

CRACKS IN THE FOUNDATION

Philanthropy's Role in Reparations for
Black People in the DMV

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We hope that funders fearful of embarking on this journey of redress with their community and Board look at the example set by fellow grantmaker **iF**, A Foundation for Radical Possibility. A key factor for this report was the presence of local philanthropic leadership actively seeking collaborators for this work.

Founded in 1997 as the Consumer Health Foundation, **iF**, A Foundation for Radical Possibility, renamed itself in 2021 to reflect its evolution from a grantmaker focused on health equity to an organization that works to achieve racial justice by centering Black people and people of the global majority. In 3 short years, they have embraced their organizational responsibility to make amends through both the public acknowledgement of the institution's role in harming local Black communities and an equally public commitment that this is just the beginning of what is needed to make amends. It's an active journey that includes, among other things, funding – and participating in – work like this report to catalyze these conversations in the sector. NCRP is grateful for the partnership of **iF** Co-CEOs Temi F. Bennett and Hanh Le.

NCRP is also appreciative of the support and trust from our Board of Directors. We would like to especially thank our Board Chairman, Dr. Dwayne Proctor of the Missouri Foundation for Health. Originally from Washington DC, Dr. Proctor generously shared his personal stories about the region, connected us to additional resources, and bridged connections to local reparations organizers.

Executive Summary

The historical exploitation of Black people played a foundational role in the economy and wealth generation of the United States.

It contributed significantly to the accumulation of national wealth and resources, shaping our economic systems and institutions. This exploitation had far-reaching consequences, resulting in systemic racial disparities and inequities that are present in practically all facets of American society today.

The multi-generational harms visited on Black communities are not only present in the histories of Black people themselves, but inexorably intertwined with the origin stories of philanthropic institutions. It is critical that individuals within foundations entrusted with the stewardship of donors' legacies be aware of, acknowledge and act to redress the exploitation and dispossession that led to the creation of charitable wealth.

While a few foundations are actively engaged in grappling with the role their institution's founding wealth played in the historical exploitation of Black people, they remain the exception rather than the rule within the U.S. philanthropic sector.ⁱ Overall, philanthropy has never reckoned on a systematic basis with the ill-gotten gains that were the seed capital for so many modern grantmakers.

The failure to address and redress that history is evidenced by the fact that in most years, only 1% of grantmaking from private foundations names Black people explicitly as beneficiaries. This underrepresentation highlights the need for a more comprehensive and intentional effort to rectify historical injustices and promote the equitable distribution of resources within the philanthropic sector.

Encouragingly, [early data](#) show that since 2020, foundation leadership has tuned in to issues of racial justice, and specifically Black liberation, more than ever before. The movement-building by Black community leadership before, during and after high profile police murders like those of Michael Brown, Breonna Taylor and George Floyd persuaded and pressured philanthropy into expanding its social and financial support of solutions to address these longstanding issues.

However, increased funding to Black communities and racial justice work – while critical – is not the same as reckoning with harm done to specific Black people through the wealth origins of an individual institution. In fact, despite the [sector's increased promises](#) in 2020, messages of solidarity have dwindled, and Black communities are still underfunded. That is why a number of Black-led organizations and their allies pushed for funder accountability for past harm and redress for the current inequitable grantmaking structures many funders continue to protect and preserve.ⁱⁱ

i. The Bush Foundation, founded in 1953 by Edyth and Archibald Bush, has begun to reckon with the history of race-based policies and the harms inflicted on Black and Native communities in Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota as their founder was once the executive director for the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company. (Our New Investments in Racial Equity, n.d.)

ii. Most recently, Liberation Ventures has teamed up with Bridgespan to show funders what reparations for Black people can look like and their part in building a culture of repair as a necessity to reach that goal. (Florant et al., 2023)

Cracks in the Foundation: Philanthropy's Role in Reparations for Black People is the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy's contribution to the necessary and profound process of racial accountability, repair and healing in our country. It is part of a national conversation that has been happening for more than 150 years and has recently gained momentum through local efforts such as the [Reparations Committee in Evanston, Ill.](#) and the Task Force to Study and [Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans in California](#).

In this report, we pilot a new approach that uses publicly available quantitative and qualitative research to help grantmakers reckon honestly with the unique role of philanthropic wealth origins in past societal harms. We aim to create opportunities to partner with, persuade and – if necessary – pressure sector institutions and decision-makers to shift social and economic resources back to those whose rights, livelihoods and safety have been unjustly stripped away through historical actions reflecting structural anti-Black racism.

There is no better place to start this conversation than the nation's capital – the place that NCRP calls home. Black people have shaped the economy, culture and landscape of Washington, DC and its suburbs despite direct enslavement, segregation, and other forms of deep economic and political disenfranchisement. The resilience of Black Washingtonians does not erase how their lives were – and continue to be – impacted by anti-Blackness, whether through racist media narratives, housing segregation and displacement, lost job opportunities, unfair labor compensation, and unequal access to health care, schools and other social services. Survival – and even success gained – against such incredible odds leaves physical and mental scars, as well as material impact, which are passed down through generations.ⁱⁱⁱ

The economic, health, educational and housing disparities that plague so many Black communities today are not a natural occurrence borne on an equal playing field. They are the result of a string of conscious choices by those in the public and private sectors that have repeatedly harmed these communities. The fact that some of those who directly and indirectly benefited from these decisions redirected their profits into charitable efforts does not negate the need to grapple with the legacy of how that wealth was generated.

This report is an opportunity for philanthropic actors to exercise responsibility by finding ways to repair, heal and restore local communities harmed by the actions and decisions that created charitable wealth. For grantmakers already working toward racial justice, it is a chance to further their commitment through bold action. For those who have not dedicated significant thought, leadership and resources to this issue, it is an invitation to join the essential work of making harmed communities whole to the benefit of everyone in our region.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm-13391

iii. Research suggests that the effects of trauma can be intergenerationally passed on through the epigenetic process. (Henriques, 2019)

So Where Do Grantmakers Begin?

Foundation decision makers can move us closer to a just, equitable and multiracial democracy by leading honest and potentially painful conversations around philanthropy's role in past harm.

This reckoning with wealth generation in the sector is a crucial step in healing the ongoing trauma and impact of structural racism, with every foundation doing its part to balance the scales of justice.

These are not easy conversations to hold, even for those who are funding local efforts to dismantle systemic racial inequality and discrimination. Some of the most steadfast of allies will still have difficult, unresolved stories of harm to acknowledge. To better envision how one might go about doing this, we identify some existing incomplete-but-important local stories of wealth generation connected to community harm and offer still-unanswered research questions and recommendations to help philanthropic decision-makers and impacted communities move forward together.

The report's analytical framework offers local foundations a community-centered approach to understanding and addressing the harm caused by their wealth generation in 4 distinct sectors: Media, Housing, Employment and Health Care. In each sector, our research explores links to 8 illustrative case study foundations.

For example, we highlight the role of real estate profits derived from discriminatory practices such as racial covenants and racist zoning laws that displaced Black communities as well as limiting and devaluing Black homeownership in the District of Columbia, Maryland and Virginia (DMV). This systemic inequality has contributed to the extreme income disparity in Washington, DC, where **white households possess 81 times the wealth of Black households**. By contextualizing the links between these industries and the origins of philanthropic wealth, the report provides foundations with valuable insights to take measurable action toward rectifying the historical injustices that enabled their endowments.

We hope to foster further examination and discussion that spark meaningful dialogue and create an opportunity for local foundations to acknowledge and act on past harms to Black communities. By engaging in this process, foundations can establish connections with local groups and organizations, as well as contribute financial resources and social capital for reparative action. These collective efforts are crucial for the immediate and long-term healing of impacted Black communities in the region.



**In Washington D.C.,
white households
possess 81 TIMES
the wealth of
Black households**

NCRP researchers and our diverse advisory group of local academics and community leaders offer a 5-point action plan of recommendations for philanthropic institutions to reckon with their role in harm done to Black communities:



1. RECKON

Lead a transparent exploration of your foundation's wealth-generation story, making evidence of past harms available to community residents and culminating with a public apology for past harms and commitment to end any related current harms.



2. CONNECT

Develop a community working group to work directly with and solicit ideas and solutions from those that have been directly impacted by the actions that generated foundation wealth.



3. REPAIR

Make reparations to people and communities that have been directly harmed by the way the foundation's wealth was generated through direct cash payments, infrastructure investments and vouchers aimed to close the wealth gap.



4. DECOLONIZE

Embrace a plan and dedicated time-bound goals to [decolonize](#) institutional structures, policies and practices through regular grantmaking, endowment growth strategy and power sharing.



5. ADVOCATE

Support racial healing efforts and publicly advocate for a local municipal reparations bill and the current strategy of the reparations movement under this administration, including a federal executive order creating a reparations commission.

By compiling, contextualizing and publishing biographical and other historical information about the origins of philanthropic wealth, the stories of harm experienced by Black people become unavoidable and, more importantly, actionable – especially for funders with a commitment to racial equity or racial justice. Research that connects and centers stories of local Black communities can generate energy, opportunities and concrete actions for foundations to engage in reparations and healing efforts. This report is both an invitation and a roadmap for local foundations – studied and otherwise – to do exactly that.

Although our immediate focus is the DMV, the methodology and recommendations can serve as a model for funders and activists in other cities and regions. In addition, we believe this framework and process has potential applications not just for philanthropy, but for those grappling with these questions in the public and private sectors as well.

In this critical time of national reflection on and reckoning with centuries of racial oppression, philanthropy must actively engage in the conversation and respond with urgency, specificity and targeted action. The report is aimed at supporting this objective. By understanding the historical context and with a steadfast commitment to immediate action, movement organizers, community members and philanthropic leaders can collaborate to bring about sustainable and transformative change that is essential for justice in our communities.

Introduction

Creating a Reparative Framework for Philanthropy

From the moment the first Europeans arrived in the Indigenous occupied lands that would become the United States, the American economy has been shaped by violence, exploitation and inequality. It is a shameful fact that touches every institution, industry and sector in our country. U.S. philanthropy is no different.

Historical and contemporary discrimination have produced massive profits and generational wealth for a racialized few while stifling the potential – and threatening the survival – of communities marginalized along race and ethnic lines. As years compound the value of these initial assets, so too is compounded the urgency of the work to repair and restore communities that have been harmed by previous and ongoing extraction of wealth.

Acknowledging what has happened and helping to restore and repair harmed communities through targeted reparations is not unprecedented. Globally, the United Nations (UN) set forth guidelines for former colonial powers and other institutions to provide reparations to survivors of past violence and resource theft. In the United States, an organization such as the [National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America \(N'COBRA\)](#) helped lead a specific conversation around the harm committed against Black communities. Alongside local efforts, their advocacy has led cities like Evanston, Ill. and states like California to create their own commissions and reports to help quantify the harm done and the reparations that could be collected by Black residents.

NCRP's report, *Cracks in the Foundations: Philanthropy's Role in Reparations for Black People in the DMV*, points the reparations lens toward philanthropy. It provides local foundations and the communities they serve with a framework to address and redress historical and ongoing exploitation by examining philanthropy's role in the harm experienced by Black residents and families in the DMV.

We share stories from the region's Black residents of how money and power hinder and overshadow the economic, social and cultural contributions of this vibrant community. If we listen carefully to the voices of the past, we see that the disparities that plague our region today are not natural occurrences, but a string of conscious choices that repeatedly harmed communities.

DEFINITION

N'COBRA *defines reparations* as “a process of repairing, healing and restoring a people injured because of their group identity and in violation of their fundamental human rights by governments, corporations, institutions and families.”

DATA NOTE

Throughout this report, unless otherwise noted, we use inflation-adjusted (to 2023 dollars) numbers to discuss foundation wealth throughout time. These adjustments are vital for understanding the scale of wealth and impact in modern terms. Researchers used the [Bureau of Labor Statistic's CPI Inflation Calculator](#).

Where Does Philanthropy Fit In?

As advocacy and organizing toward this long-term goal continue, there is both opportunity and historical precedent for [municipal governments](#), [universities](#) and other institutions to reckon with and make restitution for past harm and its continuing impact on Black communities.

The ultimate passage of federal legislation for reparations is the north star for movements for the liberation for Black people in this country.

These efforts are milestones that continue the long history of the movement for reparations and the collective organizing required to achieve true healing and repair. That history includes actions during Reconstruction, the 20th century Civil Rights Movement and today's movement for Black liberation. [“Queen Mother” Audley Moore](#) launched the Committee for Reparations for Descendants of U.S. Slaves and twice (in 1957 and 1959) appealed to the UN for reparations for African Americans. In 1969, James Forman, a leader in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), released the [Black Manifesto](#) on behalf of the National Black Economic Development Conference, calling for \$500,000,000 in reparations from white churches and synagogues. And in 1989, N'COBRA was founded as the organization assisting Democratic Rep. John Conyers of Michigan in introducing [HR 40](#), the Commission to Study and Develop Reparations Proposals for African Americans Act.

The philanthropic sector can be part of the solution for people seeking redress. Many in the sector may be aware of stories of Black exploitation and dispossession that run alongside, and sometimes intersect with, philanthropic origin stories. Yet, philanthropy has never reckoned on a systematic basis with the ill-gotten gains that were the seed capital for so many modern grantmakers.

Philanthropic institutions, often seen as moral leaders in public spaces, must lead here and take responsibility for the harm done to Black people in the service of wealth creation that seeded their foundations. Charitable endowments specifically have a corporate and institutional liability that tie them to unjust gains. Philanthropy has a civic, economic and moral obligation to rebalance those resources in order to create a more inclusive and equitable future.

The Importance of Historical Narrative

So how does one go about giving philanthropy a roadmap for analysis and action, especially when constrained by the limits of publicly available data?

A core challenge in this endeavor is that the kind of record keeping that provides quantitative details of past harm is often either lost or hidden in private personal archives, business invoices or other types of accounting ledgers. While available data do put trends and harm in context, more research (alongside community engagement) is needed to determine what resources should be allocated for repair.

What is easier to find are the qualitative data and stories from Black residents themselves that detail their lived experiences. These stories anchor our historical analysis of the harm experienced by Black residents and the way that the origins of foundation wealth impacted the survival of these communities.

Stories are the backbone of our framework because of the connection between accurate historical narratives and racial and community healing. Silence is trauma's most effective enforcer. The more we publicize the voices, experiences and perspectives of Black residents, the more we lessen the power of the past to dehumanize and terrorize members of our community.

We believe that if we can acknowledge and act on the painful truth of our shared history, we move closer to the kind of reparative healing that atones for past harm, addresses the consequences of that harm in the present and rebalances the scales of justice for the future.



TAKEAWAY

Local fortunes created in real estate development, health care and other industries are inexorably tied to the story of Black Washingtonians' generational displacement, disenfranchisement and denial of basic rights. They also often either directly or indirectly seeded some of the region's most important foundations.

Why Start with Washington, DC and Surrounding Suburbs?

This pilot is focused on exploitation of local Black residents and the wealth that DMV-based harm generated for philanthropic endowments because of the expertise and readiness of the region.

NCRP has been based in Washington, DC for more than 45 years, and many of its staff are long-time residents of the region. This provided important familiarity with the local context and existing connections to area activists and experts.

While the report's scope is philanthropic wealth created in the nation's capital, the framework presented here should not be considered fit only for use in this region. The manifestations of anti-Black racism in the Washington, DC area are neither unique nor limited to the DMV. Our local philanthropic sector has the same potential, tensions and variety of institutions as any other regional philanthropy sector.

We hope that this analytical framework and methodology can serve as a model for other regions to follow as institutions make deliberate and concerted efforts to help communities heal from the damage caused by systemic racism.

Overall Process and Selection of Case Study Foundations

The first challenge was how to hone the research scope of the pilot project to balance limited resources, the opportunity for timely local impact and the utility of the results for a diverse set of stakeholders.

NCRP researchers began 2 years ago with a literature review of current city and state reparations proposals, including findings from the [California Reparations Task Force](#) and the [Evanston, Ill. Impact Study](#) published by the [African American Redress Network](#).

We then assembled an advisory group of DMV-based academics and local reparations movement leaders to provide feedback on historical harms that have had the greatest impact on DC's Black community.

The next step was to research the role of local philanthropy in the trends identified by scholars, activists and our literature review.

We began with a scan of all 2,000+ foundations in the Washington metropolitan area but quickly used 2 guiding principles to narrow the scope:



PRINCIPLE 1

Research should focus only on charitable wealth generated in the region (not, for example, any foundation with offices in the DMV); and



PRINCIPLE 2

Studied foundations should represent diverse examples to maximize the project's utility for different types of actors and institutions in the sector.

This resulted in a set of 84 foundations, individuals and/or businesses for initial research. We considered foundation type, size, institutional lifespan and origin.

As we moved forward, many potential subjects were disqualified from the pilot because a modern foundation's wealth history hadn't been well documented yet, the foundation's wealth source was not generated in the region or because a documented case of harm to Black people could not be linked through publicly available data to a modern foundation. We also factored in the level of access researchers and advocates would have to documentation on the foundation's history.

NCRP worked with a small team of professional historians to compile a final list of local foundations from at least 1 of 3 categories:



CATEGORY 1

The largest private family foundations by assets endowed in the DMV with wealth generated primarily in the DMV.



CATEGORY 2

Endowed private foundations with wealth traceable back to 1 or more documented large-scale Black exploitation events in the DMV's history.



CATEGORY 3

Foundations with wealth generated primarily in the DMV whose grantmaking prioritizes social and/or racial justice.

The historical record alongside our criteria resulted in an illustrative sample of 8 foundations with endowments or seed funding that reflect wealth extracted from Black people in the DMV in four key local industries.

Some of the original donors were not from the area. Some donors left the area to start endowments elsewhere. However, all the people harmed – the communities owed redress – are living or once lived in the DMV. Having found historical connections between these foundations and local instances of harm, we proceeded to see what quantifiable and qualitative data was on hand to detail their wealth generation stories.

For each foundation case study, we summarized the findings into short wealth history timelines, statements of identified harm and a set of outstanding research questions. General funding numbers and grants specifically to Black communities over 4-year time periods were also calculated from Candid, the philanthropic sector's most comprehensive publicly available data source. (*See more in Appendix B: Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations*).

[Movement leaders and scholars](#) conceptualize reparations with the primary goal of eliminating the U.S. racial wealth gap. To explore the extent of harm from philanthropic wealth that has contributed to this gap, our advisors encouraged us to focus on [The Social Determinants of Health](#), originally popularized by the World Bank and used by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Healthy People 2030 campaign. This set of questions and criteria provided an evaluative framework linking present disparities to historical acts as well as important guidance vis-a-vis the scope of harm to Black people that should be considered by philanthropy in general and these 8 foundations in particular.

More information on the methodology and process, the funders that were considered for inclusion, and recommendations for steps case study foundations could take to further their research, reckoning, and repair journey are included in the appendix section of this report.

