

Fairfax VOTER

September 2022

Volume 75, Issue 1

The League of Women Voters and Reparations Part II

Last spring we considered the first part of our Reparations study. This month, Part II will focus on the generational effect of economic losses in income, land use, and home ownership that African Americans have sustained, with examples from Northern Virginia. This part will also explain some of the recommendations for conducting reparations and point to an objective way of framing the issue and finding equitable solutions: The United Nations Human Rights Framework. The new Fairfax County Strategic Plan, often known as One Fairfax, has strategies that fit into this framework.

Calendar

September 2022

1-30 Membership Campaign

1-30 National Voter Registration Month

3 Fairfax Voter Deadline for the October issue

8-14 LWVFA Unit Meetings

9 LWNCA Board Meeting, 10 a.m., Virtual

12-18 National Disabled Voter Registration Week

17 Constitution and Citizenship Day

20 National Voter Registration Day

*(Voter Registration events at all Fairfax County
Public Libraries - Register online!)*

21 LWVFA Board Meeting, 10 a.m.

22 LWVFA Briefing and At-Large Meeting,
Option 1, Time TBD

23 First Day of In-Person Absentee Voting
begins (extends through Nov. 5)

28 LWVFA Briefing and At-Large Meeting,
Option 2, Time TBD

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Presidents' Message

Welcome to a new League year! It is shaping up to be another very busy one.

We will celebrate 75 years of LWVFA this year, and want to take advantage of the momentous anniversary to look closely at what we do and how we do it. We are studying the responses from the member survey we conducted in the spring as well as other member input. Our goal is to focus our work on key areas where we can have the most impact – for our community and our members. We are also taking a close look internally at how we manage ourselves and communicate with our members to take best advantage of our resources and providing you the most rewarding opportunities. Please continue to share your ideas with our leadership team – we should be constantly evolving and responding to changing circumstances, and your input is crucial.

What Programs Are Coming in 2022-23?

Judy Helein & Julia Jones, Program Co-Chairs

LWVFA begins the League year with a discussion of Reparations Part II, (a local interest group report).. Members will have a chance to voice their opinions on four LWV-VA Interest Groups Reports, review positions of LWVNCA and LWV-VA, discuss a book on a current topic, and explore why primary elections are important. Most importantly, we will celebrate LWVFA's 75th Anniversary!

September: Reparations Part II

October: LWV-VA Childcare Study and Consensus

Social Gathering? - TBD

November: General Meeting - ZOOM

December: LWV-VA Education Equity Study and Consensus

January: LWV-VA Environmental Justice Study and Consensus

February: LWV-VA Finance Reform Study and Consensus

March:- Book Discussion

April: Annual Meeting - LWVFA 75th Anniversary Celebration

May: Know Before You Vote

Primary Elections are Important

June - Do-Your-Own Thing

We have exciting programs and volunteer opportunities this year, including many voter registration events, and several candidate forums. Our online volunteer calendar is regularly updated with opportunities, so please check frequently for opportunities to be involved. Our discussions will start this month with a consideration of the second part of the Reparations Study, and will continue with looks at State-level studies on education, childcare, finance reform and environmental justice during the year. We are also building in more social and flexible events for units and other membership groups. All work and no play makes for a very dull League!

As we transition to a new editor, and with a very substantial study, this month's Voter has fewer articles, but future issues will have lots of information about what we are doing to advance the League's mission.

Pat and Katherine

Fairfax County 24-hr.
Domestic & Sexual Violence Hotline:
703-360-7273; 711 TTY

LWVFA Fairfax VOTER 2022 - 2023

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Please e-mail address corrections to the office
or call 703-658-9150.

The League of Women Voters and Reparations Part II

Sidney Johnson with Pam Berg (LWVArl), Janice Hill, Amy Leeson, Kevin Pullen, Anne Strange, and Gail Van Buren. Thanks to all the members of the group who contributed ideas and materials: Donna Blake, Carol Bradley, Donald Craig, Melissa Fitzgerald, Andrienne Konstas, Joann Phillips, Lanita Thweatt.

Part I of this study addressed the relationship between the League of Women Voters at all levels with African American activists over the last century. It also contained a brief history from Reconstruction to the Civil Rights movement and a preview of Part II. White Americans of European descent are now learning much about the impact of government and social practices on many groups who have suffered losses over time. This study focuses on one group: African Americans.

Part II will focus on the generational effect of economic losses in income, land use, and home ownership that African Americans have sustained, with examples from Northern Virginia. This part will also explain some of the recommendations for conducting reparations and point to an objective way of framing the issue and finding equitable solutions: The United Nations Human Rights Framework. The new Fairfax County Strategic Plan, often known as One Fairfax, has strategies that fit into this framework.

Introduction

There is a variety of recommendations about how reparations might work. Most scholars in this field agree that preferential funding of social, educational, and legal programs is vital for African Americans. The Human Rights Framework is one way of identifying and rectifying the injustices and economic disparities that still exist. The framework may be applied in Fairfax County through the Fairfax County Strategic Plan, often referred to as One Fairfax. Reparations are not just a matter for future consideration. The Virginia Redress Coalition has pointed us to some current efforts already underway in the Commonwealth to provide monetary compensation and satisfaction.

One of the most determined advocates of monetary reparations to individuals is William Darity, an economist whose work *From Here to Equality*, was published in 2020. He explains how he arrives at a total debt owed to African Americans as a little over \$10 trillion.¹ He recommends putting this amount toward a mix of social and educational programs and direct monetary payments. For the direct payments he says that eligible persons should be able to show that they had an ancestor who was enslaved and that they had self-identified as Black 12 years before a reparations program was established.² Shennette Garrett-Scott, a historian, questions the feasibility of applying these criteria. She says that our enslavement practices, and later our imperialistic practices, affected Caribbean societies. Descendants from these nations should be considered, too.³

Scholars writing a couple of decades earlier are not as specific about the amount owed or the criteria by which recipients of reparations should be judged. The economist

Richard America demonstrates in *Paying the Social Debt* a detailed calculation by which the amount owed could be calculated; he puts it in the trillions. He has several economic and social remedies, such as redistribution of wealth by tax reform and other economic measures. Notably, part of the payment would be robust law enforcement to reduce crime and attract businesses into low-income neighborhoods. The consequence of generations of being undervalued by society has led to youth not valuing themselves and not developing habits that will help them thrive. They need effective training and messaging to encourage responsible behavior.⁴

