

DISPATCHES
from the
RACE
WAR

Tim Wise

ENDNOTES



CITY LIGHTS BOOKS | Open Media Series

ENDNOTES

1. Page 2

“Experts say that at least 60 percent of the earliest deaths in the United States—and most of those that occurred later—could have been avoided had President Trump taken the threat seriously from the beginning.”

Britta L. Jewell and Nicholas P. Jewell, “The Huge Cost of Waiting to Contain the Pandemic,” *New York Times*, April 14, 2020.

2. Page 2

“...around half of all fatalities have been persons of color, and the mortality rate for black, Latinx and indigenous folks has been about 2.5 times higher than for whites...”

APM Research Lab, THE COLOR OF CORONAVIRUS: COVID-19 DEATHS BY RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE U.S., October, 15, 2020; Daniel Wood, “As Pandemic Deaths Add Up, Racial Disparities Persist — And In Some Cases Worsen,” National Public Radio, September 23, 2020; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, COVID-19 Hospitalization and Death by Race/Ethnicity, August 18, 2020.

3. Page 3

“...more than 11,000 overwhelmingly peaceful protests...”

Harmeet Kaur, “About 93% of racial justice protests in the US have been peaceful, a new report finds,” CNN.com, September 4, 2020.

4. Page 3

“...Hundreds of videos available online show law enforcement attacking nonviolent protesters without provocation...”

A comprehensive Google doc spreadsheet of videos of police violently attacking protesters can be accessed [here](#).

Adam Gabbatt, “Protests about police brutality are met with wave of police brutality across US,” *The Guardian*, June 6, 2020.

5. Page 30

“...like the kind of racism practiced by the late Justice William Rehnquist (a favorite of Gingrich and his ilk), who, as a law clerk, penned a memo defending segregation and advocating it be maintained, and who, during his days as a GOP poll watcher, tried to keep black and brown folks from voting in Arizona.”

Robert M. Andrews, “Former Prosecutor Says He Saw Rehnquist in Voter Confrontation Effort,” *AP News*, August 1, 1986.

6. Page 32

“(when) Supreme Court Justice Joseph Bradley...voted to strike down post-emancipation civil rights protections in 1883 (he) insisted that blacks had become the ‘special favorites of the law,’ thanks to programs like the Freedman’s Bureau, and that the time had come for them to no longer benefit from this so-called preferential treatment. Instead, Bradley insisted, they should ‘take the place of mere citizens.’ “

Michael G. Collins, “Justice Bradley’s Civil Rights Odyssey Revisited,” *Tulane Law Review*, Volume 70, 1979.

7. Page 34

“...when white gun enthusiasts descended upon the nation’s capital, arms in tow, and verbally announced their readiness to make war on the country’s leaders if the need arose.”

Nick Wing, Arthur Delaney, & Sam Stein, “Gun Rally: Second Amendment Activists Swarm DC, VA Rallies,” *Huffington Post*, June 19, 2010.

8. Page 35

Regarding the claim that Tea Party protesters verbally assaulted members of the Congressional Black Caucus

William Douglas, “Tea party protesters scream ‘nigger’ at black congressman,” McClatchy Newspapers, March 20, 2010.

9. Page 35

“...that’s what rocker Ted Nugent said in 2007 about Barack Obama, and that’s how Sean Hannity responded to Nugent’s comments when asked about them...”

Simon Maloy, “Hannity refused to disavow Ted Nugent’s slurs against Obama and Clinton,” Media Matters, August 27, 2007.

10. Page 35

“...these are things that Rush Limbaugh has said about Barack Obama’s administration, Colin Powell’s endorsement of Barack Obama, and about liberals, generally.”

Jason Easley, “Limbaugh: Obama Promotes Only Those Who Hate White People,” *Politicus USA*, May 29, 2009.

“Limbaugh repeats Powell accusation: ‘IT WAS TOTALLY ABOUT RACE!’”, *ThinkProgress.org*, October 20, 2008.

Thomas Rosenstiel, “Republicans: Congress’ incoming conservatives enjoy red meat, apple pie at orientation dinner. But main course at love feast is talk show host Limbaugh,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 1994.

11. Page 35

“This is, after all, what Pastor Stan Craig said recently at a Tea Party rally in Greenville, South Carolina.”

Will Moredock, “Teabaggers Get Crazier by the Day — Upstate Rally Latest Example,” *Charleston City Paper*, April 28, 2010.