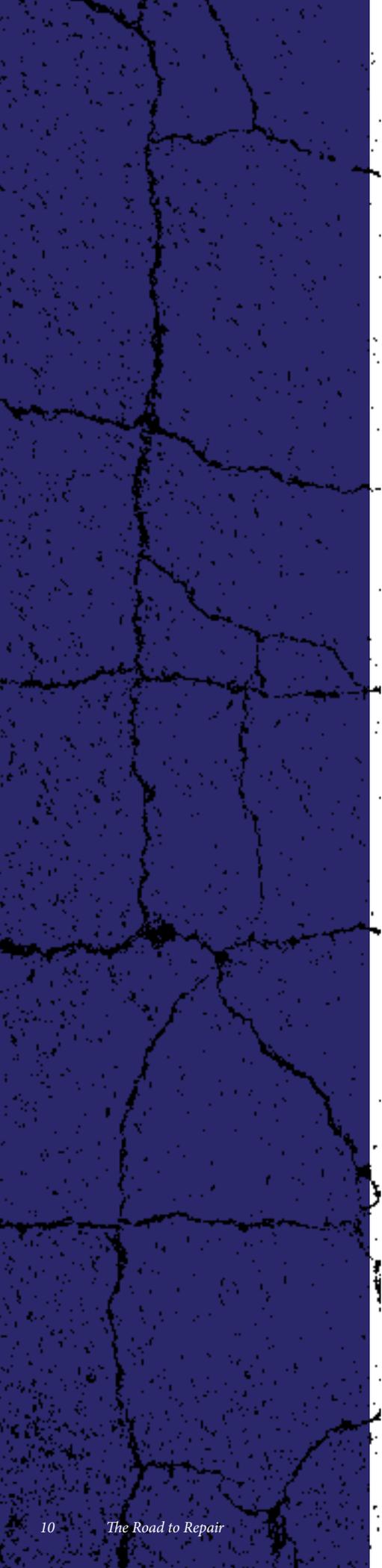
A Frame that Facilitates Action

The sample of foundations in this report do not represent the only connections between harm to Black people and modern philanthropy.

This is not a full accounting of all damage done to these communities through philanthropic wealth generation in our region, nor of the intertwined role the private sector and local and federal government played in those harms.

It is a pilot experiment with a clear hypothesis: If biographical and other historical information about the origins of philanthropic wealth are organized in one public place for funders and communities alike to see, the connections between our sector and the exploitation of Black people will become unavoidable and, more importantly, actionable – especially for funders who have expressed a commitment to racial equity or racial justice.

The wealth origins of foundations included in this report are representative of political practices and industry-wide trends that occurred nationwide. Our goal in telling these stories is to provide all foundations with a path toward addressing these issues and recentering the historical record of those who have been harmed and left out or forgotten. By demonstrating a process in which a foundation's origin is studied, put into context and connected to modern racial inequity, we aim to make it easier for more funders to envision how they can work to repair the communities harmed by the wealth that created their endowments.



The Road to Repair

Recounting & Recentering the History of Black people in the DMV

Throughout our nation's history, the perspective of Black people is one that has not been consistently examined by scholars and or taught in schools. In recent years, there has been an upsurge in attempts to actively minimize, or in some cases even re-write, Black history.

Historical records of slavery, segregation, exploitation and resource extraction are often told either through the viewpoint of the perpetrators or by general statistics that eliminate or minimize the humanity of those who experienced these events.

“Oral history, as a methodology and as a philosophy, can be a powerful tool in engaging narratives and experiences from historically underrepresented communities. Written documents [alone] cannot capture the totality of someone's experience.”

Mariana Barros-Titus
Community Engagement Manager at the DC History Center

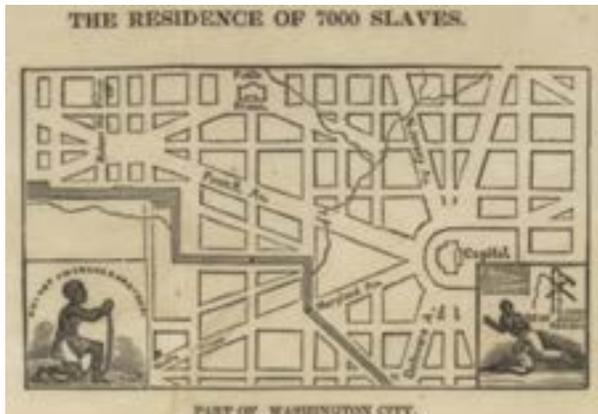
In order to truly understand the loss of life, liberty and prosperity of Black Washingtonians, philanthropy must hear from the people who were – and are still – here.

The Roots of Black History in the DMV

Before it was [Chocolate City](#), the Washington area was once a prime location for trading by Indigenous tribes who lived along the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers.

The [largest group in the area](#), with some 300 people in the early 1600s, lived along the east bank of the Anacostia River in the area between today's Bolling Air Force Base and Benning Road. The land was also home to the [Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Chickahominy, Monacan, Powhatan and Piscataway cultures](#). It was the Piscataway people that Europeans first encountered in 1608 when John Smith, British soldier and colonist, reached the head of the Potomac River.

Historians have documented early conflict between Indigenous tribes and colonists, as Europeans sought access to [local tribes' resources](#). These confrontations and the introduction of new diseases by colonists decimated local Indigenous communities – 40 years after first European contact, the tribal population had been [reduced by 75%](#). The lack of safety of their dwindling ranks forced the Anacostans to [relocate, and by the 1700s](#), the tribe had merged with the Piscataway people and other tribes to the north for common survival.



A map included in an abolitionist poster detailed the scope of the enslaved population in the nation's capital. Library of Congress.

Early life for enslaved Black people in what is now Washington, DC is not well documented. However, we have some clues that the institution of slavery was well-established in the region during this period based on how enslaved people were treated in the context of tribal-European relations.

In the mid-17th century, the Maryland Assembly created a treaty, the [1666 Articles of Peace and Amity](#), with the Piscataway people to establish a reserve at the Piscataway capital of Mayone. This “treaty” – which eventually increased land development for Europeans and forced Indigenous tribes out of the area – is an important historical marker that provides evidence of the expected legal relationship between Native Americans and enslaved people in the following [clause](#):

“ In case any servants or Slaves run away from their Masters & come to any of the Indian Townes...Indians shall apprehend them & bring them to the next English [plantation] to be Conveyed to their master.”

1606 Articles of Peace and Amity Treaty

In the century that followed, the number and percentage of enslaved Black people substantially increased. By the time President John Adams moved into the White House in 1800, DC's population had reached 8,144 – [around 25% \(or 2,036\) of those residents were enslaved](#).

Resiliency & Growth Despite the Stunted Promises of Emancipation

During the Civil War, [Washington's Black population grew](#) as the proportion of free Black people outpaced the enslaved population.

On April 16, 1862, 9 months before President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Congress passed the District of Columbia Emancipation Act, making enslaved Washingtonians [the first freed in the nation](#). In 1867, 5 years later, one of the country's first Black colleges, Howard University, was founded. It created a vibrant community of Black intellectuals in the city, including luminaries like [Mary Ann Shadd Cary](#), Howard's first Black woman law student.

For a moment, the region represented freedom and opportunity. Black people, especially those living in the South, migrated in masses to DC – all looking for liberation and the opportunity to start new lives. Welcoming that new wave were locals like [Elizabeth Hobbs Keckley](#). Born into slavery in Virginia around 1818, Keckley purchased her freedom in 1855 and was a skilled dressmaker who counted First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln as one of her principal clients.



In the summer of 1862, freedmen began to flock to Washington from Maryland and Virginia. They came with great hope in their hearts and with all their worldly goods on their backs ... Fresh from the bonds of slavery, fresh from the benighted regions of the plantation, they came to the Capital looking for liberty, and many of them not knowing it when they found it.”

Elizabeth Hobbs Keckley
 Activist, and seamstress who purchased her freedom from slavery in 1855



George Henry White, 1852-1918, bust portrait, facing right. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-44956.

That hope extended to the political arena, as Black men voted, campaigned for and won elected office, including early representation on the Council of the District of Columbia. Unfortunately, their nascent access to political power was short-lived.

By the 1870s, white southerners – threatened by Black people’s newfound political agency – responded with a [campaign of voter disenfranchisement and violent repression](#) against African Americans nationwide. Black men in Washington, DC had only been voting for 10 years before DC was geographically reshaped and moved under federal control.

This decision was intentionally designed to [limit the power of Black residents](#), even if it meant taking the vote of every male resident in DC, regardless of race.^{iv} As journalist Frederic J. Frommer recently wrote in *The Washington Post*, former Confederate general and plantation owner, Senator Tyler Morgan of Alabama [famously](#) compared the situation to slaughtering animals – and even burning the barn – to prevent the spread of a disease afflicting cattle.

“*In the face of this influx of Negro population from the surrounding states, the Senate and the House of Representatives, in order to preserve property rights and the decency of administration in the central government of the United States here around the very footwalls of the Capitol, found it necessary to disfranchise every man in the District of Columbia, no matter what his reputation or character might have been or his holdings in property, in order thereby to get rid of this load of Negro suffrage that was flooded in upon them.*”

Senator Tyler Morgan of Alabama

As a result, three federally appointed commissioners together with the House and Senate District committees in Congress governed the city for an entire century. (It was not until 1973 that DC residents won back the right to a locally elected government.) The success of the campaign to undercut any attempt at Black political participation or power was both local and national: After [George Henry White of North Carolina](#) (the first Black Congress member) was reelected to his second and final term in the House in 1898, it would be another 3 decades before another [Black American won a seat in Congress](#) in 1928.

Anti-Black prejudice and hatred would continue to be the [rationale for discriminatory laws and expansive federal oversight](#) of the city throughout the 19th century and into the next. To this day, DC is subject to Congressional oversight and is denied any voting representatives in Congress robbing Black – and all – DC residents – of the democratic rights afforded to other U.S. citizens.

iv. Women of all races were denied the right to vote until passage of the 19th Amendment to the constitution in 1920. (*19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution*, 2021).

Community Growth and Homemaking

Though commitment to racial equality would sour nationally and culminate in the premature end of Reconstruction in 1877, Black people continued to migrate to the nation's capital for the chance of greater opportunities.

[By the 1900s](#), DC was a national center of the Black middle class, with relatively large numbers of federal workers and K-12 teachers as well as lawyers, doctors, and academics associated with Howard University. In the years following the Civil War, “the District of Columbia witnessed more than a doubling in the number of Black [people] who owned businesses (156 to approximately 318) and a [significant increase](#) in their average real and personal property holdings.”

DC's Black population grew during the Great Depression and the 1940s, as migrants came for jobs created by World War II and the expansion of the federal government, and to escape racial violence in the South. With nearly 100,000 arrivals in the 1940s alone, the city's Black population doubled between 1930 and 1950, and by [1960](#), Washington was a majority (54%) Black city. With the help of federal home loan programs and government support for building commuter highways, more than 300,000 white residents left the city for the Maryland and Virginia suburbs in the 1950s and 60s, and by the [1970s](#), Black residents comprised a little over 70% of the total population.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information Black-and-White Negatives.

As the city and surrounding communities grew, families settled in, business prospered and DC's unique culture thrived.

Across the DMV, Black people created communities that made DC home. The Fort Totten neighborhood – nestled between Fort Totten Park, the Armed Forces Retirement Home and Rock Creek Cemetery – was one of them. Fort Totten is an area in which Black Washingtonians began to enjoy equal opportunity in purchasing homes in the 1950s and 1960s.



Well, when we first moved there, I do remember we had on both sides of us, left and the right, we had a white family living with us. But then soon after that, I guess when I was in elementary school, Black people moved in, on both sides of us. At the time, I don't think – neither one of them had children, but then later on in the years when we were in junior high to high school, other families moved in and they had children, on both sides of us. Families intertwined with each other... Communicated with each other. The kids played with each other up and down the street. I remember how we used to ride our bicycles. We were allowed to ride our bicycles up and down the same side of the sidewalk.”

Yolanda Lee, Fort Totten resident (1950s)
Voices of the DC Fort Totten Storytellers Oral History Project, 2018.



I would have to say Fort Totten was a wonderful place to grow up in. It was like a – wow. Everybody – you know, the house – we had bunks. Bunks in 1 room, bunks in another room. [laugh] And it was nice, man. We listened to all R&B music at night, and we went to sleep to R&B music ... Played little card games. Bustle and tussle, strength for strength, that kind of thing.”

Michael Stanley, Fort Totten resident (1950s)
Voices of the DC Fort Totten Storytellers Oral History Project, 2018.

A few miles south, the U Street corridor was known as Black Broadway, “a city within a city.” Black Washingtonians were subject to Jim Crow laws in other parts of town, but here, Black people were free. They frequented Black-owned businesses, many funded with loans from Industrial Savings Bank, the city’s oldest Black-owned bank.



People know ‘Black Broadway,’ and it got its name because of its music, but behind the music was so much activism and Black education and achievement and innovation ... And also, Black wealth. I think that was one of the things that surprised me in researching, was how much – not just resilience – but how much wealth and funding and the economic status of Black people at the time, even in DC as a whole.

By 1901, according to the Union League Directory, there were 1,000 Black-owned businesses in Washington, DC That’s very surprising because you’re talking about being emancipated from slavery, what, not even a full 40 years prior, and already 1,000 Black-owned businesses? So those are the kind of history things that are shocking to me that are very important to highlight.”

Briana Thomas

On Her book, Black Broadway in Washington, DC



Mrs. R. J. Daniels and Miss M. G. Daniels, the Little Misses Jackson and Carter, of Rosslyn, Va., will leave Thursday, July 14th, for Allegheny, Pa., where they will spend the summer. They will be the guests of Mrs. B. T. Mahoney. Before returning, Miss M. G. Daniels will spend a few days in Philadelphia, Pa.

“The Week in Society,” *The Washington Bee*, July 16, 1910.

Throughout this time, pockets of communities settled and grew in the suburbs as well. Northern Virginia had multiple Black enclaves where residents not only lived, but also operated businesses, attended schools and spent the majority of their social lives.

[The Washington Bee](#), eventually one of the most influential African American newspapers in the country, had a society page that paid special attention to events among Black residents.

Rosslyn, Va. was home to one of those African American enclaves and included notable establishments, such as the [first Black-owned saloon](#) in the county, owned by John Richard Bowen. The bustling social scene of this area, which remained a Black neighborhood through the 1950s, was regularly covered by *The Bee*.

All Politics Is Local: Black Power, the Struggle for Statehood and an Uncertain Future

Without access to formal political representation, Black Washingtonians were creative and determined in their use of social and community power to bring about change. For decades, Black professional associations, businesses and community groups consistently organized the public outside of traditional – and inaccessible – avenues for civic engagement.



... well you have to remember something about Washington 1968. And that is that Washington DC did not have a home rule at that time. There were no elected officers here, you couldn't elect the school board, you couldn't elect the mayor, there were no elective offices. This was an appointed government appointed by a committee of the Congress which was chaired by a man named McMillan from South Carolina. So, you had a South Carolina congressman running the nation's capital which was about 60% Black, and he was running it like a plantation basically what it amounts to.

So, when I arrived here in 1968 along with other people from SNCC, Marion Barry, John Wilson, many of which would become fellows here at the Institute for Policy Studies we actually became sort of reluctant activist warriors in the city.”

Frank Smith

Oral history interviews from “Lessons of the Sixties: A history of local Washington, DC activism for peace and justice from 1960-1975”

This organizing grew in scope and power, culminating in the successful campaign for DC “Home Rule,” which was finally won in 1973. With the ability to now vote in their own mayoral and DC Council elections, [Black Power activists dominated](#) the newly created local government.

Local political power was and remains limited, however, by DC’s lack of voting representation in Congress as well as Home Rule Act provisions that require Congress to approve the city’s budget and allow for continued federal interference in local matters. Congress has consistently abused its oversight to, for example, attack locally passed gun reform laws, bar city spending to offset abortion costs for low-income residents, [and block harm reduction needle exchange programs](#). By deploying stereotypes and tropes around crime and safety, Congressional Republicans are even threatening [to repeal Home Rule](#) under the guise of establishing “law and order.” Republican Congress members’ racist and politically motivated hostility toward the District affects all Washingtonians, denying them self-determination and hampering DC’s ongoing [struggle for statehood](#).

Black Washingtonians have also lost ground locally as the result of public policies that have incentivized gentrification and led to Black displacement. DC’s Black population has plummeted over the past two decades, and the city is no longer majority Black. Local Black power and political authority are being challenged by a predominantly white, politically liberal base of newer residents, many of whom live in areas where Black communities have been displaced. While the city’s mayor is still Black, council members and ANC (Advisory Neighborhood Commission) commissioners representing new non-Black constituencies have [increasingly won elections](#).

The stakes are high. Black residents today struggle with being pushed out of the city entirely or sectioned into areas terrorized by over-policing that lack quality public services, quality food, schools, health care facilities and job opportunities. Ongoing political disenfranchisement continues to endanger the health, livelihoods and safety of DC’s Black communities.

Identifying the Damages

4 Sectors Driving Historic Harm Against the Local Black Community

None of the vibrant Black communities that blossomed in the DMV were allowed to live and grow in peace. Instead, Black residents were consistently met with hostility in every facet of their lives. As this section details, Black Washingtonians were dehumanized by anti-Black media, displaced by housing segregation, and discriminated out of job opportunities, access to health care and quality public services. We see the long-lasting legacy of harm in the material conditions of Black people in the DMV, which are worse by every measure than those of white residents.

Photo Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection, LC-G613-T-45237.



SECTOR 1: MEDIA

Anti-Blackness and “Prejudice as a Tool of the Times”

Anti-Black stereotypes and propaganda dished out by leading newspapers helped codify the continued dehumanization of Black people. They emboldened those who had supported the Confederate cause and ensured that neither southern nor northern white society would accept the racial and political equality that seemed possible for a brief historical moment during Reconstruction. While the Civil War and Emancipation momentarily shattered one form of bondage, the white-owned mainstream media industry found new ways to re-package and promote the fears, stereotypes, and prejudices necessary to maintain popular acceptance of and support for structural racism by white Americans.

“How these white newspapers reported on race, and how they signaled blackness as threatening, contributed to not just perceptions about Black people, but stirred responses ... that imperiled the lives of African Americans.”

Phillip Luke Sinitiere
W. E. B. Du Bois Visiting Scholar at the University of
Massachusetts Amherst

One of the most influential actors shaping harmful narratives on race in the Washington region was [The Baltimore Sun](#). *The Baltimore Sun* was one of the most important information sources in the DMV 4 decades before *The Washington Post* was founded in 1877. A.S. Abell started *The Sun* in 1837 and grew it to a [circulation of 30,000](#) by 1861 as part of the [“sudden and overwhelming popularity”](#) of [“penny newspapers”](#) that [represented a “revolution in American newspaper publishing.”](#)

The paper had a Washington bureau with 15 reporters, covering the president and all avenues of the federal government. Its capital city readership was so crucial to business that in the late 1800s Abell bought a vacant lot and hired an architect to create the Sun Building at 1317 F Street NW, which remains [the oldest skyscraper in Washington, DC](#).

WILLIAM S. ABELL FOUNDATION

In 1837, A.S. Abell, [founded](#) *The Sun* (today known as *The Baltimore Sun*). In 1947, William, great grandson of A.S., [joined the board](#) of A.S. Abell Company, the owner and publisher of *The Baltimore Sun*.

When *The Baltimore Sun* was [sold](#) in 1985, the value for the 200,000-circulation paper was \$1.3 billion – the most ever paid to acquire a newspaper at the time. While the Abell family were only part owners at the time of this sale, some of the wealth generated from that sale helped seed the endowment of the [William S. Abell Foundation](#), which is today worth more than \$80 million. Even after grantmaking and all other qualified distributions, the William S. Abell Foundation’s assets have doubled since 2001 (inflation adjusted).