Randall Robinson, founder of the TransAfrica organization, shows by examples in *The Debt* what happens to individuals who are judged by their surface appearance and assumptions made about them. He emphasizes the necessity for African Americans to understand their cultural background from Africa along with the impact of their history in the U.S. to internalize their full identity and hold their proper place in society. While they are accomplishing that, they can claim the reparations due to them, starting with a trust for education funded by repayments from entities that benefited from enslavement, funding for civil rights advocacy, and compensatory policies toward African and Caribbean countries.⁵

Linguist John McWhorter, in *Woke Racism*, opposes the way some advocates attempt to persuade the public that their understanding of racism is the only correct one. He argues that current claims are counterproductive because they reinforce a sense of victimhood in African Americans. Instead of making structural changes to eliminate racism, he recommends ending the war on drugs, teaching reading

by phonics, and respecting other ways of learning to make a living besides going to college.⁶

Heather McGhee’s *The Sum of Us* is a descriptive study showing the effects of opportunity, or the lack of it, on everyone. She argues that the whole community loses when African Americans are excluded or not considered. One of her many examples is the subprime loan debacle. It affected everyone, but the techniques were first practiced on African American homeowners, who were convinced to take out new mortgages that had the effect of draining their homes of equity.⁷

McGhee calls for a Solidarity Dividend; the benefits of pro-

Economic Disparities

Historical practices have militated against African Americans’ accumulating wealth. There is a difference between wealth and income. Income is money coming into a household that can be from salaries, owning a business (profits), state (or other) benefits, and other cash payments.⁹ It is one of the building blocks of wealth—perhaps the key building block.^{10,11} The definition of wealth is a little more complicated because there’s not a standard method of measuring it.¹² Some economists will include savings, property, other investments; some economists will include pensions, life insurance, and valuables such as jewelry and art. Additionally, some economists will arrive at a wealth definition by combining all the elements and subtracting liabilities (i.e.,

Wealth gap, Home Ownership, and Economic Disparity

Ratio of share of wealth to share of population

WHITE	1.2
BLACK	0.21
HISPANIC	0.24

A value closer to one means a more equal share of the wealth.

Source: Federal Reserve, Census Bureau

THE HUFFINGTON POST

Home-Ownership Gap
U.S. Black home-ownership rates remain below 45%; Whites approach 75%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey/Housing Vacancy Survey

Financial Disparity
Net worth by race and ethnicity since late the 1980s

Source: Federal Reserve

Slavery and the persistent oppression of the Black community are the underpinnings of contemporary disparities

Education

Higher dropout rates/lower graduation rates; lower educational attainment. (Darling-Hammond 2010;

White and Black Student Scores
100 Largest Districts

There's a big racial achievement gap in almost all of the US's 100 largest school districts. Image: Stanford University

Long-term impacts with real consequences:

- Economic
- Occupation
- Education level
- Income level
- Prison rate
- Life expectancy

Prison

More likely than white Americans to be arrested; more likely to be convicted; more likely to experience lengthy prison sentences. 5.9 times as likely to be incarcerated than whites (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2018)

Used with permission from Dr. Linda Mann, Virginia Redress Coalition, African American Redress Network, 2022.

viding an equitable playing field accrue to the whole population. African Americans have lost value in their homes because of redlining, the practice by the Federal Housing Association and real estate agents of outlining a less desirable neighborhood in red. A straightforward remedy would be a new financial policy to target down payment assistance to persons who live in formerly redlined districts. That would enable those residents to increase their wealth and to contribute more to the community through property taxes. By policies like this, “The sum of us can accomplish far more than just some of us.”⁸

mortgages and other loans).¹³

Income

In a field test comparing employers’ reactions to White, Latin, and Black applicants, 32.0 percent of White people got a call back for a second interview, whereas 25.1 percent of Latin people and 15.2 percent of Black people got a call back. All of the “applicants” in this study were given comparable resumes and trained in proper clothing and in interviewing techniques.¹⁴ Education is supposed to enable other races/ethnicities to raise their ability to

gain employment commensurate with their education levels. However, studies have found that African Americans with higher education are employed less or have jobs that do not fully use the educations they have. For example, a study found in 2019 that 39.4 percent of college-educated African Americans were not employed in jobs requiring a college education, compared to 30.9 percent of European Americans.¹⁵

A statistical projection for businesses demonstrates that, if African Americans and Latin people had had the same incomes and opportunities as European Americans in the last 29 years, the GDP would have been \$1.3 trillion higher.¹⁶ Another study shows that “the U.S. economy would be \$2.3 trillion larger by 2050 if the educational achievement

middle class simply emerged. Rather it was government policy, and to some extent literal government giveaways, that provided whites the finance, education, land, and infrastructure to accumulate and pass down wealth.”¹⁸

Redlining African-American neighborhoods became illegal after the Fair Housing Act was passed in 1968,³⁷ but discrimination actually lingered. A report by the National Community Reinvestment Coalition shows that neighborhoods originally defined by redlining are still low income and largely minority.³⁸

Most African Americans have rented their homes. A study by the National Bureau of Economic Research showed that, as neighborhoods in northern cities transitioned from

White Household Legacy	Black Household Legacy
Land grants (headright system) 1600-1700 in colonies; ¹⁹ (Virginia from Charles II: Fairfax, Culpeper, Lee, Washington, and Mason in 1700s). ²⁰ Land grants/title military veterans. ²¹	Enslaved could not own land before 1865. ²²
Homestead Act (1862) resulted in one in three Americans today descending from homesteaders. ^{23,24}	2% of land grants after 1866 given to freed slaves. ²⁵
Broadly, whites’ acquisition of real estate and access to the legal apparatus by which to transfer property generationally (i.e., a will) resulted in overall increasing white wealth over decades. ²⁶	Generally, after 1865 most freed slaves died without wills and what little land they did own was often convoluted as ‘Heir’s Property’ (a complicated arrangement often without title and undevelopable). ²⁷
1935 Social Security Act. Provided safety net for millions of Americans; providing income after retirement. ²⁸	Social Security Act denied pension for farm and domestic workers; 65% of African Americans were excluded + 27% of white workers. ²⁹
1934 Federal Housing Administration (FHA) backed \$120B in home loans between 1934-1962; 98% went to whites. ³⁰	African Americans were subjected to maps drawn with ‘redlining’ and were refused mortgages in (or near) black neighborhoods. FHA also subsidized builders of whites-only homes. ³¹ Residents of black neighborhoods had to buy through often predatory contract agents. ³²
1944 GI Bill overwhelmingly favored whites. ³³	20% of black GIs who applied were accepted. ³⁴
European Americans generally meet potential earning power thanks to a favorable atmosphere for them in employment. ³⁵	African Americans do not meet potential earning power because of discriminatory practices against them in employment. ³⁶

of Black and Hispanic/Latino children was raised to that of White children.” Additional gains would result from parity in health care and business ownership by minorities. The full report is “The Business Case for Racial Equity.”¹⁷

