART transportation networks were designed to bring commuters from the newly emerging suburbs to work in San Francisco. They were not necessarily designed for the benefit of Black residents in West Oakland, but rather to transport people through and past the neighborhood. To the chagrin of West Oakland residents, many homes were demolished and people displaced through these policies.

[44] Jennifer Soliman, "The Rise and Fall of Seventh Street in Oakland," Found SF, 2015, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Rise_and_Fall_of_Seventh_Street_in_Oakland.

As Self writes:

> "In the 1950s and 1960s [city planners and developers] hoped to restore property values by redeveloping land, clearing slums, constructing highways and rapid transit, and mechanizing the port -- a broad engineering of new urban forms. They sought to revive the city, and downtown in particular, as a site of capital accumulation. At the same time, African Americans sought a different sort of urban renaissance, one shaped by the goals of economic opportunity for the growing Black community: jobs, development, and neighborhood investment. The two visions clashed, as the reengineering of Oakland, coupled with structural economic changes, further disadvantaged the city's Black working class" (AB 9)

As Black people were pushed out of West Oakland, many settled in East Oakland or left the city altogether. This led to a Black community that spanned West Oakland, North Oakland, East Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, and Emeryville. People in these areas engaged in the same churches, sports, and outdoor social activities.

Maxine Ussery, whose father owned a prominent dry cleaning business in West Oakland, spoke of a "vibrant" Black community that previously existed in the neighborhood. She listed that Seventh Street businesses included "banks, skating rink, movie theater, restaurants, you name it," and that, "All of our needs were met in West Oakland." But beyond commercial businesses, Ms. Nettles spoke of an interconnected community, with people in West Oakland representing on the school board and being a part of the same church communities. She explained that the loss of industry and jobs, along with gentrification, were a major factor in the loss of the community.

In the 1960s, programs for the War on Poverty came to West Oakland. These included the Model Cities program, funded by the Ford Foundation. Black residents also founded organizations such as the Oakland Economic Development Council and the West Oakland Planning Committee. Black residents like Paul Cobb and Wil Ussery became involved in the Civil Rights movement, and Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party in Oakland. As factories left Oakland for neighboring suburbs and counties, jobs were lost, and a lot of organizing was done around job opportunities for Black residents.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a "Black urban regime" gained power as increasing numbers of Black people were elected to City Council, worked in planning departments, and joined the police force. In the 1980s, Oakland suffered as retail companies left the city, and white flight continued. In the 1990s the federal military bases, which had been a source of employment for many Black residents, closed as well.

In the 21st century, former mayor Jerry Brown set a "10K plan" aimed at attracting residents to downtown. The plan was reminiscent of earlier plans aiming to bring shoppers to

downtown. Also in the 21st century, Oakland and West Oakland have become increasingly gentrified.

Despite Black organizing and many victories, they have had to work against forces like urban renewal, segregation, and discrimination. Affirmative action has not been sufficient to remedy these effects, and even that has been challenged in California with Proposition 209 (the proposition bans preferential treatment based on race in public employment, education, and contracting). The following, more detailed history outlines some of the discrimination and damage that Black communities in Oakland have faced. As the racialized history of West Oakland and Oakland have already been well-documented, this historical section relies heavily on two books, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* by Robert O. Self and *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* by Chris Rhomberg, with additional articles and websites having been consulted.

Housing: Keeping Neighborhoods Segregated

"In 1950, there were four Black families on the block. In 1964, it was the whole neighborhood. Today, there are four black families on the block again. It's come full circle."

-David Peters

"All together, it feeds into the racial wealth gap. Unequal access to capital has affected everything in the neighborhood…it's cyclical…"

-David Peters

Due to exclusionary housing policies including redlining and lack of access to credit for down payments or to repair housing; city zoning; racially restrictive covenants; enforced segregation; white flight and white migration to the suburbs; blockbusting; and civilian and police violence; Black communities in Oakland were at first allowed to settle only in West Oakland. West Oakland had been a "port of entry" for many immigrants, who often moved to other parts of the city or to Berkeley once they had gained some economic stability.[45] Yet for Black immigrants, ""Many could and did ultimately make that move. Many more could not." By 1950, "nearly 90 percent of the city's Black population resided in 22 percent of its census tracts concentrated in West and North Oakland."[46] West Oakland also became subject to overcrowding in housing.[47]

During the Great Migration (approximately 1915 - 1960)[48], as millions of Black families moved out of the South to the North and West, and especially during and after World War

[45] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 50.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 48.
[48] Stephanie Christensen, "The Great Migration (1915- 1960)," Black Past, Dec. 6, 2007, https://www.Blackpast.org/african-american-history/great-migration-1915-1960/.

II, many Black migrants came to the city. They found employment on the railroads, at the port, and on the military bases.[49] West Oakland has easy access to jobs in these industries. The influx of Black migrants continued in the 1950s and beyond. By 1950 there were approximately 55,778 Black residents in Oakland, by 1960 there were 100,000, and by 1970 there were 125,000.[50]

During World War II, West Oakland "boomed," and the commercial center of Seventh Street:

> "...flourished with Black-owned businesses and professional offices, Slim Jenkins' jazz club on Seventh and Wood streets headlined a famous (now legendary) nightclub scene; women's clubs, churches, and fraternal orders thrived; and the district developed a special sense of transplanted community as southern migrants from the same towns and even neighborhoods in 'near South' states settled close to one another."[51]

As West Oakland increasingly became a majority Black neighborhood and white residents gained economic status, many white residents left for other parts of the city or nearby suburbs. They could often afford larger homes with bigger yards in these other areas.[52]

Zoning was used to designate some areas as residential, either with single-family homes or multi-family homes, and others as industrial.[53] This kept property values higher for white residents in more affluent areas. Unfortunately for Black residents of West Oakland, the neighborhood was zoned for heavy and light industrial use:

> "Activities allowed in light industrial areas included chemical, acid, disinfectant, chlorine, ammonia, cement, lime, gypsum, and alcohol manufacturing. In heavy industrial areas, the following were allowed: manufacturing explosives and fertilizer; petroleum refining; garbage, offal or dead animal reduction or dumping; smelting."[54]

Segregation of neighborhoods also maps onto zoning differences. A segregation map published in 1960 by Dr. Hunter showed that the three zones where Black people resided included zoning for industrial use around residential areas, while the six zones were they did not reside were mostly "A" or single-family zoned, with no industrial use.[55] Keeping

[49] Jennifer Soliman, "The Rise and Fall of Seventh Street in Oakland," Found SF, 2015, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Rise_and_Fall_of_Seventh_Street_in_Oakland.
[50] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 160.
[51] Ibid., 54.
[52] Ibid., 42.
[53] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 35.
[54] Ibid., 37.
[55] Ibid., 35.

affluent areas free from industrial use also protected property values and tax dollars for the city.[56]

Ernestine Nettles recalled train tracks being forged down Union St. when she was a child for steel companies and a candy factory. She recounted that they ran by an elementary school and even that the neighborhood "lost some kids to that train."

In what is usually termed "white flight," many white residents across the country left cities where Black migrants had moved in and took advantage of federally-backed mortgages to purchase homes in the suburbs. As Self writes, however:

> "Across the breadth of these decades, white suburbanites did not "flee" Oakland. They were drawn to suburban communities by the powerful economic and cultural incentives behind city building: new housing markets subsidized by the federal government; low taxes underwritten by relocating industry; and the assurance that a new home, spacious yard, and garage signaled their full assimilation into American life and its celebration of modernity and consumption."[57]

Racially restrictive covenants often specified that Black people and other people of color were restricted from certain neighborhoods,[58] and "The Tribune published 'white only' real estate listings until 1963."[59] Even after a Fair Housing Act was passed in 1963, "An Oakland Redevelopment Agency phone survey found 21 percent of current 486 housing listings and 17 percent of 675 rental listings were racially restricted."[60]

Common racialized thinking employed over the decades was that Black households did not properly maintain their housing, were less moral and less law abiding, and that Black families would decrease neighborhood property values.[61] Realtors exploited these fears through blockbusting - stoking white fears that a Black family would move into a neighborhood, causing the white families to sell, and then selling the homes to Black families at an inflated price. A study in 1964 by University of California Professor Floyd Hunter found blockbusting in the real estate industry in Oakland, along with reports of inflated pricing, and denial of loans in redlined areas.[62] This also gave the real estate

[56] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 44.
[57] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 16.
[58] Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography,* 34, no. 5 (2013), 707.
[59] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 164.
[60] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 50.
[61] Ibid., 27-28.
[62] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 166.

industry more control over the housing market and prices.[63] Self goes as far as to say, "...the real estate industry came to see the promotion, preservations, and manipulation of racial segregation as central - rather than incidental or residual - components of their profit-generating strategies."[64]

The pattern of Black inner cities and white suburbs was referred to as a "suburban 'white noose'" by Self. Indeed, as late as 1970, over ¾ of census tracts in Oakland on the border of San Leandro were majority Black, but San Leandro was less than 0.1% Black.[65] A report in 1971 by the National Committe Against Discrimination in Housing "blamed federal housing policy, homeowners associations, the city government, and the county real estate board for racial restriction," and it found that ""The Veterans Administration guaranteed more than $1.6 million in home loans' in San Leandro...while the Federal Housing Administration insured more than $1.7 million in home mortgages.' All went to white buyers."[66] Between 1960 and 1970, 56,611 white people, over 20% of the white population, left Oakland.[67]

Suburban residents were worried about property values but also "school overcrowding, increased traffic, degradation of parks and other public spaces, crime, and increased social service burden...In short, suburban homeowners hoped to exclude the complicated social life they associated with large cities."[68]

As desegregation and integration became national policy priorities, homeowners across California sought to preserve segregation. The Rumford Act passed in the California legislature in 1963, prohibiting discrimination in housing and lending.[69] Some rejected the legislation and, led by the California Real Estate Association, campaigned for and passed Proposition 14, which said that property owners could sell or rent property "to any person as he chooses" and repealed the Rumford Act.[70] The federal government stopped sending funding for urban renewal to the state after this decision.[71] However, Proposition 14 was

[63] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 50.
[64] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 265.
[65] Ibid., 268.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 153.
[68] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 281.
[69] Herbert G. Ruffin II, "The California Fair Housing Act [The Rumford Act] (1963 - 1968)," Black Past, June 5, 2011, https://www.Blackpast.org/african-american-history/california-fair-housing-act-rumford-act-1963-1968/.
[70] "No on Proposition 14: California Fair Housing Initiative Collection," Collection number: GTU 94-7-01, Online Archive of California, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt0b69q1bw/.
[71] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 99.

struck down in the Supreme Court in 1966, and in 1968 the National Housing Act was passed, outlawing discrimination by "race, color, creed, and national origin."[72]

A linchpin of segregation had been redlining and the denial of loans and mortgages. The Home Owners Loan Corporation first produced the infamous maps marking city neighborhoods by color and assigning neighborhoods mostly inhabited by minorities as "high risk" in red. These were later used by the Federal Housing Administration and by private lenders to deny loans and mortgages from applicants in those neighborhoods.[73]

Major consequences of these policies include that many Black residents in West Oakland were not able to access mortgages to buy homes, and were thus barred from home ownership. Furthermore, Black residents with homes could not access crucial credit to upkeep and maintain their homes.[74] This would become an even larger problem when those homes were determined to be "blighted" and became slated for demolition under urban renewal, making home ownership more difficult to achieve once again.

Meanwhile, federally-backed mortgages that went mostly to white families represented "...one of the largest federal welfare transfers in the nation."[75] Home ownership was federally subsidized for white families and, along with cheaper land in the suburbs and new techniques in housing production, "brought homeownership to historically unprecedented numbers of white/Anglo people in California and the nation."[76] Benefits tended to go to middle- and upper-class families, with no loans given to the bottom third income bracket and only 16% to the bottom half by the 1960s, in the San Francisco-Oakland region.[77]

Disparities in access to mortgages and credit persist to this day. As stated earlier, Black applicants in Oakland today are denied mortgages at almost double the rate of white applicants. One present-day interviewee explained that she is in need of loans to fix up her home, but that she does not think she will qualify for a loan at a commercial bank. She was reluctant to take a "dirty loan" with high interest rates but was not sure what her options could be.

[72] Herbert G. Ruffin II, "The California Fair Housing Act [The Rumford Act] (1963 - 1968)," Black Past, June 5, 2011, https://www.Blackpast.org/african-american-history/california-fair-housing-act-rumford-act-1963-1968/.
[73] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 104.
[74] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 39.
[75] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 329.
[76] Ibid., 281.
[77] Ibid.

Leading up to the Great Recession in the late 2000s, one study found that subprime loans to families of color increased from 2% to 18% between 1993 and 2000.[78] Another found that Black households lost 47.6% of their wealth due to the Great Recession, while white families lost 26.2%.[79]

Reveal from The Center for Investigative Reporting found that, in 61 metro areas across the country, Black and Latinx mortgage applicants were turned away at higher rates, even after controlling for nine economic and social factors including, "an applicant's income, the amount of the loan, the ratio of the size of the loan to the applicant's income and the type of lender, as well as the racial makeup and median income of the neighborhood where the person wanted to buy property."[80] Credit scores were not available in this analysis as they are not publicly accessible.[81]

The Community Reinvestment Act, passed in 1977, aimed to decrease the effects of redlining by requiring banks to give loans to "low-income geographic areas."[82] However, as the legislation is based on geography, there is a loophole where these loans may go to white residents moving to historically redlined neighborhoods.[83] Black applicants continue to be denied loans at higher rates than white applicants.

Credit scoring also contributes to disparities in outcomes. Black families denied mortgages or other loans may resort to predatory loans.[84] Compounding effects of families not being able to build generational wealth leads to greater risk of economic instability, while job discrimination presents a barrier for many Black job applicants. Formerly incarcerated

[78] Jacob S. Rugh and Douglas S. Massey,
"Racial Segregation and the American Foreclosure Crisis," *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 5 (2010): 629 - 651, cited in Nick Carey, "Racial predatory loans fueled U.S. housing crisis: study," *Reuters,* Oct. 3, 2010,
https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-foreclosures-race-idUSTRE6930K520101004.
[79] Signe-Mary Mckernan, Caroline Ratcliffe, Eugene Steuerle, And Sisi Zhang, "Impact of the Great Recession and Beyond: Disparities in Wealth Building by Generation and Race," Urban Institute, April 2014,
"http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/413102-Impact-of-the-Great-Recession-and-Beyond.PDF.
[80] Aaron Glantz and Emmanuel Martinez, "For people of color, banks are shutting the door to homeownership," *Reveal*, February 15, 2018,
https://revealnews.org/article/for-people-of-color-banks-are-shutting-the-door-to-homeownership/.
[81] Aaron Glantz and Emmanuel Martinez, "For people of color, banks are shutting the door to homeownership," *Reveal*, February 15, 2018,
https://revealnews.org/article/for-people-of-color-banks-are-shutting-the-door-to-homeownership/.
[82] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 119.
[83] Sharon Velasquez, "The Community Reinvestment Act at 40: It's Hard to Fight Redlining If You're Colorblind," *Greenlining Institute* (blog), October 31, 2017,
https://greenlining.org/blog-category/2017/community-reinvestment-act-fight-redlining/.
[84] Michelle Singletary, "Credit scores are supposed to be race-neutral. That's impossible," *Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), October 16, 2020,
https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/10/16/how-race-affects-your-credit-score/.

individuals, populations in which Black men and women are overrepresented, may face discrimination when applying for jobs as well. Systemic inequalities and disparities can affect a credit score and make it harder for people to access credit to create more wealth.

As one head of a Philadelphia Black real estate broker association's local chapter put it, "This is how people lose their homes…First, they can't fix the kitchen, and then it's a leaky roof and then the electrical. Then the building inspector shows up, and you have to sell, and here comes the gentrification."[85]

Urban Renewal/Redevelopment

"People were displaced. They moved to North Oakland, East Oakland. Because of urban renewal in the 1960s. West Oakland has been diminishing ever since then.
Blacks moved to East Oakland. Portuguese and Italians moved to San Leandro. San Leandro had a hard police line for blacks… "

-Reginald Lyles

"As a kid, I was embarrassed at the flat, bare ground. Acres and acres of nothing. Not understanding but having a vague sense of embarrassment. 14th and Broadway was also bare ground - in the middle of downtown, too. Urban renewal schemes take longer to rebuild than advertised. Number of units built is far short of the number of people displaced, despite promises they'd be able to come back. Community networks are ended. This is what cultural erasure looks like. Connection, cultural connections, are not recoverable."

-David Peters

Black residents of West Oakland were prevented from settling in other neighborhoods throughout the city and were often in overcrowded housing and unable to access credit to improve their homes. Determination of blight was based on "buildings, populations, land and public utilities, health, and value" in the 1949 Housing Act.[86] It was also generally associated by the federal government with "property in which value no longer appreciated."[87] Blight could mean a property had "old, unsafe buildings," or that it was overcrowded. It could mean high crime rates, "disproportionate expenditures for police and fire protections and other public services," and lower tax revenue based on property values.[88]

[85] Aaron Glantz and Emmanuel Martinez, "Gentrification became low-income lending law's unintended consequence," *Reveal*, Feb. 16, 2018, https://revealnews.org/article/gentrification-became-low-income-lending-laws-unintended-consequence/.
[86] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 45.
[87] Ibid., 56.
[88] Ibid., 45.

However, there was often a racialized component to properties deemed blighted.[89] White people saw blighted properties as an "individual moral deficiency."[90] Though there were real problems with some homes, including health problems in people whose homes were located next to industry and safety issues, "much of [urban renewal across the country] was implicitly racialized." It was neighborhoods primarily made up of Black residents, with lower property values, that were targeted for redevelopment through urban renewal. Urban renewal, or demolishing properties and replacing them with new projects, even became known as "Negro Removal."[91] West Oakland was also targeted for its proximity to downtown with a desire to bring more middle- and high-income residents to frequent stores downtown.

A 1949 blight study recommended demolishing blighted areas of West Oakland and converting it to industrial zoning.[92] In 1959 the Oakland General Neighborhood Renewal Plan recommended demolishing the neighborhood for industrial use and high-income housing, especially for residents who would frequent downtown.[93] In the decade between, the Citizen's Committee for Urban Renewal (later the Oakland Citizen's Committee, abbreviated OCCUR), made up of "business elites," had supported renewal in West Oakland to stop the ""centrifugal loss of capital, property value, and middle-income consumers."[94] This was also thought to decrease the tax burden throughout the city through increased property values. There is a comparison to be made in bringing in wealthier residents to revitalize downtown to Jerry Brown's 10K plan.

It is noteworthy that a 1969 complaint filed by Oakland residents with the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development led to a new co-chair and board of directors for OCCUR. This included civil rights activist Paul Cobb, and others. The complaint was that minorities were not incorporated in the community participation process.[95]

Urban renewal was partially funded by the federal government, with them paying ⅔ of the costs to acquire land through the 1949 and 1954 Housing Acts.[96]

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[89] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 56.
[90] Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 9, cited in Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 57.
[91] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 140.
[92] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 61.
[93] Ibid., 65.
[94] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 139.
[95] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 165.
[96] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 63.

A major issue with urban renewal in West Oakland is that residents did not want their homes to be demolished. As noted by Robert O. Self, many Black residents were "optimistic" about urban renewal and rehabilitation, but did not wish for demolition of existing homes to be the method chosen.[97] In a letter to Harry Truman in 1949, West Oakland resident Lola Bell Sims wrote, "Just now here in Oakland the [Black people] are much confused and very unhappy, thinking that they are going to lose their all and all by the U.S. government taking their property by force whether or not they want to give it up."[98] As Self wrote, "...it appeared that the city of Oakland and the federal government, in a partnership made possible by the Housing Act of 1949, planned to condemn their property, acquire it through eminent domain, and redevelop vast stretches of the city's principal Black neighborhood." And the money paid to acquire these homes at "fair market value" was often not enough to buy another home in the same or adjacent neighborhoods.[99] Thousands of homes were demolished.

At a hearing in 1961 that the Redevelopment Agency held with residents of the Acorn area, residents "'made it known emphatically they they [did] not want to be moved from their homes.'"[100] Residents won concessions demanded by a representative from the NAACP that the agency would "urge appointment of a committee to assure housing for minorities...develop residential sites for current residents; and...set a time schedule for allowing residents to find decent housing."[101] Despite resident complaints, the Acorn project proceeded.