While *The Baltimore Sun* acknowledged specific episodes of harm and laid out a plan for ensuring that their current reporting steers away from those past mistakes, very little public work has been published that tracks the money from the profits of that harm.

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. “Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations”



Classified Ad 36 – No Title. *The Sun* (1837-); Aug 4, 1838; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun* pg.3.

MEYER FOUNDATION

In 1933, Eugene Meyer [bought](#) *The Washington Post* for \$15 million. In the 10 years after Meyer bought the paper, its [circulation](#) and advertising tripled.

Established in 1946, [The Meyer Foundation](#) today is worth more than \$57 million. Even after grantmaking and all other qualified distributions, the Meyer Foundation's assets have tripled since 2001 (inflation adjusted).

In 2013 and after 80 years of family ownership, the Meyer descendants [sold](#) *The Post* for \$330 million. *The Washington Post*, as an institution, has not publicly discussed its history.

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. "Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations"



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-npcc-30464.

For decades, as Black people were arriving to Washington DC, *The Sun* ensured that racist narratives remained deeply embedded in the region's collective consciousness.

The Baltimore Sun frequently employed "[prejudice as a tool of the times](#)." Runaway slave advertisements represented a "[lucrative and consistent source of revenue](#)" for North American print journalism in the colonial era and *The Sun* sold ads selling enslaved people and offering rewards for capturing runaways.

The Sun's [news coverage and editorial opinions](#) promoted and profited from racism and anti-Black policies well after the end of slavery, including supporting the disenfranchisement of Black voters and racial segregation into the 1950s. The paper's coverage contributed to a national discourse that positioned African Americans as second-class citizens by serving readers a steady media diet of caricature, stereotypes and tropes that stoked white fear and anxiety.

The story of the other leading regional media outlet, *The Washington Post*, is much the same. In the nation's capital and throughout the county, Black Americans lived in terror facing countless threats and acts of violence, including [DC's Red Summer](#). On July 19, 1919, a "race riot" broke out in Washington, DC after a white mob organized to attack a single Black man. Black residents guarded and protected their community while under siege for 4 full days. Black residents made calls for local police help, but police refused to protect them or intervene against the mobs.

On the morning of July 21, *The Washington Post* published a [front-page story that included a notice](#) about a 9 p.m. assembly for servicemen to finish what they had started, effectively inciting further violence. Out of fear, that night Black Washingtonians began to fight back. This response caused a rise in legal gun sales in the city. Only after this development did the government step in when [President Woodrow Wilson ordered](#) nearly 2,000 soldiers from nearby military bases into Washington to suppress the rioting.

Even when calls for violence against Black Americans were less overt, anti-Black media remained common throughout the 20th century. In 1933, a failing *The Washington Post*, was sold for \$15,943,632 to [Eugene Meyer](#). Meyer was largely successful at turning the paper around. In 10 years, the previously bankrupt *Post* saw [circulation triple](#) to 162,000 and advertising soar from 4 to 12 million lines.

The Post, like *The Sun*, benefited from racist advertising. The paper ran [advertisements for housing](#) excluding “any persons or persons of the Negro race, or any person of Negro blood or extraction.” It perpetuated racist stereotypes through caricatures like the ‘mammy’ while also reminding its readers to enhance their beauty with skin-lightening creams. Like *The Sun*, the paper also consistently identified Black people – and only Black people – by race in its coverage for decades.

These local “papers of record” supported mainstream anti-Black racism and encouraged a hostile environment that both emboldened and excused violence toward Black communities and neighborhoods.

“*Reconciling and repairing the harms that the media have caused the Black community is central to deciphering the future of the field. This means that individual news organizations must partake in systematic change and repair while also actively offsetting the impacts of a history of anti-Black racism inside their own newsrooms and communities.*”

An Invitation to Dream Up Media Reparations, Media 2070.

Centuries of anti-Black rhetoric have created racist narratives still found in mainstream media today. A [study](#) conducted in the 1990s found that even among a mixed group of Black and white subjects, white people are 10 times more likely to be seen as superior in artistic ability and abstract thinking ability. Almost half of study respondents “[endorsed stereotypical differences in physical characteristics such as blacks experience less physical pain that whites and have thicker skulls and skin.](#)” When victimized by crime, white victims are 4 times more likely to be presented in photos with friends and family than Black people.

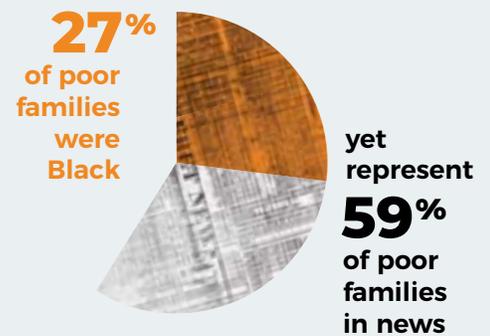
A [study](#) from Color Of Change showed that from 2015–2016, 27% of families living below the poverty line were Black, yet in news media, 59% of poor families represented were as Black. CNN’s portrayal of poor families is a 7 (Black families) to 0 (white families) ratio, Fox News is 8-to-1, and ABC’s description of families as a source of social stability is a 16-to-2 ratio.

BY THE NUMBERS

Only [14%](#) of Black Americans are highly confident that Black people will be covered fairly in their lifetimes.

When victimized by crime, white victims are [4x more likely](#) to be presented in photos with friends and family than Black people.

From [2015–2016](#), 27% of families living below the poverty line were Black yet in news media, 59% of poor families were Black.



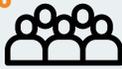
CNN’s portrayal of poor families is a 7 (Black families) to 0 (white families) ratio, Fox News’ is 8 to 1.



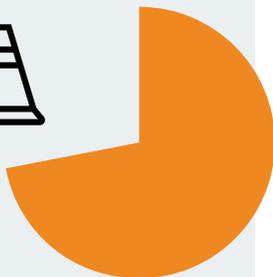
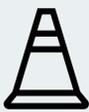
(1920, March 5) *The Washington Times*. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn84026749/1920-03-05/ed-1/>.

IN A 2020 ACLU STUDY OF DC MPD DATA, BLACK PEOPLE MADE UP

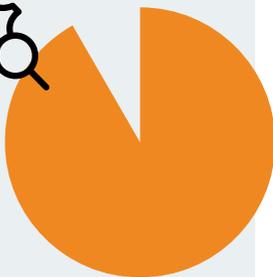
47%
of the population



72%
of traffic stops



91%
of stops involving searches or pat downs



These dangerous narratives have violent consequences for DC's Black residents. In 2020, the ACLU analyzed data from the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia and found that while Black people made up 47% of the population, they composed 72% of traffic stops and 91% of stops that involved searches or pat downs. [Data](#) from August 1, 2019 to January 1, 2020 showed that of all 52 use-of-force incidents were perpetrated against Black people.

In the region, both [The Washington Post](#) and [The Baltimore Sun](#) identified Black people (and only Black people) by race in their coverage for decades. For *The Sun*, this lasted until the 1960s when progressive readers threatened to cancel subscriptions if the labels were not removed.

The increasing influence of social media paired with new energy and focus on dismantling systemic racism sparked by the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests renewed calls for media companies to acknowledge their role in fueling anti-Black attitudes and policies. In February 2022, *The Baltimore Sun* [published an apology](#) for their role in actively oppressing Black Marylanders.



This newspaper, which grew prosperous and powerful in the years leading up to the Civil War and beyond, reinforced policies and practices that treated African Americans as lesser than their white counterparts – restricting their prospects, silencing their voices, ignoring their stories and erasing their humanity.

Instead of using its platforms, which at times included both a morning and evening newspaper, to question and strike down racism, The Baltimore Sun frequently employed prejudice as a tool of the times. It fed the fear and anxiety of white readers with stereotypes and caricatures that reinforced their erroneous beliefs about Black Americans.

Through its news coverage and editorial opinions, The Sun sharpened, preserved and furthered the structural racism that still subjugates Black Marylanders in our communities today.”

The Baltimore Sun, 2022

The *Washington Post* compiled an [extensive portfolio of work](#) on systemic racism in the wake of George Floyd's murder in 2020, yet unlike *The Sun*, made no mention of its own role in shaping and perpetuating racist stereotypes over its 133-year history as a leading national and local newspaper.

SECTOR 2: HOUSING

Discrimination, Segregation and Displacement

Forced displacement of residents in the District goes back as far as the British colonizers' treatment of local Indigenous populations. In the 20th century, the government's use of eminent domain to take Black land and the use of racially restrictive deed covenants for more than 50 years limited where Black people could call home.

The policy and political choices made for - but without the participation or consent of - Black people continue to impact how - and where - residents of the DMV live their daily lives. From the moment freedmen fought to create communities' post-enslavement, they faced severe barriers.

“Racially restrictive covenants were compounded by zoning policies, discriminatory lending practices, pricing pressures and physical threats. As a result, Black families were prevented from buying property in more affluent white areas, and the Black population was segregated into smaller and smaller enclaves.”

Steven Woolf
in “*Deeply Rooted: History's Lesson for Equity in Northern Virginia*”

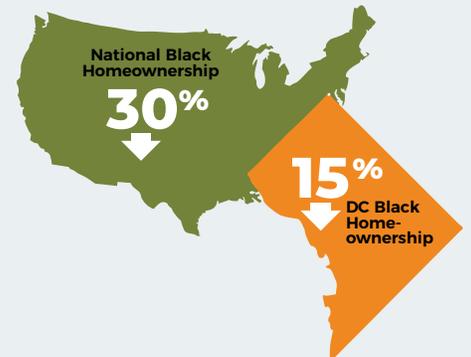


Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppss-01180.

BY THE NUMBERS

Nationally, median home values in majority Black neighborhoods [are appraised 55% lower](#) than in white neighborhoods, and 23% of that difference can't be explained by home quality or structural neighborhood differences. This adds up to \$48,000 less per home and an estimated cumulative \$156 billion lower appraisal value for homes in majority Black neighborhoods.

[Nationally](#), the Black household homeownership rate is 30 percentage points lower than the white household ownership rate at 42%. In DC, that [rate is 15% lower](#) for Black households as compared to their white counterparts.



In DC, there is a [\\$156,000 gap in median](#) home value between homes owned by Black and white residents.

Between [2016 and 2020](#), a first-time homebuyer with the average income of a Black household in DC could not afford more than 90% of homes for sale in the city

Black DC residents are nearly twice as likely to be [rent-burdened](#), meaning that housing costs are 30% more of their household income.



THE MORRIS AND GWENDOLYN CAFRITZ FOUNDATION

In 1921, Morris Cafritz [opened](#) a real estate office and began to work on his first large-scale building project. Over his 20-year plus career, Cafritz brought to market at least 5,359 units of housing that prevented Black people from buying homes.

In 1948, the Cafritz family [established](#) the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation with half of Cafritz’s estate, \$142 million. At the time of Gwendolyn’s death, [The Washington Post estimated](#) that the marital trust, established under Morris’s will, was worth \$84 million. Three-quarters, or \$63 million, went to the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation.

[Today the foundation](#) is worth more than \$725 million. Even after grantmaking and all other qualified distributions (e.g., staff salaries and office rent), the foundation’s assets have quintupled since 1948 (adjusted for inflation).

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. “Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations”

Developers Use Power and Influence to Discriminate Against and Displace Black Residents

Government restrictions as well as the racial covenants’ [inserted in deeds by developers](#) confined the rapidly growing Black population and helped achieve racial homogeneity for developers marketing “safe” neighborhoods.

This quickly created disparities in home ownership rates among white and Black residents. Even though Black home ownership rose by 31% in the 1910s-, in 1920 Black people in DC still only owned homes at 39.6% the rate of white people.

Over his 20-plus year career in the local real estate industry, Morris Cafritz brought to market at least 5,359 units of housing that Black people were prevented from buying due to racial covenants. He [advertised](#) his neighborhoods as “rigidly exclusive with protective restrictions.”

Cafritz’s successful career led to leadership roles in the industry. Starting in 1944, he served as the vice president of the Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Washington. The group represented a powerful lobby of white-led business leaders and developers who [advocated alongside the federal government](#) for the large-scale clearance of Black communities in Washington, DC

The association authored the “Home Builders Plan for Rehousing Those People Who Live in the Slums of Washington” arguing for the involvement of their members in these projects and that “no government help of any kind is necessary in connection with the construction of the buildings. The slums of Washington must be done away with as soon as war restrictions will permit.” This publication came out around the same time that the 1945 DC Redevelopment Act authorized the taking of private property for private redevelopment for the purpose of “urban renewal.”



White Homeowners
 Black Homeowners

v. Racially restrictive covenants refer to contractual agreements that prohibit the purchase, lease, or occupation of a piece of property by a particular group of people, usually African Americans.

Suburban Segregation: Racial Covenants in Maryland

Many local white developers like William Levitt openly claimed racial segregation was the preference of Black Americans themselves.

“ In the first place ... the Negro is the same as any other minority group. He is clannish and tends to select neighbors who are of the same background and race as he ... The other major factor is the price bracket. Our houses sell for \$17,000 to \$27,000* and this obviously eliminates all those who can't afford such housing.”

William Levitt, 1963

**Converted to 2023 dollars, this is \$167,290 to \$265,710 per house.*

In 1961, Levitt & Sons began sales on a 10,000-home development in the DC suburbs called [Belair-Bowie](#) in the town of Bowie, MD. They openly refused to sell homes there to African-American buyers despite appeals by local, Black-led organizations on behalf of Black returning veterans and Levitt's own admission that housing discrimination was wrong on moral grounds.

In their first week of sales at Belair-Bowie, Levitt & Sons sold more than \$40 million worth of homes. Houses started at about \$167,000 and were financed with a [down payment](#) of only \$1,000 at a time when the [median Black household](#) was making about \$34,000 per year.

The racial division that developers created left very limited options for where Black residents could live in the region. The short supply of housing available to Black people increased the pricing for what was left, but not always the quality or value. The legacy of this artificial control of the market is evident in present racial disparities in home ownership values. Today there is a [\\$156,000 gap in median home value](#) between homes owned by Black and white DMV residents.

THE LEVITT FOUNDATION:

In 1961, [Levitt & Sons](#) began sales on a 10,000-home development in the Washington, DC suburbs called Belair-Bowie and openly refused to sell homes to Black buyers, despite appeals by local, Black-led organizations on behalf of Black returning veterans and Levitt himself admitting housing discrimination is wrong on moral grounds. In their first week of sales, Levitt & Sons sold more than \$40 million homes. Houses started at about \$165,000 and were financed with a down payment of only \$1,000 at a time when the median Black household was making about \$34,000 per year.

In 1968, after 7 years of anti-Black real estate practices at their Belair-Bowie development –and many more at developments outside the DMV – the Levitt family sold Levitt & Sons for more than \$800 million in 2023 dollars.

In 2022, the Levitt Foundation was [worth](#) more than \$17 million. Even after grantmaking and all other qualified distributions (e.g., staff salaries and office rent), the foundation's assets grew by 65% since 2002 (adjusted for inflation).

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. “Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations”

THE WEISSBERG FOUNDATION

In 1955, Marvin Weissberg opened his own firm Weissberg Investment Corp. By the late 1960s, Weissberg had built 12-story office buildings filled with employees of IBM, Honeywell and RCA, and by 1978, Marvin Weissberg was [a multi-millionaire](#).

Today the Weissberg Foundation is [worth](#) more than \$16 million. Even after grantmaking and all other qualified distributions (e.g., staff salaries and office rent), the foundation's assets have almost doubled (168%) since 2001 (inflation adjusted).

[Weissberg Investment Corp.](#) still develops and manages commercial real estate.

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. "Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations"

Zoned for Business: Commercial Development and Displacement in Virginia

Racial covenants – finally outlawed by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 – kept Black families locked out of living in white areas. Zoning laws were a powerful tool for displacing Black families from the homes they already had.

The role of zoning policy in racial segregation and displacement is clear in the transformation of the historically [African American enclave of Rosslyn, Va.](#) In Northern Virginia, Black residents looking to start or run a business were [often locked out of resources](#) as they were unable to borrow money from white-owned banks and buy land or buildings in white areas zoned for business.

Beyond legal restrictions, it was also difficult socially for Black people to obtain business licenses from Arlington County or hire and work for white customers. The immediate result was that many Black Arlingtonians had to work out of their homes. The majority of businesses in the county were in the owner's residence, including restaurants, beauty shops and convenience stores.

In the 1950s Arlington County [shifted its focus away](#) from a reliance on the federal government and toward commercial businesses as a source of revenue. This proved successful for county coffers: A 1957–58 county-sponsored study highlighted that commercial business made up a sizable portion of local revenue. It failed to account for the cost: the destruction of a formerly thriving major Black residential and business community.

“ We lost the battle for apartments. Under 4,000 units exist in Rosslyn, one-fourth of them contained in the massive Arlington Towers complex that was there before the redevelopment. Apartments were not profitable for developers in the 1960's under then existing densities of 45 units per acre.”

Richard E. Arms

The county's former planning director who supervised Rosslyn's redevelopment from a historical Black neighborhood to 12-story commercial buildings in the 1950-60s

Commercial real estate developer Marvin Weissberg is credited for transforming Rosslyn “[from the patchwork of pawn shops to his gleaming 12-story office building](#)” and celebrated as one of the most successful developers in the region. By 1978, Weissberg was a multi-millionaire. In [1982](#), 1 Weissberg project sold for more than \$50 million.

“Negro Removal”: Urban Renewal’s Devastation in Washington, DC

Urban renewal devastated Black communities in DC and nationwide.

Dubbed “[Negro Removal](#)” by Black writer and intellectual James Baldwin, in DC more than 23,000 residents, the majority who were Black, were displaced for the redevelopment of Southwest. Private real estate companies gained access to empty land and the federal government provided almost all the funding for redevelopment. A culturally vibrant but physically run-down community of approximately 4800 structures spread over 111 acres was demolished for the creation of an entirely new neighborhood that was 70 percent white.



*For 5 or 6 years after the riots in ‘68, even President Johnson was dipping down into local personalities and saying ‘hey, for instance, Ivanhoe Donaldson, let’s get to work on this or on that.’ And the next thing there’d be new federal funding to try some new approach to housing. I forget all their names right now, I could dredge them up. A number of those housing leaders are mentioned in *Chocolate City*. ‘How do we work together? How do we get more housing for you? How do we get money for you?’ And they really – they pumped a lot of money into the housing stock in Southwest, for example, that was undergoing the radical transformation at the time driven by the federal government. So, you know, it was not just a local housing issue at that point. DC became a testing ground of a lot of these programs”*

Oral History Interview with David Reed
*for the DC Oral History Collaborative as part of the
Housing Organizing in 1970s Washington, DC Project*

As crowded slums were cleared, Black communities were displaced to even more crowded areas, and housing prices increased. Urban renewal [was a disaster](#), not only for displaced residents, but for the ripple effects these projects had – and continue to have – on urban landscapes, community safety and security, and housing prices.



Paul Rudolph Collection, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-PMR05-18023.

HORNING FAMILY FOUNDATION

In 1962, The Horning Brothers development firm was founded. In the 1980s there were only about 2,000 housing units built in the entire city of Washington, and [50% of them were built by the Horning Brothers](#).

Originally called the San Miguel Fund, the family charity was re-named the Horning Family Fund in 2008. It shifted its philanthropic focus to Washington DC's majority Black and historically under-served Ward 8 and increased grantmaking to \$400,000. By 2013, the foundation increased its grantmaking to \$1 million. In 2017, the Horning Family Foundation [incorporated](#) as a private foundation, and as of 2021, managed \$450,000 in assets.