12. Page 36

“...those are among the things said by radio host and best-selling author Michael Savage...And it was Congressman John Culberson, from Texas, who praised Savage in that way, despite his hateful rhetoric...”

Media Matters, “Michael Savage has a long history of violent rhetoric,” *MediaMatters.org*, October 8, 2010.

Nicole Casta, “Savage: Arabs are ‘non-humans’ and ‘racist, fascist bigots’,” *MediaMatters.org*, May 14, 2004.

David Gilson, “Michael Savage’s long, strange trip,” *Salon*, March 6, 2003.

Media Matters, “Rep. Culberson (R-TX) salutes ‘my friend’ Michael Savage for speaking ‘common sense’ and ‘defend[ing] American values’,” *MediaMatters.org*, November 18, 2009.

13. Page 36

“This is, after all, what Ann Coulter said about Tim McVeigh when she noted that his only mistake was not blowing up the *New York Times*...”

George Gurley, “Coultergeist,” *New York Observer*, August 26, 2002.

14. Page 38

“...roughly two-thirds of Republicans said they believed Barack Obama was not born in the United States...”

Alex Alvarez, “Poll Results Show Only 32% Of Likely GOP Voters Believe Obama Was Born In U.S.,” *Mediaite*, April 21, 2011.

15. Page 39

“...a recent Pew survey—that he is a secret Muslim who is “paving the way” for sharia law to be imposed...”

Luke Johnson, “17 Percent Of Registered Voters Think Obama Is Muslim, Pew Poll Finds,” *Huffington Post*, July 26, 2012.

Please note the following correction. The Pew Survey referenced here did not

indicate phrasing that Obama was “paving the way for Sharia,” although it did indicate widespread Republican belief that he was a Muslim. However, another study, by *Newsweek*, did indicate that large numbers of Republicans believed Obama to be sympathetic to Islamic fundamentalists “who wish to impose Islamic law [Sharia] around the world.”

Newsweek Poll, “Obama/Muslims,” Princeton Survey Research Associates International, August 27, 2010.

16. Page 39

“Or to say, as Rush Limbaugh has, that he is trying to deliberately destroy the economy as a way to pay whites back for slavery...”

Laura Bassett, “Rush Limbaugh: Obama Created Recession As ‘Payback’ For Racism,” *Huffington Post*, July 7, 2010.

17. Page 39

“Or to insist, as Glenn Beck has, that he chose to go by the name ‘Barack’ rather than ‘Barry’ as a way to thumb his nose at America, because he ‘hates this country’ and is trying to dismantle it ‘brick by brick.’”

Simon Maloy, “Glenn Beck breaks down the president’s un-American, African name,” *MediaMatters.org*, February 4, 2010.

(Correction: the “brick by brick” statement attributed here to Beck was actually made by Rush Limbaugh.)

Kevin Robillard, “Rush: Obama ‘hates this country’,” *Politico*, July 16, 2012.

18. Page 39

“...as again, Limbaugh has—that his ‘political model’ is Zimbabwean dictator Robert Mugabe, and that soon Obama, like Mugabe, will be confiscating white people’s farms...”

Media Matters, “Limbaugh Says Obama’s Economic ‘Role Model’ Is Robert Mugabe, Who ‘Took The White People’s Farms,’” *MediaMatters.org*, August 4, 2011.

19. Page 39

“Or, as Beck opines, that he is ‘just like Hitler’ and that his calls for national service and volunteerism are equivalent to the creation of a new Gestapo. Or that his health care reform bill is just about getting ‘reparations for slavery.’”

Please note the following correction. Glenn Beck did not say Obama was “just like Hitler.” However, on multiple occasions he compared President Obama to Hitler in ways that verify the core claim being made here. For instance, Beck said that Obama’s calls for a national civilian service program were “what Hitler did with the SS. He had his own people. He had the brownshirts and then the SS.”

See: Justin Berrier, [“Fox’s ‘Nazi’ rhetoric also comes straight from the top.”](#) Media Matters, November 18, 2010.

20. Page 39

“It is something altogether different to believe—as a sign held by a protester at a recent Tea Party rally exclaimed—that his real plan is ‘white slavery’.”

Wikimedia Commons, [Photo from Madison, Wisconsin Tea Party rally](#), April 14, 2009

21. Page 39

“Or to claim that his proposal to impose a small tax on visits to tanning salons is a racist imposition on whites...”