Another issue with urban renewal is that low-income housing in new developments was insufficient to meet the need. The General Neighborhood Renewal Plan had "estimated that of the 8,416 families living in West Oakland, 12 percent 'can afford [to] purchase housing,' 33 percent 'can afford new rental units,' 33 percent 'can afford 'rehab' rental units,' and 22 percent 'need subsidized housing.' However, the plan states that 'adequate housing will be available only in the first three categories.'" Families who needed subsidized housing were not adequately served by new housing.[102] This included about 1,850 families.

[97] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 143.
[98] Ibid., 137 - 138.
[99] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), cited in Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography,* 34, no. 5 (2013), 708.
[100] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 130.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 77.

As homes were demolished and more Black people continued to move to Oakland, East Oakland eventually opened up to non-white residents. Over time, many Black Oaklanders had moved to North Oakland and South Berkeley as well.

Urban renewal also led to transportation projects connecting the suburbs to San Francisco.[103]

Robert O. Self writes that, by demolishing homes and building new projects:

> "...in Oakland no less than in other American cities, urban renewal constituted a massive redistribution of property and people in the name of saving downtown...at the heart of the plan was a redistribution of property from homeowners and small businesspeople to private industry and corporations and a redistribution of poor and middling homeowners and renters from one slum to another."[104]

Acorn was one of the first redevelopment projects proposed in West Oakland. City planners designated two of its subdivisions with 70% "substandard housing," and five with 60% "standard housing," but demolished all of the buildings.[105] These were mostly homes of Black residents (78% Black, 20% Mexican, and 2% white)[106]. Ernestine Nettles, who grew up in a West Oakland neighborhood not far from Oakland, described a lot of the homes in West Oakland as "beautiful homes," and many were made in a Victorian style.[107] Acorn had also included part of Seventh Street.

[103] Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography,* 34, no. 5 (2013), 708.
[104] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 149.
[105] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 109.
[106] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 127.
[107] Penelope Fergison, "Head for the Hills: Race and Property Value in Oakland" (thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2018), 113.

Figure 18: 1966 Model for the Acorn project
Source: Oakland Redevelopment Agency[108]

One of the tragedies of Acorn was that part of the demolished lots were not immediately rebuilt. "Thirty-four acres" of the Acorn area were left vacant for over five years.[109]

The damage was significant. As Rhomberg put it:

> "By the mid 60s, policies of wholesale demolition would wreak havoc on Black neighborhoods around the city center. Altogether, between 1960 and 1966 more than 7,000 housing units in Oakland were destroyed by urban renewal, freeway and BART construction, and other governmental action, and in West Oakland alone almost 5,100 units were removed, resulting in a net outmigration from the neighborhood of about 14,000 residents."[110]

Between 1960 and 1966, West Oakland's population had decreased by about 25%.[111] As people were pushed out, many Black residents settled in East Oakland, which had eventually opened up to Black residents.

[108] Moriah Ulinskas, "Imagining a Past Future: Photographs from the Oakland Redevelopment Agency," Places, January 2019, https://placesjournal.org/article/imagining-a-past-future/#.YG5e4ufmgHc.mailto
[109] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 156.
[110] Ibid., 125.
[111] Ibid., 156.

Organizing by the NAACP and others led to the inclusion of more public housing. But by "1966 Oakland still had only 1,422 permanent public-housing units. By that time, the City Planning Commission estimated that more than 20,000 households in Oakland were eligible for public housing."[112]

The West Oakland neighborhood of Oak Center had a different fate. In 1963, Lillian Love organized the Oak Center Neighborhood Association (OCNA).[113] The group advocated for rehabilitation of homes rather than demolition. Oak Center was initially targeted to be 20% rehabilitated, but after their organizing (and internal changes in the Redevelopment Agency), 75% of properties were rehabilitated.[114] In 1966, Love became the commissioner of the agency.[115]

Another urban project was the construction of a new U.S. postal center in West Oakland. In 1958, 400 homes were demolished for the building at 1675 7th Street.[116] After demolition, it was seven years before the building was built.[117]

Reverend Chambers knows a personal story of disenfranchisement. Growing up, he knew a woman affectionately called "Mother Norwell," who used to own a home where the post office is located. Once her house was bought for land for the post office, she was not able to buy another house. As Reverend Chambers explained, "She lived and died in public housing."

Freeways

"When I first came to the area, I saw Cypress Freeway around West Oakland. Most of the people living in West Oakland at that time, were mostly African American. The freeway came down because of the earthquake.
People in power making decisions, they don't want certain things in their neighborhood because it's disturbing-- noise, pollution, they push off to other areas. In African American neighborhoods, we've accepted those things, "That's the way it is." Now we have a voice to say we don't want these things.

-Pastor Harris

[112] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 130.
[113] Zack Haber, "Remembering Housing Activist Lillian Love," *Post News Group* (Oakland, CA), March 5, 2020, https://www.postnewsgroup.com/2020-03-05-remembering-housing-activist-lillian-love/.
[114] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 132.
[115] Zack Haber, "Remembering Housing Activist Lillian Love," *Post News Group* (Oakland, CA), March 5, 2020, https://www.postnewsgroup.com/2020-03-05-remembering-housing-activist-lillian-love/.
[116] "Oakland's History of Resistance to Racism," City of Oakland, Accessed May 17, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/oaklands-history-of-resistance-to-racism.
[117] Katie Ferrari, "The house on Magnolia Street," *Curbed,* April 29, 2020, https://sf.curbed.com/2020/4/29/21240456/moms-4-housing-oakland-house-history.

"Methodically, infrastructure has destroyed every black commercial corridor in the US."
-Regina Davis

As Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez have written, "A common component of post-war urban renewal was transportation infrastructure such as highways and mass transit systems, with often devastating effects on African American communities."[118] Most of the highways in Oakland were planned in the early 1950s and built by the late 1960s, although I-980 and State Route 24 (Grove-Shafter) were not completed until the 1970s.[119]

I-580 (MacArthur) runs east to west, cutting a barrier between West and North Oakland. I-880 (the Nimitz freeway) travels along the southern border, and curves north to meet with I-580 and the Bay Bridge. State Route 24 (Grove-Shafter) travels from the northeast to West Oakland, and disrupted a Black commercial center on Grove St. in North Oakland. The freeway marked a new "racial redline," previously "defined by discriminatory lending and real estate practices."[120] It also connects to I-980, which cut a barrier between West Oakland and downtown. Lastly, the Cypress Freeway, part of I-880 or the Nimitz Freeway, originally ran right through West Oakland, "isolating its westernmost section."[121]

Richard Rothstein, in an interview with NPR, shared that the Federal Housing Administration "recommended" to use highways as racial barriers in its underwriting manual.[122] In cities across the U.S., transportation planners intentionally put neighborhoods through or around communities of color, damaging and isolating their neighborhoods.

One interviewee described the Cypress Freeway as a "monster" that "divided the community." Another mentioned the "pollution, blight, noise and air pollution": that it brought, and that it had "substandard construction." He went as far as to call it "an assault on a beautiful community." In 1989, it collapsed during the Loma Prieta earthquake, killing

[118] Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography*, 34, no. 5 (2013), 710.
[119] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 150.
[120] J. Norman, J., *Temescal Legacies: Narratives of Change from a North Oakland Neighborhood* (Oakland, CA: Shared Ground, 2006), cited in Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography*, 34, no. 5 (2013), 710.
[121] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 123.
[122] Richard Rothstein, Interview by Terry Gross, "A 'Forgotten History' Of How The U.S. Government Segregated America," *NPR,* May 3, 2017, https://www.npr.org/2017/05/03/526655831/a-forgotten-history-of-how-the-u-s-government-segregated-america.

42 people.[123] With community organizing, led by Chappell Hayes, the freeway was rerouted to go along the western border of West Oakland.[124]

The freeways destroyed homes and businesses, displaced residents, brought noise and air pollution and health impacts, and contributed to blight in West Oakland. They created barriers that "disfigured" the neighborhood[125]. The freeways "crisscrossed the area, walling off, and casting shadows across neighborhoods and creating environmental nuisances."[126] The freeway system, along with the new rail system, greatly benefited suburbs like Alameda, connecting them more easily to San Francisco, and the Port, bringing trucks to and from, but was not built for the benefit of West Oakland.[127]

In 1963, CalTrans and the federal government decided to ban diesel trucks on I-580, rerouting them to I-880. Many trucks also travel along I-880 to reach the Port. This has led to increased pollution on 880 and along West Oakland.[128]

Industrial activity at the port and the freeways have contributed to significant health and environmental impacts for the neighborhood of West Oakland. One interviewee even described that Black communities had been "redlined into those places where the air was killing us."

[123] "Replacing Oakland's Cypress Freeway," *Public Roads* 61, no. 5 (1998), https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/publications/publicroads/98marapr/cypress.cfm.
[124] Rasheed Shabazz, "Oakland legend - Chappell Hayes - Environmental Justice advocate, West Oakland leader," *The Daily Regiment* (blog)*,* December 20, 2010, http://dailyregiment.blogspot.com/2010/12/oakland-legend-chappell-hayes.html.
[125] Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography,* 34, no. 5 (2013).
[126] Ibid., 710.
[127] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 150.
[128] "A tale of two freeways," Environmental Defense Fund, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.edf.org/airqualitymaps/oakland/tale-two-freeways.

The following image from Grist Media illustrates the disturbance certain freeways created:

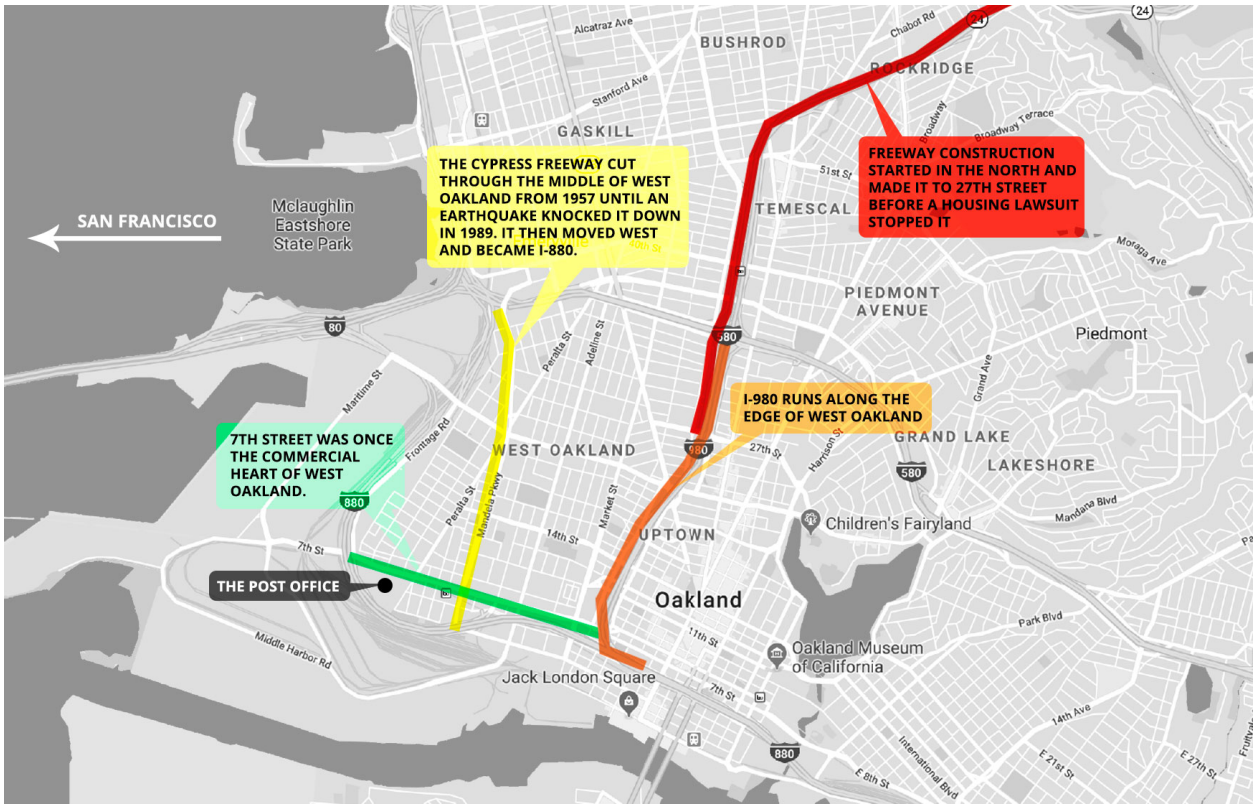

Figure 19: Layout of major highways in West Oakland
Source: Grist media[129]

The highway locations were planned by the State Department of Public Works (predecessor to the California Department of Transportation or CalTrans). However, the "exact final routes" were determined by Oakland City Council.[130] In 1958, when final plans were released, there were no Black members of City Council,[131] although Oakland's population was 22.8% Black (in the 1960 census).[132]

Robert O. Self writes that, "...by the late 1960s West Oakland was a postindustrial transportation crossroads...The costs to West Oakland residents - in the destruction of homes and commercial districts - were enormous."[133]

[129] Nathanael Johnson, "A highway runs through it," Grist Media, April 17, 2019, https://grist.org/cities/oakland-california-freeway-removal-interstate-980/.
[130] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 150.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the Association of Bay Area Governments (MTC-ABAG), "City of Oakland: Alameda County," Accessed October 16, 2021, http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/cities/Oakland50.htm.
[133] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 150.

Public Transit

Oakland has several public transportation networks. The original Key streetcar system serviced West Oakland, including Seventh Street. As quoted by Self, "When the red trains [Key System] were taken off 7th Street, that just devastated the area… people couldn't get there easily and the businesses closed down, the streets looked shabby" (Self, 2003, p. 157). The Key system was replaced by the AC Transit bus system, but this brought a "worsening of service and connections for urban transit riders."[134]

The Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system was designed in the 1950s and 1960s to bring commuters from the newly established suburbs to San Francisco.[135] The system was not geared for people moving within Oakland, which is evident through the few stops in Oakland, spaced far apart. Golub, Marcantonio, and Sanchez wrote that, "…studies, during the 1970s, demonstrated that its operation was consistent with its intended orientation toward suburban commuting. BART was not designed to serve the mobility needs of minorities, and these later studies in fact showed that it was not meeting them."[136] Another study showed that:

> "BART made little impact on the mobility of ethnic minority residents because it does not go where they need to go—specifically places away from central business districts. It found that BART's design does not lend itself to the local travel, blue-collar employment, and inner city travel needs of minorities."[137]

A major consequence of the BART system was created from the placement of above-ground tracks right along Seventh Street. Seventh Street had been in the 1940s a "bustling place of commerce hosting a myriad of businesses such as markets, cleaners, restaurants, hotels and gyms," pharmacies, dance halls, theaters, groceries, and others.[138] It also hosted multiple night clubs that were well known for "styles like New Orleans, swing, bebop, and blues" and West Coast Blues. Slim Jenkins was a particularly well-known nightclub. However, the commercial district suffered as jobs were lost after war-time production and the Key system ceased to run. It persisted until the 1950s, but as urban renewal projects reconfigured West Oakland, the Cypress Freeway was placed right along Seventh Street, the post office was built in the area, and the BART tracks were placed along

[134] Aaron Golub , Richard A. Marcantonio & Thomas W. Sanchez, "Race, Space, and Struggles for Mobility: Transportation Impacts on African Americans in Oakland and the East Bay," *Urban Geography,* 34, no. 5 (2013), 712.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Jennifer Soliman, "The Rise and Fall of Seventh Street in Oakland," Found SF, 2015, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Rise_and_Fall_of_Seventh_Street_in_Oakland.

it, the center ceased to thrive. The BART tracks particularly "killed the street."[139] Another source described that BART "eviscerated what was left of Seventh Street."[140]

One interviewee, Alan Dones, co-founder of the Strategic Urban Development Alliance, noted how disruptive the BART tracks are by describing a recent time he attended a community meeting on Seventh Street. It was in a venue that had been a nightclub in Seventh Street's heyday. The BART kept passing, causing the participants to close windows and doors to hear one another better. They measured the sound at 78 decibels - Alan (who runs a development firm) says that construction permits require sites to keep the sound below 70 decibels.

Figure 20: BART tracks along Seventh Street
Source: Art In the Margins blog[141]

In a different turn of events, the adjacent city of Berkeley paid through a $20.4 million bond measure to put BART tracks underground.[142] West Oakland was not able to do the same.

[139] Jennifer Soliman, "The Rise and Fall of Seventh Street in Oakland," Found SF, 2015, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Rise_and_Fall_of_Seventh_Street_in_Oakland.
[140] Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 157.
[141] Charlie Dubbe, cited in "2) Oakland: Post-War Urban Design, Transportation, and Graffiti," Art in the Margins (blog), Accessed May 15, 2021, https://artalongthemargins.wordpress.com/graffiti-post-war-urban-design-transportation-and-broken-windows/.
[142] Frances Dinkelspiel, "Fight to underground BART in Berkeley one of many tales told in new book," *Berkeleyside,* March 14, 2017, https://www.berkeleyside.org/2017/03/14/fight-underground-bart-berkeley-one-many-tales-told-new-book.

Another unfortunate consequence of these projects was that many residents felt the price offered to them to take their homes by eminent domain was not sufficient to buy another house. A local newspaper reported in 1966 that, "'BART feels that the property owners should not expect very much money for their property because the neighborhood is run down."[143]

Summarizing years of these urban renewal housing and transportation projects, Robert O. Self writes that, "'We've been bulldozed one time too many' was a typical West Oakland complaint."[144]

Jobs

Abundance and scarcity of jobs for Black Oaklanders, based both on race and on other economic conditions, contributed to the success and decline of the residents. Jobs had been readily available in the nearby shipyards, railroads, and ports during World War II.[145] After the war, many Black workers had to find new jobs in manufacturing or services. Chris Rhomberg writes that, "By 1960, the blue-collar sector--craftsmen and foremen, operatives and laborers--employed proportionally more African American men than any other sector." [146] The Port also underwent mechanization and containerization in the 1960s that led to a loss of jobs.[147] In 1964 the unemployment rate in Oakland was 11%, while the Black unemployment rate was 20%.[148] Furthermore, Black workers had not been brought into many apprenticeship programs.[149] It was difficult for some Black workers to enter unions.[150]

The Oakland Army Base, U.S. Naval Supply Station, and Naval Air Station in Alameda provided jobs and remained key employers for many residents of West Oakland.[151] Rhomberg writes that "a new Black middle class" also formed during the 1950s.

However, many manufacturing plants also began leaving Oakland during this time. This included "General Motors, Dow Chemical, Shell Oil, Borden Chemical, and Trailmobile," among others.[152] Some moved further south in Alameda County, and some to Contra Costa County. Robert O. Self writes that manufacturing jobs in Oakland decreased by 10,000 between 1961 and 1966.

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[143] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 193.
[144] Ibid., 195.
[145] Jennifer Soliman, "The Rise and Fall of Seventh Street in Oakland," Found SF, 2015, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Rise_and_Fall_of_Seventh_Street_in_Oakland.
[146] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 123.
[147] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 157.
[148] Ibid., 170.
[149] Ibid., 173.
[150] Ibid., 56.
[151] Ibid., 57.
[152] Ibid., 171.

As many Black residents worked in service jobs, a "front-of-the-house/back-of-the-house" racial line was established in jobs at "hospitals, hotels, restaurants, department stores, transportation, and other services," where Black workers were relegated to positions that did not involve interfacing with the public.[153] As the local economy underwent "deindustrialization and the transition to services," there was continued discrimination and challenges to Black employment.[154]

However, in "government service," due to "fair hiring practices," many more jobs became open to Black workers.[155] In the late 1960s, public employment consisted of 29% of Black employment, "from public hospitals and schools to state and county offices to the University of California and federal military installations like the Oakland Army Base, Naval Supply Depot, and the Alameda Naval Air station."[156] In 1970, more Black families made above average median income in Oakland than were "below the poverty line."[157] The Black middle class owned homes in similar proportions as the white middle class.

Robert O. Self writes that in the 1950s and 1960s, Black groups in Oakland "struggled above all for economic rights."[158] He outlines many instances of organizing and litigation aimed at increasing economic opportunity for Black people, including a coalition in 1963 of the NAACP, Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), and others that lobbied for equality and anti-job-discrimination in City Council.[159]

A major organizing effort was put forth by a group who called themselves Justice on BART or JOBART. As the BART system was being planned, there was potential for 8,000 jobs to construct it, the biggest "jobs boom" since "the bridge projects of the 1930s."[160] JOBART brought together diverse groups including the NAACP, CORE, and "religious, civil rights, and community organizations."[161] Self wrote that JOBART was a way to address the urban renewal projects that had remade West Oakland and also union discrimination.