[Horning Brothers](#) is still a successful development company that manages over \$600 million in properties in Washington, DC

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. "Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations"

While urban renewal in DC is primarily associated with Southwest, it was also carried out in other sections of the city such as Shaw. In Northwest DC, the [D.C. Redevelopment Land Agency](#) acquired the properties between 8th, 9th, S and T Streets NW, forcing tenants in the area to relocate. The properties remained vacant for some time but were then bought by the DC Housing Industry Corp., "a nonprofit organization of bankers, builders, real estate brokers and landlords who joined together to help generate moderately priced housing." Its president was Joseph Horning, a developer who had previously primarily worked in Anacostia, but moved to build affordable housing through government programs throughout the city during this time.

James Spicer, whose family was [displaced](#) from the home they had rented only a block away, was selected to return to the area and purchase one of the renovated Shaw neighborhood homes. However, these homes were not what the family expected.



The carpet buckles up, the garbage disposal is broken and leaks, the commode doesn't work right, the cabinet doors fall off, and you can smell sewage fumes in the house sometimes,' said Spicer, a former housing inspector who is retired because of a disability. 'It's cold in certain rooms because the heat vents are upstairs. The roof leaks. When you walk upstairs, you sink into the floor. There are holes where rats come in.'"

James Spicer
Homebuyer in Shaw Urban Renewal program

Spicer was one of the residents who formed an organization to petition for their homes to be redone due to the multitude of maintenance and faulty construction issues. Somewhere between 80–100% of [residents](#) were Black when these homes were sold between 1970 and 1980.



Protest "We Need a New Shaw and a Playground, too". DC Public Library, Star Collection, Washington Post (1965).

Capital of Gentrification: How the Housing Market Fails Black Washingtonians Today



Being a Washingtonian all my life, living here – I live in Maryland now. I saw the changes going on all the way around. Again, I worked [in] DC, Maryland, Virginia. When I was district manager, I had stores running from DC all the way to Eastern Shore. So I’m seeing very diverse shopping people and so on. I used to work [at] O Street Giant. I used to work [at] Minnesota Avenue and Benning Road Giant. I used to work [at] 14th Street Giant. These at one [time] were traditionally all Black stores because they were in the neighborhood, okay, the Black neighborhood. I watched the changing over. You go to the new O Street store right now, it’s probably 70 percent [others there] and not that many African Americans shopping there. No disrespect, but it’s just the way the trend of Washington, DC has changed.”

Wendell Moore, Fort Totten resident (1950s)
Voices of the DC Fort Totten Storytellers Oral History Project, 2018.



Jason Richardson, Bruce Mitchell, and Jad Edlebi, “Gentrification and Disinvestment 2020,” National Community Reinvestment Coalition, June 2020.

Today, Washington, DC has one of the highest rates of displacement in the country. A 2019 study by the [National Community Reinvestment Coalition](#) found that DC had the highest “intensity” of gentrification of any city in the United States between 2000 and 2012.

As a result, racial housing disparities leave poor options for DC’s Black renters and homeowners. [Black residents are nearly twice as likely to be rent-burdened, meaning that housing costs are 30% or more of their household income.](#) Homeownership rates for Black households are 15% lower than for white ones.

Between 2016 and 2020, a first-time homebuyer with the average income of a Black household in Washington, DC could not afford more than [90% of homes for sale](#) in the city.



Home ownership has long been the key to economic stability and the benefits of middle-class status. It creates generational wealth transfer to children and grandchildren and the ability to tap into home equity for large investments such as college education or family medical emergencies. These statistics represent the pernicious, ongoing impact of redlining and other forms of housing discrimination that denied Black DMV residents the ability to build generational wealth and stability.

The collective societal loss resulting from the DMV’s decades of discriminatory housing practices is just as grave. These policies, which were financially lucrative for developers and municipal bottom lines, destroyed the fabric of many culturally vibrant and diverse neighborhoods. This deepened racial strife and inequality and further entrenched structural power imbalances along racial lines. This insidious legacy is one that local leaders – including many of the foundations founded by these same developers – are often trying to address.



Washington Area Spark. (1939). *Mary McLeod Bethune pickets People's Drug: 1940 ca* [Photo]. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington_area_spark/20322612786/.

SECTOR 3: EMPLOYMENT

Stolen Labor and Hindered Opportunity

For Black families, the unavailability of housing – both as a place to live and a means to create wealth – is further exacerbated by the inability to benefit from the true value of their labor. From forced labor during slavery to the racial wage gap today, Black Americans have had to navigate a system that consistently minimizes their worth and limits how they can earn a living for their families in the present and build financial security for their children in the future.

The District had a unique advantage in being home to Howard University and to the federal government, a major source of Black employment. However, the tight grip of racial discrimination still held sway over the rest of the city.

In 1933, the New Negro Alliance began “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work” [campaigns](#) against racist hiring practices in white-owned neighborhood stores. They gained national attention when the Alliance took on Sanitary Grocery (now Safeway) when the store sued protestors for demonstrating at their storefront on 11th Street N.W. In 1938, New Negro Alliance won [the case in the Supreme Court](#), marking an important victory in the right to protest that was instrumental later during the Civil Rights Movement. In the early 1960s, many downtown stores still refused to hire or promote Black employees, especially for positions that put them in contact with white customers. A local activist named Julius Hobson used picketing, as well as the threat of boycotts, as a tactic for getting these stores to end the practice of employment discrimination.



Then there was the question of buying clothes downtown. Now young African American men like to buy snappy clothes and there was a Bruce Hunt, ya ever hear of that? Bruce Hunt was a haberdashery down around 9th and F Street. So [Julius] Hobson said ‘well, let’s go change his policy too ... My name is Julius Hobson I want to see the manager ... about your hiring policies ... Now I’m a statistician I work for the federal government you know and I have determined that you get in 60% of your business from African Americans but yet you won’t hire any of them. Look at all those guys behind the counter not one of them is Black.’



Monday morning, we came back with our signs and the interesting thing is that there were many white people who joined us you know them and we had the big signs ‘don’t buy where you can’t work.’ Black people stopped buying. [Months] later the manager calls Hopson up he wants him to be an employment counselor. ‘... man, I ain’t no employment counselor I’m the cat [whose] gon take your business arms you don’t do what I said’ Bruce [Hunt] changed their policy.”

Charles Cassell

Oral history interviews from “Lessons of the Sixties: A history of local Washington, DC activism for peace and justice from 1960-1975”



Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ds-04667

A New Deal for Some: Carve-outs Leave Black Workers Vulnerable

That same year, the [New Deal’s Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 \(FLSA\)](#) was passed, establishing many of the working conditions for this country.

FLSA introduced a 40-hour work week, banned child labor, and established a federal minimum wage and overtime requirements. It did not, however, extend these benefits to many domestic, agricultural and service occupations. These jobs, then as now, are disproportionately held by people of color.

In fact, almost half of Black workers in the private sector are in frontline service jobs in 1 of 3 industries: health care, retail, and accommodation and food service. These frontline industries have some of the [highest shares of workers making less than \\$30,000](#). In retail, 73% of Black workers fall into this category; in accommodations and food service, that share is 84%.

BY THE NUMBERS

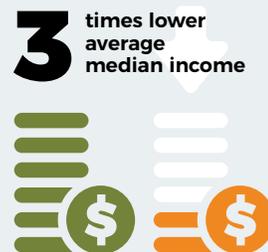
For every dollar of white family income, African Americans earned 58 cents in 1967. In 2021, African Americans had 62 cents to the white household’s dollar.



With this same rate of progress, it would take Black households 513 years to reach income parity with white households.

More than 1 in 5 [DC Black residents](#) live below the poverty line.

In Washington DC, Black residents are 7 times as likely as white residents to be [unemployed](#) and have a 3 times lower average median [income](#) as compared to white residents (\$54,401 and \$161,812, respectively).



Between [2000 and 2020](#), anti-Black business practices shaved \$16 trillion off of U.S. GDP, about 1 whole year of productivity, including \$2.7 trillion in lost wages for Black workers – more than half the total household wealth of Black households in 2020 of \$4.6 trillion.

THE J. WILLARD AND ALICE S. MARRIOTT FOUNDATION

In 1928, Willard Marriott opened the [first drive-in restaurant on the East Coast](#), the Hot Shoppe on Georgia Avenue in Washington, DC. Marriott grew his business in the 1950s when he opened his company's first motel in Arlington, Va. By the time of the Willard Marriott's death, the Marriott Corporation operated 1,400 restaurants and 143 hotels and resorts in 95 cities.

In 1985 when J. Willard Marriott died, the family retained more than 25% of common stock. By 2020, the Marriott family [retained 18% of the company's shares](#), and the family was worth more than \$10 billion.

The Marriott Foundation, beneficiaries of J.W. Marriott's charitable wealth, is today [worth](#) more than \$400 million. Even after grantmaking and all other qualified distributions (e.g., staff salaries and office rent), the Marriott Foundation's assets have doubled since 2001 (adjusted for inflation).

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. "Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations."

Marriott's Hot Shoppe Serves Up Service Sector Discrimination in DC

Most DMV residents are likely unaware that a Fortune 500 multinational corporate giant in the accommodations and food service industry got its start here in Washington.

The Hot Shoppe, the first drive-in restaurant on the East Coast, was opened by J.W. Marriott on DC's [Georgia Avenue in 1928](#). Before moving into lodging, the food chain had [widespread success](#) in the region, growing to 45 restaurants serving 30 million customers annually by 1950. Marriott-Hot Shoppes' annual revenue was almost as much in modern dollars (\$229 million) as two successful modern local DMV region restaurant chains, Founding Farmers (\$85 million) and Silver Diner (\$150 million), combined.

Despite agitation around the issue by local, Black-led organizers, the company's employment policies were "dictated by customs in the area," [according to a company spokesperson in 1957](#). In Montgomery County, Md., and potentially in other locations, this meant Black workers were prevented from taking jobs in relatively higher paying customer-facing positions and forced into back-of-the-house roles.



One woman who grew up in an African American hamlet in Bethesda recalled women walking to work at Bethesda's Hot Shoppe. When she was interviewed about whether they could eat there if they were employed in the restaurant, she recalled, 'No. I think if they did, they had to eat in the back or they had to bring it to take it out or something.'

DMV area resident
The Activist History Review



DeFerrari, J. (2015). Hot Shoppe interior (1939) [Photo]. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/streetsofdc/17778820088/>



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-USF34-081742-E.



Washington Area Spark. (1939). *Mary McLeod Bethune pickets People's Drug; 1940 ca* [Photo]. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington_area_spark/20322612786/

The Racial Pay Gap and Other Legacies of Employment Discrimination

This history of forced exclusion from labor opportunities and rights is just one of the reasons why Black Americans have higher rates of unemployment, [remain in the job search for longer](#), are concentrated in low-paying service industry jobs, and suffer from a consistent wage gap, with Black women in particular making the [lowest wages across all race and gender categories](#).

Here in Washington, DC, Black residents are 7 times as likely as white residents to be unemployed, and majority-Black neighborhoods in DC continue to have much weaker job markets and [access to employment opportunities](#) than more racially diverse neighborhoods.

According to economists [Valerie Wilson and William Darity Jr.](#), the disparities in opportunities that lead to differences in pay and positional power is evidence of the lasting impact of racial discrimination and labor exclusion. A defining feature of racial inequality in the labor market are the large disparities in pay between Black and white workers.



These racial pay gaps persist even after accounting for factors commonly associated with individual productivity, such as education or skills. After the passage of important civil rights legislation and the active enforcement of anti-discrimination and affirmative action policy, the racial pay gap narrowed for a time. However, in the face of current attacks on these policies, progress has stagnated.

In fact, [less than half of the observed Black-white difference in average hourly wage](#) – which varies as a ratio of what white men earn from less than 66% for Black women to almost 78% for Black men – is explained by differences in education, experience or region – some of the main factors presumed to determine pay.

The situation is getting worse. [Since 1980](#), when the Black-white racial wealth gap stopped converging, the wealth gap has increased on average 0.65% each year. “[Before about 1980], Black wage growth was faster than that for whites. That has not been the case in recent decades.” [Citi Group economists](#) estimated that from 2000 to 2020, anti-Black business practices shaved \$16 trillion off of U.S. GDP – about 1 whole year of productivity. This includes a whopping \$2.7 trillion in lost wages for Black workers, representing more than half the total household wealth of Black households in 2020 of \$4.6 trillion.

BY THE NUMBERS

Nationally, [life expectancy](#) for Black people is 5.6 years shorter at birth than for white people. Black people's [infant and maternal mortality rate](#) are both more than double that of white people.

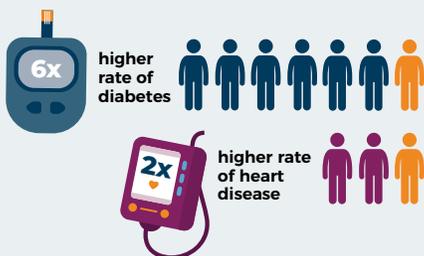
Washington, D.C.'s statistics are markedly worse on all health indicators: Black men live 17 years less on average than their white counterparts – for Black women, it is 12 years less.



Measuring the health outcomes of trans and gender nonconforming (TGNC) people is [notoriously difficult](#). But TGNC people are '[4 times more likely than cisgender people to experience violence](#)' and TGNC women of color and TGNC Black women specifically are more likely than others to [experience violence](#) and to [be killed](#).



When compared with white residents, the percentage of Black Washingtonians living with diabetes is nearly 6x higher. The percentage of Black residents with high blood pressure and dying from heart disease is more than double.



SECTOR 4: HEALTH CARE

Mental and Physical Harm and Neglect

The toll that structural racism and anti-Blackness take on the health and wellbeing of Black people is compounded by the systemic lack of resources that the community has had to address those issues. [Throughout American history](#), Black people's health status and health outcomes have negatively been impacted by racism.



Even before emancipation, African Americans recognized that control of their bodies was a critical battleground in their struggle for autonomy, and they devised strategies to retain at least some of that control. The struggle of African Americans, since emancipation, for the right to health care and the right to become professional healers themselves is an essential part of the story of their struggle for freedom and autonomy.”

Gretchen Long
in *“Doctoring Freedom: The Politics of African American Medical Care in Slavery and Emancipation”*

Early racist depictions and perceptions of Black people, popularized by the white media and endorsed by leading politicians and academics, found its way into teachings and literature for both the social and natural sciences. [Black Americans were perceived](#) to be “less than” biologically and psychologically, a dehumanization that led directly to physical and emotional violence inflicted on them “in the name of medical science.” These include the so-called “Father of Gynecology” Surgeon James Marion Sims’ grotesque [medical torture](#) of Black women, the infamous syphilis [experiments by the U.S. government](#) on Black servicemen at Tuskegee and the descendants of Henrietta Lacks, who after over 50 years finally received justice after [Lacks’ cells were used](#) to create major advancements and profit in biotech without her consent, permission or compensation.

Washington DC was home to many firsts in the nation for advancing modern healthcare. In 1852, the nation’s first psychiatric care hospital opened here. Congress appropriated funds for [Saint Elizabeths Hospital](#), intended to serve as the nation’s preeminent institution in teaching and research.

St. Elizabeths did admit Black patients, but like many hospitals throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, they were segregated in “[colored wards](#).” Black patients were not given new treatments due to prevailing racist beliefs in biological differences, and the sub-standard care they did receive was given in poorly ventilated, overcrowded spaces.

Differences in the quality of care for Black Americans was exacerbated by who had access to medical training. In 1893, Johns Hopkins University had [segregated](#) classes, hospitals and medical staff. The university would remain segregated “throughout its period of medical education dominance,” only fully integrating in the 1960s. Meanwhile, Meharry Medical College and Howard University School of Medicine were virtually the only places where [Black medical professionals could train](#) from 1910–1970. Black people represented 3% of the medical profession from the 1900s into the 1980s.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, LC-DIG-hec-09730.



Diane Hinton Perry:

‘Oh, [our father] talked a lot about that because it was quite a while before he got privileges, and it was a very ... Disturbing things [that] happened in terms of his being denied.’

Audrey Hinton:

‘But I mean in connection with his privileges. I remember him talking about how people would think he was an orderly. And ask him to do the things you’d ask an orderly to do. He was a doctor ...’

Diane Hinton Perry:

... I’m talking about in the early part of his career, you know, the part we’re talking about now. After he finished that specialty work, much younger. For a good time he was pretty much the only black doctor in his specialty in DC, and that kind of thing. Just trying to get privileges in the major hospitals was a struggle.’

Audrey Hinton:

He couldn’t have patients at the Washington Hospital Center. They would have to be at Freedmen’s.’”

Sisters Diane Hinton Perry and Audrey Hinton as they recount their father’s career in “Mapping Segregation in the Washington, DC,” DC Oral History Collaborative

Racist practices, lack of access and underrepresentation in the field has led to dangerous health standards for Black people. Washington, DC has one of the largest [racial gaps in life expectancy](#) in the nation: In this city, Black men live 17 years less than their white counterparts. For Black women, it is 12 years less. Black [infant mortality rates](#) are 5 times higher, and Black birthing people make up 90% of Washington, DC’s pregnancy-related deaths.

Black birthing people make up 90% of DC’s pregnancy-related deaths



When compared with white residents, the percentage of [Black Washingtonians](#) living with diabetes is nearly 6 times higher, and the percentages of those living with high blood pressure and dying from heart disease is more than double.

iF, A FOUNDATION FOR RADICAL POSSIBILITY

Over the years that GHA provided health care to an integrated membership, GHA's annual member [revenue](#) quadrupled, increasing from \$15 million to \$66 million a year. The proceeds of GHA's sale to Humana [created](#) the Consumer Health Foundation as a health conversion foundation in 1988.

In 2021, the foundation was [worth](#) \$35 million. Even after grantmaking and all other qualified distributions, **iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibility's** assets grew more than 89% since 1997 (adjusted for inflation).

See their profile and wealth history timeline in Appendix B. "Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations"

Group Health Association

A New Model Continues Old Racial Inequities

Federal employees organizing together for better care led to the first mutual relief associations in 1883 and one of the [country's first major](#) Healthcare Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) prepaid groups in 1937. Soon after, the employees of the Homeowners Loan Corporation followed suit by joining with other government workers to form the [Group Health Association](#) (GHA). At the time, GHA was presented as a transformative model, one of the first examples of moving from individual to third-party health care financing. However, the group consistently struggled financially throughout its years of operation.

In 1946 as GHA faced a period of [financial hardship and a plateau in membership growth](#), the plan extended eligibility to a larger pool of individuals, including the de facto admission of previously excluded Black employees. This shift was borne out of necessity, not justice, as it was meant primarily to offset the cost of individuals who required expensive care.

An integrated employee pool did little to break down prevailing anti-Black attitudes or expand internal priorities and decision-making. In 1963–64, GHA had a [much-publicized dispute](#) about a change in bylaws that would allow transit workers, who had recently become new plan holders, to vote in board elections as well as on dues and by-laws affecting other members.

Previously, DC Transit or "Capital Transit" had been known for prejudiced hiring practices, [claimed](#), "it is the considered judgment of the company, on the basis of past experience and the attitude of its present operators, that if Negroes were hired as operators the company would end up with more overtime rather than less overtime." But after external pressure, they hired their first Black bus operator in 1955, and during the 1970s, [most new hires were Black](#).

