The Unfinished Agenda

The Economic Status of African Americans in San Francisco 1964-1990

The Committee on African American Parity
of the
Human Rights Commission
of
San Francisco

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Committee on African American Parity (CAAP) of the San Francisco Human Rights Commission was formed to assess the status of African Americans in San Francisco between 1964 and 1990, to determine whether African Americans are better or worse off today, and to recommend actions designed to correct any inequities identified in the course of the assessment. The CAAP decided to focus the inquiry on eight areas:

- Employment and Entrepreneurship
- Education
- Criminal Justice
- Housing
- Health Services
- Media Relations
- Political Empowerment
- African American Families

In 1992, the Human Rights Commission contracted with Polaris Research and Development, a minority owned San Francisco social and public policy consulting firm, to conduct the first study on the CAAP's agenda-- an assessment of the comparative economic wellbeing of African Americans from the perspective of income, employment, and entrepreneurial participation. This report summarizes the findings and conclusions of that study and includes recommendations for a variety of ameliorative actions. The CAAP intends to pursue similar assessments in the other issue areas in the future.

The study looked at the developmental history of the African American community in San Francisco and attempted both to describe the factors that have had a shaping influence on the economic wellbeing of the city's African American residents and to evaluate their effects over time.

The study found that in the period since the founding of the Human Rights Commission in 1964:

• The African American population has decreased in size. The number of African Americans in San Francisco reached a peak of 88,343 --or 13.4%-- of the city's population in 1970. Since that time, the African American community has declined absolutely and proportionately--so that by 1990 there were 76,343 African American residents, or 10.9% of the overall population.

• The African American population is getting older and there are fewer children under 18 years of age.

• The African American population which used to be the second largest ethnic group in San Francisco after whites, are now the fourth largest group. Asians comprise the second largest group and Latinos the third.

• The shift in the San Francisco economy from manufacturing to services displaced African American workers beginning soon after the end of World War II and continuing to the present.

• The income of African Americans compared to that of white San Franciscans has declined since 1970 from a high of 60.1% to 45.1% in 1990.

• The income of African Americans compared to that of other non-white ethnic groups in the city indicates that Asian Americans have higher per capita and household incomes than African Americans and Latinos have slightly lower per capita incomes but higher household incomes than African Americans.

• African Americans suffer higher rates of poverty and unemployment and have higher levels of dependency.

• African Americans are greatly underrepresented in many job titles in the private sector.

• African Americans have benefited from the consent decrees addressing the hiring and promotional policies of the fire department and police department even though they have not fully met the goals.

• African Americans have benefited from employment in City and County agencies in San Francisco. Although African Americans have not achieved parity in all job categories, they have exceeded it in others.

• Many African Americans have been pushed out of the city by a combination of governmental programs like urban renewal and the high costs of housing. At one point, rental costs which had been reasonable until 1979 or 1980 escalated until they reached almost 90% of the per capita income of African Americans in 1985.

• Traditionally black communities--like Bayview -Hunter's Point-- are becoming more integrated as a result of the net outmigration of African Americans, greater desegregation in the housing market for African Americans, and increased competition for the housing in those communities.

• The African American community is becoming increasingly bifurcated as working class moderate income blacks are migrating out of San Francisco leaving behind one group of higher income more educated African Americans who are dispersed throughout the city and another group of lower income more dependent and less economically competitive African Americans who are concentrated in public housing and other federally subsidized housing.

• The average level of education of African Americans is increasing. The percentage of African American residents of San Francisco reporting that they had completed four or more years of college was twice as large in 1990 as in 1980

• The urban renewal program in the Western Addition destroyed the economic base of black owned small businesses in that part of the city.

• The number and size of Black owned businesses in San Francisco continued to decrease between 1982 and 1987. (Data for 1992 is not yet available from the US Department of Commerce)

• San Francisco's public agencies are not meeting the minority business enterprise and women's business enterprise contracting goals established by the Human Rights Commission. A study commissioned by the city, subsequent to Richmond v. Croson, indicates that the extent of undercontracting is indicative of discrimination in a number of instances.

The report concludes by setting forth 12 proposed goals to guide the development of the the African American community over the next decade. and twenty three recommendations for a broad range of public and private actions aimed at achieving those goals. The recommendations include a variety of self-help initiatives in the African American community as well as calling for both public and private sector commitment and involvement in assuring an equitable place for African Americans in the economic life of San Francisco.

The proposed goals are:

Goal 1-To halt, and/or, reverse the decline in the size of the African American population in San Francisco.

Goal 2-To increase per capita and/or household income in the African American community.

Goal 3-To raise the income of African American individuals and families with the lowest incomes above the poverty level.

Goal 4-To create jobs and job opportunities that fit the full range of skills within the African American community from entry level to those requiring technical skills and professional training.