JOBART had victories, including that BART created an affirmative action plan in 1967. Black workers were hired and constituted 20% of the construction jobs. However, Black workers constituted under 2% of apprenticeships and 5% of office jobs in the first year of construction.[162] JOBART continue to organize in the 1970s and contributed to a

[153] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 56.
[154] Ibid., 173.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid., 174.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid., 180.
[159] Ibid., 182.
[160] Ibid., 191 - 193.
[161] Ibid., 194.
[162] Ibid., 198.

"community-centered model of organization, protest, and negotiation in West Oakland [that] would help change the shape of the city's politics."[163]

Additional gains were made in the late 1960s and 1970s, as more Black workers were employed in government positions and contracts. In 1972, 62% of "demolition, construction, and rehabilitation work" by the Oakland Redevelopment Agency was done by "minority" workers. Rhomberg also reports that, "Between 1970 and 1974, $10 million in urban renewal building contracts went to minority firms, with another $10 million to joint ventures between white- and Black- owned companies."[164] The Alameda County Building Trades Council, who supervised the Acorn project, participated in a federal program, along with other agencies for "preapprenticeship training" for "minority residents."[165]

In the 1990s, the Oakland Army Base, U.S. Naval Supply Station, and Naval Air Station in Alameda closed, leading to a loss of jobs, many of which were held by Black workers.

Police Violence

The police had a role to play in enforcement of the racial segregation that plagued Oakland. Historian Chris Rhomberg described that segregation was "reinforced by a discriminatory pattern of police violence, which effectively constituted a form of official social control in the ghetto."[166] Reginald Lyles, a former Berkeley policeman, described that:

> "If a person moves out of the area, they got harassed by the police. Their children got harrassed. If they call police to protect them, the police are slow to respond, think you're exaggerating, that type of thing. In the community where a Black person moved into, young people would attack the family by vandalizing property, damaging property, rocks breaking windows, setting fires. Call police, the police act as if they're unable to create safety for you."

As urban renewal displaced families from West Oakland, East Oakland eventually opened to Black residents.

Furthermore, Black Oakland residents have been complaining of police violence since at least the 1950s. In 1950, the California State Assembly's Interim Committee on Crime and Corrections held hearings on discriminatory policing in Oakland. The community decried beatings and harassment, as well as a murder of an unarmed Black man in 1949.[167] A decade and a half later, the California advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held a hearing where similar accusations of discrimination and excessive use of

[163] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 198.
[164] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 163.
[165] Ibid., 164.
[166] Ibid., 121.
[167] Ibid., 121 - 122.

force were made.[168] The NAACP and Oakland Economic Development Committee (OEDC) requested the formation of a police review board, but OEDC met challenges from City Council and the Oakland police officers association in 1966 and 1967.[169] Oakland did form a Citizen's Police Review Board in 2014, which became the Community Police Review Agency in 2017.[170] Unfortunately, police violence and killings of Black people continues to be a national tragedy.

Former Berkeley police officer and assistant to the Oakland mayor Reginald Lyles notes that the Oakland Police Department has had a "tortured relationship" with West and East Oakland.

The Black Panther Party started in Oakland in the late 1960s as a way to push back against police brutality. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale started the organization, which was initially focused on "surveillance patrols against brutality by Oakland police."[171] The Panthers have a rich history involving national expansion, social programs such as free food distribution and a health clinic, along with shootouts with police and allegations of corruption.[172] They were also the main target of J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO FBI surveillance program. By the late 1970s, "233 out of 295 total FBI counterintelligence operations directed against Black liberation groups across the nation were aimed at the Black Panther Party."[173] One interviewee, Alan Dones, noted that other Black groups such as churches were also targeted by COINTELPRO. He explained that the FBI surveillance efforts were disruptive to the community, even causing "trust issues that last to this day."

[168] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004) 150.
[169] Ibid., 151 - 152.
[170] Oakland City Council, ORDINANCE NO. 13498 C.M.S (Oakland, CA, October 1, 2018), 1, https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/Ordinance-13498-Police-Commission-Enabling-Ordinance.pdf.
[171] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004) 154.
[172] Ibid., 167.
[173] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 229.

Figure 21: Black Panther Party members
Source: Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture[174]

Harms To Other Races

Other racial groups, including Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinx communities of many nationalities and ethnicities, have also been subject to discriminatory treatment in Oakland, as across the country.

Native peoples who once had an abundance of villages and dialects in California were killed in death squads or sent to Catholic missions, their land appropriated and settled.[175]

Asian Americans have a long history of exclusion and derision in the Bay Area as across the United States, including the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act making Chinese people ineligible to migrate to the U.S. and Japanese internment in camps during World War II. San Francisco passed ordinances restricting laundries, aimed at restricting Chinese laundries, starting in the 1870s.[176] In 1935, Oakland passed its own ordinance restricting hours during which laundries could operate, to impede Chinese laundries for white competition specifically.[177]

[174] "The Black Panther Party: Challenging Police and Promoting Social Change," National Museum of African American History & Culture, Smithsonian, July 23, 2019, https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/black-panther-party-challenging-police-and-promoting-social-change.
[175] Will Parrish, "Living on Ohlone Land," *East Bay Express* (Oakland, CA), May 30, 2018, https://eastbayexpress.com/living-on-ohlone-land-2-1/.
[176] Diana Fan, "Yick Wo: How A Racist Laundry Law In Early San Francisco Helped Civil Rights," *Hoodline* (San Francisco, CA), August 23, 2015, https://hoodline.com/2015/08/yick-wo-and-the-san-francisco-laundry-litigation-of-the-late-1800s/.
[177] David E. Bernstein, "Lochner, Parity, and the Chinese Laundry Cases," *William and Mary Law Review* 41, no. 1 (1999), https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1512&context=wmlr.

Latinx communities also had a complicated history of racism and violence. The Spanish had colonized indigenous communities, but then after land was transferred to the U.S. after the Mexican-American war, new Mexican U.S. citizens and immigrants from Mexico were subjected to mob violence.[178]

There have been initiatives to address racism and discrimination perpetuated against other groups. Reparations were paid to Japanese people interned in camps during World War II. After legislation was passed in 1988, survivors received $20,000, and an education fund and formal apology were created. In 1946 the Indian Claims Commission was formed to address native complaints against the government, often tied to land disputes. The Commission paid out hundreds of millions of dollars to land claims.

This initiative cannot comprehensively address all racism and oppression experienced by different racial groups in Oakland and the Bay Area. Addressing anti-Black racism and discrimination doesn't address racism against all groups. The reparations approach here should not be the only anti-racist action taken to acknowledge and redress the history of racism and oppression in Oakland and across the country. Different approaches should be taken for different groups.

However, taking action on anti-Black racism and oppression is warranted and necessary. Reparations for Black communities can address specific, racialized, public and private discrimination targeted at Black neighborhoods and communities.

Side Note: Resistance And Organizing

Over the decades, there have been many examples of Black organizing for jobs and neighborhood control. Though these have in some cases won victories and in others, failures, they do not absolve government agencies from accountability for discriminatory policies. The following is not an exhaustive account of organizing, but brings forward a few efforts.

In the 1930s organizers including C.L. Dellums, a well-known leader in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Alameda County NAACP, and the Alameda County Central Labor Council, organized for jobs driving streetcars and busses for Black residents.[179] These would have been primarily for the Key streetcar system. These organizing efforts encountered resistance, with some dedication to fair employment being won in 1945, but not instituted for another six years.[180]

[178] Erin Blakemore, "The Brutal History of Anti-Latino Discrimination in America," History, August 29, 2018, https://www.history.com/news/the-brutal-history-of-anti-latino-discrimination-in-america.
[179] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 48.
[180] Ibid., 55.

Oak Center, a neighborhood in West Oakland, organized to prevent their neighborhood from being demolished, as had happened at Acorn. Lillian Love was a major organizer of the effort. They were successful in preserving homes by easing the standards to which homes had to be refurbished.[181]

As discussed above, JOBART successfully lobbied for jobs constructing the BART system in Oakland.

The Oakland Economic Development Council started as an advisory council to the Oakland Interagency Project, but became a force of advocacy and recipient for anti-poverty funds.[182] It was disbanded in 1971.

Wilfred Ussery shared stories of organizing and creating Black-led organizations. As a member and leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), he presented on desegregation to the Berkeley Board of Education, fostered the founding of Black-led groups in Harlem and Cleveland, and, in the Bay Area, participated in the founding of Citizens United Against Poverty and the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council, which runs to this day. He was also involved in housing development in Oakland, including in Acorn projects both in the 1970s and the 1990s. In Acorn he advocated to protect Section 8 housing and later to include fiber optic wiring to apartments and a computer learning center.

After the Cypress Freeway, running straight through West Oakland, collapsed in an earthquake in 1989, community organizers were able to influence it to be rebuilt west of the neighborhood.[183] It was replaced with a greenway.

In 1999, the Alameda Building Trades Council won a labor agreement with the port for 50% of work on an expansion project go to "local area hires."[184]

A coalition called Revive Oakland won a community benefits agreement for jobs in redevelopment when the Oakland Army Base was decommissioned in 1999.[185]

The Oakland Athletics are currently negotiating a community benefits agreement for development of a ballpark at the Howard Terminal.[186]

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[181] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 132.
[182] Ibid., 136, 151.
[183] Ibid., 191.
[184] Ibid., 193.
[185] "Paving the Path to Opportunity: How Revive Oakland Innovated a New Model for Inclusive Economic Development," Partnership for Working Families and Ebase, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.forworkingfamilies.org/sites/default/files/publications/Revive%20Oakland%202015.pdf.
[186] "Oakland Waterfront Ballpark District at Howard Terminal Community Benefits," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021,

Population Fluctuation by the Numbers

This story of Black congregation in Oakland and subsequent displacement can be observed in the population numbers of the city over the decades[187]. Notably, the Black population peaked around 1990 and has declined by about 60,000 people since then.

Year	Total Population	Black population	Percentage
1940	302,163	8,462	2.8%
1950	384,575	47,562	12.4%
1960	367,548	83,618	22.8%
1970	361,561	124,710	34.5%
1980	339,337	159,351	47.0%
1990	372,242	163,526	43.9%
2000	399,484	142,460	35.7%
2010	390,724	109,471	28.0%
2019	433,031	103,061	23.8%

Calculating Reparations

Homes Demolished

Racialized public policies led to displacement and the destruction of Black communities, as homes were demolished for urban renewal and transportation projects. Especially in the once historically Black neighborhood of West Oakland, many policy decisions were made to reduce “blight” in the hopes of attracting higher income and white residents, and transportation corridors were built through the neighborhood in order to bring white suburban residents to San Francisco. Here are some estimates of homes destroyed:

https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/community-benefits-agreement-cba-for-the-oakland-as-waterfront-ballpark-district-at-howard-terminal.

[187] Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the Association of Bay Area Governments (MTC-ABAG), “City of Oakland: Alameda County,” Accessed May 16, 2021, http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/cities/Oakland.htm.

Project	Approximate years	Homes Demolished	Vacant lots
Cypress Freeway	1958	600[188]	
Post office	1958	400[189]	7 years
Acorn	1962 - 1969[190]	4,300[191]	10 years
I-980	1968	500[192]	

One source estimates that over 7,000 housing units, including 5,100 in West Oakland, were demolished between 1960 and 1966 for "urban renewal, freeway construction, BART construction, and other government action."[193] They also noted that there were 1,422 "permanent public housing units" available in 1966, but that the need was closer to 20,000 units.

At the time of acquiring properties for urban renewal projects, city agencies did pay to purchase the homes and in some cases provided moving costs. Apart from one record of a property purchased in West Oakland, CalTrans, BART, and the post office were unable to provide records of specific homes taken by eminent domain. I found a few data points in old newspaper articles. More information on homeowners was not available, but the below offer a few benchmarks for amounts offered to homeowners in majority Black neighborhoods of West Oakland:

- Oakland Tribune, 1/23/66: Residents of Oak Center would be offered between $12,000 - $18,000 to sell their homes to the Oakland Redevelopment Agency.[194]
- Oakland Tribune, 9/1/61: Oakland provided $400,000 for moving costs for 1,700 families and 200 businesses to build the Acorn housing project.[195]

[188] Katie Ferrari, "The house on Magnolia Street," *Curbed, Vox Media,* April 29, 2020, https://sf.curbed.com/2020/4/29/21240456/moms-4-housing-oakland-house-history.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Oaklanddots, "The Acorn Projects," *A Bit of History: Oakland Unfolded* (blog), September 14, 2020, https://abitofhistory.website/2020/09/14/the-acorn-projects/.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Katie Ferrari, "The house on Magnolia Street," *Curbed, Vox Media,* April 29, 2020, https://sf.curbed.com/2020/4/29/21240456/moms-4-housing-oakland-house-history.
[193] Chris Rhomberg, *No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 125, Cited in "The Changing Face Of Oakland 1945-1990," The Planning History of Oakland, CA, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://oaklandplanninghistory.weebly.com/the-changing-face-of-oakland.html.
[194] "Residents Forced Change in Concept," *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, CA), January 23, 1966, Accessed via Newspapers.com.
[195] "Houlihan, City Officials Elated Over U.S Green Light for Project Acorn," *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, CA), September 1, 1961, Accessed via Newspapers.com.

- Oakland Tribune, 7/20/66: BART provided up to $200 for families and $3,000 for businesses for moving costs.[196]

Numbers of homes demolished can be useful for lower bound estimates of harm done. They are a lower bound because they do not account for psychological effects of displacement, businesses destroyed, health impacts from new transportation infrastructure, foregone wealth from being denied mortgages, and many other impacts. However, they provide one metric to look at impacts of historical policies.

Estimating Impacts

The following offers three methods of estimating the financial impact of Oakland urban renewal policies:

1) One way to calculate the amount of reparations to pay in Oakland, you can look at how much the homes demolished would have appreciated to today, and how much wealth those homes could have created for Black homeowners were they not demolished.

The following lists historical and present Oakland median home values[197]. Some were listed in terms of 1980 dollars:
1950 - $35,900 in 1980 dollars > present value = $121,899.79
1960 - $39,500 in 1980 dollars > present value = $134,123.72
1970 - $45,200 in 1980 dollars > present value = $153,478.28
2021 - West Oakland - $750,000[198]
2021 - Oakland - $866,886[199]

Using the present day West Oakland median home price, homes could have appreciated by $628,100.21 (from 1950 values) to $596,521.72 (from 1970 values). Multiplied by the 5,100 units demolished in West Oakland from previous policies, potential wealth from $3,203,311,071 to $3,042,260,772 was not able to accumulate. As West Oakland was majority Black, much of this wealth denied likely went to Black homeowners.

Using the present day Oakland median home price, homes could have appreciated by $744,986.21 (from 1950 values) to $713,407.72 (from 1970 values). Multiplied by the approximately 7,000 units demolished across Oakland for urban renewal policies, this could have generated $5,214,903,470 to $4,993,854,040. However, it is less certain how

[196] "BART to Pay Moving Costs," *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, CA), July 20, 1966, Accessed via Newspapers.com.
[197] *Census of Housing*, 1950, vol. 1, part 2; *Census of Housing*, 1960, vol. 1, part 2; *Census of Housing*, 1970, vol. 1, part 6, cited in Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 338.
[198] "West Oakland Housing Market," Redfin, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.redfin.com/neighborhood/14233/CA/Oakland/West-Oakland/housing-market.
[199] "Oakland Home Values," Zillow, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.zillow.com/oakland-ca/home-values/.

many homes demolished across Oakland were from Black homeowners. Therefore, these calculations are excluded.

Based on demolished houses in West Oakland alone, families could have cumulatively built wealth from a range of $3,042,260,772 to $3,203,311,071. This would be equivalent to $29,519 to $31,081 for every current Black resident of Oakland. This would be a measurable benefit - however, it only begins to calculate the harm done and does not express all of the other impacts from systemic racism and discrimination.

2) You can look at the amount that the Redevelopment Agency offered to people to purchase their homes through eminent domain and the difference between this number and the average home value at the time. This shows wealth that was stripped from families forced to relocate. This number can be carried forward to its worth today.

When Oak Center was targeted for redevelopment in 1966, the Redevelopment Agency offered them from $12,000 - $18,000 for their homes. This averages to $15,000 per home. In present dollars, this is $134,328.84.

If homes were valued at $134,123.72 (present value) in 1960 and $153,478.28 in 1970, you can say that an average home value in the mid 1960s might be $143,801. Offered $15,000 at the time ($134,328.84 in present dollars), people who took the offer were paid on average $9,472.16 less than the value of their homes.

If 5,100 homes were demolished in West Oakland between 1960 and 1966, the total value lost could have been:
$9,472.16 x 5,100 = $48,308,016.

This amount is equivalent to $468 for every Black resident of Oakland.

This figure shows a direct loss from being forced to sell a home below market value, as many had complained of, however, it does not show any of the compounding harms that resulted from this displacement.

3) If Oakland made homes at today's median price available at the prices they were initially available at, they could pay reparations by generating homeownership. If homes were available for $121,899.79 (in present dollars) in 1950 and are available at a median of $750,000 in West Oakland today, the city could subsidize $628,100.21 to make current homes affordable at 1950 prices. If homes were available at 1970 prices, or $153,478.28 today, the city could pay $596,521.72 per home to make homes affordable at their former prices.

With a $10 million fund, Oakland could subsidize 15.92 homes to reflect the 1950 value, or 16.76 homes at the 1970 value. While this strategy would be highly impactful for some

families, it would not serve very many, and would require a higher allocation than $10 million.

These prices reflect that home prices have risen dramatically in Oakland in the 21st century, even accounting for the foreclosure crisis and Great Recession.[200]

4) You could apply income and wealth gaps to Black families in poverty in Oakland. Darity and Mullen share several calculations of the national cost to pay reparations. Using Bittker's idea of making up the income gap, they calculated that in 2017, based on the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, white people over 15 had an average income of $49,609, and Black people over 15 had an average income of $33,636. The difference would be $15,973 per Black person over 15.[201]

They make the argument that the wealth gap is a more representative tally of the impacts of racism and discrimination, as it shows compounding effects over generations. They find the wealth gap by household in the 2016 Survey of Consumer Finances to be $795,000 (significantly higher than the gap cited in this report). Multiplied by 10 million Black households in the U.S., reparations to close the wealth gap would be $7.95 trillion.[202]

As there are about 103,061 Black people in Oakland, making up the income gap with national figures from Darity and Mullen would require $1,646,193,353. Using the more conservative national wealth gap of $164,100 from the 2019 Survey of Consumer Finances, it would take $16,912,310,100 to close the gap for Black residents in Oakland.

You could apply the nationwide wealth gap only to Black people in poverty in Oakland. Approximately 23.77% or 24,497 of Black residents are in poverty.[203] This would be a cost of $4,019,957,700. Though this number is somewhat easier to attain, it would not fully address harmful impacts that Black middle and upper class families have experienced.

Whether using the observation that home prices could have appreciated to billions of dollars of wealth or the trillions that reparations are estimated at nation-wide, it is unlikely that these numbers could be reached with a reparations package. Moreover, it is unlikely that the full weight of the damage done could even be completely repaired with a large enough investment. But an acknowledgment of harm, the best possible redress possible, and a pledge to change policies going forward can go a long way toward repairing past harms.

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[200] City of Oakland, "Housing Element 2015-2023," City of Oakland, December 9, 2014, 8.
[201] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 263.
[202] Ibid.
[203] "Estimated percent of all Black or African American people who lived in poverty, between 2015-2019," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7437/dcd8c0e911f0b6b11cf26e1cdf619e8a (based on data from 2015-2019 U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS); Accessed April 8, 2022).

Economic Gains from Reducing Disparities

Paying reparations may address past harms, but reducing opportunity and wealth gaps will have positive benefits looking forward as well. The W.K. Kellogg Foundation published "The Business Case for Racial Equity" and found that reducing gaps between people of color and white people in health, education, and opportunity, thereby reducing gaps in earnings, would create $1 trillion in earnings, leading to a $2.7 trillion increase in GDP. They also found that closing earnings gaps would reduce government spending and increase federal tax revenue by $450 billion every year and state and local taxes by $100 billion every year.[204]

Reducing the impacts of systemic racism does not benefit only one racial group - it leads to increased benefits for all. By targeting resources to reduce inequities, we can increase productivity and outputs that bolster our economy and allow more people to access opportunity.

[204] Ani Turner, "The Business Case for Racial Equity: A Strategy for Growth," Altarum, W.K. Kellogg Foundation, 2018, https://www.wkkf.org/resource-directory/resources/2018/07/business-case-for-racial-equity.