Wealth

Considering wealth, however it is measured, this table illustrates several Congressional, legal, and policy measures, together with discriminatory behavior in employment, that have resulted in generational discrepancies in wealth accumulation. Economists Darrick Hamilton and Trevon Logan state, “It was never the case that a white asset-based

white to black, the owners of the properties were able to raise rents by 50 percent generally and divide single-family residences into multi-family units for even more rental profit. Families that had moved north for better wages found their income was absorbed by these increased rents.”³⁹

Repairing Inequities that Continue in Northern Virginia

Land and home ownership are fundamental assets, even if they are of comparatively low value. Research done by the Center on Society and Health at the Virginia Commonwealth University gives examples of losses sustained by communities owned by African Americans in Northern Virginia.

- Freedman's Village on Robert E. Lee's Arlington estate was taken over for military use and is now Arlington National Cemetery.
- Tinner Hill in Falls Church was displaced when Lee Highway was routed through Falls Church.
- East Arlington and Queen City were razed to make roads around the Pentagon. The people were rehoused in trailer camps, though later moved to public housing.
- Green Valley was divided by the Shirley Memorial Highway.
- Suburban developments in Fort Ward and Seminary displaced African American families.
- Willard community in Loudoun County was razed to build Dulles International Airport.⁴⁰

"Black communities were still served by dirt roads and went without municipal services such as sewage, water, and street lights...in the 1930s and 1940s."⁴¹ Although rural areas, white and black, often had a similar lack of services at that time, many of the urban and suburban black communities were near white communities that had services. In Arlington in the 1930s European Americans in Waycroft-Woodlawn built a wall between their neighborhood and the Hall's Hill-High View Park African American neighborhood. Parts of this wall are still standing today. Public services came to Hall's Hill after World War II and into the 1950s.⁴²

The growth of suburbs in outlying areas of Virginia "led to the expansion of interstate highways.... Planners routed these highways through Black neighborhoods, creating corridors of low-priced property, especially along Shirley Memorial Highway and Interstate 95, which were zoned for high-density housing. In the 1960s and 1970s, people of color came to represent a larger share of the population along these corridors, occupying the garden and tower apartment communities of West Alexandria... and the no-frills housing subdivisions that were built along interstate 95 in Prince William County between Woodbridge and Dumfries. It is in these census tracts that Northern Virginia's largest Black populations are now located. Black people account for approximately half of the population."⁴³

The Northern Virginia Health Foundation gave a grant to the Center on Society and Health of Virginia Commonwealth University to study health outcomes resulting from unequal distribution of wealth in Northern Virginia. The Center found "Islands of Disadvantage" in present-day Northern Virginia by comparing population data from census tracts, which are small subdivisions of a county. These are neighborhoods in which housing is sub-standard and

the people have lower educational, employment, and health levels and longevity. They also have a high proportion of Latin people and African Americans. In some cases, these neighborhoods border prosperous neighborhoods. For example, the Bailey's Crossroads census tract containing the impoverished Culmore neighborhood shares a border with Lake Barcroft, a prosperous neighborhood. The Route 1 corridor in Mount Vernon and parts of Herndon have similarly unequal contiguous neighborhoods. Data and graphics are in the Center's report "Getting Ahead."⁴⁴

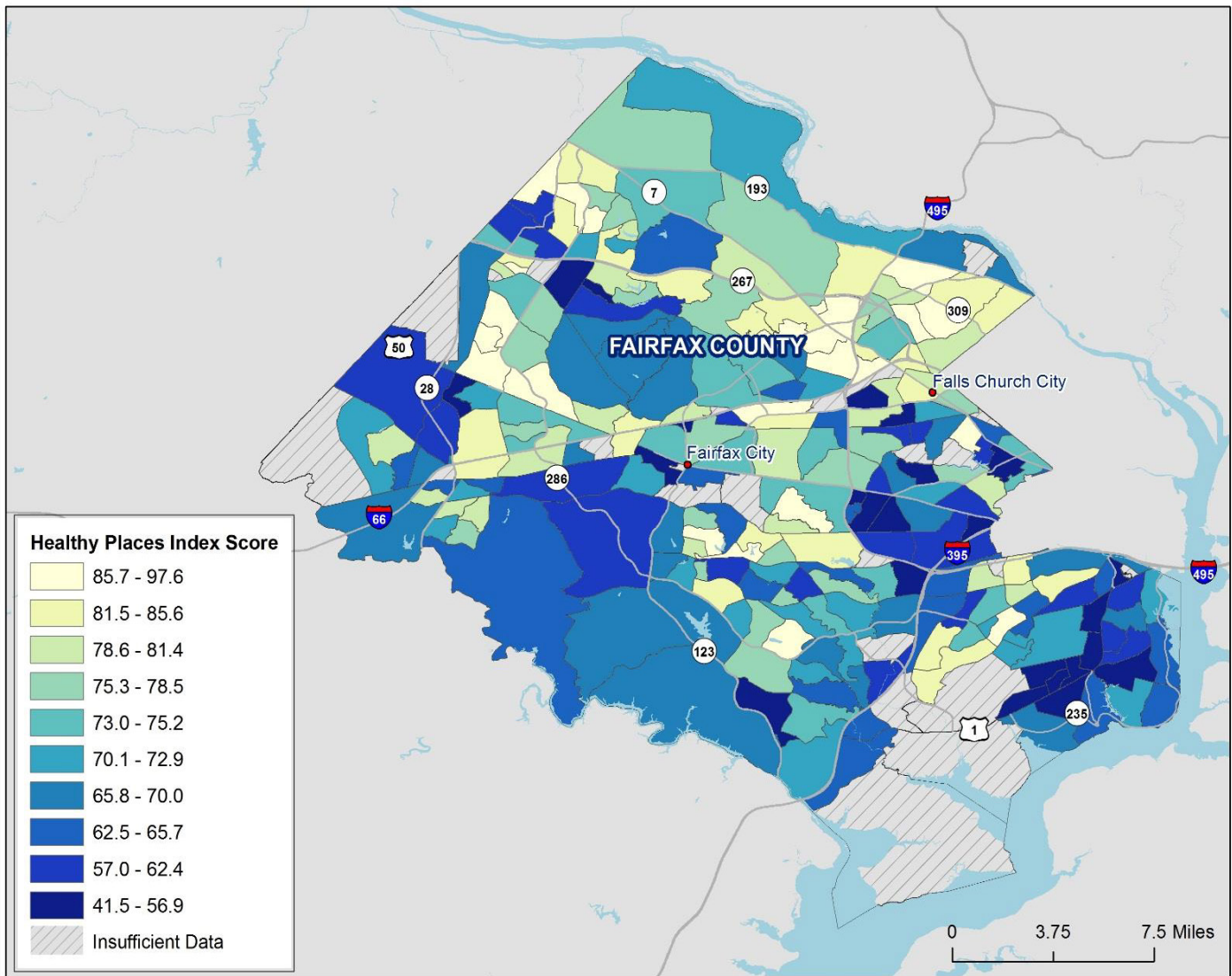
Even with the educational and economic advantages gained by professional African Americans, the legacy of discrepancy shows in the unequal valuations of seemingly similar neighborhoods today. A regional example comes from *The Washington Post* columnist Michelle Singletary, whose home is valued at \$300,000. A home with the same amenities in a white neighborhood would be worth \$700,000.⁴⁵