Andy Kroll, [“Indoor Tanning Salon Tax Racist?”](#) *Mother Jones*, March 30, 2010.

22. Page 39

“Or to say that he looks like a ‘skinny ghetto crackhead,’ as activist Brent Bozell has called him.”

Lucas Shaw, [“Barack Obama: Now He’s a Skinny, Ghetto Crackhead?.”](#) Reuters, December 23, 2011.

23. Page 39

“Or to choose to portray him, as a viral e-mail did recently, as a pair of white eyes against a black background...”

Caleb Hannan, “Republican Staffer E-Mails Obama ‘Spook’ Photo,” *Nashville Scene*, June 15, 2009.

24. Page 40

“Or to portray him as a pimp, as was done in a recent e-mail blast from a Tea Party candidate for governor of New York.”

Ken Rudin, “The Self-Annihilation Of N.Y. Gov. Candidate Carl Paladino,” NPR, April 14, 2010.

25. Page 40

“Or to joke that he might be planning to replace the annual White House Easter egg hunt with a watermelon hunt, as the Mayor of Los Alamitos, California, suggested before resigning.”

“Los Alamitos mayor to resign over controversy,” *Los Angeles Times*, (L.A. Now Blog), February 27, 2009.

26. Page 40

“Or to insist that Obama needs to ‘learn how to be an American,’ as Mitt Romney surrogate John Sununu recently suggested, and that he is taking us down a course that is ‘foreign,’ in the words of Romney himself.”

Grace Wyler, “John Sununu: ‘I Wish This President Would Learn How to Be an American,’” *The Atlantic*, July 17, 2012.

27. Page 40

“...to say that he is a revolutionary who believes in creating economic hardship as a way to atone for the nation’s founding, which he views as ‘illegitimate,’ according to Limbaugh.”

Media Matters, “Limbaugh: Obama ‘Is A Revolutionary’ Who Believes Economic Hardship Is Price To Pay For Country’s Founding,” *MediaMatters.org*, August 3, 2012.

28. Page 40

“Or to quip, as a South Carolina GOP operative recently did, that Obama is thinking of taxing aspirin ‘because it’s white and it works’.”

Eric Kleefeld, “South Carolina GOP Operative Apologizes For Racist Tweet Against Obama,” *Talking Points Memo*, June 15, 2009.

29. Page 41

“Lincoln agreed that labor created the wealth of business owners, and that labor was ‘prior to’ and ‘superior to’ capital.”

Former U.S. Congressional Rep. Alan Grayson, “Lincoln: ‘Labor Is the Superior of Capital’,” *Huffington Post*, January 3, 2011.

30. Page 41

(under Eisenhower) “tax rates on the wealthiest Americans reached 91 percent...”

James Fallows, “When the Top U.S. Tax Rate was 70 Percent—or Higher,” *The Atlantic*, January 25, 2019.

31. Page 41

“...the Community Reinvestment Act didn’t cause the crisis. Most bad loans weren’t written by CRA-covered institutions, and loans covered by the CRA performed better than others.”

American Banker, “Speculators, Not CRA, Behind Foreclosures in Black Neighborhoods,” September 7, 2011.

“Don’t Blame CRA (The Sequel),” *Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2008.

32. Page 42

“Neal Boortz, who referred to the black poor in New Orleans during Katrina as ‘human parasitic garbage,’ and ‘toe fungus.’

Brad Johnson, “Neal Boortz: If New Orleans Is Rebuilt, The ‘Debris That Katrina Chased Out’ Will Return,” *Think Progress*, August 26, 2009; Zachary Pleat, “Fox Regular Neal Boortz Calls ‘The Poor’ The ‘Toenail Fungus’ Of America,” *Media*

Matters.org, February 1, 2012.

33. Pages 42–3

“(Glenn Beck) fantasized about beating Congressman Charles Rangel to death with a shovel.”

Mark Leibovich, “Being Glenn Beck,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 29, 2010.

34. Page 87

“...there have been at least twelve times as many fatalities and thirty-six times as many injuries from right-wing terrorists as from those who could potentially be considered ‘left’,”

Linda Qui, “Trump Asks, ‘What About the Alt-Left?’ Here’s an Answer,” *New York Times*, August 15, 2017.

35. Page 116

“...when it comes to our lack of adequate social safety nets relative to other countries, the research is clear: It is in large measure the belief that black folks and other people of color will ‘abuse the programs’ that explains the paucity of such measures...”