Brief History of Reparations

"The idea that reparations could be an effective method of addressing the effects of slavery and white supremacy has a long history, cycling in and out of popular discourse and the national policy arena. Reparations are as timely today as they were in the 1860s."[205]

-William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality*

There is a long history of thinking about what could constitute appropriate reparations to Black communities for our country's legacy of slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and multi-faceted discrimination. Since the Civil War and the much discussed suggestion of "40 acres and a mule" - General William Tecumseh Sherman had issued special field order 15 giving 40 acres of land and a loan of a mule to Black families in South Carolina and Georgia -- there have been calls to provide economic recompense to Black people.[206] Beyond compensating them for their unpaid labor, land was sought to give newly freed slaves a chance to build economic stability.

However, reparations have not been demanded for slavery only. After emancipation and some progress in Reconstruction, a century of Jim Crow segregation, discrimination, and white violence followed. After the Civil Rights and fair housing and employment legislation of the 1960s and beyond, there have been decades of continuing discrimination and disparities. As in the previous section, Oakland has perpetuated discrimination and inequitable treatment against Black people living in the city. It is for these more recent manifestations of racism that Oakland has an opportunity to redress.

A brief history of calls for reparations follows. These were mainly sourced from *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* by William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen and *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* by Charles P. Henry.

Legal history:

There have been numerous lawsuits filed to receive compensation as reparations (See: *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations*, by Charles P. Henry). But the judicial route is challenging, involving issues of the statute of limitations, sovereign immunity or need for the government to consent to a suit, and standing or who is bringing forth the suit.[207] Due to these complications, Henry recommends a legislative approach, rather than a judicial one.

[205] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 2.
[206] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 41.
[207] Ibid., 22.

Callie House:
Callie House was born a slave in 1861 in Tennessee.[208] In 1898 she became a promoter for the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty, and Pension Association (MRBP). The organization aimed to lobby Congress for pensions for ex-slaves as well as to give mutual aid for people who fell ill or for burial assistance if they died. Callie House recruited at least 34,000 members to the organization. In 1915, the organization filed a lawsuit against the U.S. government to garnish $68 million, which was what the government had received for cotton harvested by slaves that it had confiscated from southern plantations. The suit was not successful.

In 1916, accusations were made that Callie House and MRBP illegally received payments, and Callie House spent around 10 months in prison. Other pension clubs were also accused of illegally use of payments that club members had sent for the purpose of lobbying Congress.[209]

"Queen Mother" Audley Moore:
"Queen Mother" Audley Moore founded the Committee for Reparations for Descendents of U.S. Slaves and was active in advocating for reparations from the 1960s onward. She advocated for reparations for Black Americans at the United Nations in 1957 and 1959.[210]

James Forman and the Black Manifesto:
Activist James Forman of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers presented a "Black Manifesto" in 1969 advocating for $500 million in reparations to Black Americans.[211] He presented the manifesto during church services of the Riverside Church in New York City and demanded that the reparations be paid by churches and synagogues for racist impacts of religious organizations. After his speech, $500,000 was donated to the cause.

N'COBRA:
In 1987, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) was formed. It included the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the New Afrikan People's Organization, and the Republic of New Afrika, of which "Queen Mother" Audley Moore had been a part. The organization is still active today. N'COBRA aided U.S. representative John Conyers in introducing H.R. 40, "a bill to establish the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans," in 1989.[212]

[208] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 11.
[209] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 53.
[210] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 13.
[211] Ibid., 14 - 15.
[212] Ibid., 15.

John Conyers and H.R. 40:
Every year since 1989, U.S. representative John Conyers (D-Mich.) has introduced H.R. 40 to form a commission to study and develop reparations proposals. This was based on the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which authorized reparations to Japanese victims of internment.[213] In 2017, Conyers left Congress, but representative Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Tex.) has been sponsoring the bill. Senator Cory Booker (D-NJ.) sponsors a Senate version.[214] H.R. 40 was introduced in the House in January, 2021.[215]

California Department of Insurance and University of California:
In 2000, the State of California mandated that the Department of Insurance look into profits it had made from slavery in the Slaveholder Insurance Policies Bill (SB 2199). Names of slaves who had been insured and their slaveholders were recorded,[216] and some insurance corporations expressed "regrets," but no reparations were paid.[217]

In 2000, the University of California Slavery Colloquium Bill mandated a research conference to investigate economic impacts of slavery.[218] A conference took place in 2001 at UC Santa Barbara.

Oakland Slavery Era Disclosure:
Oakland also passed an ordinance in 2005[219] requiring city contractors in insurance and financial services, as well as other industries, to investigate and document their ties to slavery.[220] It also set up a reparations fund, without mandating payments to it. Records documenting compliance with the ordinance do not exist, but in fall 2020 City Council voted to recommit to the ordinance.

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[213] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 98.
[214] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 17.
[215] "H.R.40 - Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act," (117th Congress 2021 - 2022) https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/40/actions.
[216] "Slavery Era Insurance Agency," California Department of Insurance, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.insurance.ca.gov/01-consumers/150-other-prog/10-seir/.
[217] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 22.
[218] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 169.
[219] Annie Sciacca, "Oakland revives city law that requires contractors to disclose historic ties to slavery," *East Bay Times* (Walnut Creek, CA), October 7, 2021, https://www.eastbaytimes.com/2020/10/07/oakland-revives-city-law-that-requires-contractors-to-disclose-historic-ties-to-slavery/.
[220] City of Oakland, "Chapter 9.60 - Slavery Era Disclosure," City of Oakland Municipal Code, June 21, 2021, https://library.municode.com/ca/oakland/codes/code_of_ordinances?nodeId=TIT9PUPEMOWE_CH9.60SLERDI_9.60.010SLERDI.

State and federal apologies:
In 1993, Congress apologized to Hawaiians for the U.S. takeover of the "sovereign Hawaiian nation."[221]

In 1997, President Bill Clinton formally apologized for the Tuskegee experiment. Between 1932 and 1972, the study had examined Black men with syphilis without disclosing to them what their illness was or offering them treatment. In Clinton's apology he said, "The United States government did something that was wrong, deeply, profoundly, morally wrong."[222]

Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Alabama, New Jersey, and Florida issued apologies in their state legislatures for "slavery or for slavery and Jim Crow" in 2007 and 2008.[223] The U.S. Congress passed a bill apologizing for slavery in both houses in 2009.

Ta-Nehisi Coates:
In 2014, journalist Ta-Nehisis Coates wrote an article, "The Case for Reparations." Published in The Atlantic, it reinvigorated the reparations debate as the Black Lives Matter movement was gaining momentum.

Japanese internment reparations:
In 1988, The Civil Liberties Act granted reparations to Japanese people who had been interned in camps during World War II. The act provided $20,000 to each survivor, an education fund, and an apology.[224]

Rosewood, Florida:
In 1923, a white mob murdered Black residents of Rosewood and burned nearly every building in the town. In 1994, motivated in part by a 1983 "60 Minutes" episode discussing it that set off yearly reunions of survivors, the Florida legislature passed the Rosewood Compensation Act. Florida dedicated $2.1 million in compensation, "including a $500,000 property compensation fund, college scholarships for needy students with preference to children of Rosewood descendents, and $150,000 for each survivor."[225] Nine people received the monetary compensation.[226]

[221] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 94.
[222] Ibid., 1.
[223] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 24.
[224] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 97.
[225] Ibid., 78.
[226] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 17.

Figure 22: Survivor Robie Allenetta Mortin with Florida Representative Ed Jennings Jr. at the Rosewood historical marker in 2004
Source: Doug Finger, Associated Press, posted in the Tampa Bay Times[227]

[227] Doug Finger, Associated Press, Photograph, included in Adelle M. Banks, "Reparations after Rosewood Massacre a model, descendants say," Tampa Bay Times (Tampa Bay, FL), December 24, 2020, https://www.tampabay.com/news/florida/2020/12/24/reparations-after-rosewood-massacre-a-model-descendants-say/.

Current Reparations Efforts

There are a number of current reparations efforts around the country and in California. These are advancing reparations in the absence of a federal program. They can serve as examples from which to draw from as well as movement further legitimizing the need for reparations. As the State of California and County of Alameda are also considering reparations, it could be impactful to collaborate with the county and state.

Evanston, Illinois

In 2019, Evanston, Illinois City Council passed Resolution 58-R-19, "Commitment to End Structural Racism and Achieve Racial Equity" and Resolution 126-R-19, "Establishing the City of Evanston Reparations Fund and the Reparations Subcommittee."[228] The former acknowledged historical impacts including "decimation of historically Black neighborhoods" and committed to becoming an anti-racist city and joining the Government Alliance on Race and Equity. The latter decreed that revenue from cannabis taxes go to a fund for reparations. Evanston has put aside $10 million for reparations.

Their first allocation was announced in March 2021 and offers a "Restorative Housing Program."[229] Evanston allocated $400,000 of the reparations fund to this program, which offers grants of up to $25,000 for a down payment on a home or to home repairs. The program has garnered national attention. By addressing homeownership, the program is directly repairing past discrimination in housing and homeownership. However, the allocation to the program is minimal. If families are granted the maximum amount of the grant, only 16 families will be able to access this grant.

Asheville, North Carolina

In summer 2020, Asheville, North Carolina passed a resolution for "community reparations." The resolution called for short-, medium-, and long-term recommendations to "address the creation of generational wealth" and "boost economic mobility and opportunity in the Black community."[230] In October, the city reported on racial equity initiatives, including a suspension of changes to properties appropriated through urban renewal, a contracting equity program following proof of discrimination in a disparity study, a Climate Justice screening tool to incorporate BIPOC community voices into environmental

[228] "Evanston Local Reparations," City of Evanston, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.cityofevanston.org/government/city-council/reparations.
[229] Julie Bosman, "Chicago Suburb Shapes Reparations for Black Residents: 'It Is the Start'," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 22, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/22/us/reparations-evanston-illinois-housing.html.
[230] Nia Davis, "Asheville reparations resolution is designed to provide Black community access to the opportunity to build wealth," Asheville Office of Equity and Inclusion, The City of Asheville, July 20, 2020, https://www.ashevillenc.gov/news/asheville-reparations-resolution-is-designed-to-help-Black-community-access-to-the-opportunity-to-build-wealth/.

justice efforts, and others.[231] In February, their guidelines for housing developers included a Public Benefits Table, where developers can choose from a "menu of options" to give back to the community. At least half of their points must be from contributing to a Reparations Fund or an Affordable Housing Fund.[232] The city also offers "racial healing mini-grants" for the second year in a row.[233]

In June 2021, the city decided to allocate $2.1M to reparations from the sale of land that had been acquired through urban renewal.[234] They have not yet decided how to use the funds. Some in the community have criticized this program for not having enough funding behind it.

Providence, Rhode Island

In June, 2020, the Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island issued an executive order calling for Truth, Reconciliation, and Reparations for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color communities. The first "Truth-Telling" phase started in September 2020 and involved various historical societies, community-based organizations, representatives and community members to gather and document Providence's racialized history. Subsequent phases of Reconciliation and Reparation will continue to engage community members in redressing past harms.[235]

[231] Polly McDaniel, "City of Asheville advances equity through multiple interconnected initiatives," The City of Asheville, October 28, 2020, https://www.ashevillenc.gov/news/city-of-asheville-advances-equity-through-multiple-interconnected-initiatives/.

[232] Polly McDaniel, "New Asheville hotel development 'Public Benefits Table' designed to meet community needs," The City of Asheville, February 23, 2021, https://www.ashevillenc.gov/news/new-asheville-hotel-development-public-benefits-table-designed-to-meet-community-needs/.

[233] Ashley Traynum-Carson, "City of Asheville announces recipients of racial healing mini-grants," The City of Asheville, January 20, 2021, https://www.ashevillenc.gov/news/city-of-asheville-announces-recipients-of-racial-healing-mini-grants-2/.

[234] Associated Press, "North Carolina city commits $2.1M for reparations," *The Associated Press* (New York, NY), June 9, 2021, https://apnews.com/article/north-carolina-racial-injustice-business-race-and-ethnicity-d9190175bb260ba2882954fd731fbe92.

[235] City of Providence, "Mayor Jorge Elorza Joins Community Members in Launching Truth Telling Phase," City of Providence, September 22, 2020, https://www.providenceri.gov/mayor-jorge-elorza-joins-community-members-launching-truth-telling-phase/.

Burlington, Vermont

Burlington has formed a task force that will hire academics to investigate the city's racial history and make recommendations for reparations.[236] The task force will issue a report by February 2022.[237]

Amherst, Massachusetts

In 2020, Amherst, Massachusetts passed a resolution apologizing for the town's racial history and committing to a "path of remedy" described as the "first step in the reparative process."[238] Amherst City Council is forming a African Heritage Reparation Coalition to make recommendations and has instructed the Finance Committee to identify funding sources in the next budget.[239]

Manhattan Beach, California

Activists in Manhattan Beach, California, have called for reparations for a Black resort seized in 1924. Though it was purportedly seized to form a public park, the land was not developed for thirty years. The city has issued "a statement of acknowledgment and condemnation," but not an official apology, fearing litigation. A Los Angeles County supervisor is "open to returning the land," and a state senator is drafting legislation that could deal with a legal issue with the property transfer. The New York Times reported on this issue on April 18, 2021, and it remains to be seen what will happen.[240]

Educational and Religious Institutions

Georgetown University decided in 2019 to pay reparations to descendants of the 272 slaves the school profited from by funding education and health care initiatives. The descendents are also given priority in admissions.[241]

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[236] Zuri Hoffman, "The city of Burlington establishes Reparations Task Force," *NBC5,* November 17, 2020, https://www.mynbc5.com/article/the-city-of-burlington-establishes-reparations-task-force/34705446.

[237] Mike Hoey, "Burlington reparations task force begins researching effects of slavery, discrimination," *MyChamplainValley.com* (Colchester, VT), February 3, 2021, https://www.mychamplainvalley.com/news/burlington-reparations-task-force-to-kick-off-a-year-of-research-of-slavery-discrimination-issues/.

[238] Amherst Town Council, "A Resolution Affirming the Town of Amherst's Commitment to End Structural Racism and Achieve Racial Equity for Black Residents," Town of Amherst, December 2020, https://www.amherstma.gov/DocumentCenter/View/53900/6b-Structural-Racism-Draft-Resolution-12-2-2020---Final.

[239] Scott Merzbach, "New panel to develop reparations fund in Amherst," *Amherst Bulletin* (Northampton, MA), May 28, 2021, https://www.amherstbulletin.com/Revenue-stream-sought-for-reparations-in-Amherst-40620107.

[240] Jacey Fortin, "California Beach Seized in 1924 From a Black Family Could Be Returned," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), April 18, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/18/us/bruces-beach-manhattan-california.html.

[241] Adeel Hassan, "Georgetown Students Agree to Create Reparations Fund," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), April 12, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/12/us/georgetown-reparations.html.

As far back as 2003, Brown University investigated its past involvement with slavery and allocated $10 million to educate disadvantaged children in Providence, R.I., render technical assistance to historically Black colleges and universities, and fund research on slavery and racial justice.[242]

In 2018, the Society of the Sacred Heart, a Catholic group, created a reparations fund for slavery, and in 2019, the Virginia Theological Seminary, an Episcopalian group, allocated $1.7 million to a reparations fund for descendents of slavery.[243]

State of California

In 2020, AB 3121 "Task Force to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans" was passed in the California state legislature.[244] This bill was authored by Dr. Shirley Weber, formerly an Assemblymember and now the California Secretary of State. The bill acknowledges the impacts of slavery and discrimination and calls for a task force of appointees by the governor and the legislature to study this history and make recommendations for reparations. The appointees will have one year to make their recommendations. The appointees include state Senator Steven Bradford, D-Gardena, San Diego City Councilwoman Monica Montgomery Steppe, appointed by Senate President pro Tempore Toni G. Atkins, D-San Diego,[245] Assemblyman Reggie Jones-Sawyer (D-Los Angeles), Kamilah Moore, an activist and lawyer who will chair the task force, appointed from the Assembly, Dr. Cheryl Grills, a clinical psychologist, Dr. Amos C. Brown, a pastor and civil rights leader who is vice-chair, Lisa Holder, a civil rights lawyer, Donald Tamaki, a lawyer who worked on a case related to Japanese internment,[246] and Dr. Jovan Scott Lewis, an associate professor of Geography and Othering & Belonging Institute-affiliated faculty member, nominated by the Governor.[247]

In a congressional hearing on H.R. 40 or the federal bill to study reparations, Dr. Shirley Weber, currently California's Secretary of State and former an assemblymember who was

[242] Manisha Sinha, "The Long History of American Slavery Reparations," *The Wall Street Journal* (New York, NY), September 20, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-long-history-of-american-slavery-reparations-11568991623.
[243] Ibid.
[244] AB-3121 Task Force to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans," California Legislature 2019 - 2020, October 2, 2020, https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=201920200AB3121.
[245] Andrew Sheeler, "Here comes Faulconer + Reparations task force takes shape + Stacey Abrams to speak at CA event," *The Sacramento Bee* (Sacramento, CA), February 2, 2021, ," https://www.sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article248922554.html.
[246] Taryn Luna, "California's slavery reparations task force is convening. Here's what happens next," *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), June 1, 2021, https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-06-01/california-slavery-reparations-task-force-convenes.
[247] "OBI scholar Jovan Scott Lewis appointed to CA taskforce on reparations," Othering and Belonging Institute, May 7, 2021, https://belonging.berkeley.edu/obi-scholar-jovan-scott-lewis-appointed-ca-taskforce-reparations.

the principal author of the bill, testified that California had slave laws, prevented the accumulation of wealth among Black families, and disproportionately incarcerates Black males.[248] She stated that she hopes California to be a model and that federal reparations are still necessary.

The Task Force has been meeting and developing their recommendations for reparations.

County of Alameda

Alameda County issued a resolution with an apology for "enslavement and racial segregation of African Americans" in 2011,[249] and issued another in 2020 committing to an action plan for community reparations.[250] Supervisor Nate Miley, who has been advocating for reparations since before 2011, wrote in a letter to the Board of Supervisors that this should not have any additional cost. The county is still identifying needs and developing an action plan for reparations, which they hope to develop with community involvement.

[248] Dr. Shirley Weber, "H.R. 40: Exploring the Path to Reparative Justice in America," Hearings, House Committee on the Judiciary, February 17, 2021, https://judiciary.house.gov/calendar/eventsingle.aspx?EventID=4367.
[249] "Apologizing for Slavery of African Americans and Calling for Reparations and Reconciliation," Alameda County, June 7, 2011, http://www.acgov.org/board/bos_calendar/documents/DocsAgendaReg_06_07_11/PROCLAMATIONS_COMMENDATIONS/Carson_Miley_Slavery_of_African_Americans.pdf.
[250] "A Resolution of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors Seeking the Support of Community Reparations for African Americans," Resolution R-2020-412, Alameda County, October 6, 2020, http://www.acgov.org/board/bos_calendar/documents/DocsAgendaReg_10_06_20/GENERAL%20ADMINISTRATION/Regular%20Calendar/Supervisor%20Miley_302233.pdf.

Approaching Reparations in Oakland

The following presents reparations models, challenges to paying reparations, recommendations around community engagement, and policy and funding alternatives.

Reparations Models

In the following I outline guidelines for conceptualizing reparations from Borris Bittker, William A. Darity and A. Kirsten Mullen, and Charles P. Henry.

Borris Bittker wrote "The Case for Reparations" in 1973. He points to public policies that have perpetuated racism and discrimination, targeting:

> "...Discriminatory policies of federal agencies administering residential and business loans and guarantees, public housing projects, agricultural extension services, farm-price supports, and other economic and social programs that have only gradually been subjected to the constitutional standard of equality that in theory has always been applicable."[251]

Bittker targets "statutes, ordinances, and other official actions" as "the predominant source" of racial discrimination. He says that, because of this, reparations are justified even when harms may have come from private individuals or agencies.[252]

He goes on to say:

> "More than any other form of official misconduct, racial discrimination against Blacks was systematic, unrelenting, authorized at the highest governmental levels, and practiced by large segments of the population. These facts argue for a legislative plan of reparations in this area..."[253]

Bittker shares that a judicial approach to reparations has been attempted in many cases, but not successfully achieved. A legislative approach has more potential to be passed and able to be implemented.

Bittker's approach of focusing on government actions can be applied to Oakland, where slavery was not as much of a factor, but government and policy discrimination was.