In a thinly veiled attempt to deny Black members power within the Association, GHA members argued that DC transit workers, an increasingly Black workforce, could threaten their control by voting as a block and that their voting rights should be restricted.

Controversy around GHA surfaced again in 1987, when longtime local health care administrator Raymond Turner published a [study](#) in the official journal of the Medical Care Section of the American Public Health Association about GHA's urgent care clinic, pointing to the differences in care that white and Black people received.

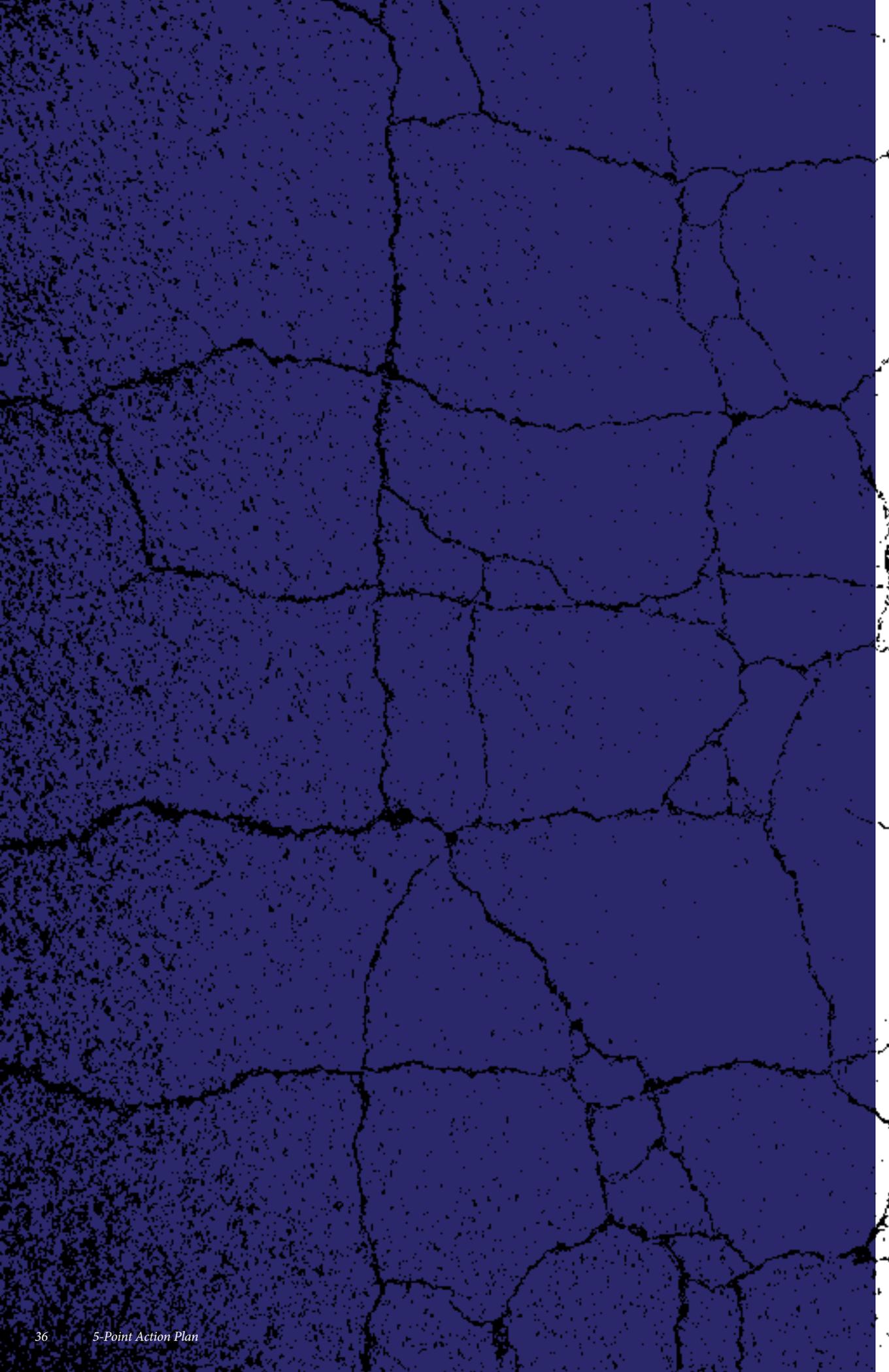
Turner describes a system with “two strata” of patients, one of longer-standing, better-educated members who were mostly white and whose access to health care was mediated by an appointments system, and one of newer, mostly working-class Black members whose access to health care was provided mostly on a far less convenient “[walk in and wait](#)” basis. A visit to the two waiting areas on a busy day revealed “[a striking contrast](#).” During that time, an original annual [Member Satisfaction Survey](#) of GHA showed Black respondents were more likely than white respondents to list their health as simply “fair” (47.4% vs. 33.1%). Worse, the longer a respondent was a member of GHA, the poorer they rated their health status.

After over 40 years of providing health care to an integrated membership, [GHA was sold](#) to Humana Inc., a for-profit insurance company. As a by-product of the \$50 million sale, the Consumer Health Foundation was created as a health conversion foundation in 1994.

A few years later, Humana [sold its Washington, DC insurance plans to Kaiser Permanente](#). The majority of GHA patients were [cut from the plan](#) after Kaiser bought out Humana. The racial impact of the country’s increased privatization of health care continues today: People of color are disproportionately affected by [access to health care](#). They are more likely to be uninsured, experience gaps in coverage, or be on private plans that do not provide comprehensive coverage.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, LC-H22-D- 4303.



A 5-Point Plan for Action

How Foundations Can Embark on their Reparations Journey

Despite enslavement and over a century of segregation and continued political disenfranchisement, Washington, DC is still fondly thought of as [Chocolate City](#) by many because of the resiliency of the Black people who live, thrive and shape the nation's capital. However, that resiliency has been and continues to be tested.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, *U.S. News & World Report Magazine* Collection, photograph by Warren K. Leffler, LC-U9-9953- 2.

These communities still suffer from mental and physical harm and neglect, compounded and entrenched by years of systemic racism in all aspects of their lives. Their presence has fallen to 46% of the [population](#) due to displacement, rising costs and gentrification. Black residents who remain experience the highest unemployment rates and the lowest life expectancy among all races in the city. More than 1 in 5 DC Black residents [live below the poverty line](#).

This is not a coincidence. Existing research, including this report, makes clear that current trends are not a natural occurrence, but the result of a string of conscious choices by powerful actors in the public and private sector that repeatedly harmed these communities.

Throughout this report, we hear how the stories of Black residents who experienced the region's egregious history are intertwined with the wealth creation of several notable local individuals and charitable institutions. Our community-centered framework contextualizes and analyzes the harm that local philanthropic wealth generation has caused DMV Black residents.

The inclusion of individual donors and institutions should not be misconstrued as ascribing to them the sole or even

primary blame and responsibility for the structural racism that has limited the opportunities and survival of generations of the region's Black residents.

However, neither the size of their past role, nor the current good done by their foundations, absolves these funders – as well as other philanthropic actors in the DMV – of the responsibility to investigate and acknowledge past harms, shift and share local decision-making power, and commit fiscal resources and social capital toward the immediate and long-term healing of impacted Black communities in the region.

This initiative is part of a larger reckoning that the sector must have around the source of so much of its grantmaking wealth. Since its inception, the original wealth used to fund philanthropy has been unjustly extracted and hoarded for [perpetual existence and growth](#). The 5% endowment annual pay-out spending floor, which is the result of a [period of congressional oversight](#) and legislative focus on the sector in the late 1960s, has become a de facto ceiling for most funders. Few pay out over [the minimum 5%](#) each year, and even fewer go beyond the approximately 8% that would match foundations' average annual endowment growth.

Social, political and financial capital are imperative to restore balance and justice in the region. Carrying out consequential reparative actions requires foundations to undertake a comprehensive approach to repair that goes far beyond meeting funding requests. They must also focus on addressing the structural barriers to equity and opportunity that their wealth generation and management had a role in creating or perpetuating. That means not only shifting resources away from ever-growing endowments built on historical harm, but also making bold investments in infrastructure and services that do the deep work of healing, repairing and restoring Black communities.

A reparations approach is a natural step for wealth-holding charitable organizations that benefited from extractive and exploitative policies and practices. For many, their mission is aimed at improving the well-being of people and communities in our region. Philanthropic reckoning and repair for past harms are integral parts of achieving that goal.

5-part plan for actions

African American Redress Network and other movement partners on our advisory committee helped NCRP develop a 5-part plan for actions a funder can and should take to engage in a full process of repair, healing and restoration in their communities.



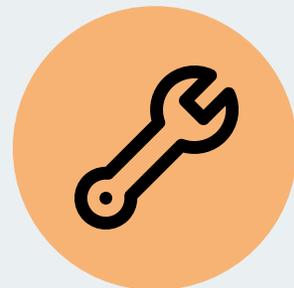
RECKON



CONNECT



REPAIR



DECOLONIZE



ADVOCATE



Reckon

Lead a transparent exploration of your foundation's wealth generation story, making evidence of past harms available to community residents and culminating with a public apology for past harms and commitment to end any related current harms.

This report demonstrates that there are centuries of advocates and storytellers who have documented the history of Black people in the DMV. However, they are often overlooked and therefore left out of the conversation. Foundations have an opportunity to acknowledge this historical exclusion by publicly sharing the ways their stories of origin fit into the difficult history of how money and wealth are extracted and created in this country.

Our contribution to that discussion is the result of two years of public data collection and analysis carried out by a small team. Studied foundations should continue this work by investing in local historians to gather new oral histories by interviewing community members. They should work with historians already using oral histories as a form of racial justice. These historians should understand non-extractive practices for story gathering and equitable solutions for how and where these stories are shared. The [Oral History Collaborative](#) and [DC History Center](#) are 2 good options. In addition, local universities and churches are often deeply engaged with communities to preserve historical knowledge through cultural heritage projects.

Research and dissemination of these new stories told from the perspective of Black residents should culminate in a formal public apology from foundations for the role their wealth origins may have played in both past harm and the present consequences of that harm. Foundations can reference existing reparations bills like the [California Reparations Report](#) as an example of the level of historical detail that should be made public. An apology must not be performative. Instead, it must be accompanied by the publication of specific information and clear commitments on how they plan to engage in a reparative process.



Connect

Develop a community working group to work directly with and solicit ideas and solutions from those that have been directly impacted by the actions that generated foundation wealth.

Leading experts such as the [African American Redress Network](#) have piloted the Community Development Working Group as a successful model for providing political capital and funding to impacted groups for the redevelopment of communities negatively affected by past foundation actions.

Foundation grants should be developed to assist Black communities in DC with capacity building to give community-led organizations agency over the allocation of funds. Part of the process of giving agency and conscious decision-making power back to those who were harmed includes centering their voices, stories, perspectives, and demands. For example, a foundation could work in conjunction with a community-led coalition and a developer to redevelop vacant office buildings for residential or communal use. The offsetting of the cost of development could provide true housing affordability, increased housing supply, and access to ownership for Black households hitherto shut out of the market.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm-63685.

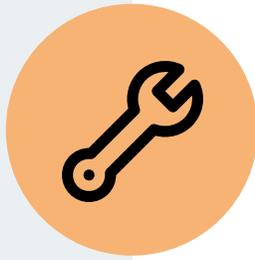
Repair

Make reparations to people and communities that have been directly harmed by the way the foundation's wealth was generated through direct cash payments, infrastructure investments and vouchers aimed to close the wealth gap.

The case studies in Appendix B of this report offer research to help identify both material and intangible harms Black people faced, how much money was originally used to create each foundation and what those assets have grown into today. Using the [Social Determinants of Health](#) – economic stability, education access and quality, health care access and quality, neighborhood and built environment, and social and community context – NCRP researchers laid out multiple points across our foundation wealth creation timelines to show where Black communities suffered quantifiable loss and/or where foundations had economic gains from exploitation or extraction of resources. These figures are only a baseline. However, they do offer a starting point for action and additional research questions for a more complete quantitative economic evaluation.

In order to carry out repair and restoration, foundations should explore meaningful ways to connect with harmed communities. Compensation and land trusts should not be left under control of foundations but decided by impacted communities. Foundations should hold public hearings to understand the needs and desires of the community and meet its local leaders. From these voices, foundations should establish relationships, create transparent lines of communication, and share decision-making power with community representatives, harmed individuals and their descendants on when and how money is redistributed. [Justice Funders](#) supports foundations interested in facilitating relational repair, recentering communities from where wealth was extracted and reorganizing that wealth for regeneration.





Decolonize

Embrace a plan and dedicated time-bound goals to decolonize institutional structures, policies and practices through regular grantmaking, endowment growth strategy and power sharing.

Before foundations can consider responsible redress that does not create harmful repetition, there should be a long-term impact study and a critical reorganization of institutional policies. To address the structural racism underpinning the history and practice of standard philanthropic practice, foundations need to remove manufactured barriers.

Grantmaking

NCRP has long advocated for multi-year general operating support ensuring grant partners have more secure funding for the long term.

In partnership with our nonprofit members and movement allies, we also call for specifically targeted funding of Black and other communities because such direct grantmaking will better support those most impacted by structural discrimination and racism.



DEFINITION

Conceived by [john a. powell](#), director of the Othering & Belonging Institute at UC Berkeley, “[targeted universalistic](#) interventions undermine active or passive forces of structural exclusion and marginalization and promote tangible experiences of belonging. Outgroups are moved from societal neglect to the center of societal care at the same time that more powerful or favored groups’ needs are addressed.” As Black people have historically and repeatedly been furthest from universal access in this country, centering their success will improve access for many others.

Endowment Growth Strategies

Nearly all private foundations are endowed with a corpus whose investment gains finance each year's grantmaking budget.

The statutory minimum spend by a foundation is 5% of a lagging, running average of assets under management each year. Yet the same spending floor that allows foundations to exist rather comfortably year after year, stands forever in the way of providing resources to communities who would immediately put them to work.

The default to perpetuity, which became commonplace in the sector in the 20th century, is rooted in paternalistic, white supremacist notions about civil society. Perpetuity and repair aren't necessarily mutually exclusive, but no foundation pursuing repair should let the sector-wide default to perpetuity stand in the way of repairing past harm. To ensure guarantees of non-repetition, foundations must flip our sector norms of who is the benefactor of endowment investment strategies.

The [standards and rules](#) governing institutional investments were created to preserve and protect institutional wealth, and they successfully do just that. According to [Climate Justice Alliance](#), "in 2020, philanthropic institutions in the U.S contributed over 13 times the amount of money to extractive global stock markets (\$1.2 trillion) as they did to all of their grantmaking focus areas (\$88.6 billion)." Simply put, endowment investments contribute more to corporate profits than to the communities receiving their grants. [Capitalism has convinced](#) this country that all investments must have financial returns that can be accounted for in a financial statement. Foundations live in constant contradiction as decisions about investments are often made in isolation from decisions about the mission-driven work of the organization, despite ongoing advocacy efforts for foundations to adopt mission-investing screens. A shift away from extractive capital gains and toward community-centered investments is essential to end the continuous harm of the philanthropic sector.

Decision-Making Power

Inside the foundation, the board rules. As with any other 501c3 organization, foundation boards have the final say on everything the organization does.

Tens of thousands of [U.S.-based foundations have no staff](#), and in those cases, board members – sometimes as few as 2 or 3 people including the donor and their relatives – make all grant decisions. With almost no federal regulations — outside of those to prohibit self-dealing — the governing principles among private foundations differ from foundation to foundation. [Among private foundations](#) with an annual giving of more than \$10 million, 48% do not have limits to the number of terms board members may serve.

In order to achieve a healthy balance of power in funding relationships, grantmakers have to strive for equitable partnership amongst all the entities that play a role in advancing social justice work. This means sharing and – when appropriate – ceding decisions about allocating charitable resources with communities that have historically been excluded and/or harmed directly by the creation of philanthropic wealth. It means moving money to Black communities while also shifting decision-making power toward them, not one or the other.

Once foundations have restructured, it is incumbent upon them to support and stand alongside communities across Washington, DC to structurally upend the systems that have perpetuated harm. Foundations must pursue this process with transparency by acknowledging and accepting their own position of power and privilege as a form of initial repair.



Advocate

Support racial healing efforts aligned with the movement's policy demands by publicly advocating for local reparations legislation as well as a federal executive order creating a reparations commission.

Despite their sizable power and status within their regions, foundations across the United States do not fully control what is required for a transformative solution. The private and public sectors must be part of advocating for city, state and federal reparations programs.

Here in Washington, Independent DC Council member-at-large Kenyan McDuffie submitted the Reparations Foundation Fund and Task Force Establishment Act of 2023 in February. In June 2023, Councilman McDuffie in his capacity as chair of the Committee on Business and Economic Development [hosted his first hearing](#) to solicit feedback and ideas. A small-but-committed group of local, regional and national philanthropy leaders showed up to testify at this hearing.

Public charities, including grantmaking public charities like community foundations, [do have the ability to lobby](#) and influence. As powerful, resourced institutions, foundations should stand next to community members in advocacy for forward movement on local and national legislation.



Photo courtesy of iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibility.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm- 63664.

Conclusion

Moving forward on any of these suggestions is a modern study in courage for our times.

We live in an era where the bill for everything – racism, climate change or health crises – seems to be coming due. “Influence” may be more accessible than ever in an increasingly online world, but power – and the benefits and wealth that stem from it – remains increasingly concentrated in the hands of a racialized few. A new generation is poised to do things differently, but what will be left for them to act on if we do not start the process of bringing the country back from the brink by healing the long-standing racial wounds that stand in the way of our collective safety, progress and joy?

Reparations is integral in balancing the scales of justice for Black communities but offers no easy instructions. There are no clean data tables that provide simple equations for redress. The full impact of much of the harm done to Black people in this country over centuries of physical and emotional violence is hard to put into simple quantitative terms. Yet the enormity of what has transpired in the past is no excuse for inaction.

Reparations and redress demand bold, novel and informed action. We believe that our community-centered research framework provides a chance for foundations to stand on the right side of history. This is an opportunity not just to learn from the pain of the past, but to take real, practical steps to help communities heal. It begins to give back to Black communities something that we all seek and deserve – restorative justice and with it, the chance to seize opportunities and determine for themselves how they want to succeed.





A Appendix A

Methodology: Examining Local Foundations

This report pilots a new approach that uses publicly available quantitative and qualitative research to help grantmakers reckon honestly with the unique role of philanthropic wealth origins in past societal harms. We aim to create opportunities to partner with, persuade and – if necessary – pressure sector institutions and decision-makers to shift social and economic resources back to those whose rights, livelihoods and safety have been unjustly stripped away through historical actions reflecting structural anti-Black racism.

Our initial research considered various foundation types, sizes, institutional lifespans and origins. As we moved forward, many potential subjects were disqualified from the pilot because a modern foundation's wealth history hadn't been well documented yet, the foundation's wealth source was not generated in the region or because a documented case of harm to Black people couldn't be linked through publicly available data to a modern foundation. We also factored in the level of access researchers and advocates would have to documentation on the foundation's history.

Using these characteristics, NCRP created a list of 84 foundations, individuals and businesses that represented potential links between philanthropic wealth and historical harm to the DMV Black community. These were then sorted into the following 3 categories.