Alberto Alesina, Edward Glaeser, and Bruce Sacerdote, “Why Doesn’t the U.S. have a European-Style Welfare State?” Harvard Institute of Economic Research, Discussion Paper Number 1933, November 2001.

36. Page 140

“the Danziger Bridge shootings there in the wake of Hurricane Katrina...”

National Public Radio, “‘Shots On The Bridge’ Unpacks A Tangled Story Of Deceit And Tragedy,” NPR, August 18, 2015.

37. Page 154

“Wage theft costs American workers three times more each year than all street robberies and burglaries combined.”

Brady Meixell and Ross Eisenbrey, “An Epidemic of Wage Theft Is Costing Workers Hundreds of Millions of Dollars a Year.” Economic Policy Institute, September 11, 2014.

38. Pages 162–3

The poll questions and answers referenced on these pages, ranging from 1961 through 1967 can be found at the Civil Rights Movement Archive, specifically, here, and also on pages 7 and 8 of the 2001 Gallup Poll Social Audit on racial attitudes: The Gallup Organization, “Black-White Relations in the United States, 2001,” July 10, 2001.

39. Page 167

“despite higher black crime rates, hit rates for drugs or guns are actually higher for whites than blacks when stopped.”

Ben Poston and Cindy Chang, “LAPD searches blacks and Latinos more. But they’re less likely to have contraband than whites.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 2019.

John Sides, “What data on 20 million traffic stops can tell us about ‘driving while black’.” *Washington Post*, July 17, 2018.

40. Page 175

“Indeed, the median net worth for white households headed by high school dropouts is higher than the median net worth for black households headed by college graduates.”

Danielle Kurtzleben, “White high school dropouts are wealthier than black or Latino college graduates.” *Vox.com*, September 24, 2014.

41. Page 180

“In Chicago, although there was an uptick in 2016, homicides dropped for the next three years according to the Chicago police, by 13 percent in 2019 alone. Despite a violent crime spike in the wake of the economic and social calamity of COVID, homicide rates in the city are still only about half of what they were in the early 1990s.”

Chicago Police Department, Crime Statistics Report, 2019; Kyle Bentle, Jonathon Berlin, Ryan Marx and Kori Rumore, “40,000 homicides: Retracing 63 years of

murder in Chicago.” *Chicago Tribune*, January 23, 2020.

Jessica D’Onofrio, “Chicago murder rate declines 13% in 2019 from previous year, police say.” *Eyewitness News*, ABC, Chicago, January 1, 2020.

42. Page 180

“According to data from the Justice Department, since the early 1990s, crime rates are down by about three-fourths from around eighty victimizations per 1,000 people to around twenty per 1,000 today. And black crime, both against other blacks and against whites, has fallen by roughly 80 percent since 1994.”

Rachel E. Morgan, Ph.D., and Jennifer L. Truman, Ph.D, *Criminal Victimization, 2017*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, December 2018.

Rachel E. Morgan, Ph.D., *Race and Hispanic Origin of Victims and Offenders, 2012-15*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, October, 2017.

43. Page 190

“Trump fan and pastor Robert Jeffress has stated unequivocally that Jews are going to hell. Right-wing minister John Hagee once suggested Hitler was sent by God to get Jews to return to the land of Israel. And Pat Buchanan questioned the veracity of Holocaust survivors and called Hitler a man of ‘extraordinary gifts’.”

Matthew Haag, “Robert Jeffress, Pastor Who Said Jews Are Going to Hell, Led Prayer at Jerusalem Embassy.” *New York Times*, May 14, 2018.

Jon Wiener, “McCain’s Pastor Hagee on Hitler and the Jews.” *The Nation*, May 22, 2008.

Rowland Nethaway, “Buchanan Flirting With Fascism.” *The Spokesman-Review*, Spokane, WA, February 22, 1996.

44. Page 196

“...at least 97 percent of black folks will not commit a violent crime this year...”

Tim Wise, “Race, Crime and Statistical Malpractice: How the Right Manipulates White Fear With Bogus Data.” *TimWise.org*, August 22, 2013 (with various additional data sources examined therein).

45. Page 196

“...only about 5 percent of unmarried black women will give birth this year...”

Joyce A. Martin, M.P.H., Brady E. Hamilton, Ph.D., Michelle J.K. Osterman, M.H.S., and Anne K. Driscoll, Ph.D., “Births: Final Data for 2018,” *National Vital Statistics Reports* Vol. 68, No/ 13, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, November 27, 2019.