Fairfax County and Affordable Housing

Fairfax County established the Redevelopment and Housing Authority after a referendum in 1965.⁴⁶ Together, the Department of Housing and Community Development and the Fairfax County Redevelopment and Housing Authority (FCRHA) administer a variety of housing programs and services which aim to place housing within reach for all who desire to be a part of the Fairfax County community. Although the County still does not have sufficient affordable housing, the processes to attain it have been set down in its guidelines published on the website.⁴⁷

Today, the "Redevelopment and Housing Authority (FCRHA) serves nearly 20,000 residents through a variety of rental housing assistance and homeownership programs; and owns and operates nearly 4,000 units of housing – including multifamily housing, senior housing, licensed assisted living and specialized housing for tenants with a variety of needs. The FCRHA also oversees and administers Fairfax County's land use housing programs and the investment of public land and local funds (including state and federal grants) to increase and/or preserve the county's stock of affordable homes." Its current project is a 274-unit affordable housing complex called Ovation.⁴⁸

LWVFA supported the referendum in 1965. In a flyer that they distributed at that time, they promoted the Authority as a benefit for everyone. They did not mention minorities, but they listed these beneficiaries: low-income families who would be able to stay in the county; parents and children; the elderly; county taxpayers; private employers and county government, and private contractors, the builders of affordable housing.⁴⁹



Courtesy of the Northern Virginia Health Foundation’s Healthy Places Index

LWVFA’s optimism and support of improving circumstances for everyone was well placed. McGhee (above) shows that everyone benefits from societal support of the least advantaged. That is an important consideration in gaining agreement for funding programs.

Human Rights Framework

We sought an objective, practical method for analyzing the ways repair of inequity might be accomplished. The United Nations Human Rights Framework⁵⁰ provides such a method. We learned about it thanks to Stair Calhoun, an LWVFA member who introduced us to a very active grassroots movement, the Virginia Redress Coalition. This group is part of the African American Redress Network (AARN), which identifies and maps instances across the United States in which injustices are currently being addressed and rectified.

AARN is a collaborative initiative between Columbia University and Howard University. AARN has an innovative, interdisciplinary method incorporating deep research in such fields as genealogy, economics, archaeology, and history. They classify the repairs of injustice that African Americans would be entitled to according to the Human Rights Framework. This framework does not require an expiration date, as the tort model of injury repair does. It also provides a way to respond to harms in other ways than monies (Dr. Linda Mann, personal communication, October 19, 2021). The AARN has a useful summary of the Human Rights Framework categories on its website:⁵¹

- **Restitution:** measures that restore victims to the original situation before they suffered gross violations of international human rights law...for example, restoration of liberty, identity, family life and citizenship, return to one’s place of residence, restoration of employment and return of property

- **Compensation:** a monetary, quantifiable award for any economically accessible damage...as appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and the circumstances of each case
- **Rehabilitation:** medical and psychological care as well as legal and social services
- **Satisfaction:** a broad category of measures ranging from cessation of violations, truth-seeking, the search for the disappeared, recovery and reburial of remains, public apologies, judicial and administrative sanctions, commemoration and memorialization, and human rights training
- **Guarantees of non-repetition:** a broad category including institutional reforms... strengthening judicial independence, the protection of human rights defenders, the promotion of international human rights standards in public service, law enforcement, the media, and psychological and social services

We have met with members of the African-American Redress Network and another organization, Resolutions Against Systemic Racism (RASR).⁵² The leaders of this organization also use the Human Rights Framework. They also record data of where activity is taking place on a map, but they emphasize using legal, governmental, and institutional methods for rectifying injustice. For example, they advocate for Racial Equity Impact Assessments to be conducted before states approve of building projects. They work toward criminal justice reform, advocate for tenants in evictions, and changes in many laws and policies (Melissa Hartman, personal communication, October 19, 2021).