Scholars William A. Darity and Kirsten Mullen outline three main components of reparations:

1. Acknowledgment
2. Redress
    A. Redress may include:
        a. Restitution

[251] Boris I. Bittker, *The Case for Black Reparations* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), 17.
[252] Ibid., 26.
[253] Ibid., 21.

    b. Atonement
3. Closure[254]

Restitution is "the restoration of survivors to their condition before the injustice occurred or to a condition they might have attained had the injustice not taken place." Atonement is achieved when "perpetrators or beneficiaries meet conditions of forgiveness that are acceptable to the victims. Achieving these elements of a reparations program requires good-faith negotiations between those who were wronged and the wrongdoers."[255]

Darity and Mullen decide that atonement is too elusive to achieve, as the decision of when forgiveness is warranted is difficult to come to collectively. They recommend a path of restitution. They find that when racial disparities across housing, education, wealth, health and other arenas have been eliminated, restitution will have been successful.

Charles P. Henry shares a framework from legal scholar Roy Brooks on redress to be successful:

1. "The demands of claims for redress must be placed in the hands of legislators rather than judges."
2. "Political pressure must be applied."
3. "Strong internal support must be generated."
4. "It must be a meritorious claim."[256]

Another author, Mari Masuda, expanded on the meaning of a meritorious claim:

1. "A human injustice must have been committed."
2. "It must be well-documented."
3. "The victims must be identifiable as a distinct group."
4. "Current members of the group must continue to suffer harm."
5. "Such harm must be causally connected to a past injustice."[257]

Oakland's case fits all of the requirements for a meritorious claim. Oakland may fit the conditions for redress to be successful with political pressure and internal support in City Council.

As Charles P. Henry has written, reparations may include measures such as:

1. An apology
2. Restitution
3. Compensation

[254] William A. Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 2 - 3.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 66.
[257] Ibid.

4. Rehabilitation
5. Satisfaction
6. Guarantees the action will not be repeated[258]

Former Oakland City Councilmember Leo Bazile had a unique metaphor for reparations. He compared them to a Louisiana gumbo: gumbo has different ingredients depending on the geographic location and what people have available. Similarly, reparations may be different in different geographic locations, depending on that location's history and what resources are available. Speaking about reparations as a movement across the country, Leo stated that, ""At the national level, the gumbo is simmering. At the local level, turn the heat up." He also made clear that giving reparations at a local level may increase support to take action at a state or federal level.

In line with Bittker's reasoning, Oakland may approach reparations as a way to make up for past policy decisions. The racialized policies and resultant disparities outlined in earlier sections provide a basis for reparations today. As slavery has had relatively less of an impact (though there was some impact in California), reparations in Oakland should be aimed more at policies in the 20th century and ongoing racism, discrimination, and exclusion from government benefits.

Furthermore, as Oakland's racial history has already been well-documented, it is recommended to focus on policy solutions, rather than focusing on further documenting the history.

In line with Darity and Mullen, a focus should be on acknowledgment, redress involving restitution, and closure. Based on Leo Bazile's comments, reparations can be applied to different localities based on their particular histories and policies. One idea is for Oakland to appeal to the State to apply its reparations programs to specific localities based on their individual histories.

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions
Such commissions are used to "investigate a pattern of abuse." They may be "officially sanctioned by the state to investigate the past and make recommendations for the future." They may share a buried history or provide relief for past victims. And they can "contribute to justice and accountability."[259]

[258] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 2.
[259] Ibid., 5.

Past commissions to look into the racial history of the U.S. include the Kerner Commission in 1967, in response to the Watts Riots.[260] The Commission found racism to be a "white problem," not a Black one.

Forming a Truth and Reconciliation Commission is one approach Oakland could take. However, it may be more direct to form a Reparations Commission instead. The history and truths of racism and discrimination have been documented. Actionable steps to address them are more current and politically salient.

Restorative Justice

A Restorative Justice program is another way to approach making amends for past harms. Restorative Justice focuses on healing harms, rather than punishment for criminals. It may take different forms, one of which involves bringing together the perpetrator and the victim in a circle process with family and community members present to discuss how to repair harm. Reparation may involve monetary compensation to the victim or other methods.[261]

A restorative justice program could conceivably be employed to explore complex harms in depth with a group of people. This would be an impactful way to investigate what could go towards repairing the harms of systemic racism. Repair could then be extended to paying reparations to all members of the Black population and former Black population in Oakland.

Holistic View

"Success for some people is living every day in a comfortable fashion. Come home, eat, pay their bills, and smile when they get up in the morning. I don't know if I'm living in a fantasy world…What would I want? Opportunity to do some things without. Having the same rights as my counterparts. Don't leave me out because of the color of my skin, way I talk. Other things used against us that has nothing to do with getting what I need."

-Pastor Harris

"The needs of the community are, first of all, to feed itself. To house itself. Clothe itself. Educate itself. Employ itself. And lastly, there's the environment."

-Leo Bazile

[260] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 10.

[261] "Lesson 3: Programs," Centre for Justice and Reconciliation, Prison Fellowship International, Accessed May 16, 2021, http://restorativejustice.org/restorative-justice/about-restorative-justice/tutorial-intro-to-restorative-justice/lesson-3-programs/#sthash.FlGbKaKk.dpbs.

"When someone is hungry, they need to eat. When someone is unhoused, they need a place to stay. When uneducated, has to be a way to educate them…Everyone wants a decent, clean way to live"

-Ernestine Nettles

Seven out of fourteen interviewees advocated for a holistic approach to reparations. They asserted that reparations could not be a one-shot approach, but that a multi-faceted one considering a variety of community needs would be more effective. Multiple people advocated for quality housing, education, access to food, and essentially, to be able to live a middle-class lifestyle.

The harms that have been perpetuated have gutted West Oakland's commercial center, demolished homes and displaced residents, caused health issues, and prevented Black families from being able to build wealth. These problems cannot be ameliorated with a simple solution. A complex, multi-faceted approach would be the best way to address the issues keeping West Oakland and Black communities from thriving.

Furthermore, these policies played out over decades. They will not be solved overnight. Any solution needs to have a long-term vision, possibly for 20 years or more.

Two interviewees spoke of "restoring Oakland to where it was," in terms of an active community and a history that some current residents are not even aware of. One interviewee stated that reparations could, "Restore to the extent possible economically vibrant black communities."

Leo Bazile also spoke of holding all institutions that contributed to systemic racism accountable, such as government agencies, the real estate industry, and the banking industry. Each institution could investigate its impact and make a commitment to repair some of the harm it had done. These efforts could potentially be coordinated with one another.

Community Engagement

Reparations should address community needs as determined by the community. Too many policy decisions have been made by planners and politicians, with not enough input from the community. These decisions should be made by the community, not about the community. With that said, I would recommend an extensive community process to determine the form for reparations to take shape.

The Howard Terminal Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) based around a new ballpark for the Oakland Athletics has an extensive community engagement and decision-making process. There are seven topic cohorts of community members - Community Health & Safety, Culture Keeping & History, Economic Development & Jobs, Education, Environment,

Housing, and Transportation.[262] The cohorts met on their own schedules between March and August of 2020, in addition to steering committee meetings for cohort representatives.[263] The cohorts came up with over 150 recommendations that are in the process of being narrowed down.

The Reparations for Black Students campaign, organized by the Justice for Oakland Students coalition (J4OS) and in conversation with the Oakland Unified School District on reparations for Black students, conducted listening sessions over the course of two years, from 2017 to 2019. These included "over 150 Black students, parents, educators, school and district staff."[264]

The Evanston, Illinois Equity and Empowerment Commission that has put forth funding and programming for reparations conducted two meetings with community members in 2019 to get feedback on reparations ideas. The Reparations Subcommittee then held three town halls to educate the community and fifteen meetings on the development of the housing program.

For this study on reparations in Oakland, fourteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with Black community leaders from Oakland and around the Bay Area, many of them having grown up in West Oakland. Seven interviewees then participated in a virtual workshop to discuss community needs and approaches to reparations. Ms. Margaret Gordon of the West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project advocated passionately for bringing the most marginalized community members to the table.

Though interviews and a workshop with community leaders were conducted for this study, a more extensive community engagement process would be highly recommended. As many harms to West Oakland and Black communities in Oakland came from policy decisions made without community input, communities are the only ones who can remedy the harm caused and make their neighborhoods whole. This study recommends a six month to one year process with community members, not only leaders but also low-income, disenfranchised people about whom reparations decisions will be made.

This process could involve topic cohorts such as in the Howard Terminal CBA process, focusing on different policy areas. If this approach is taken, a slate of meetings with the whole group should also be held to converge on top ideas across all areas. Oakland could select group members based on volunteers, with attention given to people with a range of

[262] "Oakland Waterfront Ballpark District at Howard Terminal Community Benefits," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/community-benefits-agreement-cba-for-the-oakland-as-waterfront-ballpark-district-at-howard-terminal.
[263] Veronica Cummings (City of Oakland staff), in discussion with the author, March 2021.
[264] "Reparations Resolution," Reparations for Black Students, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://reparationsforBlackstudents.org/.

occupations, income levels, community engagement, and home ownership or renting statuses.

The key recommendation from these findings is that a more substantial community engagement process should occur in order to determine how to direct reparations funding. The City of Oakland may choose to coordinate with county and/or state efforts to conduct listening sessions and engage more community members. It may be beneficial to form a Reparations Committee, involving both community leaders and more marginalized community members, to utilize decision-making power to make final recommendations on reparations.

Although community decision-making is essential, this report provides some policy alternatives that can be considered as reparations programs.

Challenges to Calculating Reparations

There are several complicated issues with calculating and paying reparations, as those who have studied the issue before have encountered. These include:

1) Is the payment based on geographic location or race?
    a) Some of the aforementioned policies had both a racial and a geographic aspect, specifically homes declared blighted and/or demolished for urban renewal projects in West Oakland. Many of the people who lost their homes moved to East Oakland or out of the city. Black people had migrated to different neighborhoods of Oakland and nearby cities, including Berkeley, Emeryville, and Alameda. How would the City of Oakland pay reparations to them?
    b) Any policy based in the geographic space of West Oakland may inadvertently benefit people of other races who move to or gentrify the neighborhood.
    c) Is it necessary to find the exact people whose homes were demolished? How do you find said people? The post office, CalTrans, and BART largely have not been able to provide records of homes taken. Nor has the Oakland Public Library. However, as discrimination has been ongoing, it may not be necessary to target those specific people, but to target reparations at improving quality of life and reducing disparities amongst the current population.
        i) If a program is targeted to former homeowners, similar to the program in Evanston, IL, you can leave it to people to prove their history of losing their home themselves. This simplifies the administrative process, but may lead to disqualification of some people unable to prove their past homeownership.
2) If reparations are based on people by race, how do you work around Proposition 209?

    a) Proposition 209 presents a challenge, as preferential treatment by race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin cannot be given in public education, public employment, and public contracting.[265] However, in some cases, if an agency can prove discrimination through a disparity study, they may be able to tailor programs by race, as CalTrans has done. Attention will need to be given that any solutions do not violate Proposition 209, or that they include a disparity study proving discrimination first.
3) Should reparations be paid for slavery, discrimination, or both?
    a) As this project has laid out, harms have been done to Black communities long after slavery has ended, resulting in persistent disparities today. It is recommended to not limit reparations to be paid only for the impact of slavery. However, for those advocating for the severe impacts of slavery, a dual pathway of reparations for descendents of slaves and for all Black communities could be envisioned.
4) How do you determine racial qualification?
    a) If a program is made available to Black people or families, do they have to prove their race? How would this be done?
5) How many people will be impacted?
    a) If reparations are to wholly address our racialized past, a significant number of Black people must benefit from any initiatives.
6) How much to pay?
    a) No amount can truly repair the trauma and harm from 400 years of slavery in this country, 80 years of Jim Crow segregation, decades of discriminatory public and private polices baked into people's lives and the social landscape, or the compounding trauma, harm, and barriers to wealth-building passed between generations due to all of the above. National estimates of reparations commonly estimate the debt due to be in the trillions of dollars. Even based solely on housing appreciation from homes demolished in West Oakland, calculated in the billions of dollars, is likely not going to be matched dollar for dollar with any kind of reparations program. However it can still be impactful to acknowledge harm, make reparative efforts, and commit to prevention of further harm.
7) If state or federal funds are a funding source, how can they be applied locally?
    a) There must be a mechanism for localized funding to be approved. Oakland City Council could build a coalition and lobby state government to fund a reparations pilot in Oakland. Funding from Biden's Jobs Plans for historic investments could also be diverted to highways in Oakland.
8) Will a reparations policy be another example of an outside policymaker deciding what is best for a population?

[265] "California Proposition 209, Affirmative Action Initiative (1996)," Ballotpedia, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_209,_Affirmative_Action_Initiative_(1996).

    a) A substantial community engagement process, including both community leaders and everyday residents, must be employed to ensure that the community is determining how best to repair the harm done.
9) What if efforts are one-time or not enough to make communities whole?
    a) Reparations should not be a one-shot process. A multitude of policies could aim to ameliorate past harms. Reparations can also be built into successive programs, for example, new infrastructure programs such as Link21.
10) How much is enough? How do you know when to stop?
    a) Any efforts should measure progress from baseline indicators. Only programs that have been evaluated to have moved the indicators should be continued. When we see fewer disparities and inequities between groups, we will know progress has been made.
11) Why would this fall on the City of Oakland? Didn't federal and state agencies contribute to the problem?
    a) Intergenerational and systemic racism are baked into every institution in our society. Advocates have demanded reparations at the federal level for years. Representative John Conyers introduced H.R. 40 to form a commission to study reparations every year for 30 years. As action has not been taken at the federal level, there is an opportunity for states and localities to lead the way in acknowledging past harms. There is potential for collaboration with the state legislature, state agencies, and the county Board of Supervisors as well.

Scale

It must be noted that while any one of the following programs may seem attractive, making too small of a program will not be adequate to truly pay "reparations." Rather, a menu of ideas with a substantial budget are necessary to repair past harms. Though not worse than doing nothing, doing a small program with inadequate funding and reach is not recommended.

Furthermore, a one-time program is likely inadequate to be at a scale sufficient to truly pay reparations. Rather, an ongoing process is necessary to truly address the magnitude and persistence of harm done.

Evanston, IL has allocated $10 million to their reparations efforts. Many of the alternatives below are evaluated for their potential impact if $10 million were dedicated to them. As many programs would only serve dozens or hundreds of people for $10 million, it is recommended to invest in multiple strategies and programs and a multi-faceted approach.

Policy Alternatives

The following section examines some ideas for reparations programs with some projection of how many people they could reach. They are evaluated along the following criteria:
-Effectiveness: How well do they provide repair for past harms?
-Equity: Who is impacted by the policy?
-Political feasibility: How possible is a plan to be passed and supported by City Council?

It is recommended for the community cohort to evaluate these and any new ideas to potentially direct reparations funding.

Status Quo - What If We Do Not Pay Reparations?

The status quo involves an increasing predilection to "racial equity." Many government programs now include an equity component and will name systemic racism and discrimination. However, without an effort to atone for past inequities, our racial equity efforts will be lacking. Racial equity cannot be achieved without a comprehensive acknowledgement of past harm and redress for the harm.

Proposition 209, the 1996 ballot referendum that prohibits "preferential treatment" based on race or sex in "public employment, public education, and public contracting," constrains some government equity programs.[266] There are methods of addressing race in government with this restriction, including by doing a disparity study that displays past discrimination. This provides a basis for affirmative action measures to remedy the discrimination.

The status quo also involves ongoing displacement and gentrification in Oakland.

Oakland currently has programs in place to help low-income families of color, including the new guaranteed income program. However, this program is a pilot, initially only going to 600 families. On their own, without an apology or comprehensive plan, they will not address the past and present racialized harms in the way a reparations program can.

Alternative: Housing

"Keeping Oakland BIPOC - what will it take? You have to understand what was taken away - ownership of homes.Unless you can restore that ownership of homes, it's not quite justified or successful. Building affordable housing - there's not a generational difference. You're still renting and can't build or pass on wealth."

-Regina Davis

Housing is the primary vehicle for building intergenerational wealth. Housing has also historically been denied to Black communities through redlining and lack of access to loans

[266] "California Proposition 209, Affirmative Action Initiative (1996)," Ballotpedia, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_209,_Affirmative_Action_Initiative_(1996).

to purchase or rehabilitate homes. Programs to improve home ownership and access are therefore central to a reparations approach.

Ten out of fourteen interviewees spoke to the importance of housing as a means for stability. One stated that housing should be considered a human right.

The City of Evanston, Illinois has announced the allocation of $400,000 of the $10 million they have dedicated to reparations. This amount will go to a Restorative Housing program, where Black residents can apply for grants of up to $25,000 for down payments on a house or to rehabilitate their homes.[267] This program has the potential to redress past harms from denied home ownership and help families to build wealth. However, this allocation could serve as little as 16 families. If it is found that the program is successful, they should allocate more of their funding to it to have a larger impact.

Oakland could offer a Right to Return policy prioritizing any whose homes were demolished in new home ownership or rental assistance programs. This could be reparative to people who were formerly displaced to another neighborhood or city. As in Evanston's program, the burden of proving past impact could be on those applying for the program, which simplifies the administrative process for the city. However, this may exclude many who were impacted in the past and unable to provide proof of past homeownership.

Oakland could provide homes for purchase at deeply discounted rates, similar to what they would have costed in the mid-20th century. Though this approach is theoretically highly impactful and reparative, given the rapidly rising price of housing in Oakland, a $10M fund could only purchase 15 - 16 homes at the West Oakland median price today.

Though not providing a path to home ownership, the Hope SF housing initiative is meant as a ""racial equity and reparations" effort in San Francisco. It differentiates itself from the federal Hope VI urban renewal projects, which have resulted in some displacement, by committing to anti-displacement.[268] They have replaced outdated rental housing with new affordable housing in four communities and had promising results, with "750 affordable units built, a 79% average retention rate of residents, a 36% increase in school attendance, a 50% decrease in crime, and a 50% increase in employment."[269] Many of the 21% of residents who did not choose to move to the new units used the resources offered to them to move elsewhere.[270]

[267] Julie Bosman, "Chicago Suburb Shapes Reparations for Black Residents: 'It Is the Start'," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 22, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/22/us/reparations-evanston-illinois-housing.html.
[268] "History," HOPE SF, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.hope-sf.org/history/.
[269] "Our Impact," HOPE SF, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.hope-sf.org/our-impact/.
[270] Theo Miller (Director of HOPE SF), in discussion with the author, February 2021.

The Hope SF initiative takes its role as a reparations initiative seriously. They include a "Racial Equity and Reparations Resource Guide,"[271] background information on reparations thought leaders[272] and initiatives,[273] and "guiding principles" that state:

> "We explicitly acknowledge the systemic harm that public policy, government agencies, and the marketplace have disproportionately inflicted on African Americans and low-income communities of color throughout the centuries. We seek to share the truth about this harm, promote restitution to those directly affected, and achieve reconciliation and ultimately freedom for those who have suffered from this harm and those who have benefited from this harm."

Former residents of the Hope SF communities are also offered a "Right to Return" through a city ordinance. After current residents of the communities are offered housing in the new units, former residents are given priority.[274]

The San Francisco Housing Development Corporation also develops affordable housing and provides other services such as financial counseling. Their "origin" story directly identifies redevelopment as a force that displaced families, against which their organization works.[275]

There are shared equity homeownership models, where government agencies may subsidize purchase of a home but then share in some of the appreciation when the home is sold. This may include shared appreciation loans, which are repaid when the recipient sells the home and reinvested elsewhere, or subsidy retention programs, which remain tied to the home such as in Community Land Trusts, deed-restricted housing, or housing cooperatives.[276] In Community Land Trusts, the buyer purchases the home but not the land, and the land lease has affordability restrictions in it for the next buyer. In deed-restricted housing, the deed has price restrictions built in. In a limited equity housing

[271] Amy T. Khare, Mark L. Joseph, and Theodore B. Miller, Jr., "HOPE SF: Racial Equity and Reparations Resource Guide" (San Francisco, CA: The Partnership for HOPE SF, October 2020), https://www.hope-sf.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/HOPE-SF-Racial-Equity-and-Reparations-Guide.10.2020.pdf.
[272] "HOPE SF Racial Equity and Reparations Resources: Thought Leaders on Racial Equity, National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities," HOPE SF, February 2020, https://cwru.app.box.com/s/hgzqcgbhqkj725qpx950nu8tmny7y4ps.
[273] "HOPE SF Racial Equity and Reparations Resources: Scan of Reparations Initiatives, National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities," HOPE SF, February 2020, https://cwru.app.box.com/s/et2zm3qtzy7zaqu08fqeqalmpa321ykk.
[274] "Mayor London Breed Celebrates San Francisco's Right to Return Ordinance," City and County of San Francisco, February 26, 2020, https://sfmayor.org/article/mayor-london-breed-celebrates-san-franciscos-right-return-ordinance#:~:text=Existing%20law%20gives%20current%20HOPE,goal%20of%20reducing%20displacement%20and.
[275] "Mission," San Francisco Housing Development Corporation, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://sfhdc.org/mission/.
[276] "Shared Equity Models Offer Sustainable Homeownership," Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research, *Evidence Matters* (Fall 2012) https://www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/em/fall12/highlight3.html.

cooperative, the buyer buys a share of the cooperative, but the cooperative maintains restrictions for its resale to be affordable. Though these programs limit the resale price, a study by the Urban Institute showed that they still allowed participants to build equity.[277] They also allow participants to save or invest more by lowering the initial cost. Oakland could create more programs along these guidelines.