According to the most recent data, there are 56.4 births for every 1,000 unmarried black women, ages 15–44. Given that the overwhelming majority of births are singleton births and very few women give birth twice in a single calendar year, this roughly translates to 5–6 births per 100 such women, or a rate of 5–6 percent of unmarried black women giving birth annually.

46. Page 196

“...fewer than 200,000 black adults in the entire nation currently receive cash welfare from the government, out of about 30 million black adults in all...”

United States Department of Health and Human Services, *Characteristics and Financial Circumstances of TANF Recipients Fiscal Year (FY) 2018*, August 26, 2019, Table 19.

47. Pages 249–50

“...even when black folks have college degrees, they’re nearly twice as likely as comparable whites to be out of work; and Latinos and Latinas with degrees are about 50 percent more likely than comparable whites to be out of work...”

United States Department of Labor, *Labor force characteristics by race and ethnicity, 2016*, Report 1070, October 2017, pp. 23–25.

Although the data on these pages show unemployment for college graduates who are white as 2.3 percent, for blacks as 3.7 percent, and for Latinx folks at 3.1, these data elide the extent of the racial disparity. The “white” persons in the data include nearly 9 in 10 of all Hispanics, because Hispanics can be of any race and almost all classify themselves, or are classified in government data, as white. Since the Latinx unemployment rate is much higher than the rate for whites (even when the white totals *include* most of those Latinx workers), once they’re broken out, the unemployment percentages of those who are not people of color drop well below 2 percent, resulting in black-to-white unemployment ratios of about 2:1 and Latinx-

to-white ratios of 1.5 to 1. Detailed methodology can be obtained from the author at timjwise@mac.com

48. Page 250

“Research from Northwestern University has found that even white people who claim to have criminal records are more likely to be hired than equally qualified blacks without them.”

Devah Pager, *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*, University of Chicago Press, 2009.

49. Page 250

“...black and Latinx folks combined only represent about 13 percent of students at the nation’s most selective colleges and universities.”

Thomas J. Espenshade and Alexandria Walton Radford, *No Longer Separate, Not Yet Equal: Race and Class in Elite College Admission and Campus Life*, Princeton University Press, 2010.

50. Page 250

“there are twice as many whites admitted to elite schools with less-than-average qualifications as there are people of color so admitted.”

Peter Schmidt, “At the elite colleges - dim white kids,” *Boston.com*, September 28, 2007.

51. Page 250

“...wealth gaps, which have tripled since the 1980s, now leaving the typical white family with twenty times the net worth of the typical black family and eighteen times that of the typical Latinx family.”

Thomas Shapiro, Tatjana Meschede, and Sam Osoro, *The Roots of the Widening Racial Wealth Gap: Explaining the Black-White Economic Divide*, Brandeis University: Institute on Assets and Social Policy, Research and Policy Brief, February 2013.

Emily Badger, “Whites Have Huge Wealth Edge Over Blacks (but Don’t Know It),” *New York Times*, (Upshot Blog), September 18, 2017.

52. Page 250

“Even when comparing families of midlevel income and occupational status, middle-class whites possess about five times the net worth of middle-class blacks.”

Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro, *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*, Routledge, 2006.

53. Page 251

“...black and Latinx students are far more likely than whites to attend schools with exceptionally high levels of impoverishment. The typical black or Latinx student attends school with twice as many low-income students as the average white student, is twice as likely to be taught by the least experienced teachers, and is half as likely to be taught by the most experienced.”

Gary Orfield, John Kucsera, and Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, *E PLURIBUS... SEPARATION DEEPENING DOUBLE SEGREGATION FOR MORE STUDENTS*, UCLA Civil Rights Project, September 2012.

United States Department of Education, “New Data from the U.S. Department of Education 2009-10 Civil Rights Data Collection Show Continuing Disparities in Educational Opportunities and Resources.” June 30, 2011.

54. Page 251

“*New York Times* report, companies are filling up to half of their new jobs by way of recommendations made by preexisting employees...”

Nelson D. Schwartz, “In Hiring, a Friend in Need Is a Prospect, Indeed.” *New York Times*, January 27, 2013.

55. Page 252

“Given the importance of old-boys’ networks for procuring the best jobs—and the disproportionately white skew of those networks, even in blue-collar employment...”