The historical record alongside our criteria resulted in an illustrative sample of 8 foundations with endowments or seed funding that reflect wealth extracted from Black people in the DMV in 4 key local industries. Some of the original donors are not from the area. Some donors left the area to start endowments elsewhere. However, all the people harmed – the communities owed redress – are living or once lived in the DMV. Having found historical connections between these foundations and local instances of harm, we proceeded to see what quantifiable and qualitative data was on hand to detail their wealth generation stories.



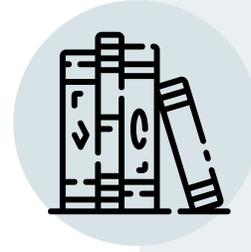
Category 1

The largest private family foundation assets endowed in the DMV with wealth generated primarily in the DMV.

This list used the last-available data at the time of exploring research subjects. Total assets in this list differ from the final report as they are 2018 values.

- Wyss Foundation, \$2.2 billion
- The J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation, \$840 million
- The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation, \$763 million
- Bainum Family Foundation, \$620 million
- The Morningstar Foundation, \$328 million
- Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation, \$198 million
- Norman R. Rales and Ruth Rales Foundation, \$133 million
- Clark-Winchcole Foundation, \$132 million
- Bender Foundation, \$132 million
- A. James & Alice B. Clark Foundation, \$132 million
- Indian Paintbrush Foundation (also known locally as the Blue Dot Foundation), \$121 million
- Ludwig Family Foundation, \$117 million
- Philip. L. Graham Fund, \$100 million
- Alexander and Margaret Stewart Trust, \$86 million
- Judy and Peter Blum Kovler Foundation, \$85 million
- Naomi and Nehemiah Cohen Foundation, \$82 million
- Richard E. & Nancy P. Marriott Foundation, \$69 million
- The Summit Foundation, \$69 million
- Laszlo N. Tauber Family Foundation, \$69 million
- John Edward Fowler Memorial Foundation, \$62 million
- William S. Abell Foundation, \$58 million
- Howard and Geraldine Polinger Foundation, \$55 million
- Max and Victoria Dreyfus Foundation, \$53 million
- Diane & Norman Bernstein Foundation, \$44 million
- Bauman Foundation, \$36 million

Category 2



Private fortunes derived from documented examples of harm to Black people in the DMV, which researchers attempted to connect to modern charitable foundations. Only 2 modern charitable foundations were found to be connected to these families in the course of this study.

“Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation’s Capital” was the primary source for these names/events

- Chevy Chase Land Company/Newlands descendants, dispossessing Black people of and excluding them from living in Chevy Chase, Md. and Far Northwest, no foundation identified.
- Harold E. Doyle and descendants, dispossessing Black people of and excluding them from living in the Fort Reno neighborhood of DC, no foundation identified.
- Thorton Owen and descendants, enforced discriminatory law as president of the Board of Trade, no foundation identified.
- John Cowan Letts and descendants, labor discrimination at Sanitary Grocery/Safeway, no foundation identified.
- Arunah S. Abell and descendants, founder and owner of *The Baltimore Sun*, Abell Foundation.
- William J. Levitt Jr. and descendants, developer of white-only suburbs in Maryland and Virginia, Levitt Family Foundation.
- Solomon/Carr and descendants, discriminatory real estate practices at Carr America Reality, no foundation identified.
- Roger L. Stevens, real estate developer who drove the construction and creation of John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, no foundation identified.



Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-31775.

- William Zeckendorf Jr. and descendants, one of the largest city developers with a footprint in southwest DC, no foundation identified.
- Julius Garfinckel, owner of department store targeted by boycotts for segregated shopping and discriminatory hiring, no foundation identified.
- Samuel Hecht, owner of department store targeted by boycotts for segregated shopping and discriminatory hiring, no foundation identified.
- Mark Lansburgh, prominent real estate investor and advocate on the Redevelopment Land Agency, (RLA) during RLA-led slum clearance, no foundation identified.
- Samuel Woodward and Alvin Lothrop, owners of department store targeted by boycotts for segregated shopping and discriminatory hiring, no foundations identified.
- Louis, Solomon and Sigmund Kann, owners of department store targeted by boycotts because of segregated shopping and discriminatory hiring, no foundation identified.
- Capital Transit Co., target of boycotts for discriminatory hiring, no foundation identified.
- Amzi Barber and James McGill, real estate developer and architect, respectively, of LeDroit Park, originally designed as an exclusively white residential area, no foundations identified.
- Charles Glover, Edward Stellwagen, Charles J. Bell John B. Lerner, and John Joy Edson, responsible for Fort Reno displacement, no foundations identified.
- Rep. William Natcher, a pro-highway congressman, who blocked federal funding for the Washington, DC Metro until city officials agreed to build I-66, personal wealth was not created in the district.
- Louis Justement and Chloethiel Woodard Smith, dispossessing Black people of and excluding them from living in southwest DC, no foundation identified.

Category 3

Foundations with wealth generated primarily in the DMV whose grantmaking prioritizes social and/or racial justice.

This list of foundations in the DMV that have an explicit commitment to racial equity or racial justice:

- **iF**, A Foundation for Radical Possibility
- Public Welfare Foundation
- Pink House Foundation
- Weissberg Foundation
- Horning Family Foundation

The historical record led us to settle on an illustrative sample of 8 foundations whose endowments or seed funding reflect wealth extracted from Black people in the DMV.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm-63644.



NCRP Researcher reading archival records at DC History Center.

NCRP’s research for each of the remaining 8 subjects had 3 main components, developed in sequence:

1. WEALTH HISTORY REPORTS

First, researchers constructed a biography of the major donor(s) involved in creating the foundation and especially the events in their lives that created the wealth that would one day find its way into the foundation.

2. STATEMENT OF HARM

Focusing in on 1 or more wealth creation events, researchers created a timeline that demonstrates how harm to Black people enriched the donor(s) and is connected both to modern philanthropic institutions and inequitable outcomes for the DMV Black community.

3. CONTEXT OF SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH

To do this, we used the Social Determinants of Health (SDH) as an evaluative framework. To determine the extent of harm from philanthropic wealth, researchers laid out our historical findings against The Social Determinants of Health, which was originally popularized by The World Bank and used by U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Healthy People 2030 campaign.



[Social Determinants of Health](#) include economic stability, education access and quality, health care access and quality, neighborhood and built environment, and social and community context. With these in mind, researchers gathered contextual data that helps describe how and how much Black communities suffered quantifiable loss (i.e., the dollar value Black families missed out on for not being allowed to buy in a certain neighborhood) and/or where foundations had economical gains from extraction.

This set of questions and criteria not only provided an evaluative link from present disparities to historical acts, but they also provided a guide to the report’s final recommendations.



A Note About Dollar Amounts

Throughout this report, unless otherwise noted we use numbers adjusted for inflation to 2023 dollars to discuss foundation wealth throughout time.

These adjustments are vital for understanding the scale of wealth and the scale of impact in modern terms. Researchers used the Bureau of Labor Statistic’s inflation-adjustment calculator, the CPI Inflation Calculator.

The grantmaking data in this report is based on [Candid giving data](#). Candid (formerly GuideStar + Foundation Center) is the definitive philanthropy sector source for information on foundation grantmaking.

NCRP’s query of Candid data includes grantmaking:

- From each of the 8 foundations.
- The 4 most recent years of complete data in Candid (some funders had fewer than 3 years of data available).
- Grantmaking for Black communities includes all grants that Candid assigned the “People of African Descent” beneficiary population code.
- Grantmaking for communities of color includes all grants that Candid assigned the “Ethnic and racial groups” beneficiary population code.

Interested foundations provided updated or more accurate grantmaking data on their support for Black communities and/or support for communities of color. When provided, that data is included in their profiles.



B Appendix B

Individual Case Studies: The Potential Road Ahead for 8 Local Foundations

NCRP aims to set a higher standard for our sector by creating opportunities for philanthropic institutions and decision-makers to shift social and economic resources back to those whose rights, livelihoods and safety have been unjustly stripped away through historical actions reflecting structural anti-Black racism.

What can and should philanthropy do about the trillions of dollars that sit in the endowments of grantmakers today? Research into the publicly available history and data of local foundations listed below provides initial quantitative data and outstanding research questions to move foundations along a reparative path.

As stated previously in various parts of this report, the eight foundations detailed here are not the only institutions whose founders are responsible for past harm. They were chosen because their wealth origin stories are illustrative of philanthropy's role in the systemic harm of Black communities in the Washington DC area.

The inclusion of these case studies then should not be seen as not punitive judgements, but educational guides for an accountability and healing journey, presented in the spirit of making difficult conversations easier to engage in and organize around.

Foundation Case Studies

- I. *Horning Family Foundation*
- II. *iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibility*
- III. *J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation*
- IV. *The Levitt Foundation*
- V. *The Meyer Foundation*
- VI. *Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation*
- VII. *The Weissberg Foundation*
- VIII. *William S. Abell Foundation*

Horning Family Foundation

Washington, DC

FOUNDING DATE

Late 1990s (originally as the San Miguel Fund housed at the Greater Washington Community Foundation (GWCF). Currently, the Horning Family Foundation makes grants out of the GWCF and the Horning Family Foundation).

ASSETS (2021)

\$448,081

SUMMARY OF WORK

The Horning Family Foundation envisions a “just and equitable Washington, DC” and “centers Black people and Black communities in its work and focuses its grantmaking efforts on Washington, DC.” Foundation core beliefs include justice and power, with a recognition that the family benefits “from the long history of white supremacy” and that “justice requires a realignment of power.” Equity is also a core belief with a focus on anti-Black racism. The foundation’s Racial Justice Initiative was created to give “Black-led organizations engaged in advocacy and organizing” 5-year general operating support grants.

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2020-2021)

- Total grantmaking: \$352,000*
- Funding for communities of color: \$345,000*
- Funding for Black people: \$0*

[*Note: Candid only has data for 2020 and 2021 for the Horning Family Foundation. Previous grantmaking as a donor-advised fund was under the GWCF NCRP is not able to disaggregate this giving from GWCF’s other grantmaking, so it is excluded from these figures.]

FIGURES PROVIDED BY THE HORNING FAMILY FOUNDATION

- Assets (2021): \$6.5 million
- Current Grantmaking (2020–2021):
 - Total grantmaking: \$2.8 million
 - Funding for communities of color: \$2.7 million
 - Funding for Black people: \$2.7 million



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection, LC-G613-T-45238.

HORNING FAMILY FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

1934-1950

Joseph Horning is born and raised in Brightwood, northwest DC His father is a real estate broker who worked for Cafritz Co. early in his career, including when some sales made under racial covenant restrictions.



Paul Rudolph Collection, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-PMR05-18053.

1946

The first urban renewal in the United States takes place in southwest DC Eventually coined the “negro removal” project, it displaces more than 20,000 households and turns vibrant mixed-use neighborhoods into office towers or purely residential areas.

1954

DC’s schools integrate after the Supreme Court’s Brown v. Board of Education decision prohibits racial segregation in education. Like in many other American cities, white families move in masses to suburbs where racial housing covenants and other exclusionary policies and practices keep their neighborhoods and schools mostly white.



Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Leffler, Warren K. collection, LC-DIG-ppmsca-03095.

1962

The Horning Brothers development firm gets its start when Joseph Horning’s parents give their sons a piece of property in the Anacostia neighborhood of Washington, DC The firm goes on to build more than 400 units in Ward 8.

1962

94% of the 5,000 families waitlisted for public housing are Black

1968

“City slum landlords” begin to buy land in the Shaw neighborhood of DC The hope was that landlords would update these homes instead of displacing families or starting from scratch like earlier urban renewal projects in southwest DC However, these landlords made it difficult for city planners and were behind on making repairs ordered by city housing inspectors.

1978

Horning moves to build affordable housing through government programs. He becomes head of the DC Builders Association and president of the DC Housing Industry Corp. This organization buys and builds homes in the Shaw urban renewal area of northwest DC

HORNING FAMILY FOUNDATION Summary of Wealth Story CONTINUED

1978

The DC Redevelopment Land Agency acquires properties between 8th, 9th, S and T Streets NW in the Shaw neighborhood and forces tenants in the area to relocate.

These homes were later built by the DC Housing Industry Corp. Residents form an organization to petition for their homes to be redone due to the multitude of maintenance and faulty construction issues.

1970

Shaw becomes one of the fastest gentrifying zip codes in the nation. Between 1970 and 2010, the percentage of Shaw's Black residents drops dramatically from 90% to only 30%.

1970-1980

In 1980, the U.S. Census finds 92,000 (17%) fewer Black people in DC than in 1970

Late 1990s

Lynne and Joe Horning establish the San Miguel Fund housed at the Greater Washington Community Foundation. Funding is based in Washington, DC to target poverty across multiple areas: education, health care, arts, and the environment.

2007

Horning and his wife found the Horning Family Fund to focus on grantmaking in Ward 8. They still sit on the Foundation's board along with 6 additional family members.

2000-2013

20,000 Black residents are displaced as a result of gentrification.

2021

The foundation approves new strategy that centers Black children and families in order to achieve justice and equity for all.

TODAY

86.5% of Ward 8 residents are Black. Ward 8 has higher poverty rates, more gun violence and worse health outcomes than the rest of DC. While the 1969 Shaw renewal plan was updated in 2011 and remains DC law, real estate market dynamics have overwhelmed its affordable housing goals.

Horning Family Foundation

Washington, DC

SUMMARY OF HARM

Joseph Horning's wealth derived from building homes in low-income neighborhoods. They were so poorly structured that after organizing by residents, the city government eventually stepped in with mechanics liens against the Horning Brothers to try to force payment for the unsafe living conditions in the residences that they built during urban renewal projects. Today the family and their real estate business manage nearly 4,500 residential units in Ward 8.

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/REPARATIONS

The Horning Family Foundation has met and engaged with NCRP on *Cracks in the Foundation*. While the foundation will be taking an [organizational pause](#), some members of the foundation board are curious to learn more about this study and methods of repair.

WHY THEY MATTER

The Horning Family Foundation is connected to wealth made in the DMV residential real estate market, an industry that was a major driver of Black community displacement and housing segregation. Joseph Horning is not the only developer who profited from the anti-Black real estate sector, but his leadership role among local developers is notable. The Horning Family Foundation is one of several foundations spotlighted here that have made an explicit commitment to advancing racial equity.

Outstanding Research Questions

A majority of sales information of the Horning Brothers Real Estate can be found through the Office of Tax and Revenue: Recorder of Deeds database. However, there are gaps when Joseph Horning pivoted to government housing.

How much or what percentage of the property purchased by Horning Brothers in the 1960s was later developed into public housing?

How much did Horning Brothers profit from the sales of that property, which turned into public housing, or from developments they owned in the '60s-'70s?



Group Health Association Archives.
1937-1993.

iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibility

Washington, DC

FOUNDING DATE

1994

ASSETS (2021)

\$30,380,143

SUMMARY OF WORK

iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibility’s vision and mission center Black people and people of the global majority. The foundation values that center racial equity include “acknowledging past and current racial atrocities is integral to justice” and standing “firmly with communities that have been most harmed by systems of oppression and support their ability to exercise power.”

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2018-2021)

- Total Grantmaking: \$3.6 million
- Funding for communities of color: \$2.5 million
- Funding for Black people: \$996,922

FIGURES PROVIDED BY iF, A FOUNDATION FOR RADICAL POSSIBILITY

- Total Grantmaking (2018-2021): \$3.7 million
- Funding for communities of color (2018-2021): \$2.5 million
- Funding for Black communities (2018-2021): \$1.2 million

iF, A FOUNDATION FOR RADICAL POSSIBILITY

Summary of Wealth Story

1883–1920

Mutual relief associations form among federal government employees. By 1920, Washington, DC has 80 mutual relief associations, with more than 23,000 members. Benefits include sickness or death insurance as well as medical and surgical care.

1937–1941

Home Owners' Loan Corporation employees form Group Health Association (GHA). 7,500 employees pay dues of \$2–4 per month for health care.

1946

GHA admits its first Black members to address financial struggles caused by membership growth plateau. New members are intended to offset the cost of individuals requiring expensive care.

1964

In 1963–64, GHA had a much-publicized dispute about a change in bylaws that would allow transit workers, who had recently become new plan holders, to vote in board elections as well as on dues and by-laws affecting other members. Those opposed to the bylaw change argued transit workers should have their voting rights restricted because they threaten status quo control if voting as a bloc.



PR 1285B, Emil A. Press slide collection, DC History Center.

1973

The Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) Act, designed to preempt Democratic efforts for universal health care, authorizes \$375 million to establish and expand HMOs. This legislation introduces for-profit health care corporations for the first time in this country.

1970–1980

GHA faces new financial challenges as inflation forces staff reductions and lower wages. GHA physicians unionize in '78, winning the right to see outside patients on their own time. However, bargaining over physicians' terms leads to an 11-day strike 4 months later. The strike ends in the physicians' favor, but still leaves a blemish on GHA's reputation as a "company that advocated familial cohesion among its employees."

iF, A FOUNDATION FOR RADICAL POSSIBILITY

Summary of Wealth Story

CONTINUED

1978

Long-time local health care administrator Raymond Turner publishes a study in the official journal of the Medical Care section of the American Public Health Association about GHA's urgent care clinic, pointing to the differences in care that white and Black people received.

1988

GHA's Member Satisfaction Survey reveals racial disparities: 65% of white respondents rate their health as excellent versus 51% of Black respondents. 47% of Black members list their health as simply "fair". The longer a respondent is a member of GHA, the poorer they rate their health status.

1993

GHA's sale to Humana for \$50 million is approved by a 12-to-1 margin. Members who oppose the sale worry a for-profit company will result in fewer health benefits at higher cost.

The Consumer Health Foundation is created as a health conversion fund from the sale.

TODAY

Consumer Health Foundation rebrands as **iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibilities**

TODAY

Black Americans are more likely to have public insurance or be uninsured. Compared to their white counterparts, Black Americans have a lower life expectancy than other racial groups and are generally at greater risk for heart diseases, stroke, cancer, asthma, maternal mortality, and diabetes.



iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibility

Washington, DC

SUMMARY OF HARM

iF's original endowment was created through the sale of an HMO – Group Health Association – of pooled federal employee dollars to Humana, a for-profit health care insurance company. The HMO had a de facto admission of Black employees into the plan, though efforts were made to restrict or dilute their voting power. During segregation, access to quality care was substantially different for Black and white patients. Post-segregation, patient satisfaction surveys still showed this racial disparity in care between Black and white patients.

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/REPARATIONS

iF, A Foundation for Radical Possibility have been collaborating partners on *Cracks in the Foundation* since inception. This report is just one of the programs they are funding around economic justice and reparations.

iF has already acted on 2 of this report's recommendations by 1) publicly advocating for local reparations bills, and 2) creating time-bound goals to decolonize its institutional structure in its strategic vision. This includes the foundation's decision and board vote in 2015 that ended its goal of perpetuity.

WHY THEY MATTER

Health conversion foundations exist to steward the wealth generated by a health care system that has for centuries produced disparities between white and Black patients, even within the same health care plan/system. iF's story of de facto integration of an insurance pool and the unequal health care delivered to members is likely not unique among health conversion funds. iF is one of several case study foundations that have made an explicit commitment to advancing racial justice and the only one that has made a specific commitment to advancing healing and reparations for Black people.

Outstanding Research Questions

The foundation should revisit its public origin story and be clearer and more outright about the history, harm and steps it is taking to ameliorate this harm. This is a significant step that can set a clear example of the path forward for other philanthropies.