Fairfax County Strategic Plan: One Fairfax

Both AARN and RASR aim to understand and re-design government and institutional systems to be more equitable. For several years the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors and Fairfax County Public Schools have been constructing the Fairfax County Strategic Plan, also known as One Fairfax, in order to make their own systems more equitable. LWVFA held a panel discussion on One Fairfax at the General Meeting in November 2020.⁵³

The impulse to improve the equity of Fairfax County's treatment of all its diverse populations started in 2015 with the appointment of an equity officer. The effort became much broader and more purposeful in 2019 after Board of Supervisors Chairman Sharon Bulova "invited a group of Stakeholders representing residents, staff, and the civic, faith, nonprofit, philanthropic, and business communities to come together to foster open and honest discussions on issues surrounding race, with an ultimate goal of engaging the community to inform the application of the One Fair-

fax Policy."⁵⁴

As finally adopted by the Board of Supervisors on October 5, 2021, the Fairfax County Strategic Plan sets ten priority areas for which goals can be set and progress measured: Economic Opportunity; Effective and Efficient Government; Empowerment and Support for Residents Facing Vulnerability; Health, Environment, Housing and Neighborhood Livability; Lifelong Education and Learning; Mobility and Transportation; and Safety and Security. In each of these areas, there is an explicit goal, or "challenge question," to insure equitable access for all races and ethnicities and ways of measuring whether that goal has been met.

We take as our example the sixth, the Housing and Neighborhood Livability area. One of the challenge questions is "How can we encourage developers and builders (for profit and non-profit, faith-based landowners, etc.) to increase the amount of affordable housing and create a broad range of housing options while maintaining the quality and desirability of built communities, both new and redeveloped?"⁵⁵ Metrics to determine progress toward this goal are found in the proposed version of the Fairfax County Strategic Plan published in February, 2021. Examples of metrics are the percent of residents who feel they can meaningfully participate in the land development process and the percent of acreage in Fairfax County zoned to a mixed-use district. Costs to residents are measured by the number of net new housing units added that are affordable to households earning 60% of the Area Median Income (AMI) and that are directly attributable to a county government policy, program, or subsidy, and the number of older adults and residents with disabilities who report that they are able to stay in the community consistent with their desires."⁵⁶ This last goal should ensure that improving a neighborhood would not make it unaffordable for the current residents.

One Fairfax will take years to accomplish. It addresses systematic planning in a comprehensive and data-driven way, but, as several supervisors themselves pointed out, there was not enough participation from a diverse set of voices, even though 22,000 people had responded to surveys in eight different languages and there had been a feedback meeting in July in which attendees said that they preferred to focus on cultural and recreational opportunities, economic stability and mobility, financial sustainability, and access to services."⁵⁷

In an interim update of the plan, the authors said, "The county's current public engagement process relies heavily on established community organizations and appointed advisory bodies. While this is a strength, we are challenged to create more accessible avenues of participation to im-

prove community connection. Examining these challenges gives us an opportunity to reshape our identity into one that reflects our community's vision of an effective and efficient government that is agile, responsive and forward leaning."⁵⁸

Relating Fairfax County Efforts Toward Equity to the Human Rights Framework

Fairfax County residents De Armond (Dee Dee) Carter and Gloria Runyon gave us an example of the first two categories from their own experience. They are seeking recognition and restoration for two family cemeteries in Vienna. "The Neal family cemetery is located in the Williams Meadows Subdivision in the Five Oaks Community and the Carter Family Cemetery is located in the Carters Green Subdivision in Vienna near Tysons Corner. In addition, they plan to seek restitution for their Great-Great Grandparents, Robert Jr and Lucy Hatton-Carter, whose property was stolen during the Civil War." (De Armond Carter and Gloria Runyon, personal communication, January 20, 2022. This and subsequent quotations.)

Restitution: Right now, the One Fairfax plan does not have a provision for direct restoration of property. However, "Supervisor Dalia Palchik and her team are working with Gloria and De Armond to preserve and protect the Neal Family Cemetery, and Supervisor Walter Alcorn and his team are working with us to restore, protect and preserve the Carter Family Cemetery. Currently, Aimee Wells, archaeologist, has been appointed to research the area around the Carter cemetery for historic artifacts and culture then provide final results to us.... One gravestone still standing is our Great-Great Aunt Millie Carter-Whales; however, there are many graves located in this cemetery according to Death Certificates researched by Dee Dee and Gloria. They want restitution and compensation by seeking return of the cemetery from the MDH Holding Company located in Denver, Colorado aka Richmond American Homes of the DMV, with the support of Supervisor Alcorn to the Carter Family Descendants."

Compensation: One Fairfax does not address monetary compensation for past wrongs. The two descendants are approaching the Federal Government. "Dee Dee [De Armond] and Gloria plan to seek full compensation from the Federal Government to correct the past wrongs to their Great-Great Grandfather.

"They want the full payment due to the Carter Family when his property was taken, including him and his Son, Gus, who were taken hostage and badly mistreated during the Civil War. He received half compensation after making his claim to the Southern Claims Office after the war, while

white men received full value. DeeDee has all the documentation needed to support her claim. We expect One Fairfax to redress the Cemeteries while we want restitution from the Federal Government to make our family whole."

Rehabilitation: Many of the priorities of One Fairfax aim at upgrading the neighborhoods, providing equitable economic opportunities, health services, and removing barriers to cultural and recreational opportunities.⁵⁹ The fourth priority aims "to provide a coordinated and individualized plan for people facing vulnerabilities to live their lives to the fullest potential.... These strategies also focus on providing services that are more holistic, proactive, and person-based to address the unique needs of each individual in an equitable and respectful manner." The services would be neighborhood-based for access.⁶⁰

Satisfaction: The renaming of streets—Jefferson Davis Highway to Richmond Highway--and the renaming of schools—J.E.B. Stuart High School to Justice High School—neutralizes the words used in everyday conversation among local residents. There are also metrics to determine how many residents are engaged in community activities and feel that they can "meaningfully participate in the land development process."⁶¹ The Fairfax County Office of Human Rights and Equity Programs offers a way for persons to seek redress for discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodation, private education, and credit.⁶²

Guarantees of Non-Repetition: Racial equity is not explicitly mentioned in each of the 10 priority areas of the strategic plan, but the intention of applying a racial and social equity principle throughout is stated in the introduction.⁶³ In the housing and neighborhood livability priority, it is clear that the past practice of taking towns, villages, and neighborhoods by eminent domain is no longer acceptable. "There is a desire to protect and preserve existing neighborhoods, to revitalize older business districts and to build vibrant new mixed-use urban centers."⁶⁴