American Sociological Association, *Race, Ethnicity and the American Labor Market: What’s at Work?*, Sydney S. Spivack Program in Applied Social Research and Social Policy, June 2005.

Neil Shah, "[Need for Networking Puts Black Job Seekers at Disadvantage.](#)" *Wall Street Journal*, March 27, 2013.

56. Page 254

"When you crunch the numbers from the CDC and Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration regarding drug use and possession, and compare them to drug arrest data from the FBI, the extent of disparity in drug enforcement becomes evident. Once one compares the best estimates we have of drug usage rates with the rates at which whites and blacks are arrested for drug possession, there are roughly 150,000 blacks each year who are arrested beyond what their rates of offending would justify, and 150,000 whites who are not arrested, who would be if arrest rates mirrored rates of drug possession violations."

I go through the specific data tables (FBI and Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration) and analyze the numbers in a previous essay (not in this volume), with reference to the specific materials consulted. That piece is:

Tim Wise, "[Far More Than Anecdote: Quantifying Racism and White Privilege in the Criminal Justice System.](#)" *TimWise.org*, December 1, 2014.

57. Page 255

This page features extensive discussion of the racist application of New York's stop-and-frisk policies. The information herein comes from the judicial order invalidating the practice in 2013, which is [found here](#), as well as the expert report filed by Dr. Jeffrey Fagan of Columbia University and Yale Law School, which is [found here](#). Also:

"The Truth Behind Stop-and-Frisk," *New York Times*, September 2, 2011.

58. Page 257

"According to a nationwide database of police-involved shootings, when black men are shot by police they are 2.4 times more likely than white men shot by police to have been unarmed and not attacking at the time."

Sandhya Somashekhar, Wesley Lowery, Keith L. Alexander, Kimberly Kindy, and Julie Tate, "[A year after Michael Brown's fatal shooting, unarmed black men are seven times more likely than whites to die by police gunfire.](#)" *Washington Post*, August 8, 2015.

59. Page 258

“the probability of being black, unarmed, and shot by police is about 3.5 times the probability of being white, unarmed, and shot by police.”

Cody T. Ross, “A Multi-Level Bayesian Analysis of Racial Bias in Police Shootings at the County-Level in the United States, 2011–2014,” *PLOS ONE Journal*, November 5, 2015.

60. Page 260

“When the average monthly benefit under the SNAP program (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or what used to be called food stamps) is \$125 per person (\$1.38 per meal), it’s hard to imagine recipients enjoying many prime cuts of meat or lobster Thermidor.”

United States Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, SNAP Data Tables, Participation and Costs (as of July 2020).

61. Page 261

“Only about 1.2 million families have a member who receives TANF. For over half of these, only a child or children are receiving benefits, with no additional allotment for parents. In all, only 2.7 million persons receive TANF (about 0.8 percent of the population), and only about 637,000 of these are adults. Racially, 31 percent of adult TANF recipients are black, meaning fewer than 200,000 black adults in the entire nation receive cash welfare. In a society with approximately 30 million African American adults in all, this means fewer than 0.7 percent of black adults are cash welfare recipients.”

United States Department of Health and Human Services, Characteristics and Financial Circumstances of TANF Recipients Fiscal Year (FY) 2016, August 2017.

Since this essay was written, the numbers of TANF recipients have continued to fall even further. The most recent information can be found at:

United States Department of Health and Human Services, Characteristics and Financial Circumstances of TANF Recipients Fiscal Year (FY) 2018, August 26, 2019, Table 19.

62. Page 261

“...the average monthly allotment for recipient families is less than \$375, and in forty-nine of fifty states, benefit levels fail to bring a family even halfway to the poverty line. In Mississippi, average benefits only bring families one-tenth of the way to the poverty line, and benefits fall below one-quarter of the poverty line in more than a dozen others. When it comes to SNAP, only about 12 percent of the population receives benefits...”

The above reports provide this data, both for the time the essay was written (as of 2016), and then more recently through 2018.

63. Page 262

All the data claims regarding TANF (cash welfare) on this page come from:

Gilbert Crouse and Suzanne Macartney, *Welfare Indicators and Risk Factors*, 17th Report to Congress, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Human Services Policy, Washington DC, 2017.

64. Page 263–4

All data on housing programs on these pages can be found in the interactive data tables available at:

Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, [Assisted Housing: National and Local](#), 2019.