At the National Library of Medicine, the Group Health Association archives consist of more than 500 boxes of corporate records dating from 1937–1994. Meeting minutes, correspondence, reports, publications, subject files, financial ledgers, departmental records, and audio and visual materials document the activities of the leadership and membership of GHA.

Through interviews with GHA plan member descendants, researchers could discover the specific ways that GHA members' health care experiences differ between white and Black members, and during which years between 1947 and 1988.

After the 1994 sale to Humana, what happened to the health care coverage of GHA patients?

How did the share of Black GHA members change over time between 1947 and 1988?



DeFerrari, J. (2013). Hot Shoppes postcard [Photo]. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/streetsofdc/8673718992/>.

J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation

Bethesda, MD

FOUNDING DATE

1965

ASSETS (2021)

\$442,454,034

SUMMARY OF WORK

The J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation is “committed to sustaining vibrant, healthy communities where all people have the opportunities and means to achieve their dreams and make a positive difference in the world.” Through its grantmaking, the foundation addresses “the [DMV] region’s challenges in food security, housing, education and mental health.”

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2014–2017)

- Total funding: \$117.1 million
- Funding for communities of color: \$45.5 million
- Funding for Black people: \$1.8 million

J. WILLARD AND ALICE S. MARRIOTT FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

1836

Free Black people in Washington, DC are restricted by an occupational license ban for any trade except for driving carts and carriages. Black people are also unable to operate taverns and eating establishments. These restrictions are some of the many Black codes that prohibited the freedom of Black people.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, LC-DIG-hec-03318.

1900

90% of Black women workers work in domestic service.

1927-1930

J. Willard Marriott and partner Hugh Colton pool \$6,000 for equipment and rental space for a 9-stool A&W Root Beer stand on 14th street NW in DC. It is renamed Hot Shoppes when they introduce food to the menu.

1928

The Hot Shoppe on Georgia Avenue opens as the first drive-in restaurant on the East Coast.

1933

“Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work” campaigns are organized in cities around the country against white storeowners who operate in Black neighborhoods but refuse to employ Black workers. The New Negro Alliance (NNA) is a Washington, DC-based organization that organizes pickets around the city.



Washington Area Spark. “To All Fair Minded People” – People’s Drug boycott: 1939 [Photo]. https://www.flickr.com/photos/washington-area_spark/50389268562/in/album-72157656854785412/

1952

By this time, the Marriotts Hot Shoppes had grown to 45 restaurants serving 30 million customers a year. Hot Shoppes goes public for \$10.25/share and sells out within 2 hours of trading. The Marriott’s maintain a controlling share.

1950s

A Black woman from Bethesda, MD, recalls women in the neighborhood walking to work at a Bethesda’s Hot Shoppe. When asked whether employees could eat there, she replied “no. I think if they did, they had to eat in the back or they had to bring it to take it out or something.”

J. WILLARD AND ALICE S. MARRIOTT FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

CONTINUED

1950-1958

The NAACP surveys Montgomery County businesses in the 1950s to identify which ones discriminated – 2 Montgomery County Hot Shoppe locations were identified. When asked by a *Washington Post* reporter in 1957, a company spokesperson said “naturally we don’t want to embarrass our guests. Our policies are dictated by customs in the area.”

1957-1964

Marriott opens his company’s first motel, Twin Bridges Motor Hotel, in Arlington, Va. During the 1950s and ’60s, Marriott-Hot Shoppes became known as the fastest-growing and most-profitable organization in the American food and lodging business.

1961

In Washington, DC, Black median wages are half of white workers. Black workers were hardly ever in high positions in the federal government, District government, and local white-owned businesses.

1965

Guided largely by J.W. Marriott’s wife Alice, the family creates the J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation.

1980-1990

In the ‘80s, Marriott concentrates on lodging and divests in most of his non-lodging businesses. In 1988, the Twin Bridges Motor Hotel closes due to skyrocketing land prices in the DC area that made the hotel site much more valuable than the 31-year-old building.



J. WILLARD AND ALICE S. MARRIOTT FOUNDATION
Summary of Wealth Story
CONTINUED

1985

By the time of the elder Marriott's death, the Marriott corporation operates 1,400 restaurants and 143 hotels and resorts in 95 cities.

4 years later, the Hot Shoppe chains close.

TODAY

Almost half of Black workers in the private sector are in frontline service jobs for one of 3 industries: health care, retail, and accommodation and food service. These industries have some of the highest shares of workers making less than \$30,000 per year. In retail, 73% of Black workers fall into this category. In accommodations and food service, that share is 84%.

TODAY

Marriott employs discriminatory corporate practices that include unstable schedules and high-fee financial products aimed at its predominately Black and Latinx workforce.

The most recent example in the news:

A Marriott-owned convention center in Nashville agrees to pay more than \$630,000 to end a Department of Labor investigation into its hiring practices, which the agency alleges discriminated against candidates based on race and gender.



J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation

Bethesda, MD

SUMMARY OF HARM

J. Willard Marriott made his fortune from business practices that enforced worker discrimination and inequitable treatment for Black workers in the DMV (and elsewhere).

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/REPARATIONS

The J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation has acknowledged *Cracks in the Foundation* but has not yet articulated how they will take this work forward.

WHY THEY MATTER

The modern exploitation of immigrant labor and the racial pay gap(s) have their historic roots in racialized exploitation of Black labor. Marriott-Hot Shoppes was not the only hospitality company in the region to deprive Black people of jobs that paid as well and offered the same benefits as their white coworkers, but its footprint in the region was significant and their historic anti-Black labor practices are well documented. The Marriot International corporation continues to be targeted by [workers organizing today](#) demanding better pay and working [conditions](#).

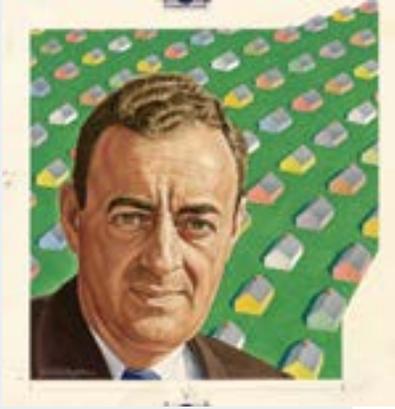
Outstanding Research Questions

The J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation can fill in many of NCRP's research gaps by deeply looking at the business practices and policies that created the wealth for the foundation.

How did Marriott-Hot Shoppes compensate Black workers compared to white workers before, during and after the passage of federal anti-discrimination laws in the 1960s?

Between 1928 and 1964, when employment discrimination was outlawed, how many locations and how many workers were impacted by Marriott-Hot Shoppes anti-Black "dictated by local customs" labor policies?"

How much was the J. Willard and Alice S. Marriott Foundation's 1965 endowment worth in 1965, and how much of the original endowment came from family wealth?



National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

The Levitt Foundation

New York City, NY

FOUNDING DATE

1949

ASSETS (2021)

\$16,490,204

SUMMARY OF WORK

The Levitt Foundation’s mission addresses food inequity. The foundation’s grantmaking focuses on “food justice and its structural causes in New York City, such as intertwining social, economic, and racial inequities, citizenship status, and environmental injustices as they pertain to food.”

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2018–2021)

- Total funding: \$7.2 million
- Funding for communities of color: \$90,610
- Funding for Black people: \$0

THE LEVITT FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

1929

Levitt & Sons is founded.
William Levitt is president.

1934

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) is established. The organization is known for refusing to grant mortgages in and near Black neighborhoods, which is also referred to as redlining. At the same time, the FHA subsidizes builders who were mass-producing entire subdivisions for white neighborhoods.

1944

The G.I. Bill is created to help veterans after World War II. Some of its benefits include guaranteed low-interest mortgages. Black veterans try to make use of their new benefits but are met with discrimination and refusals from white-led financial institutions. In New York and northern New Jersey, less than 100 of the 67,000 mortgages insured by the G.I. Bill support home purchases by nonwhite veterans.

1947

The first “Levittown” is created in Long Island, N.Y. with homes for 300 families. All of these families are white. This is the beginning of Levitt & Sons’ use of racial covenants, which state “the tenant agrees not to permit the premises to be used or occupied by any person other than members of the Caucasian race. But the employment and maintenance of other than Caucasian domestic servants shall be permitted.”

The community becomes so popular that the originally planned 2,000 homes swells to more than 17,000 by 1951.

1949

The Levitt Foundation is founded in New York, supporting food access, youth development, social justice–related and environmental causes. Little is known about the foundation, including whether any money from Levitt & Sons was transferred to the foundation.



Library of Congress
Geography and Map
Division.

THE LEVITT FOUNDATION Summary of Wealth Story CONTINUED

1961

The first 600 of 10,000 Levitt & Sons homes open in October 1961 in Belair-Bowie, Md. The community is viewed by many as “a modern marvel, a deliverance for G.I.’s returning from war and other young adults who normally could not have afforded suburban homes.”



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS [or HAER or HALS], HABS MD-1253.

1961

Levitt’s company racial bias is exposed by *The Washington Post*. “Levitt salesmen refused to sell houses to two Negroes,” telling the potential buyers that the new development was “for whites only.”

Levitt said integrating his developments would put him at a competitive disadvantage and refused to sell to Black families. Discrimination against Black people is well documented in Levitt & Sons’ deeds and public statements made by William Levitt. While not documented, historians believe Levitt – despite being Jewish himself – also did not to sell to Jewish families.

1961

Levitt’s all-white Bowie residential developments gain national attention after the American Veterans Committee, which represents 2 veterans denied housing, partners with local civil rights groups and takes the fight to President John F. Kennedy.

1962

Their advocacy is a success and on November 20, 1962, President Kennedy signs Executive Order 11063, which permits agents to “take all action necessary ... to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed or national origin” in developments that receive federal financial assistance.

THE LEVITT FOUNDATION
Summary of Wealth Story
CONTINUED

1962

Despite President Kennedy's Executive Order 11063, a Levitt salesperson refuses to sell homes to Black clients again. Karl D. Gregory tries to buy a house in the Belair development, but sales clerks insist that "company policy was not to sell to Negroes" and refuse his deposit.

1968

It is not until Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination that Levitt announces the company is dropping its whites-only policy "as a tribute" to Dr. King.

1968

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 makes it no longer legal to discriminate on the sale, rental or financing of a home, but by this time, homes were no longer affordable for the Black families who could have afforded them when whites were buying in suburbs and gaining equity.

1981

William Levitt is charged by the New York state attorney general for illegally siphoning money from the family foundation and eventually forced to repay more than \$5 million.

TODAY

In Washington, DC and neighboring Maryland, the homeownership rate for Black households is 15 percentage points lower than the homeownership rate for white folks. Between 2016 and 2020, a first-time homebuyer with the average income of a first-time Black household in Washington, DC could afford just 8.4% of the homes for sale.

Both factors contribute to the difficulties Black residents experience when trying to accumulate generational wealth through homeownership.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm-10778.

The Levitt Foundation

New York City, NY

SUMMARY OF HARM

William Levitt, known for creating modern-day suburban homes, refused to sell homes to Black people, stating it was an economic disadvantage. This discrimination first gained national attention in Bowie, Md.

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/REPARATIONS

The Levitt Foundation has not responded to any NCRP outreach.

WHY THEY MATTER

William Levitt deployed the anti-Black housing practices that he pioneered in the northeast of the United States in the DMV suburbs at a time when Prince George's County, MD was seeing more and more Black residents, many of whom had been displaced from Washington, DC. Levitt stated that discriminatory practices were immoral, but he (and others) chose to profit handsomely from anti-Black housing practices anyway. While we do not know exactly how much of the foundation's wealth was extracted through his discriminatory real estate practices, Levitt's case demonstrates that not all wealth tied to harm in the region is still located here.

Outstanding Research Questions

NCRP researchers had access to land records from Levitt & Sons through the Maryland State Archives online portal. With additional research capacity, the following could be determined and calculated:

How many homes did Levitt & Sons sell in Belair-Bowie, Md. between 1961 and when the company ceased its anti-Black practices in 1968, and how much money did the family make from selling Belair-Bowie homes?

How much of the Levitt family wealth was given to the Levitt Foundation after the 1961 opening of Belair-Bowie?



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, LC-DIG-hec-19031.

The Meyer Foundation

Washington, DC

FOUNDING DATE

1946

ASSETS (2021)

\$46,365,769

SUMMARY OF WORK

The Meyer Foundation seeks to “build an equitable greater Washington community in which economically disadvantaged people thrive.” Values are grounded in racial justice and racial equity. The foundation created the Fund for Black-led Change in 2021, a \$20 million commitment of core support to Black-led organizations in the greater Washington region.

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2018-2021)

- Total funding: \$38.9 million
- Funding for communities of color: \$14 million
- Funding for Black people: \$2.3 million



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-F8- 27979.

THE MEYER FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

1896–1916

Eugene Meyer’s career begins at Lazard Freres, a financial advisory and asset management firm where his father was a partner. Within 2 decades Meyer would go on to form his own company and buy a seat at the World Stock Exchange.

1910

Meyer marries Agnes Elizabeth Ernst. Already an active advocate, Agnes gains wealth and influence in order to help shape national policy, especially on education and other public welfare issues she cares about.

1917–1926

Meyer liquidates his firm and teams up with William H. Nichols of General Chemical. They combine 5 smaller chemical companies to create the Allied Chemical & Dye Corporation.

1917–1932

Meyer’s wealth translates into influence via government roles. He becomes managing director of the War Finance Corporation and then chairman of the Federal Reserve.

1933

Meyer purchases *The Washington Post* for \$825,000, or (\$15,943,632 in 2023 dollars).

1936

“Gone with the Wind” is published, a popular example of racial stereotypes in early American history that had a significant role in shaping attitudes toward Black people. The image of the mammy stereotype suggests she understood white families’ lifestyle by raising the “massa’s” children. The Mammy was masculine in her looks and temperament so as not to be seen as a sexual being and threat to white women. The mammy stereotype depicted her as the controller of her family and the Black man. This was used as further evidence of Black men’s inferiority to white men.



Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs
Division, LC-
USZ62-64014.

THE MEYER FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

CONTINUED

1943

Under Meyer, *The Washington Post's* circulation triples to 162,000 and advertising soars from 4 to 12 million lines. Racial bias in *The Post* includes advertisements for housing that was not to be sold to “any persons or persons of the Negro race, or any person of Negro blood or extraction.” It perpetuates racist stereotypes through caricatures like the mammy while also reminding its readers to enhance their beauty with skin lightening creams. The paper also identifies Black people – and only Black people – by race in its coverage.

1944–1946

President Truman names Meyer the first head of the World Bank

2 years later, the Meyer Foundation is established by Agnes Meyer.

1961

Dorothy Butler Gilliam faces difficult challenges as *The Washington Post's* first Black woman reporter. “... Race was not discussed in the newsroom except when I would hear some editor say something about how in general blacks were regarded, and it was always from an inferior position,” she wrote.

1990

A study finds that even among a mixed group of Black and white subjects, white people are 10 times more likely to be seen as superior in artistic ability and abstract thinking ability. Almost half of study respondents “endorsed stereotypical differences in physical characteristics such as blacks experience less physical pain than whites and have thicker skulls and skin.”

THE MEYER FOUNDATION Summary of Wealth Story CONTINUED

2013

After 80 years of family ownership, the Meyer descendants sell *The Post* for \$330 million. To this day, *The Washington Post*, as an institution, has not publicly not issued a formal apology for its racist history.



2020

The ACLU analyzes data from the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia and finds that while Black people make up 47% of the population, they are involved in 72% of traffic stops and 91% of stops that involved searches or pat downs. Data from August 1, 2019 to January 1, 2020 shows that of all 52 use-of-force incidents were perpetrated against Black people.

TODAY

According to Media 2070: “Ensuring our media system is equitable for Black people is essential to dismantling the myth of Black inferiority ... The white-dominant press has used the power of racist narratives to subjugate, punish and control Black bodies and perpetuate white supremacy – both intentionally and unintentionally. Controlling narrative is about maintaining power. And that power has been wielded against Black and other Indigenous and colonized people to launch disinformation media campaigns from colonial times to the present.”

The Meyer Foundation

Washington, DC

SUMMARY OF HARM

Under Eugene Meyer, *The Washington Post's* circulation tripled to 162,000 and advertising soared from 4 million to 12 million lines. Ubiquitous racial bias and prejudice at *The Post* ranged from its contribution to housing segregation with its racialized classified ads, publishing racist display ads, e.g. for Skin Brightening Creams, featuring caricatures of Black people, and identifying Black people (and only Black people) by race in its news coverage, and stoking fear and criminalization of Black people in its reporting and headlines.

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/ REPARATIONS

The Meyer Foundation acknowledged *Cracks in the Foundation* but has not yet articulated how they will take this work forward.

WHY THEY MATTER

Meyer bought *The Washington Post* at time when the Black population was beginning to rise. Washington, DC eventually became a majority Black city during his tenure. He published the most widely read newspaper of record for the region, which engaged in anti-Black tropes and bias in both advertising and news coverage. This constant and consistent stereotyping and scapegoating of Black people had and has multiple real-world consequences, not least of which is violence against Black individuals and communities, particularly – though not exclusively – through over policing and the carceral state.

Outstanding Research Questions

The Meyer Foundation can fill in many of NCRP's research gaps by deeply looking at the business transactions that created the wealth for the foundation. Additionally, [Media 2070](#) should be a considered partner when thinking about who is owed for the harm of The Washington Post.

Between 1933 and 1946, how did the anti-Black practices of The Post (including ads that rely on anti-Black tropes) change?

How did anti-Black practices at The Post change after 1946? Between 1946 and 2013, and how much of the Meyer family wealth was given to the Meyer Foundation?

As a political leader for many years, Eugene Meyer helped shape economic systems that are foundational to our political systems today. How did Meyer's political influence and roles impact Black communities and the region at large?

Meyer was an early member of the New York Stock Exchange and owned multiple businesses before becoming a political influence and then purchasing The Post. How, if at all, did any of his business practices and actions impact Black communities and the region at large?



PO Cafritz M, General Portrait Collection, DC History Center.

Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation

Washington, DC

FOUNDING DATE

1948

ASSETS (2021)

\$416,690,519

SUMMARY OF WORK

The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation has 5 funding priorities that work “to improve the lives of DC-area residents, with an emphasis on creating a more equitable region.”

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2018-2021)

- Total funding: \$85.8 million
- Funding for communities of color: \$11 million
- Funding for Black people: \$1.8 million



AS 0200, Aero Services photograph collection, DC History Center.

MORRIS AND GWENDOLYN CAFRITZ FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

1921

Cafritz opens a real estate office and begins work on his first large-scale building project, buying 90 city blocks to build 3,000 houses. He sells homes at a cost of \$8,950, or \$158,000 in 2023 dollars.

At this time, 12.23% of DC homeowners are Black.



Mapping Segregation. (2016). *The Evening Star*, Dec. 10, 1925 [Photo]. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/131635569@N05/25849487280/>.

1921–1930s

Throughout the decade, Morris Cafritz buys and builds property using racial covenants in his deeds. “Land and premises shall not be rented, leased, sold, transferred, demised or conveyed unto or in trust for any negro or colored person.”

At the same time that racial covenants associate Black occupancy with decreased property values, Black Washingtonians are often paying more than their white counterparts. Many white real estate investors and homebuyers are offered homes at bargain prices in exchange for being willing to purchase homes in “changing” neighborhoods.