We can apply the Human Rights Framework to specific neighborhoods, thanks to the Fairfax County Healthy Places Index. (See map page EF-5) It highlights the urgency of providing remedies to neighborhoods. This index rates the scores of the census tracts studied by the Center on Society and Health by how greatly the populations are affected by the conditions in the neighborhoods in which they live. Life expectancy in the poorer areas can be 78 years, compared to 89 years in the better areas. "The HPI measures the health of every census tract on a scale of 0—100; high numbers represent the best conditions. As with life expectancy, HPI scores vary greatly across Fairfax County, from

a low of 41 in census tract 4214.00 near Route 1 to a high of 98 in tract 4802.03 in Tysons's Corner."⁶⁵ For the full map and scores, see Northern Virginia Healthy Places Index and scroll down to download the map for Fairfax County. <https://novahealthfdn.org/healthy-places-index/>

"The goal of looking at that [past] history is to learn how that can inform our future," says [Steven] Woolf, who directs VCU's Center on Society and Health. "What we basically show is that past policy has got us to this place, and that makes us optimistic that current policies can create a more inclusive future.... There is a narrative that's far too common that blames the residents of these neighborhoods for the conditions that exist there, and doesn't really think about the backstory of how they came into existence in the first place."⁶⁶

Current Reparations Efforts

Many advocates promote a method of determining fair measures nationwide. H.R. 40, The Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act has been introduced at the beginning of every new Congress since 1989. Most recently it was ordered by the Judiciary Committee to be amended, but no amendments are listed.

This bill establishes the Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans. The commission shall examine slavery and discrimination in the colonies and the United States from 1619 to the present and recommend appropriate remedies.

The commission shall identify (1) the role of the federal and state governments in supporting the institution of slavery, (2) forms of discrimination in the public and private sectors against freed slaves and their descendants, and (3) lingering negative effects of slavery on living African Americans and society.⁶⁷

Whether H.R. 40 achieves a hearing in the full Congress or not, Virginia's legislators have passed a bill to study the effects of enslavement in Virginia and are considering extending the time allowed for the study to 2024.⁶⁸

Many institutions in Virginia are now examining their histories. For example, the Episcopal Church, which was prominent throughout Virginia's history, is exploring what it owes to formerly enslaved persons and indigenous people. The Episcopal Diocese of Virginia adopted a resolution at its 2021 convention. It commits the Diocese to create a \$10,000,000 fund for reparations to benefit Black, Indigenous, and peoples of color communities.⁶⁹ The Virginia Theological Seminary has designated \$1.7 million as a reparations endowment fund to compensate the families

of African Americans who worked for the seminary, to provide for Black congregations with ties to the seminary, and for educational programs.⁷⁰

There is also State and local government effort. The Brown vs. the Board of Education Scholarship Program was established by the Virginia General Assembly to compensate financially for educational losses endured by African Americans when schools were segregated.⁷¹ Fairfax County started a historical marker project this February to commemorate Black History Month. Student youth groups are researching local stories to learn and commemorate the untold history of the county.⁷²

Private corporations in America still have to come to terms with their past profits from enslavement. Some corporations and government entities in Europe are beginning to do so.^{73,74}

Financial compensation may yet be minimal. However, there are efforts throughout the Commonwealth to acknowledge past wrongs with plaques and markers, renaming streets and buildings, taking down statues, and pledging to make policy decisions guided by racial justice. Whether by direct monetary payments, acknowledgement of past wrongs, or investment in social programs, reparations are happening now, not waiting for the future.

Discussion Questions

1. What are the main factors in African Americans' loss of economic power?
2. Fairfax County has many races and ethnicities. Does it dilute the benefit to African Americans if a program intended to benefit them also benefits other groups?
3. After reading both parts of the report, do you think the League--whether LWVUS, LWV-VA, or LWVFA—has a role in furthering any kind of reparations?
4. Fairfax County Boards, Authorities, and Commissions monitor the functions of county government. Might they play a role in ensuring equity under One Fairfax?
5. What do you believe are the pros and cons of reparations?
6. How do you believe our society would be different if Jim Crow laws had not been introduced?
7. How did this study affect your views about reparations?

Pros and Cons on Monetary Reparations

There is no agreement on what reparations should look like. Suggestions for reparations include direct cash payments and other financial assistance as well as programs aimed at benefiting the Black community, such as affordable housing, education programs, free college tuition, and business grants.

We found that most opinion writers on either side of the argument acknowledge past and present inequities and advocate educational and social programs that would benefit African American communities. They differ in their views on monetary compensation for individuals.

Pros	Cons
<p>African Americans have been denied the wealth they should have had because of structural inequities in society.^{1,2} They require a restoration of deferred wealth through individual cash payments³ and wealth-building programs.^{4,5}</p>	<p>Reparation advocates do not agree on a program and sometimes have contradictory goals.⁶ Those asked to pay (current taxpayers and corporate shareholders) are not liable; they are not at fault.⁷ Polls show that a majority of white Americans oppose direct payments.⁸</p>
<p>To be eligible, Black persons would be able to trace their heritage to people enslaved. Persons should have self-identified as Black for at least 12 years before enactment of a reparations plan.⁹</p>	<p>How would the amount due be determined, and to whom would it go?¹⁰ The plan would expand to other groups claiming the same justification.¹¹</p>
<p>Some missed Federal opportunities to redress: Sherman’s Special Field Order No. 15 used confiscated confederate land to provide 40 Acres and a Mule to freed families. Andrew Johnson reversed President Lincoln’s order.¹² Homestead Act, 1862, gave 160-acre land grants to 1.5 million white families.¹³ Federal Housing Authority established redlining¹⁴ New Deal policies fell short. Social Security excluded domestic and farm workers, 60% of Blacks nationwide and 75% of Blacks in southern states.^{15,16} GI Bill, mandated Federally, implemented locally, was open to discrimination. Housing covenants and redlining prohibited Blacks from getting these federal benefits.¹⁷</p>	<p>Sherman intended the reserved land as only a temporary way of providing for freed families to take care of themselves.¹⁸ Authorization through Freedman’s Bureau Bill of 1866 was ineffective. Bureau dissolved 1868.¹⁹ Discrimination under the Homestead Act was prohibited in 1866. There were more than 25,000 African American homesteads.^{20,21} Redlining is no longer a problem; it became illegal under the Fair Housing Act of 1968.²²</p>
<p>Recent recovery efforts from disasters – Response to the Great Recession of 2007-8; response to 9/11; current response to COVID 19-- show that the Government can mobilize resources and spend huge sums without raising taxes.²³ Reparations are justified; would cost \$12-\$13 trillion.²⁴</p>	<p>Reparations would require redistribution of wealth Better to allocate money to broad social programs, not just targeted at one group.²⁵</p>
<p>Reparations goal: bring the share of Black wealth into consistency with the share of the population. Black descendants of slaves constitute 12% of the nation’s population but possess less than 2% of the nation’s wealth. Federal intervention, combined with private investment, can close this gap.²⁶</p>	<p>There is little or no continuing effect of enslavement. Wealth inequality is due to lifestyle in single-parent homes and neighborhoods, less motivation and training for teens.^{27,28} Systematic intervention is not necessary. Educational changes, teaching reading by phonics, and a wider range of acceptable employment expectations would raise skills and confidence in youth.²⁹</p>