65. Page 264

Data regarding Medicaid found on this page comes from:

Rachel Garfield, Robin Rudowitz, Kendal Orgera, and Anthony Damico, [“Understanding the Intersection of Medicaid and Work: What Does the Data Say?”](#) Kaiser Family Foundation, August 8, 2019.

66. Page 266

“True enough, about 69 percent of births in the black community are out of wedlock.”

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, [“Nonmarital childbearing, by detailed](#)

race and Hispanic origin of mother, and maternal age: United States, selected years 1970–2016,” 2017.

67. Page 267

“Contrary to popular belief, out-of-wedlock births to black women have been falling for nearly fifty years, and births to black teenagers are at lower levels now than they were in the 1950s.”

National Center for Health Statistics, “Nonmarital Childbearing in the United States, 1940-1999,” *National Vital Statistics Reports*, Vol. 48 (16), November 2000.

“Births: Final Data for 2014,” *National Vital Statistics Reports*, Vol. 64 (12), December 23, 2015.

TJ Mathews, and BE Hamilton, “Declines in births to females aged 10–14 in the United States, 2000–2016,” *NCHS Data Brief*, No. 308, National Center for Health Statistics, Hyattsville, MD, 2018.

Stephanie J. Ventura, Brady E. Hamilton, and T.J. Mathews, “National and State Patterns of Teen Births in the United States, 1940–2013,” *National Vital Statistics Reports*, 63: 4, August 20, 2014.

68. Page 267

“...the birth rate for unmarried black women has fallen by more than 40 percent, from 95.5 births per 1,000 such women in 1970 to only 56.4 births per 1,000 such women by 2018. The trends are exceptionally favorable for black teenagers. Since 1970, the birth rate for unmarried black teens has fallen by 80 percent and is now at an all-time low.”

Joyce A. Martin, Brady E. Hamilton, Michelle J.K. Osterman, and Anne K. Driscoll, Births: Final Data for 2018, *National Vital Statistics Reports*, 68: 13, November 27, 2019.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “Nonmarital childbearing, by detailed race and Hispanic origin of mother, and maternal age: United States, selected years 1970-2010,” 2011.

69. Page 267

“In 2018, according to the CDC, there were only 554 children in the entire country

born to black girls under 15. As a percentage of all 552,000 black kids born that year, that would represent one-tenth of one percent of all such births. And as a share of black girls between 10 and 14 (about 1.5 million in all, considered by the CDC to be of potential childbearing age), that would be fewer than four one-hundredths of one percent of them who gave birth in 2018.”

Joyce A. Martin, Brady E. Hamilton, Michelle J.K. Osterman, and Anne K. Driscoll, Births: Final Data for 2018, *National Vital Statistics Reports*, 68: 13, November 27, 2019.

70. Page 268

“...from 1960 to 1987 there was a massive decline in the number of children being born to married black couples. If black couples had continued to have children in 1987 at the same rates as they had them in 1960, the percentage of black births that were out of wedlock would have only risen from 23 to 29 percent, rather than nearly tripling over that period. In 1960, married black couples could be expected to have 3.5 children on average, but by the late 1980s, they were averaging less than one child per family, meaning the average number of kids born to married black couples fell by nearly three-fourths! Those numbers remain the same today, suggesting that it is the falloff in births to black two-parent families that explains the rising out-of-wedlock share of black births overall.”

Christopher Jencks, “Is the American Underclass Growing?” in Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Peterson, eds. *The Urban Underclass*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1991.

Lawrence Mishel and Jared Bernstein, *The State of Working America, 1994-95*, Economic Policy Institute, 1995.

71. Page 272

“Hindu Americans, mostly from India, are the highest-income religious subgroup in the U.S., with 65 percent of households earning over \$75,000 annually. Likewise, they are the most highly educated religious subgroup, with nearly six in ten Hindu Americans having at least some post-graduate education.”

Pew Research Center, “Income Distribution Within U.S. Religious Groups.” January 30, 2009.

Pew Research Center, “Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths.” July 19, 2012.

72. Page 273

“Southeast Asians—Vietnamese, Thai, Lao, Cambodian, and Hmong—who came to the U.S. mostly as war refugees after 1975 (and thus, were less truly voluntary migrants) have high poverty rates...”

Clint Borgen, “Asian Americans Facing High Poverty Rates,” The Borgen Project, *borgenproject.org*, August 26, 2013.