The 2015 - 2023 Oakland Housing Element includes programs for affordable housing, community land trusts, and others. The Oakland First-time Homebuyer plan has issued 372 loans from 2007 - 2014, totaling $22,459,765, for an average of $60,376 per recipient.[278] If allocated $10 million, this program could serve another 165 recipients. This program is not currently funded. The Home Preservation Loan Program provides "up to $50,000 in forgivable loan funds for distressed homeowners." If allocated $10 million, this program could serve 200 Black residents.

It is estimated in the Housing Element that 34,000 homes in Oakland are in need of minor repair, 2,600 are in need of major repair, and 260 should be demolished or have extreme major repair.[279] As homes were previously demolished due to blight, programs to address repairs could redress that past harm by rehabilitating, rather than demolishing the homes. However, anti-blight programs have been suffering due to reductions in staff and funding.[280]

The City of Berkeley is currently planning additional housing at the Ashby and North Berkeley BART stations to be in compliance with zoning requirements in AB 2923.[281] A community group organizing around the effort at Ashby estimates that 550 affordable units could be built around Ashby station, with 250 units developed by non-profits with city subsidies of $200,000 per unit and 300 units being built by for-profit companies with no subsidies.[282] This would cost $50 million from Bond Measure O, which authorized up to $135 million in Berkeley.[283]

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[277] Kenneth Temkin, Brett Theodos, and David Price, "Balancing Affordability and Opportunity: An Evaluation of Affordable Homeownership Programs with Long-term Affordability Controls," Urban Institute, October 26, 2010, https://www.urban.org/research/publication/balancing-affordability-and-opportunity-evaluation-affordable-homeownership-programs-long-term-affordability-controls.
[278] City of Oakland, "Housing Element 2015-2023," City of Oakland, December 9, 2014, 56.
[279] Ibid., 8.
[280] Ibid., 75.
[281] "Ashby and North Berkeley BART Station Planning," City of Berkeley, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.cityofberkeley.info/bartplanning/.
[282] "Ashby Proposal," South Berkeley Now!, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.southberkeleynow.org/south-berkeley-nows-affordable-housing-proposal.
[283] "Berkeley, California, Measure O, Housing Bonds (November 2018)," Ballotpedia, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://ballotpedia.org/Berkeley,_California,_Measure_O,_Housing_Bonds_(November_2018).

Oakland could seek to pass a similar bond measure and provide transit-oriented housing for 550 families. Iit should be noted that substantial subsidies would be needed to provide affordable housing for very-low-income families. Investment in affordable housing projects could have a focus on anti-displacement and reparations, similar to Hope SF, and could build in other amenities. Regina Davis, member of the Strategic Urban Development Alliance and former CEO of the San Francisco Housing Development Corporation, recommended building in services like childcare or others. Wil Ussery, civil rights leader and former BART director, shared his work with the Acorn development in the 1990s, putting fiber-optic cable into all apartments and building a computer learning center. The center offers training, and computers can also be made available for residents who go through the program. These multi-modal developments can be expanded.

Plan Bay Area, a long-term plan for the nine-county Bay Area, also has housing initiatives.[284] Reparations could be built into planning efforts.

Tradeoffs:

- Home ownership is a primary source for wealth-generating that has been subsidized for many white families, but far fewer Black families. Supporting home ownership and retention of homes is a relevant way to remedy past injustices.
- The families that receive support in new housing or maintaining current housing would likely not be the same families initially displaced. However, Black people as a group have been discriminated against in many ways, and these are shown clearly in data on racial disparities across categories. Reparations through housing would thus address general harms done to Black communities as a whole, rather than targeted families.
- It may be difficult to target Black families for home ownership subsidies, given Proposition 209.
- If housing is made primarily available to Black residents, how will racial qualification be determined?
- Program funding will need to be sufficiently large to have a sufficient impact. Sixteen people receiving a grant (as in the Evanston example) is not a significant reparative impact.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: Enabling residents to become homeowners or remain homeowners directly addresses past issues.
- Equity: Housing programs targeted at Black residents would benefit a specific group.
- Political feasibility: There are many existing models and programs that could be emulated or enhanced. It would likely not be too challenging to do so.

[284] "About," Plan Bay Area 2050, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.planbayarea.org/plan-bay-area-2050-0.

Alternative: Jobs

"The '50s were okay for Blacks in Oakland; people had jobs. In the '60s jobs went to the suburbs; things got rugged."

-David Peters

Thousands of jobs were lost in West Oakland as industrial factories moved to the suburbs, the Port was mechanized, and the Oakland Army Base and Naval Supply closed. Job discrimination prevented many Black workers from particating in unions, apprenticeship programs, and front-of-the-house positions in service jobs. Previous Black organizing highlighted access to jobs as a key resource. Economic stability is crucial to be able to live prosperously and thrive, and reparations focused around access to jobs can be consequential, even contributing to closing income and wealth gaps. Reverend Chambers in particular advocated for livable wage jobs, job training, and apprenticeship programs. Four interviewees spoke to the importance of good jobs for Black communities.

There are several job training organizations throughout Oakland that could be bolstered. The West Oakland Jobs Resource Center (WOJRC), which arose from demands of the Revive Oakland coalition and is partially funded by the city, provides job training and apprenticeship programs for livable wage jobs, particularly in construction and logistics.[285] The Center has agreements with the redevelopment of the Oakland army base and the Port of Oakland to be a "first source hire" for their employment needs.[286] The program trains hundreds of people receiving services each year, and could be expanded as reparations to residents of West Oakland to assist low-income residents with earning a livable wage.

The Center receives less than half of its operating budget from the city and also relies on other grants. The center was founded in 2012, and in the period from 2015 to 2017, expanded its budget and funding sources. For 2018-2019 and 2019-2020, the City of Oakland has sent the center $355,237 for each period.[287]

In 2018 the Center referred 182 participants to services, referred 4 to pre-apprenticeship programs, referred 41 to apprenticeship programs, and placed 63 in employment. Black job seekers were 74% of those referred to services, 75% of those referred to pre-apprenticeship, 73% of those referred to apprenticeship, and 81% of those placed in employment .[288]

[285] "Revive Oakland & the Army Base Redevelopment Project." EBASE. Accessed December 13, 2019. http://workingeastbay.org/issues/revive-oakland/.
[286] Matt Fernandes (Program Assistant at the West Oakland Jobs Resource Center), in discussion with the author, December 2019.
[287] Lazandra Dial (City of Oakland, Economic and Workforce Development Department), email message to author, December 13, 2019.
[288] Matt Fernandes (Program Assistant at the West Oakland Jobs Resource Center), email message to author, December 13, 2019.

As less than half of its budget is from the City of Oakland (assume ⅓ of the budget is from the city), if Oakland increased its allocation to $10 million, we could expect the budget increase to be nine-fold. If programs grew at nine times their current rate, an additional 2,610 people could receive services. If the organization could not handle this increase in funding, and the funding from the city were only doubled, this would provide an increase of 95 people served, with 60 people referred to services, 1 in a pre-apprenticeship program, 13 in apprenticeship programs, and 20 people into livable wage jobs.

The Cypress Mandela Training Center was founded in 1993,[289] after the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake caused the collapse of the Cypress Freeway that bisected West Oakland, and community organizing led to it being rebuilt on the westernmost edge of the neighborhood. The freeway was replaced with the Mandela Greenway.[290] The Cypress Mandela Training Center initially trained people to help rebuild the freeway, but has since expanded to green construction training, health and safety training, gas operations and electric operations training for jobs with PG&E, track and structure working training for BART, and others.[291]

The standard program for the center is a 16-week pre-apprenticeship training where participants learn basic construction skills. The center usually runs about 3 cycles a year with 30 - 40 graduating participants each cycle. Since fall 2020, they have also run a women's program in partnership with the Alameda County District Attorney's Office. The first cohort has been 13 women.

The operating budget for the center was $1,222,325 for fiscal year 2018 - 2019.[292] Its program budget was $1,070,966. If Oakland increased the program budget to $10 million, it would increase by 9.34 times, serving an additional 984 people. As the organization may not have the capacity to handle this additional funding, if their program budget were only doubled, they could serve an additional 118 people.

The Oakland Private Industry Council, founded in 1978, has been running "federally- and state-funded workforce development programs on behalf of the City of Oakland, first under

[289] Tony Khing, "PG&E Mourns the Passing of Cypress Mandela Training Center Leader Art Shanks," PG&E, *Currents* (January 7, 2020), https://www.pgecurrents.com/2020/01/07/pge-mourns-the-passing-of-cypress-mandela-training-center-leader-art-shanks/#:~:text=Initially%2C%20Cypress%20Mandela%20was%20founded,work%20for%20BART%20and%20Caltrans.
[290] "Oakland | Mandela Parkway: History," Congress for the New Urbanism, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.cnu.org/oakland-mandela-parkway.
[291] "Free Training for High Paying Careers," Cypress Mandela Training Center, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.cypressmandela.org/programs.
[292] "Cypress Mandela Training Center: Full text of "Full Filing" for fiscal year ending June 2019," ProPublica, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/800123340/202011979349303576/full.

the Job Training Partnership Act, and now under the Workforce Investment Act."[293] Their programs include career counseling, job training, and connections between employers and job seekers, among others.[294] For fiscal year 2017 - 2018, their operating budget was $4,321,203, and their programming budget was $3,959,092.[295]

Wil Ussery, civil rights leader and former BART director, shared his work with the Acorn development in the 1990s, putting fiber-optic cable into all apartments and building a computer learning center. The center offers training, and computers can also be made available for residents who go through the program. Including computer access in housing is one way to assist residents in finding a job. Mr. Ussery saw technological literacy and employment as key to employment for Black workers.

Worker cooperatives are another way to build economic power in the workforce. Cooperatives typically involve profit sharing, leading to increases in wealth by employees, and shared decision-making power, causing workers to have more of a stake in their business. The Mandela Grocery Co-op currently has 12 worker-owners and has been providing fresh, healthy food to residents of West Oakland. The City of Oakland could support the development of more worker cooperatives by creating a business education program and/or subsidizing feasibility studies for businesses interested in converting to worker ownership.

These programs could be bolstered, focusing on Black residents in Oakland. They could also give preference to anyone who can demonstrate their family had been affected by previous government programs.

Tradeoffs:

- Steady employment at a living wage is a major source of economic stability. Numerous historical and primary sources have identified loss of jobs in West Oakland as severely detrimental to the neighborhood and residents. Increasing employment opportunities is a key way to support disenfranchised populations.
- As one interviewee noted, computers are necessary as the economy has shifted to a greater reliance on technology. Job training programs may focus on construction or health & safety as some of the training centers provide, or could be focused on newer technologies or supports for worker cooperatives as well.
- Numbers of job trainees served is important. Hopefully, jobs investments could create hundreds or thousands of new jobs.

[293] "Our Story," Oakland Private Industry Council, Inc., Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.oaklandpic.org/our-story.
[294] "Home," Oakland Private Industry Council, Inc., Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.oaklandpic.org/.
[295] "Oakland Private Industry Council Inc.: Form 990 for period ending June 2018," ProPublica, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/942683168/08_2019_prefixes_94-95%2F942683168_201806_990_2019080516545502.

- People served may not have been directly impacted by historical policies, though they may have been by current discrimination and disparities. People impacted by historical policies may not benefit from jobs programs.
- Given Proposition 209, it may be difficult to target Black applicants. Programs may take applicants from priority black neighborhoods instead.
- If priority is given to Black applicants, it must be determined how to demonstrate their race.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: Jobs programs can help to reduce income and wealth gaps. However, people who already have jobs may not benefit from this program.
- Equity: Only underemployed people will access programs, and possibly only Black applicants.
- Political feasibility: Bolstering existing programs would be highly feasible. Creating new programming may be done with other workforce development initiatives.

Alternative: Remove I-980

The City of Oakland has been considering removing I-980, an underutilized freeway.[296] The city has targeted this as an opportunity for restorative justice, where damage done to neighborhoods the freeway disrupted can be ameliorated through affordable housing and public space.

As there is a movement for "Highways to Boulevards" nationally, this idea may have some momentum.[297] President Biden's American Jobs Plan initially called for a $20 billion set-aside to reconnect communities divided by highways and build in racial equity into other projects. The most recent infrastructure plan allocated $1 billion to the effort, with $250 million for planning grants and $750 million for capital construction grants.[298] Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg has indicated that highways across the country have a racialized history.[299]

There is historical precedent for this idea. Boston removed its "Central Artery" and moved highways underground in the "Big Dig," which lasted over two decades, beginning with

[296] Dover, Kohl & Partners team for the City of Oakland, "The Downtown Oakland Specific Plan: Public Review Draft Plan," City of Oakland, August 28, 2019, https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/downtown-oakland-specific-plan.
[297] "Highways to Boulevards," Congress for the New Urbanism, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.cnu.org/our-projects/highways-boulevards.
[298] Audra D.S. Burch, "One Historic Black Neighborhood's Stake in the Infrastructure Bill," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), November 20, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/us/claiborne-expressway-new-orleans-infrastructure.html.
[299] Nadja Popovich, Josh Williams and Denise Lu, "Can Removing Highways Fix America's Cities?," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), May 27, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/27/climate/us-cities-highway-removal.html.

planning in the 1980s.[300] In Oakland, after the Cypress Freeway collapsed in the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake, community organizing successfully lobbied for it to be rebuilt on the western edge of West Oakland, rather than directly through it, as it was initially constructed.[301] It was replaced with a greenway.

As David Karas wrote in New Visions for Public Affairs in 2015, removal of highways which had damaged communities could be a "mea culpa," or acknowledgement of wrongdoing.[302]

One possibility for the removal of I-980 may come with the mega-regional Link21 project. This project aims to improve rail service in the Bay Area and beyond, including to Sacramento. Fundamental to the project is a second transbay rail crossing between Oakland and San Francisco.[303] Link21 is considering two locations in Oakland to connect to the second crossing, and I-980 is one of those two sites. Oakland's Downtown Specific Plan lists a removal of I-980 and replacement with a "multi-way boulevard," "mixed-income and affordable housing," a park, and the "new submerged BART alignment." The plan lists that this could potentially provide "5,000 Residential Units and 1.5 M Sq. Ft. of Commercial Space."[304]

Link21 is building equity into their plans and is currently sponsoring "co-creation workshops" to garner community input on how to define "priority populations" for projects. This could be based on factors such as income, race, environmental justice, health, housing, and other indicators. Link21 is also planning on funding a pre-engineering feasibility analysis on removing I-980 next year.

One major concern with the removal of I-980 is not to create further displacement once it is removed. With the highway gone, property values and gentrification would likely increase. The city can prevent this from happening with some of the following[305]:

- Affordable housing: Ensure 30 - 50% of new housing is affordable
- Community Land Trusts: Subsidize acquisition of land by non-profit organizations for Community Land Trusts, through in the Neighborhood Stabilization program
- Tenant Opportunity to Purchase: Give tenants first opportunity to purchase a building if a landlord decides to sell. The city could also subsidize this.

[300] "The Big Dig: project background," Mass.gov, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.mass.gov/info-details/the-big-dig-project-background.
[301] "Replacing Oakland's Cypress Freeway," U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration, *Public Roads* 61, no. 5 (1998), https://highways.dot.gov/public-roads/marchapril-1998/replacing-oaklands-cypress-freeway.
[302] Karas, David, "Highway to Inequity: The Disparate Impact of the Interstate Highway System on Poor and Minority Communities in American Cities," *New Visions for Public Affairs* 7 (April 2015).
[303] "Transforming Passenger Rail in Northern California," Link21, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://link21program.org/en.
[304] Dover, Kohl & Partners team for the City of Oakland, "The Downtown Oakland Specific Plan: Public Review Draft Plan," City of Oakland, August 28, 2019, https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/downtown-oakland-specific-plan.
[305] "All-In Cities Policy Toolkit," PolicyLink, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://allincities.org/toolkit.

- Foreclosure and eviction prevention: Earmark funds in the Home Preservation Loan program to assist homes at risk of foreclosure.

The Link21 project may be an opportunity to remove the highway, however, it may not have a large enough scope to connect reparations to the project, and some of its impacts may not directly go to Black households in Oakland.

Tradeoffs:

- I-980 is likely to be removed for the second transbay crossing.
- Reparations for all Black communities in Oakland may be beyond the scope of restorative justice plans for I-980.
- Removing I-980 may improve the neighborhood directly surrounding where the current freeway is, and may include an improvement in air quality or health impacts. It also may lead to further gentrification.
- Addressing freeways in neighborhoods is an impactful way to address past public policies that were harmful to Black communities. However, many of those displaced by the freeway moved away from West Oakland.
- How can housing opportunities be targeted to Black residents? If this is possible, how will recipients be determined?

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: This would be a localized effect that would directly address one aspect of historical discrimination, but may not be as instrumental in reducing disparities today.
- Equity: Anyone in the vicinity of the current highway would benefit. This could include white and gentrifying groups. Particular attention would need to be given to programs to prevent displacement and accrue benefits to Black residents.
- Political feasibility: This project is likely to happen and to include a restorative justice component. However, it is unlikely to be a large enough scope to provide reparations throughout Black communities in the city, and should be paired with other efforts to be reparative.

Alternative: "Reparations Style Infrastructure Package"

Charles T. Brown, Senior Researcher at the Alan M. Voorhees Transportation Center at Rutgers University, has advocated for a "Reparations-style infrastructure package" including increased bicycle infrastructure, pedestrian infrastructure, public transit, and public art.[306] Charles T. Brown notes the discrimination that Black people may face as they take any one of transportation options available - they are susceptible to harrassment whether walking,

[306] "Identifying and Addressing Barriers to Physical Activity in the Black Community Webinar," National Association of Chronic Disease Directors, posted on Vimeo, September 18, 2020, https://vimeo.com/460197268.

running, bicycling, driving, or taking public transit. Infrastructure projects could be used to pay reparations.

Funded with $100 million by Measure KK, Oakland is undergoing a three-year paving program, started in 2019.[307] $75 million of the plan will go to local streets. The plan includes a first-in-the-nation equity weighting factor and plan, where not only streets in need of repaving will be paved, but streets that also serve "underserved communities" -- including "people of color, low-income households, people with disabilities, households with a severe rent burden, people with limited English proficiency, and youth/seniors."[308] Additional creative transportation projects could be used to pay reparations.

Transit-oriented development may be another way to build infrastructure that serves low-income residents. Substantial subsidies would be needed to create housing for very-low-income individuals.

Transportation agencies are using the concept of value capture to inform taxing strategies for communities where transit improves property values. BART is considering how to use value capture to advance equity. Value capture involves using taxes or other instruments to reap some of the benefit that an infrastructure project provides to surrounding communities. Maceo Wiggins, Director of the Office for Civil Rights at BART, spoke of value capture as a potential tool, but also as potentially harmful. Value capture can be used in Community Benefits Agreements or to fund affordable housing and other government initiatives. However, if a tax is added to capture value on a new infrastructure package, but other communities historically had not had a similar tax applied, this would be an inequitable burden on the neighborhood benefitting today. Maceo suggested that value capture would have to be applied with equity in mind to not be harmful.

Tradeoffs:

- Increasing mobility and affordable housing are impactful strategies for low-income residents
- Investing in infrastructure within low-income neighborhoods, not merely through and surrounding them, is a counter-force to past disinvestment in those neighborhoods.
- It may be challenging to target programs to Black communities.
- Transportation equity can be built into existing and planned infrastructure packages. However, it must be at a scale sufficient to be considered reparative.