<p>Reparations are not foreign to the United States. Native Americans received land and billions of dollars for being forcibly exiled from their native lands. Japanese Americans interned during WWII were paid \$1/5 billion. U.S. helped ensure Jews received reparations for the Holocaust via the Marshall Plan and other investments.³⁰</p>	<p>Recent (20th century) immigrants' families were not part of slavery or Jim Crow and should not have to devote their taxes to compensation.^{31,32}</p>
<p>Reparations may be summarized as a program of acknowledgement, redress and closure for grievous injustices. Closure is mutual recognition by the culpable party and the victimized community that redress is sufficient and that the account is settled.³³</p>	<p>Reparations are divisive and focus attention on the past rather than the future. They reinforced a sense of victimhood.^{34,35}</p>
<p>Economy would grow by trillions if there were racial equity for African Americans and Latin people.³⁶</p>	<p>Reparations would require redistribution of wealth. Money would be better spent on broad social programs for the poor; that would not be reparations for one group.³⁷</p>
<p>A nationwide study, as proposed by H.B. 40, would start a thorough conversation. Passage of H.B. 40 can work toward the national reckoning needed to bridge racial divides.³⁸</p>	<p>H.R. 40 has not gained traction since it was first proposed in 1989. A national approach will not work.³⁹</p>
<p>“We shall overcome because the arc of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice.”⁴⁰</p> <p>“In a sense we have come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects of our Republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir.”</p> <p>--Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.⁴¹</p>	<p>In law, justice provides a specific compensation for a specific injury. Generalized reparations programs may be a conflation of politics and justice, a response to a political or societal demand.⁴²</p>

Note: A.L. Brophy is cited often because his article has an overview of arguments for and against reparations. He himself has been a member of the Reparations Coordinating Committee.⁴³ (Darity, 277)

Full Endnotes to this report are in the electronic version on the LWVFA website.

Further Resources

Websites

Deeply Rooted: History's Lessons for Equity in Northern Virginia. Richmond: Virginia Commonwealth University. This website has the Getting Ahead report and many other resources. <https://nova-healthfdn.org/deeply-rooted-history-lessons-for-equity-in-northern-virginia/>

Fairfax County Strategic Plan: Shaping the Future Together: Proposed to the Board of Supervisors (2021, February), 32. Retrieved from:<https://www.google.com/search?q=Fairfax+County+Strategic+plan+proposed+to+Board+of+Supervisors+February+2021&source=hp&ei=idiLYbjPCMGNxc8PiKqzyAw&iflsig=ALs-wAMA AAAAYvmmQiN4TYH9oa-VynyijhCQ5CoMIRT&oq=Fairfax+County+Strategic+plan+proposed+to+Board+of+Sup+q=Fairfax+County+Strategic+plan+proposed+to+Board+of+Supervisors+February+2021>

Fairfax County Virginia One Fairfax Powerpoint (livestreamed on Channel 16) <https://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/cableconsumer/channel-16/one-fairfax-powerpoint>

Books and Articles

Brophy, A.L. (2004, Spring). The Cultural War Over Reparations for Slavery. Symposium-Race as Proxy in Law and Society: Emerging Issues in Race and the Law. Article 10. De Paul Law Review, 53(3), 1196.

Coates, T.N. (2014, June). The Case for Reparations. *The Atlantic*.

Darity, W.A. & Mullen, A. K. (2020). From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-first Century. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

DiAngelo, R. (2018). White Fragility: Why it's so Hard for White People to Talk About Racism. New York: Penguin Press.

Kendi, I.X. (2016). Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America. New York: Nation Books.

McGhee, H. (2021). The Sum of Us. New York: One World

McWhorter, J. (2021). Woke Racism: How a New Religion has Betrayed Black America. New York: Portfolio/Penguin.

Ray, R. and Perry, A.M. (2020, April). Why We Need Reparations for Black Americans. Brookings Policy 2020: Big ideas. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Winters, M.S. (2021, April 9) In the Fight Against Racism, Reparations are Not the Answer. National Catholic Reporter.

Help Make National Voter Registration Day a Success!

By Amy Jones

September 20, 2022, marks the tenth anniversary of National Voter Registration Day (NVRD) and the second year the League of Women Voters – Fairfax Area (LWVFA) will celebrate with its own signature county-wide voter registration event. NVRD is an organized, cross-country event, where countless volunteers spend the day reaching out to their communities, providing them with information on voting. According to U.S. Census data from 2020, one in four Americans are not registered to vote. It is not because they are not eligible. They either do not know how to register, they forget the need to update their registration information, or they just miss the registration dates. This event was founded to ensure those things do not happen!

This year, the LWVFA will again be partnering with the Fairfax County Public Library (FCPL) system, in order to reach as many communities across Fairfax County as possible. Volunteers will be at all the open FCPL branches during peak hours to offer voter registration and information about early and absentee voting, as well as answering questions about the voting process. During the NVRD event last year, LWVFA registered 21 new voters and informed hundreds of others using many of our signature informational brochures. Given the usual increased interest in federal elections over state elections, we expect even more engagement this year.

NVRD shows our community that the LWV believes in making its mission a reality: “Empowering Voters and Defending Democracy.” This is a fun event and a wonderful way to engage with our neighbors. We encourage you to volunteer and become a part of the NVRD movement. We need four volunteers at each of the 21 FCPL branches. Volunteers will work in pairs and cover two-hour shifts (1:00pm – 2:45pm and 2:45pm – 4:30pm). If you are interested, please visit the [SUG](#) below and sign-up!