73. Page 274

“Chinese American professionals in the medical and legal fields earn only 56 percent as much as their white counterparts, on average, despite similar or higher levels of education and experience.”

University of Maryland, “Major Study Of Chinese-Americans Debunks ‘Model Minority’ Myth,” *ScienceDaily*, November 12, 2008.

74. Page 274

“When looking at young adults in their mid-twenties who are living in the same areas, the likelihood that a Chinese, Indian, or Korean American will have a college degree is several times greater than the likelihood for a similar white person. Filipino Americans are twice as likely as comparable whites of the same age and in the same locations to have a college degree. And yet Indian and Korean American young adults are no more likely to have a professional or managerial job than comparable whites, despite greater qualifications, and Filipinos are less likely to have professional jobs than whites. Despite being far more likely than young white adults to possess a college degree, Chinese Americans in their mid-twenties are only slightly more likely than comparable whites to have a professional or managerial job, suggesting that the payoff for obtaining greater credentials is smaller for Asian Americans than for whites—an indicator of ongoing barriers to Asian opportunity.”

Jennifer Lee and Van C. Tran, “Asian Americans may have an educational advantage, but they face a ‘bamboo ceiling’ at work,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 2019.

75. Page 275

“One study found that for both blacks and Asians, “whitening” their résumés (by removing signifiers of racial identity) roughly doubles the number of callbacks they receive.”

Dina Gerdeman, "Minorities Who 'Whiten' Job Resumes Get More Interviews," *Working Knowledge*, Harvard School of Business, May 17, 2017.

76. Page 275

"There is also a geographic explanation for the seeming Asian American edge. Over half of Asian Americans live in just five states, which are among the nation's higher income (and higher cost of living) states—California, Hawaii, New York, New Jersey, and Washington."

Elizabeth M. Hoeffel, Sonya Rastogi, Myoung Ouk Kim, and Hasan Shahid, "The Asian Population, 2010," U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 2012.

77. Page 275

"Consider New York City. According to Census data, white median family income in Manhattan is \$123,000 higher than that of Asian Americans: That's 2.5 times the Asian American median. Also, Asian Americans are three times more likely than whites there to live in poverty."

This data came from the Census Bureau's 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, which were, until recently, available on the American Fact Finder sub-section of the Census Bureau's website. Unfortunately, the Fact Finder has been decommissioned and subsumed into other Census tables available for search and build-out here:

<https://data.census.gov/cedsci/>

78. Page 4, Correction:

"...Jacob Blake, was shot in the back and killed on camera..."

In the first printing of this volume I made a regrettable error that was unfortunate, embarrassing, and instructive. Though it will be corrected in future printings, in the interest of transparency—and also because I think the mistake reveals something about the nature of the subject matter in question—I wish to acknowledge it here, apologize, and reflect on its meaning.

On page four of the preface, after discussing the summer's racial justice uprising in the wake of the killing of George Floyd by Officer Derek Chauvin in Minneapolis, I referenced the police shooting of Jacob Blake in Kenosha, Wisconsin which led to widespread protests, property destruction, and the killing of two anti-racism protesters by 17-year old vigilante, Kyle Rittenhouse. When mentioning the shooting of Blake, I said that he had been "shot and killed" on camera, when in fact he was not killed, but paralyzed. I deeply regret the error and apologize, especially to Blake and his family, for having pronounced him dead when he is still very much alive.

Admitting a mistake is easy, and the right thing to do. But I also think some errors have deeper meaning, and I can't help but wonder about the meaning behind this one. Having given it thought, I can only come away with one explanation for it: namely, I am so used to stories about police shooting and killing black men like Blake, that when referencing such violence, it is almost a reflex to presume the death of the victim. It's horrifying. Such shootings are now so common that when writing about them it's as if the keys on the keyboard are on autopilot. It's somewhat like when you type a phrase into Google and the algorithm finishes the sentence for you in the usual manner, so as to save time.

Then again, it also could have been brain freeze on my part. I'm certainly given to that from time to time. But the thing is, I re-read the entire book, including that line, at least a half-dozen times before signing off on the final draft. So did about a dozen other folks—all of them knowledgeable about the subject matter. We all missed it. Which again leads me to conclude that we are all so used to reports of cops killing black men that we assume each new shooting ends the same way, even when they don't.

That says something—in part, about the need to be more careful as a writer—but also about the country within which that writer operates. And none of what it says in the latter case is good.