[307] Oakland Department of Transportation, "OakDOT Kicks Off Three-Year, $100 Million, Equity-Focused Paving Plan," City of Oakland, August 22, 2019, https://www.oaklandca.gov/news/2019/oakdot-kicks-off-three-year-100-million-equity-focused-paving-plan.
[308] Oakland Department of Transportation, "OakDOT Kicks Off Three-Year, $100 Million, Equity-Focused Paving Plan," City of Oakland, August 22, 2019, https://www.oaklandca.gov/news/2019/oakdot-kicks-off-three-year-100-million-equity-focused-paving-plan

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: these strategies can provide greater racial equity to target populations. The scale of strategies used will determine whether or not they are effective as reparations
- Equity: These strategies will seek to provide mobility and resources to underserved communities, targeting those most in need
- Political feasibility: As transportation agencies in the city and state are increasingly concerned with racial equity, equity-focused programs are currently more politically feasible. The challenge is to implement equity programs that are sufficiently funded and transformative to be reparative.

Alternative: Business Support

"Of the last 100 cranes on the Oakland skyline, not one of those has been put up by Black-led developer team. 25% people of city are not participating in one of the most important engines in the economy. They're not engaged in an income creating, wealth creating thing."

-Alan Dones

Regina Davis, member of the Strategic Urban Development Alliance and former CEO of the San Francisco Housing Development Corporation, advocated for Black businesses to be created and able to access city contracts. Business ownership can drive wealth creation.

Proposition 209 prevents California municipalities from giving preferential treatment based on race in city contracting. However, there are other strategies that can be employed. As a Mason Tillman disparity study evidenced discrimination in state contracting for construction, there may be a pathway to considering race in city contracts. A "Disadvantaged contractor" program targeted to low-income or otherwise disadvantaged individuals may also have the effect of bolstering many firms that are owned by or majority people of color. There is a "Disadvantaged Business Enterprise" program for "socially and economically disadvantaged individuals" in "federally funded transportation projects" through CalTrans.[309] Oakland currently has "Local Business Enterprise" and "Small Local Business Enterprise" certifications, among others, that the city is required to send a percentage of contracts to.

The Oakland equity permit program for marijuana businesses is considered a form of "reparations" by allowing people with prior marijuana-related convictions, which are overwhelmingly Black people, to have priority for marijuana dispensary licenses. Priority applicants have a median income 80% or less than the average median income and are

[309] "Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE) Program," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/disadvantaged-business-enterprise-dbe-program#services.

from one of the 21 police beats with the most weed arrests, or have been arrested and convicted for weed themselves, from November 1996 onwards.[310] There were 9 "2019-2020 dispensary applicants selected."[311] Loans and grants for cannabis businesses were also offered. As of May 2021, Oakland had given $1,222,000 in funding to 35 recipients, averaging $34,914 per grant.[312] These grants mainly went to Black applicants.

% of Total	Total #	Race
80.0%	28	African American/Black
2.9%	1	Hispanic
2.9%	1	Vietnamese
8.6%	3	DNR
2.9%	1	Dual Other
2.9%	1	Other
100.0%	35	Total

Figure 23: Recipients of Grants
Source: City of Oakland Equity Loan And Grant Programs Monthly Meeting[313]

The city had also given loans of $3,368,000 to 55 recipients, averaging $61,236 per borrower, with a similar racial breakdown.

% of Total	Total #	Race
78.18%	43	AfAm
5.45%	3	Hispanic
3.64%	2	White
1.82%	1	Vietnamese
1.82%	1	Native American
5.45%	3	Dual
3.64%	2	DNR
100.00%	55	Total

Figure 24: Recipients of Loans
Source: City of Oakland Equity Loan And Grant Programs Monthly Meeting[314]

[310] Brentin Mock, "The Case for Weed Reparations," *Bloomberg CityLab*, April 27, 2017, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-04-27/oakland-s-war-on-the-war-on-drugs.
[311] "Cannabis Permits," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/cannabis-permits.
[312] "Equity Loan and Grant Programs Monthly Meeting:Proposed Agenda: Tuesday May 22, 2021, 1:00 - 2:00 pm," City of Oakland, May 11, 2021, https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/May-11th-Agenda-Equity-Loan-Grant-Meeting.pdf.
[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.

Sixteen applicants had received partial or full workforce development funds, for a total of $302,248.

If the city increased its grant allocations to $10 million, businesses served could increase by 8.18, serving 251 additional businesses.

This program does give an advantage to people and communities previously harmed through draconian drug policies and policing. However, with 9 dispensaries approved and grant and loan recipients in only double digits, it is not extensive enough to repair harms from the myriad policies that damaged Black neighborhoods. Further investment would be required.

The revenue from cannabis taxes could be reappropriated to programming further reversing the impacts from over-policing and incarceration.

Tradeoffs:

- The War on Drugs has disproportionately harmed Black communities, so a policy targeted at ameliorating past harms of marijuana convictions is reparative.
- Non-marijuana businesses will not receive supports.
- A "Disadvantaged Contractor" program could ensure additional business contracts with people of color led firms.
- Business supports will not benefit people already employed.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: Business supports can give tangible economic benefits, but will not affect people already employed.
- Equity: Only people looking to start or grow a business will benefit.
- Political feasibility: Expanding existing programs will be highly feasible.

Alternative: Health

"The city has not instituted health in all policies."

-Ms. Margaret Gordon

The health impacts of industrial zoning in West Oakland, diesel trucks on the freeways, and vessels and industry at the Port have led to worse health outcomes for people living in West Oakland. As in other cities across the country, polluting factory plants, toxic sites, freeways, and industry have often been placed in areas where people of color live, that have fewer financial resources and where land might be less expensive. These health impacts must be addressed.

Truck management is one way to address the pollution from diesel particulates and improve health. The West Oakland Truck Management Plan, finalized in 2019, attempts to reroute some trucks going through Oakland to have less of an impact on residents.

The ban on trucks on I-580 has caused trucks to have to take I-880 as they travel through Oakland. This has been beneficial for white communities in the hills, but has caused more traffic and pollution for residents in the flatlands. Without the ban, some trucks would have to go along I-880 in order to reach the port, but others could potentially be diverted. Black carbon has been found to exist at 80% higher levels near I-880 as near I-580.[315]

These environmental impacts must be addressed. Assembly Bill 617 has directed local air districts to look at local air pollution; however, one of the bill's main proponents, Ms. Margaret Gordon, has noted that they are struggling with funding initiatives from the bill. This bill should be more fully funded in order to address air quality concerns.

Another approach could be to support the West Oakland Health Council, founded in 1967. It offers healthcare to anyone in need, no matter if they have insurance or are able to pay. [316] Their operating budget is $24,549,138, and their program budget is $16,561,114. Community health centers could be further funded.

Tradeoffs:

- Health and life expectancy are key indicators of neighborhood vitality, and transportation projects through West Oakland have contributed to higher rates of asthma and other diseases. Clearing air pollution and providing affordable health care are crucial programs.
- Anyone living in West Oakland, including gentrifiers, would benefit from efforts to reduce pollution in the area.
- Philanthropic funding tied to health-related issues may be more available.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: Health programs can reduce air quality, environmental, and health disparities, but they may not necessarily be reparative.
- Equity: Anyone living in targeted neighborhoods could benefit from these programs.
- Political feasibility: Bolstering current programs is highly feasible.

Alternative: Banking Industry/Real Estate Industry

"Predatory lending cleared out this block to a great extent. I was talking with another multigenerational neighbor…Financial institutions that benefited from government subsidies back in the day, have a point to play in giving access to capital."

-David Peters

[315] A Tale of Two Freeways," Environmental Defense Fund, Accessed Oct. 11, 2021, https://www.edf.org/airqualitymaps/oakland/tale-two-freeways.
[316] "Eligibility," West Oakland Health, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://westoaklandhealth.org/elgibility/.

The banking and real estate industries had a clear role in perpetuating racism and discrimination. By following redlined maps from the Federal Housing Administration and denying federally subsidized mortgages to neighborhoods including West Oakland, they have denied access to a major wealth-building opportunity that contributed to the rise of the white middle-class. By writing racially restrictive covenants and restricting where Black families could move to and engaging in blockbusting or encouraging white families to sell when Black families moved in, the real estate industry enforced the boundaries of segregation. Banks also targeted families of color for subprime loans from the late 1990s to the 2000s, leading to the foreclosure crisis and Great Recession, decimating wealth that families of color had gained.[317]

Both industries may play a role in reparations. In a 2020 op-ed in The New York Times, Angela Glover-Blackwell and Michael McAfee affirmed that, "...no industry has played a bigger or more enduring role in Black oppression, exploitation and exclusion," and that "Every industry must now use its power to repair the damage and heal the wounds." They advocate four strategies for banks to take:

- "Cancel consumer debt for Black customers"
- "Eliminate banking fees for Black customers"
- "Provide interest-free mortgages to Black home buyers"
- "Provide interest-free loans to Black-owned businesses"

Richard Rothstein, in an op-ed to The New York Times, suggests a strategy of banks and real estate developers making mortgages on homes available at the prices they would have been when redlining and racially restrictive covenants were active[318]. For example, in a neighborhood of San Mateo, in the 1940s, certain homes sold by one company were listed at $5,450, which Rothstein writes is worth about $100,000 today. Their value today is around $1.5 million. Rothstein advocates for the banks and developers involved to make up the difference and allow Black families to buy the $1.5 million homes in that neighborhood at the price for which they were previously denied the opportunity.

On March 17, 2021, Amalgamated Bank announced that they are in support of HR 40.[319]

Oakland city government could undertake programs to support banks in paying reparations. The city could develop a program to provide loan guarantees or subsidize

[317] Esi Hutchful, "The Racial Wealth Gap: What California Can Do About a Long-Standing Obstacle to Shared Prosperity," California Budget & Policy Center, December 2018, https://calbudgetcenter.org/resources/the-racial-wealth-gap-what-california-can-do-about-a-long-standing-obstacle-to-shared-prosperity/.
[318] Richard Rothstein, "The Black Lives Next Door," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), August 14, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/14/opinion/sunday/blm-residential-segregation.html.
[319] Ramishah Maruf, "This major US bank just endorsed reparations for Black Americans," CNN Business, CNN, March 17, 2021, https://www.cnn.com/2021/03/17/business/amalgamated-bank-hr-40/index.html.

loans at low-interest rates. Preference can be given to Black residents and to residents who can demonstrate their family was affected by previous government policies.

Tradeoffs:

- Banks have been instrumental in residential segregation patterns, and providing funding to reverse these efforts can be reparative.
- Oakland city government has limited capacity to influence them to pay reparations.
- If programs are made primarily to Black residents, how is eligibility determined?

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: Interest-free mortgages or loans could enable more home ownership and wealth generation; however, these efforts on their own are likely not going to have a significant impact. Grants would be more impactful
- Equity: Mainly Black applicants would benefit.
- Political feasibility: Loan guarantees or subsidized loans may be new programs that would require further development before being seriously considered.

Alternative: Cash Payments

"I'm tired of others trying to control what people would do with the opportunity to have money. I would like to see cash - especially for those who had never had it, I'd love to have funds available to do whatever they want to...It highlights disrespect by determining where the money would be spent. I don't think any reparations for any people would be controlled the way they want to control African Americans."

-Gilda Harris

"The remedy is institutional, not individual."

-Leo Bazile

Though one interviewee advocated for cash payments, three interviewees emphasized community solutions over individual payments. One recommended paying into schools for descendents of people in West Oakland, who were affected by these city policies.

Cash payments have been offered before in the U.S. Japanese people interned in World War II were given $20,000 from the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, along with an education fund and a formal apology.[320] After a white mob murdered people and burned homes and buildings in Rosewood, Florida in 1923, the Florida legislature voted for the Rosewood Compensation Act in 1994. This bill "sought compensation, not reparation." A $2.1 million fund was provided, composed of a "$500,000 property compensation fund, college

[320] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 97.

scholarships for needy students with preference to children of Rosewood descendants, and $150,000 for each survivor."[321]

Oakland is piloting a privately funded, guaranteed minimum income program to pay $500 monthly to 600 low-income families of color for 18 months.[322] Given this program, an additional cash payment program is not recommended, as it may duplicate payments to families. However, the program is only serving 600 families, and would have to be significantly expanded to be reparative. The Oakland Promise program is also making direct payments available to children born in Alameda County in low-income families, setting up a 529 college savings account for them with $500.[323]

These programs are already forward-thinking strategies for using cash payments to further racial and economic equity. If an individual payment strategy is advocated for, it is recommended to bolster these programs and incorporate a reparations perspective into them.

If the guaranteed income program were expanded for reparations, it would have to reach more low-income Black families. As around 23.77% of Black people in Oakland are in poverty and there are about 103,061 Black people in Oakland, there are about 24,498 Black people in poverty in Oakland.[324] If they averaged to be families of four, there would be about 6,124 families of color estimated to be in poverty. Providing each with $500 per month would be $3,062,000 per month or $36,744,000 per year. Though this program would be impactful, it would be costly.

The Oakland Promise program requires fewer resources. The City of Oakland estimates about 2,200 children are born in poverty each year.[325] Payments can be issued to all for $1,100,000 per year. This program could be expanded to give larger payments or to increase payments for students in K-12 (Oakland Promise involves K-12 and college programs in addition to baby bonds). While this program would further economic equity, it would not be directly reparative to people directly affected by past policies. However, it

[321] Ibid., 78.
[322] "Mayor Schaaf Announces Guaranteed Income Pilot, Oakland Resilient Families," City of Oakland, March 23, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/news/2021/mayor-schaaf-announces-guaranteed-income-pilot-oakland-resilient-families.
[323] "Brilliant Baby," Oakland Promise, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://oaklandpromise.org/brilliant-baby/.
[324] "Estimated percent of all Black or African American people who lived in poverty, between 2015-2019," PolicyMap, https://www.policymap.com/newmaps#/embed/7437/dcd8c0e911f0b6b11cf26e1cdf619e8a (based on data from 2015-2019 U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS); Accessed April 8, 2022).
[325] "The Oakland Promise," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/topics/the-oakland-promise#:~:text=Our%20vision%20is%20to%20serve%20all,Kindergarten%20to%20College%20by%202020.&text=There%20are%20approximately%2024%2C000%20middle,path%20to%20college%20%26%20career%20success.

would create greater access to opportunity for Black children and could thereby boost Black communities.

Tradeoffs:

- Cash payments are a common reparative strategy to repair past harm.
- Cash payments enable recipients to self-determine how the funds would be best spent.
- Cash payments targeted at the most low-income residents will not repair discrimination against wealthier residents.
- The guaranteed minimum income could likely not be scaled to cover all Black families in poverty. It would be a limited time program.
- Community investment strategies are likely more politically feasible and were requested more often by interviewees.
- It may be difficult to pay cash reparations based on race, given Proposition 209.
- It may be difficult to determine eligibility based on race.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: Cash payments would be highly impactful and are a model in other reparations efforts to redress past harms.
- Equity: Likely only the most low-income families would receive payments
- Political feasibility: The Oakland guaranteed income and Oakland Promise programs are existing, and bolstering them would likely be feasible, though not at the level of scale necessary.

Alternative: Schools

"I think the school system we had growing up was one of the best. I would like the school system to revert back to teaching basic things, community schools, rather than bussed out and moved out. Because our community suffers from lack of having very good schools. Part of very good schools - not only did we have very high scholastic expectations, we also had Black teachers. Parents, friends, teachers went to our churches. There was a whole community that now is not in existence for Black people who live in Oakland."

-Maxine Ussery

Access to education is widely cited as a way to improve economic mobility and have better life outcomes. Five out of fourteen interviewees identified education as a top tool for reparations. Ideas on how to improve education range from improving school financing to scholarships for Black students with descendents from West Oakland.

The Movement for Black Lives lists "educational opportunities" as its first reparations demand, and suggests the following policies[326];

[326] "Reparations," The Movement for Black Lives, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://m4bl.org/policy-platforms/reparations/.

- "Free access and open admissions to public community colleges and universities"
- "Technical education (technology, trade and agricultural)"
- "Educational support programs"
- "Retroactive forgiveness of student loans"
- "Support for lifetime learning programs"

There is currently a group advocating for reparations for Black students in Oakland. Led by the Justice for Oakland Students Coalition, the Reparations for Black Students campaign has been advocating for reparations in Oakland Unified School District.[327] Their demands include closing the Black digital divide by providing technology to Black students, ceasing school closures and designating some schools "historically Black schools," creating a Black Thriving Fund and Black Thriving Index to continue to evaluate progress and outcomes for Black students, allocating funds to college and career readiness, and more. Most of the demands in their resolution were passed in the OUSD Board, although the demand around halting school closures was not. Superintendent Kyla Johnson-Trammell and the state trustee in charge of finances for the school district, Chris Learned, were against the part of the resolution around school closures.[328]

Given the length of time engaging the community around their reparations demands, the detail in their demands, and their forward progress in OUSD, it is not recommended for the City of Oakland to design its own reparations program in the school district. Instead, it would be better to support the current initiative and possibly designate funding from the funding sources that will be recommended to be raised to pay reparations in Oakland.

Tradeoffs:

- Education is a primary tool for upward mobility and wealth generation
- The Reparations for Black Students campaign has developed a robust set of reparative demands.
- There is ongoing controversy over the demand to prevent school closures.
- These demands would benefit children in the future; however, past harms are not as directly addressed.
- Particular care will be given to Black students.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: The Reparations for Black Students campaign addresses historic underinvestment in Black schools, though there are not as many benefits to people impacted by past policies.
- Equity: School-age children would be most impacted.

[327] "Reparations for Black Students," Reparations for Black Students, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://reparationsforBlackstudents.org/.
[328] Ashley McBride, "Oakland school board says yes to reparations for Black students, no to banning school closures," *The Oaklandside* (Oakland, CA), March 25, 2021, https://oaklandside.org/2021/03/25/oakland-Black-student-reparations-school-closures/.

- Political feasibility: This campaign has already won victories that can be further funded by the city.

Alternative: Museums/Monuments/Arts

Multiple advocacy organizations for reparations have included an arts and educational component based in teaching history. A major feature of systemic racism and white supremacy in the U.S. has been that much of the violence that has been perpetuated against Black people and communities has been obscured. Many white people are not aware of the Rosewood massacre or the Tulsa "riots." There is also the issue of existing historical artifacts that could be repatriated to the communities from which they came.

The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America recommend a slew of programs, including "...creation of multi-media depictions of the history of Black people of African descent and textbooks for educational institutions that tell the story from the African descendants' perspective; development of historical monuments and museums; the return of artifacts and art to appropriate people or institutions..."[329]

The Movement for Black Lives' 5 point reparations demands include reparations "in the form of mandated public school curriculums that critically examine the political, economic, and social impacts of colonialism and slavery, and funding to support, build, preserve, and restore cultural assets and sacred sites to ensure the recognition and honoring of our collective struggles and triumphs."[330]

If Oakland is to reckon with its racial past, educational and artistic materials engaged in truth-telling may be one avenue to do so. Oakland's racial history has been well documented. Some of this could be gathered into an online exhibit with the African American Museum & Library at Oakland. Curricula could be developed in Oakland schools to teach the city's specific history.

Tradeoffs:

- Sharing the history is a crucial component to winning public support for racial equity and reparations programs. It is important for people of all races to understand our city's and country's racialized histories.
- These strategies do not materially benefit past or present victims of racism and discrimination.
- This strategy would best be combined with others giving direct benefits and funding to community services.

[329] "National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America," N'COBRA, Accessed May 16, 2021, http://ncobra.org/.
[330] "Reparations," The Movement for Black Lives, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://m4bl.org/policy-platforms/reparations/.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: This strategy would acknowledge past harms, though it would not provide material benefits to Black residents.
- Equity: The general public could benefit from the creation of exhibits or exhibitionary material.
- Political feasibility: An arts and culture strategy such as this would be more likely with a budget surplus.

Alternative: Apology

"West Oakland has never had a Truth and Reconciliation process."
-Alan Dones

Many have maintained that an apology is a necessary element of a reparations package.

As in the framework shared by Charles P. Henry, a reparations process may involve[331]:
-An apology
-Restitution
-Compensation
-Rehabilitation
-Satisfaction
-Guarantees that action will not occur again

Without a formal apology, any reparations efforts may be lacking.

Apologies have historically been made for race-related issues. Congress apologized for slavery in 2009.[332] Former President Bill Clinton apologized for the Tuskegee experiment in 1997 (the experiment studied syphilis and did not make some of the Black study participants aware that they had the disease, leaving them to die of illness without treatment).