1944

Morris Cafritz serves as vice president of the Homebuilders Association of Metropolitan Washington, the industry lobby group. The Association’s agenda is laid out in an article, “Home Owners Plan for Those People that Live in Slums” which urges Congress to carry out a slum clearance program in the city and argues that “private enterprise should have the first opportunity to build, own and operate all rental housing including that on slum cleared land.”

1945

Congress passes the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act. While the full plan is not completely implemented, its original proposal calls for the demolition of the homes of 1,345 families, 97.5 % of them owned by Black people.

1948

The Cafritz family establishes the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation with half of Cafritz’s estate of \$11.5 million, or \$142 million in 2023 dollars.

MORRIS AND GWENDOLYN CAFRITZ FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

CONTINUED

1955

Parklands Manor, a Cafritz building in Ward 8, appears in an investigative audit of the Federal Housing Administration, which is accused of widespread fraud and irregularities under the Title I Home Repair and Improvement program.

Cafritz's gift-tax return state that Parklands property value is \$690 an acre while his application to the FHA states the land is valued at \$20,000 an acre.

1960

Even though courts ruled that racial covenants were unenforceable in 1948, real estate and banking industries continue to enforce segregation.

Cafritz advertises his neighborhoods as “rigidly exclusive with protective restrictions.”

1963

Civil rights protests and activism eventually force Cafritz to commit to allowing non-white residents – but only when required under law. Cafritz pledges to open his housing as soon as such a law is enacted. Cafritz owns 5,359 of the roughly 224,000 housing units in DC, which is conservatively estimated at 3% of housing in the city.

After Morris Cafritz dies in 1964, his son Calvin Cafritz becomes president of Cafritz Co.

1988

Cafritz is among a list of apartment complex owners who received backlash from city officials. The DC government is due \$74 million in long-overdue bills from tenants. Officials believe apartment owners were ignoring any accountability in their low-income apartment complexes.

TODAY

There is a \$156,000 gap in median home value between homes owned by Black and white residents. Black residents are nearly twice as likely to be rent-burdened, meaning that housing costs are 30% or more of their household's income.

Both factors contribute to the difficulties Black residents experience when trying to accumulate generational wealth through homeownership.

Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation

Washington, DC

SUMMARY OF HARM

From 1921-1968, Morris Cafritz bought large amounts of land in the DC region and developed housing restricted to white residence, withholding thousands of homes from Black families, as well as lobbying for wide-scale displacement of Black communities through “slum clearance” and private redevelopment.

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/REPARATIONS

The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation acknowledged *Cracks in the Foundation* but has not yet articulated how they will take this work forward.

WHY THEY MATTER

The systematic denial of homeownership opportunities to Black households in the 20th century kept many Black families from moving into the middle class. Covenants also served to artificially inflate the value of housing and neighborhoods occupied primarily by white residents, thereby devaluing places where Black people lived. The impact is visible today in the wide home ownership and wealth disparities between Black and white DMV residents. Morris Cafritz was not the only residential real estate developer who employed anti-Black housing practices, but his stature among contemporaries as a leader in the sector is notable, and his footprint within specific neighborhoods was significant. The Cafritz Foundation is one of the region’s largest funders and has an explicit commitment to equity.

Outstanding Research Questions

The majority of sales information about Cafritz and Co. can be found through the DC Office of Tax and Revenue. By cross-referencing these data with Mapping Segregation in Washington DC’s in-progress map of the historic use of racial covenants in DC (“Restricted Housing and Racial Change, 1940-1970”), much of the harm by the foundation’s original donor can be well documented. With additional resources and capacity, The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation could value (in modern terms) the thousands of units of housing which Cafritz and Co. prevented Black people from buying.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm-15923.

The Weissberg Foundation

McLean, VA

FOUNDING DATE

1988

ASSETS (2021)

\$15,129,271

SUMMARY OF WORK

The Weissberg Foundation “envisions a world that recognizes inequities and actively seeks to dismantle structural racism by continuously building access, opportunity, and power so that all can thrive. Our mission is to advance organizations and efforts building power of those most negatively impacted by racism.”

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2018-2021)

- Total funding: \$3.9 million
- Funding for communities of color: \$1.2 million
- Funding for Black people: \$227,000

• FIGURES PROVIDED BY THE WEISSBERG FOUNDATION

- Assets (2022): \$55,409,974
- Current Grantmaking (2022):
 - Total funding: \$2.0 million
 - Funding to white-led and accountable organizations: 43%
 - Funding to Black-led and accountable organizations: 39%
 - Funding to BIPOC-led and accountable organizations: 19%

THE WEISSBERG FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

1900–1950s

Rosslyn in Arlington County, Va. was a historically Black neighborhood, boasting many Black businesses including the first Black saloon owner in the county, John Richard Bowen. Saloons were not only integrated zones, but they also provided a source of employment for residents.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-USF34-015617-D.

1920s–1950s

In Northern Virginia, Black residents looking to start or run a business were often locked out of resources as they were unable to borrow money from white-owned banks and buy land or buildings in white areas zoned for business.

1957–1958

Arlington County shifts its fiscal focus to from federal government reliance to commercial businesses. A county study promoted commercial facilities, highlighting that business made up a significant portion of county revenue and encouraged more large-scale commercial development.

1960

Five years after opening his own development firm, Marvin Weissberg’s attorney successfully wins the vote to rezone an address in Arlington Heights from multi-family and 2-family dwellings to “service commercial-community businesses.”

1961

New commercial-office zoning in 1961 is “hailed as a major step forward in the redevelopment of Rosslyn” and designates a commercial area for high density offices, hotels and luxury apartments.

1962

Developers like Weissberg, Charles E. Smith, Nick Antonelli and the Pomponio brothers begin to commercially redevelop Rosslyn, taking advantage of Arlington County’s “carrot-and-stick system” that allowed buildings up to 12 stories high if developers submitted their plans to the government and “[made] concessions to Arlington County’s fiscal health.”

1967

Over a 5-year period, 19 new office buildings are built in Rosslyn, displacing existing residents and with 270,000 square feet of commercial space annually.

THE WEISSBERG FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

CONTINUED

1970

Weissberg is credited for transforming Rosslyn from “from the patchwork of pawn shops to his gleaming 12-story office building.”

Considered one of the most successful developers in the region, a *Washington Post* article quotes him advising real estate hopefuls to invest in locations with good local government that are in “a coming market.”

1972

Richard E. Arms, Arlington’s former planning director: “We lost the battle for apartments. Under 4,000 units exist in Rosslyn, one-fourth of them contained in the massive Arlington Towers complex that was there before the redevelopment.”

1988

Weissberg founds the Weissberg Foundation.

2022

“The widespread single-family zoning scheme that prevents the construction of new housing in affluent, mostly white neighborhoods also worsens racial segregation by confining the construction of new affordable housing units to the Columbia Pike corridor and other parts of Arlington with large non-white populations,” the NAACP wrote in a letter to the county.

TODAY

From 2000 to 2018, the regional median income in northern Virginia increased by 42%. Two-thirds of low-income northern Virginians are “severely burdened” by the cost of housing and more than half of burdened households are non-white.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-HS503- 6453.

The Weissberg Foundation

McLean, VA

SUMMARY OF HARM

Marvin Weissberg profited from explicitly anti-Black real estate practices and zoning laws that drove out Black residents and upended their social and economic lives.

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/REPARATIONS

The Weissberg Foundation has met and engaged with NCRP on *Cracks in the Foundation*. The foundation independently began work to explore its wealth origin story and remains curious about ways to engage in the process of repair.

WHY THEY MATTER

Marvin Weissberg, like many developers in the region, profited from real estate practices and zoning laws that were explicitly anti-Black. The destruction of the historically Black community in Rosslyn, Va. echoes the destruction – through zoning changes, eminent domain, and other legal and extra-legal tactics – of other Black communities in the region like Fort Reno or southwest Washington, DC. The Weissberg story is well-documented, and the Weissbergs – unlike other families connected to similar displacement such as those associated with the Chevy Chase Land Company – have dedicated some of the wealth earned by their founder in the real estate sector to advance a high-profile philanthropic agenda that includes a commitment to fighting structural racism.

Outstanding Research Questions

The Weissberg Foundation can fill in many of NCRP's research gaps by deeply looking at the business transactions that created the wealth for the foundation. The Washington Bee is a great resource for the foundation to learn, understand and eventually engage with the community members who were once in Rosslyn.

How many Black Rosslyn residents were displaced from their homes and businesses between 1955 and 1988?

How much Weissberg family wealth was derived from the “transformation” of Rosslyn?

How much Weissberg family wealth has been given to the Weissberg Foundation?

Correct Cookery

By AUNT PRISCILLA.

Dear Aunt Priscilla—Will you please give me your recipe for chili sauce? I have one, but it is not very good. Also, if you have a good recipe for pickled cantaloupe I would appreciate it, as I am anxious to try some this summer.

Mrs. K.



I neber makes my chilly sauce so soon in de summer, but I's mity pleased to gib you de recipe. Allus seems like sech a funny name. Ain't nothin' chilly bout it fer as I kin see. Here's how I does it:

CHILI SAUCE.

Take 36 large tomatoes, 8 large green peppers, 12 medium size onions, 12 tablespoons of brown sugar, 6 ta-

blespoons of salt, 4 cups of good vinegar an 2 ounces of celery seed. Chop up de tomatoes, peppers an onions real fine; add de sugar, salt an vinegar an bibe 4 hours. Jez befo takin it offen de fire, add de celery seed. Dis am mity fine.

'Twant be so ortful long now befo de can'talopes will be plenerful an dat's de time I picks fo a'puttin ob em up. I gits em -party ripe, but not sof, an I pickles em like dis:

SPICED CANTALOUPE.

To 7 pounds of can'talope take 2 quarts of vinegar, 4 pounds of brown sugar, 1 ounce each of cinne-man, allspice an cloves. Bibe de sugar an vinegar a'takin off de skum, den add de spices an' bibe in little longer. Cut up yo fruit in strips bout a inch long an half inch wide an when de syrup done bibe altogether bout a hour add de fruit an' bibe agin till de syrup am good an thick.

Dis makes a berry palable pickle an I fias dat all de pepul what comes to our house pears to like it.

William S. Abell Foundation

Chevy Chase, MD

FOUNDING DATE

1985

ASSETS (2021)

\$70,313,696

SUMMARY OF WORK

The William S. Abell Foundation “supports organizations in the DC area focused on homelessness, hunger, domestic violence, at-risk pregnant women, persons with intellectual disabilities and the arts.”

CURRENT GRANTMAKING ACCORDING TO CANDID (2018–2021)

- Total funding \$9.7 million
- Funding for communities of color: \$848,500
- Funding for Black people: \$127,500

“Correct Cookery,” *The Sun*, July 15, 1921, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*, pg. 7.

WILLIAM S. ABELL FOUNDATION Summary of Wealth Story

1837

A.S. Abell, a supporter of slavery and segregation, founds *The Sun* (today known as *The Baltimore Sun*). Within 25 years, the paper's daily circulation reaches 30,000 people.

Schomburg Center
for Research in Black
Culture, Photographs
and Prints Division,
The New York Public
Library. 327c83e0-
c6f6-012f-0120-
58d385a7bc34.



1837

Classified ads run selling enslaved people or offering rewards for runaways, which historians have demonstrated represent a “lucrative and consistent source of revenue” for early North American newspapers.

Starting at its inception, ads selling enslaved people and offering rewards for runaways are regularly published in *The Sun*.

1872

From the start, *The Sun* had a Washington correspondent, but by 1872, the Washington bureau is fully staffed. More than 15 reporters work there and cover the president and all avenues of the federal government.

1887

The Sun praises a new statue of Roger B. Taney, architect of the 1857 Dred Scott decision. *The Sun* defends the decision as one “in strict agreement with the constitution” and calls the statue installation “an event of great interest to our people.”

1909

Charles S. Abell, grandson to A.S. Abell, sells a majority share of the company to outside investors, including H. Crawford Black, whose descendant becomes chairman of the board. Of the 4 stock-owning families, the Abells own less than the Blacks but slightly more than the other 2 families.

1947

William, great grandson of A.S., joins the board of A.S. Abell Company, as the owner and publisher of *The Baltimore Sun*. William is also board vice chairman and president of the A.S. Abell Company-owned WMAR-TV.

1950

Well into the 1950s and long after other newspapers had reformed their coverage, *The Sun* continues to identify Black people, and only Black people, by race in its journalism.

WILLIAM S. ABELL FOUNDATION

Summary of Wealth Story

CONTINUED

1985

William and his wife Patricia establish the William S. Abell Foundation to support organizations providing aid to the people in need in Washington, DC and nearby Maryland counties.

1991

Throughout the 1990s and after the public release of the video of the vicious beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles police officers, *The Sun* continues to take the word of local law enforcement, largely without question, over Baltimore residents in its reporting.

2022

The Baltimore Sun issues an apology for promoting policies that oppress Black Marylanders for decades, including during William's tenure. *The Sun's* news coverage and editorial opinions profited from and promoted racism and anti-Black policies. *The Sun* regularly identified Black people by race, perpetuated anti-Black stereotypes in articles into the early 1960s and regularly relied on the word of police over Black residents who said they were improperly targeted by police. Since late 1960s, *The Sun's* coverage has slowly and with setbacks become more supportive of racial equality.

TODAY

According to Media 2070, "Ensuring our media system is equitable for Black people is essential to dismantling the myth of Black inferiority ... The white-dominant press has used the power of racist narratives to subjugate, punish and control Black bodies and perpetuate white supremacy – both intentionally and unintentionally. Controlling narrative is about maintaining power. And that power has been wielded against Black and other Indigenous and colonized people to launch disinformation media campaigns from colonial times to the present."

William S. Abell Foundation

Chevy Chase, MD

SUMMARY OF HARM

William S. Abell benefitted from generational wealth, including the founding of *The Baltimore Sun* by his great-grandfather. Throughout much of the paper's history, including during William's tenure on the board of the paper's publishing company, the paper profited from and promoted anti-Black racism.

PUBLIC THOUGHTS ON RECKONING/REPARATIONS

The William S. Abell Foundation acknowledged *Cracks in the Foundation* but has not yet articulated how they will take this work forward.

WHY THEY MATTER

Like many other American newspapers, *The Baltimore Sun* profited for years from selling anti-Black advertising, including ads for slaves and the slave trade. The paper, founded before *The Washington Post*, had a Washington bureau with 15 reporters, making it a major player in the DMV market. In 1986, *The Sun* set a record for the most expensive newspaper when it was sold for \$600 million. For more than 100 years, the paper engaged in anti-Black advertising, coverage and editorial positions. This constant and consistent stereotyping and scapegoating of Black people had and has multiple real-world consequences, including violence against Black individuals and communities through over policing and the carceral state.

Outstanding Research Questions

The William S. Abell Foundation can fill in many of NCRP's research gaps by deeply looking at the business transactions that created the foundation's wealth. Additionally, Media 2070 should be a considered partner when thinking about who is owed for the harm of The Baltimore Sun.

Between 1837 and 1910, how many anti-Black ads (including slavery ads and others, e.g., those that marketed products with anti-Black tropes) did The Sun sell, and how much revenue did those sales generate?

How much of the Abell family wealth was generated from The Sun's business?



Appendix C

Resource List for Motivated Funders

Reckon

NCRP relied on the readings, resources and support from local DMV history institutions to complete our research. Funders outside the region should consider a combination of community organizers, local historians and academic leaders when studying their foundation origin stories.

INSTITUTIONS

- [DC History Center](#)
- [Mapping Segregation in Washington DC](#)
- [DC Legacy Project](#)
- [Black Broad Branch Project from Historic Chevy Chase DC](#)
- [Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center](#) at The Howard University School of Law
- [Special Collections Research Center](#) at The George Washington University
- [DC Oral History Collaborative](#)
- [DC Public Library, People's Archive](#)

READINGS

(This list is not full, please email NCRP for more reading resources)

- “Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation’s Capital” by Chris Myers Asch and George Derek
- “From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twentieth Century” by William A. “Sandy” Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen
- “Atonement and Forgiveness: A New Model for Black Reparations” by Roy L. Brooks
- “Documenting the Costs of Slavery, Segregation, and Contemporary Racism: Why Reparations Are in Order for African Americans” by Joe Feagin
- “Philanthropy in Democratic Societies: History, Institutions, Values” by Rob Reich, Chiara Cordelli, and Lucy Bernholz
- “Just Giving: Why Philanthropy Is Failing Democracy and How It Can Do Better” by Rob Reich



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm-63690.

Connect

- The [African American Redress Network](#) is a collaboration between the Thurgood Marshall Center at Howard University’s School of Law and the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. The organization “works alongside grassroots, regional, and state efforts embarking on racial justice initiatives for specific instances of historical wrongdoings.”
- Included in Section VII of the [California Reparations Report](#) are details of the state’s community engagement plan. This includes listening sessions, a collection of personal testimonies and oral histories, and a statewide survey. This section also names the local organizational support that was needed for this process.
- The [Redress Movement](#) is a “Black-led organization committed to leading a multi-racial movement that empowers communities to take direct action to redress racial segregation.”

Repair

- M4BL Reparations [toolkit](#) was created to “to provide a foundational definition of what reparations are, to advance our argument that reparations for Black people in the United States are essential, to inform public discussion about reparations and to support organizers seeking reparations.”
- [Reparations Finance Lab](#) is a “financial services non-profit dedicated to encouraging and facilitating private sector allocation of reparative capital to the descendants of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade globally.”

Decolonize

- Justice Funders, authors of “[Just Transition Integrated Capital Fund](#),” want to [connect](#) with organizations with staff leadership and trustees who are interested in peer learning and action community toward repair.
- Decolonizing Wealth Project’s [7 Steps for Healing](#) supports individuals and institutions through a path of decolonization.
- [FirstRepair](#), founded by former Evanston, Ill. Alderman Robin Simmons. Her organization’s services include “workshops, educational symposiums, research, stakeholder development, and policy design for local government bodies and institutions.”
- [REALize Power released](#) “The Limitless Possibilities: A Guide to Power Shifting Approaches in Philanthropy” report is the Center for Culturally Responsive Engagement,” which describes 24 power shifting approaches, presents guidance on their implementation and provides resources for further learning.
- [Studies](#) show that nonprofit executive directors/CEOs of color face barriers to gain trust from their board and staff compared to white executive leaders. They also show that those leaders have a hard time obtaining and holding their leadership role and gaining board and staff trust.
- Building a [pro-Black organization](#) means building power for Black people. This goes beyond commitments to racial equity (e.g., attending a webinar, marching in 2020 or adding one more Black board member) by “advancing [policies, practices and cultural norms](#) that allow Black communities to be self-determined.” For organization structural support that protects Black staff, consider additional resources at [Building Movement Project](#).
- A Philanthropic Partnership for Black Communities developed [Responsive Philanthropy in Black Communities](#), a framework “for grant working that supports the dignity of communities and optimizes inherent strengths to ensure better outcomes for Black communities.”

Advocate

- Liberation Ventures’ [Reparations Narrative Lab](#) is a comprehensive program on how together we can “build narrative power by fostering a type of radical alignment across movements that can advance a progressive racial justice agenda and eclipse the array of anti-Black narratives that block our collective liberation.”
- FirstRepair’s [Local Reparations Movement Map](#) is an interactive map with descriptions of reparations efforts and their allocated budgets.



Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, LC-DIG-highsm-63637.

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