<https://www.signupgenius.com/go/20f0d48afa82fa7f94-national2>

LWVFA Membership Report

By Donna Blake

Welcome to September, the month when school is in full swing, fall arrives, the weather moderates (we hope), and Virginia voters prepare for another election in November. The LWVFA members are working tirelessly to register new voters and to provide voters with clear and concise information about the upcoming election as well as about legislative issues and policies. You as a LWVFA member are a proud part of this respected effort to register and educate voters in support our country’s election process.

Be sure to check that your LWV membership dues for FY23 have been paid. Remember that the grace period for FY23 payment of dues ends September 30, 2022. In addition, the LWVFA membership application has been updated and should be submitted along with your dues payment. Go to www.lwv-fairfax.org and click on Join (end of top line) to join or renew either online or by mail.

As of 31 July 2022, the Active Membership for LWVFA stands at 412.

Ten new members have been added in July. Way to go! And a warm welcome to all!

Orianna Bilby
Lydia Collins & Household
Deb Dornemann
Janet Erickson
Katherine Fox
Daniel Goodman
Renee Griest
Luke Lorenz
Maya White (student)

And, as always, a big thank you to all members who have already renewed for FY23: 01 July 2022 – 30 June 2023.

If you have comments relating to any issues raised here, please contact Donna Blake (membership@lwv-fairfax.org).

Welcome!!

Unit Discussion Meeting Locations

Topic: Reparations, Part II

Members and visitor are encouraged to attend any meeting convenient for them, including the "At Large Meeting" and briefing on Saturdays when a briefing is listed. As of August 1, 2022, the following information was correct; please use phone numbers to verify sites and advise of your intent to attend. The September unit meetings may be in person, virtual or hybrid. If virtual, the unit leaders will send login information to every unit member.

Saturday, August 27

12:30 pm – 2 p.m. Reparations II Briefing – Virtual (Following KickOff Meeting)

Contact: Judy, 703-725-9401, judithhelein@aol.com
Or Julie, 703-476-8347, Julie.jones@lwv.fairfax.org

Thursday, September 8

9 a.m. Reston Day (RD) – In Person

Contact: Charleen, 703-620-3593, Charleen.deasy@verizon.net

10:00 a.m. Springfield (SPF) – In Person and Virtual

7827 Newington Woods Dr., Springfield
Contact: Jane, 703-256-7834, patchwork1@verizon.net

11:30 a.m. Centreville-Chantilly (CCD) – In Person

Lunch at Food Court, Wegman's
14361 Newbrook Drive, Chantilly
Contact: Susan, 703-391-0666, sadill@cox.net

1 p.m. Oakton/Vienna (OV) – Virtual and In Person

Oakton Public Library, 10304 Lynnhaven Pl, Oakton
Contact: Mary, 703-932-3665, mmvalder@aol.com

7:30 p.m. Reston Evening (RE) – Virtual

Contact: Wendy, 703-319-4114, wendy.foxgrage@gmail.com
or Amy, 703-999-0827, raineday7@yahoo.com

7:30 p.m. Mount Vernon Evening (MVE) - Virtual

Contact: Jane, 703-960-6820, jane@hilderwilliams.net
or Susan, 703-780-3902, scash5002@email.vccs.edu

Monday, September 12

1:30 p.m. Greenspring (GSP) – In Person

Hunters Crossing Craft Room
7430 Spring Village Drive, Springfield
Contact: Judy, jjsmith64@earthlink.net,

703-342-3353 or Pat, pmcgrady308@gmail.com
Tuesday, September 13

2:00 p.m. McLean Day (McL) – In Person

StarNut Café
1445 Laughlin Avenue, McLean
Contact: Anne, 703-448-6626, akanter@cox.net

Wednesday, September 14

10 a.m. Mount Vernon Day (MVD) – In Person
Mount Vernon Government Center
2511 Parkers Lane, Mt. Vernon 06
Contact: Sandy, 703-768-2565, sandypeterson2010@gmail.com

10 a.m. Fairfax Station (FXS) – Virtual

Contact: Bev, 703-451-4438, rbdahlin@verizon.net
or Sue, 703-266-0272, sueoneill1@hotmail.com

October Meetings: Virginia Childcare Study

Important Notice – The Briefing for October Unit Discussion Leaders will take place via Zoom and will be sponsored by the Virginia League. Two briefing dates are scheduled and discussion leaders may choose the most convenient. The dates are Sunday, September 18 and Thursday, September 22. Times to be determined. Zoom invites will be sent by the State League to Fairfax Discussion Leaders. We will use Enews and emails to distribute further information.



The League of Women Voters of the Fairfax Area (LWVFA)
 4026-B Hummer Road, Annandale, VA 22003-2403
 703-658-9150. Web address: www.lwv-fairfax.org

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**The LWVFA Fairfax VOTER®
 September, 2022**

Pat Fege, Co-President
 Katherine Ingmanson, Co-President
 Linda Hamilton, Editor

The League of Women Voters® is a nonpartisan political organization that encourages the public to play an informed and active role in government. At the local, state, regional and national levels the League works to influence public policy through education and advocacy. Any person at least 16 years old, male or female, may become a member.

The League of Women Voters® never supports or opposes candidates for office or political parties, and any use of the League of Women Voters® name in campaign advertising or literature has not been authorized by the League.

Please Support Our Work! The LWVFA Education Fund is supported by donations from our members and the public.
<https://www.lwv-fairfax.org/donate>



LWVFA MEMBERSHIP/RENEWAL FORM

Dues year is July 1 – June 30

Name: _____ Unit (if renewing): _____
 Name of Second Household Member (if one): _____
 Street Address: _____ Condo/Apt No: _____
 City: _____ State: _____ Zip Code +4: _____
 E-mail: _____ Phone: (C) _____ (H) _____

Membership Status: _____ New _____ Renewal

Membership Level (please check one):

Basic Membership:

Individual (\$75); Household (two members who share the same mailing address) (\$100);

Limited Income (suggested donation: \$10); Student (Free!)

Membership Plus:

Suffragist (\$100); Advocate Household (two members who share the same mailing address) (\$150);

Champion (\$300); Founders' Circle (\$500)

Membership Plus levels include basic membership PLUS a donation to the LWVFA General Fund. This money will support members of limited income, help invest in LWVFA web site technology, and support other priority projects. General Fund donations are not tax deductible.

Please mail this completed form along with payment to:
 LWVFA, 4026-B Hummer Road, Annandale, VA 22003-2403