The County of Alameda issued an apology for "enslavement and racial segregation of African Americans" in a resolution in 2011.[333] The resolution recommends "economic reparations through programs including health, education, employment and housing to benefit African Americans," though it wasn't until 2020 that they made a pledge to create an

[331] Charles P. Henry, *Long Overdue: The Politics of Racial Reparations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 2.
[332] Manisha Sinha, "The Long History of American Slavery Reparations," *The Wall Street Journal* (New York, NY), September 20, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-long-history-of-american-slavery-reparations-11568991623.
[333] Apologizing for Slavery of African Americans and Calling for Reparations and Reconciliation," Alameda County, June 7, 2011, http://www.acgov.org/board/bos_calendar/documents/DocsAgendaReg_06_07_11/PROCLAMATIONS_COMMENDATIONS/Carson_Miley_Slavery_of_African_Americans.pdf.

action plan.[334] The 2011 resolution also calls on the State of California to pass a similar resolution and the federal government to "issue a formal apology to African Americans."

Note that while an apology is necessary, it is not sufficient. An apology that does not redress harms will not tangibly improve the lives of people who have been harmed.

Tradeoffs:

- An apology is necessary but not sufficient. Additional strategies must be employed.
- An apology will acknowledge the harm done in the city's racialized history and indicate a commitment to cessation of harm moving forward.
- An apology could potentially invite risk of litigation.
- Apologies have little or no monetary cost.
- Other apologies have been given with little impact.

Criteria:

- Effectiveness: An apology acknowledges past harm and can be paired with a pledge to change outcomes and opportunity moving forward. However, it must be paired with investment to be impactful.
- Equity: All would benefit from an acknowledgement of harm done.
- Political feasibility: The county has already taken this step. It would likely not be too difficult for the city to take this step as well.

Funding Sources

There are a variety of possible funding sources that can be directed to reparations. Many city, state, and federal agencies have equity initiatives that could potentially direct some funding to reparations. As a lot of these funds are already dedicated, a more generative proposition may be new legislation at the state level or a bond measure at the city level. Multiple funding sources may be able to be cobbled together as well. A key consideration is whether reparations can be funded in ongoing programs, rather than a one-shot approach.

Funding Alternative: Bond Measure

The city could approve a bond measure for reparations. Bond measure KK, for $600 million, was approved in Oakland in 2016, for infrastructure and affordable housing.[335] It is paid through property taxes.

[334] "A Resolution of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors Seeking the Support of Community Reparations for African Americans," Resolution R-2020-412, Alameda County, October 6, 2020, http://www.acgov.org/board/bos_calendar/documents/DocsAgendaReg_10_06_20/GENERAL%20ADMINISTRATION/Regular%20Calendar/Supervisor%20Miley_302233.pdf.

[335] "Oakland, California, Bond Issue, Measure KK (November 2016)," Ballotpedia, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://ballotpedia.org/Oakland,_California,_Bond_Issue,_Measure_KK_(November_2016).

The City of Oakland Housing and Community Development Department (HCD) bolstered an Acquisition and Rehabilitation Program with $3 million from the bond. It is aimed at "developing, protecting and preserving long term affordable housing."[336] Loans can go up to $150,000 per unit, meaning this could potentially serve as few as 20 units.[337]

If a similar bond measure were passed for reparations, $600 million would be equivalent to about $5,825 per Black resident of Oakland. However, passing a similar bond measure may be difficult due to challenges from the Covid-19 pandemic.

Funding Alternative: Paving Program

Funded with $100 million by Measure KK, Oakland is undergoing a three-year paving program, started in 2019.[338] $75 million of the plan will go to local streets. The plan includes a first-in-the-nation equity weighting factor and plan, where not only streets in need of repaving will be paved, but streets that also serve "underserved communities" -- including "people of color, low-income households, people with disabilities, households with a severe rent burden, people with limited English proficiency, and youth/seniors."[339]

While these funds are addressing racial equity by diverting resources to communities most in need, they would not necessarily be reparative. They do improve transportation options for communities that may have been harmed by other transportation projects. There is potential for this plan to be more reparative by expanding on services provided, especially along the lines of a "reparations-style infrastructure package" advocated for by Charles T. Brown at the Alan M. Voorhees Transportation Center at Rutgers University.

Funding Alternative: Business Tax

The Oakland business tax is one of the biggest sources of revenue for the city. A task force is currently examining whether this tax can be made more progressive, where the most profitable companies pay a bigger share of the tax. The tax currently ranges from .0006 of gross receipts at or over $100,001 for grocers to .0045 of receipts at or over $13,336 for recreation and entertainment or .01395 of receipts at or over $1,001 for residential or commercial property.[340] The cannabis tax is currently .12% for gross receipts up to $1.5

[336] "Bond Measure KK 1-4 Unit Acquisition and Rehabilitation Program," Housing and Community Development Department, City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/Bond-Measure-KK-1-4-Unit-Acquisition-and-Rehabilitation-Program.pdf.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Oakland Department of Transportation, "OakDOT Kicks Off Three-Year, $100 Million, Equity-Focused Paving Plan," City of Oakland, August 22, 2019, https://www.oaklandca.gov/news/2019/oakdot-kicks-off-three-year-100-million-equity-focused-paving-plan.
[339] Ibid.
[340] "City of Oakland Business Tax Classification & Rate Schedule," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021,

million, and then 5% for medical sales and 6.5% for non-medical sales up to $5 million, and then 5% for medical and 9.5% for non-medical above that.[341]

A "Blue Ribbon Task Force" is currently looking at this issue and will be proposing recommendations for making the business tax more progressive. The task force has nine members, with five that are business representatives.[342] Their recommendations must be made by October 31, 2021, and the proposed changes to the tax will go to a voter referendum in 2022.[343] If the task force recommendations include a diversion of revenue and/or an increase in the tax and in revenue, this could be allocated to reparations programs.

The Business License Tax in the 2021 - 2023 proposed budget is expected to generate $94,305,865 or about 5.1% of the city's revenue.[344] If 9.4% of the tax were diverted to reparations (which would be a high appropriation), a $10 million fund could be created. A $10 million fund would be equivalent to about $97 per Black resident. Even if the amount of the tax were increased, it is unlikely that this tax alone could generate significant revenue for a reparations fund. However, it could be used on a menu of funding sources.

Funding Alternative: Slavery Era Disclosure Reparations Fund

The 2005 Oakland ordinance requiring insurance companies, financial services, and other industries to document their ties to slavery called for a reparations fund to be paid by these companies. The fund did not set payments to be mandatory. Oakland could consider setting guidelines to the fund or even mandating payments with a future ordinance. The city is still in the process of re-committing to this ordinance.

Funding Alternative: Wells Fargo Lawsuit

The City of Oakland, led by the City Attorney Barbara J. Parker, has brought a lawsuit against Wells Fargo & Company and Wells Fargo Bank, N.A. for racially discriminatory lending practices targeting sub-prime mortgages to Black and Latinx communities. The suit claims that foreclosures on properties with these loans led to a decrease in property taxes for the City. The case alleges that Wells Fargo issued subprime mortgages to Black and Latinx borrowers even with the knowledge that they qualified for better loans and that the

https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/Business-Tax-Classification-and-Rate-Tables-2020.pdf.

[341] "Cannabis Business Tax Rate Schedule," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/2020-Cannabis-Business-Tax-Table.pdf.

[342] Ricky Rodas, "Oakland business tax reform put on hold until 2022," *The Oaklandside* (Oakland, CA), July 15, 2020, https://oaklandside.org/2020/07/15/oakland-business-tax-reform-put-on-hold-until-2022/.

[343] "Blue Ribbon Equitable Business Tax Task Force," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/boards-commissions/blue-ribbon-equitable-business-tax-task-force.

[344] "Revenue Tables: FY 2021-23 Proposed Policy Budget," City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://stories.opengov.com/oaklandca/published/2cgEW4ZmT.

loans they offered would likely lead to foreclosure.[345] The suit was submitted under the Fair Housing Act, which prohibits discrimination and predatory practices in housing and lending.[346] It is not yet determined whether the city will win the case or what the potential payout would be. If the City were to win the case, some of the funds could be used to pay for reparations. However, this would likely be a one-time allocation.

Funding Alternative: Build into Transportation Projects

The Link21 plan is a mega-regional plan to improve rail service throughout northern California, including a second transbay rail crossing. Funding for the plan so far involves $110 million from BART from bond Measure RR, $50 million from MTC, and $1 million per year from the California State Transportation Agency.[347] Link21 is prioritizing equity; however, as they are early in the planning process, funding towards equity initiatives is not yet determined.

If the Link21 transbay crossing involves the demolition of I-980, reparations could be built into the project. Reparations could also be built into future transportation projects undertaken by a variety of agencies.

Plan Bay Area 2050, the latest regional transportation plan of the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) and Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG), has directed funds to "communities of concern" in transportation, housing, economic, and environmental strategies. $8 billion of $579 billion, or about 1.4%, is directed to "Support Community-Led Transportation Enhancements in Communities of Concern." This initiative will "Provide direct funding to historically marginalized communities to fund locally identified transportation needs." It directs $10 billion out of $468 billion or about 2.1% in Housing Strategies to "Provide Targeted Mortgage, Rental and Small Business Assistance to Communities of Concern," which will "Provide assistance to low-income communities and communities of color to address the legacy of exclusion and predatory lending, while helping to grow locally owned businesses." Housing strategies include efforts to bolster affordable housing, and others. Economic strategies include a state-wide universal basic income and $10 billion out of $234 billion to "Invest in High-Speed Internet in Underserved

[345] "Judge rules that Oakland's lawsuit against Wells Fargo for racially discriminatory lending practices can proceed," *News from Oakland City Attorney Barbara J. Parker* 18, no. 5 (2018), https://myemail.constantcontact.com/June-2018-Newsletter.html?soid=1102467259990&aid=T-hlmGxP-1M.
[346] "Federal Appellate Court Upholds City Attorney's Right to Continue to Prosecute Lawsuit Against Wells Fargo for Mortgage Discrimination Against Black and Latinx Borrowers," *News from Oakland City Attorney Barbara J. Parker* 20, no. 7 (2020), https://myemail.constantcontact.com/NEWS-FROM-OAKLAND-CITY-ATTORNEY-BARBARA-J--PARKER.html?soid=1102467259990&aid=qEmlTwTO9f8.
[347] "From Here to There: Link21 Program Development," Link21, BART and Capitol Corridor, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://link21program.org/en/about/program-development.

Low-Income Communities - Provide direct subsidies and construct public infrastructure to ensure all communities have affordable access to high-speed internet."[348]

As this is a regional transportation plan, the amount given to Oakland would likely be a percentage. Plan Bay Area estimates that there are almost 8 million people served in the 9 county Bay Area.[349] As Oakland's population is approximately 433,031, Oakland could estimate about 5.4% of funds to be diverted to the city. 5.4% of the approximately $18 billion for communities of concern would be about $972 million. If all of this were earmarked for reparations (which is not likely), it would be about $9,431 per Black resident and would be more similar to an appropriate amount for reparations.

Funding Alternative: Federal Funds

Federal funding is one alternative for a reparations program. H.R. 1319, the American Rescue Plan Act of 2021, dedicates $1.9 trillion in stimulus money for recovery after the pandemic. The plan allocates $219.8 billion to states,[350] with $26.2 billion likely to go to California and $14.6 billion to local governments in California.[351] It has been described as "biggest infusion of funds to state, local and tribal governments in decades."[352] However, the funds must be spent on efforts to mitigate impacts of Covid-19, address revenue loss due to the pandemic, or "to make necessary investments in water, sewer or broadband infrastructure."[353] Creative programming would be needed to design a reparations program that could meet these requirements. It is likely that a lot of this funding is already determined to make up for budget shortfalls and other programs. Oakland could consider using some of this funding for a one-time reparations package, and then supplement it yearly with a percentage of revenue.

President Biden's proposed American Jobs Plan involved improving transportation infrastructure, improving water, electric, and broadband systems, updating buildings,

[348] "A Blueprint for the Bay Area's Future," Plan Bay Area 2050, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.planbayarea.org/sites/default/files/FinalBlueprintRelease_December2020_Strategies.pdf.
[349] "Frequently Asked Questions," Play Bay Area 2050, November 3, 2020, https://www.planbayarea.org/about/frequently-asked-questions.
[350] Anna Horevay and Kenneth Neighbors, McGuire Woods, LLP, "$350 Billion Slated for State, Local Governments as President Signs American Rescue Plan," JD Supra, March 15, 2021, https://www.jdsupra.com/legalnews/350-billion-slated-for-state-local-8315859/.
[351] Joey Garrison and Javier Zarracina, USA TODAY, "How much money will your state get if Biden's COVID-19 relief bill passes?," *USA Today,* March 4, 2021, https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/politics/2021/03/04/how-much-money-each-state-would-receive-if-joe-biden-covid-stimulus-bill-passes/6892464002/.
[352] Manny Fernandez and Sabrina Tavernise, "Stimulus Bill Transforms Options For State and Local Governments," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 15, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/us/stimulus-biden-states-cities.html.
[353] Anna Horevay and Kenneth Neighbors, McGuire Woods, LLP, "$350 Billion Slated for State, Local Governments as President Signs American Rescue Plan," JD Supra, March 15, 2021, https://www.jdsupra.com/legalnews/350-billion-slated-for-state-local-8315859/.

creating jobs, and investing in manufacturing, among other ideas.[354] The plan proposed to spend 1% of GDP every year for 8 years, resulting in about $2 trillion, and proposed one-time investments. Significantly, this plan included a component of "redressing historic inequities," which allocated $20 billion to "reconnect neighborhoods cut off by historic investments" and "ensure new projects increase opportunity, advance racial equity and environmental justice, and promote affordable access." The plan specifically calls out the Claiborne Expressway in New Orleans as an example of a highway that divided a community and a problem that can be addressed. Since this plan was proposed, the Bipartisan Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act has been proposed, allocating $1 billion towards reconnecting communities.[355]

This money could certainly apply to the removal of I-980 and could potentially be utilized for reparations approaches relating to transit or transit-oriented development. As Oakland's population is about 433,031, and the country is 330,269,563, one way to estimate the proportion of the fund to Oakland would be to say that proportionally, the population is 0.13% of the country. 0.13% of $20 billion would be $26 million. That would be the equivalent of $252 per Black resident of Oakland. If only $15 billion were allocated to this effort, 0.13% would be $19.5 million, or $189 per Black resident.

Lastly, the California State Transportation Agency has been fielding earmark requests from congressional members for top projects. An East Bay reparations program could be suggested as an earmark program.

Funding Alternative: Appropriation from State and/or County

Collaboration with state and county efforts may be one pathway from which to approach funding. Both will be making recommendations for reparations. As the Alameda County Board of Supervisors determines the form their reparations will take, they may see a benefit in offering funds to go through city programs to address systemic racism and pay reparations.

One idea is to ask the state to make funding available for local grants for reparations. Cities or regions such as Oakland or the East Bay area could apply for funding based on the specific history of racism and discrimination in each locality, to be applied in tandem with community involvement and decision-making. Any state efforts could be enhanced with city- and county-level community engagement and understanding. To borrow from Leo Bazile's metaphor, cities could provide recipes for local "gumbo" that could target

[354] "FACT SHEET: The American Jobs Plan," The White House, March 21, 2021, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/03/31/fact-sheet-the-american-jobs-plan/.
[355] "UPDATED FACT SHEET: Bipartisan Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act," The White House, August 2, 2021, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/08/02/updated-fact-sheet-bipartisan-infrastructure-investment-and-jobs-act/.

reparations to specific harms in their localities. Legislation may be needed at the state level, and an ordinance at the county level, in order to fund any reparations programs.

In order to influence the state to put forth legislation that could fund reparations locally, Oakland City Council, the mayor, and grassroot organizations could mount a coalition in support of local reparations applied state-wide. Localities will have a better sense of their history and specific needs, and could provide recipes of the reparations "gumbo" that would be best applied locally. Cities and mayors across California could potentially collaborate to advocate for this. The state legislature could pass legislation allocating new funding to reparations.

The Oakland cannabis equity program was partially funded by the state. In 2019 they were given $1,657,201.65,[356] and in 2020 they were allocated $6,576,705.76.[357] Some of this funding provides business supports like technical assistance and fee waivers, while some goes to grants and loans to start or grow cannabis businesses.[358] The funding was authorized by the California Cannabis Equity Act of 2018 established by Senate Bill 1294 (Bradford 2018) and the Budget Act of 2019, Item 1111-490 – Reappropriation.[359]

If similar state funding were made available for reparations, $8,233,907.41 would be equivalent to about $80 per Black resident of Oakland.

Multiple state agencies also have equity programs that could be utilized for reparations.

The California Air Resources Board has a "Sustainable Transportation Equity Project." Through this project, local governments, federally recognized tribes, and non-profit community-based organizations can apply for "Planning & Capacity Building Grants" or "Implementation Grants" for programs for "clean transportation and capacity building projects in disadvantaged and low-income communities."[360] There is $1.75 million in the

[356] "Bureau of Cannabis Control Announces Local Equity Grant Funding Recipients," Bureau of Cannabis Control, Business, Consumer Services, and Housing Agency, State of California, October 9, 2019, https://bcc.ca.gov/about_us/documents/media_20191009.pdf.
[357] "California Cannabis Equity Grants Program Provides $30 Million in Grant Funding for Local Jurisdictions," Governor's Office of Business and Economic Development (GO-Biz), CA.gov, April 21, 2021, https://business.ca.gov/california-cannabis-equity-grants-program-provides-30-million-in-grant-funding-for-local-jurisdictions/.
[358] "Equity Loan and Grant Program," Elevate Impact Oakland, City of Oakland, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://www.elevateimpactoakland.com/.
[359] "Bureau of Cannabis Control Announces Local Equity Grant Funding Recipients," Bureau of Cannabis Control, Business, Consumer Services, and Housing Agency, State of California, October 9, 2019, https://bcc.ca.gov/about_us/documents/media_20191009.pdf.
[360] "Sustainable Transportation Equity Project," California Air Resources Board, CA.gov, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://ww2.arb.ca.gov/our-work/programs/low-carbon-transportation-investments-and-air-quality-improvement-program-1.

pool for the Planning and Capacity Building Grants and $17.75 million for the Implementation Grants.

Oakland was awarded a $190,000 grant for a "Sustainable Transportation Options to the MLK, Jr. Shoreline" planning effort. Approximately $130,000 is going to a community organizing group, the East Oakland Collective, to "lead the planning and engagement processes." This process is still new and hopes to make progress this summer.[361]

The amount in these grants is not very large. Even if a full grant of this size were diverted to reparations, a $190,000 grant would be less than two dollars per Black resident of Oakland. However, Oakland could source piecemeal funding from multiple equity programs to fund reparations.

The California Transportation Commission's "Active Transportation Program" includes a set-aside for 25% of funding going to disadvantaged communities. The California Transportation Commission also opens up its guidelines to revision every 2 years. A case could be made for stronger equity and reparations considerations.

Funding Alternative: Philanthropic

It is also feasible to seek out philanthropic partners to fund a reparations program. The Oakland guaranteed income program is funded by philanthropic partners, including Family Independence Initiative and the national Mayors for a Guaranteed Income.[362] The initiative has raised $6.75 million so far, expecting to send 80% of it directly to families.[363] $5,400,000 will be needed to fund the pilot.

If Oakland were able to generate similar philanthropic interest for reparations, a $5,400,000 fund would be equivalent to about $52 per Black resident. If $10 million were raised, exceeding the guaranteed income program, this would be about $97 per Black resident. Many more philanthropic resources would be needed for this to be an impactful strategy.

[361] Emily Ehlers, email message to author, May 11, 2021.
[362] "Mayor Schaaf Announces Guaranteed Income Pilot, Oakland Resilient Families," City of Oakland, March 23, 2021, https://www.oaklandca.gov/news/2021/mayor-schaaf-announces-guaranteed-income-pilot-oakland-resilient-families.
[363] "Frequently Asked Questions," Oakland Resilient Families, Accessed May 16, 2021, https://oaklandresilientfamilies.org/faqs.

Recommendation

Coordinate with state and county efforts and advocate for listening sessions and community engagement including community-based organizations, community leaders, and marginalized community members, especially residents of color. Ad hoc groups may be formed to further investigate the ideas proposed here and to make recommendations for programming that can pay reparations. Lobbying for state and county funding to provide local reparations may be a strategy with the most resources and deepest reach.

Conclusion

As the country continues its racial reckoning and is increasingly concerned with racial equity, it is an opportune moment to truly acknowledge anti-Black systemic racism and discrimination and pay reparations. Oakland has a history of racialized public policies leading to past and present disparities. Reparations must be at a scale large enough and beyond a one-time investment in order to truly redress these harms. Oakland may consider a menu of community investment programs to pay reparations for complex harms. In doing so, it would emerge as a national leader in “paying the bill” for lost and denied opportunity and prosperity amongst Black communities. Creating better opportunity for Black communities would not only benefit those communities, but would compound to benefit Oakland’s economy and social life as well.