Goal 5-To increase the employability and employment of African American males. Studies show that when incomes are held constant, the rates of single parent families are more or less equal among blacks and whites. Effective economic interventions aimed at black males should, therefore, provide leverage on a number of problems--increasing per capita and family incomes, increasing family stability, and decreasing the number of black males in prison (currently 1 of every 3 black males in California between the ages of 20 and 29 are under the control of the criminal justice system and they make up a third of the prison population although they comprise only 3.7% of the overall state population).

Goal 6-To increase the number and economic viability of African American entrepreneurs and businesses.

Goal 7-To increase the level of "human capital"in the African American community.

Goal 8-To increase access to capital for entrepreneurs.

Goal 9-To provide access to "protected" or "captive" markets for goods and services provided by African Americans. These should include: goods and services attractive to, or needed by, African American consumers, goods and services attractive to non-African American consumers but accessible only through African American businesses, and access to markets protected by set-asides or preferences.

Goal 10-To preserve and/or increase the level of capital and wealth in the African American community.

Goal 11-To increase community cohesion and strengthen identity.

Goal 12-To increase the community's political power and influence on public policy.

The recommendations that resulted from analysis of the data included the following:

Recommendation 1- Secure a clearly stated public commitment of the public and private sector leadership of the city to the existence of a viable African American community in San Francisco. San Francisco, like most cities in the United States, has had a laissez faire approach with regard to population demographics. That is, the unstated policy has been to allow people to in-migrate and out-migrate from the city without regard to social policy or goals regarding the composition of the city. In contrast, this recommendation calls for the establishment of a clearly articulated and publically stated "vision" which speaks directly to the issue of defining diversity as it pertains to African Americans within the city. This

vision should provide the rationale for policy initiatives designed to preserve or enhance the size and condition of the African American population and provide yardsticks for measuring whether the city is achieving its vision. (Goals: 1,11,12)

Recommendation 2-Establish an African American economic development district in San Francisco to serve as the center of a new tourism area that will attract tourists in the same way as Chinatown, Fisherman's Wharf or other locations that are central to the tourism economy. In this area African American entrepreneurs will be assisted in developing restaurants, night clubs, gift shops, small manufacturing plants, artist's studios, music and video studios, and other businesses that are thematically consistent. The area should be designed to attract African American and other residents of San Francisco as well as tourists. Seek land and development funding from the SF Redevelopment Agency. (Goals: 4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12)

Recommendation 3-Establish an African American development foundation and fund it through: a voluntary "tax" of .005% (half of one percent) on gross revenues of African American owned businesses--especially those that receive city contracting preferences under the MBE/WBE Ordinance, minority preferences from the corporate sector, and/or subsidization through the African American development district recommended above. Issue stock to investors. Seek matching funds from banks and local corporations. (Goals: 8,10,11,12)

Recommendation 4-Negotiate specific private sector hiring and training goals with the private sector companies in San Francisco--especially those that benefit sustantially through sales to African Americans. (Goals: 1,2,4,5)

Recommendation 5-Negotiate goals with private sector companies for sub-contracts with San Francisco based African American entrepreneurs. (Goals: 2,4,6,9)

Recommendation 6-Negotiate training and hiring goals and sub-contracting goals in conjunction with non-profit and for-profit developments in the city such as: the Laurel Heights campus of UCSF, Mission Bay, SFO International Airport, the Navy Yard, the Presidio, the Port, etc. (Goals: 2, 4,6,9)
Note: The negotiated agreement with Host/Marriot to sub-lease one third of their restaurant operations at SFO to minority firms in return for a non-competitve extension of their lease offers a potential model for any organization or corporation seeking concessions from the city--whether for building, easements, land, contracts, etc.

Recommendation 7-Implement aggressive recruitment and increase affirmative action hires in targeted areas of municipal employment--especially at the upper levels of municipal agencies.

Recommendation 8-Meet with municipal agencies and negotiate broad goals for contracting with African American MBE/WBE firms--especially in the areas of finance, insurance, and real estate, fuels and equipment purchases. Identify firms capable of fulfilling contracts in these areas. (Goals: 6,9,10)

Recommendation 9-Promote alternatives to incarceration and oppose construction of additional jails and prisons. (Goals: 5,7)

Recommendation 10-Establish vocational programs in jails and in conjunction with programs offering alternatives to incarceration. Contract with local companies to supply goods built, grown, or developed by participants. Models such as the horticultural training program at San Bruno jail exist. (Goals: 4,5,7,8)

Recommendation 11-Seek improvements in the scope and effectiveness of vocational training programs in the public schools and link training to job placement. (Goals: 4, 5,7)

Recommendation 12-Establish training programs for African American entrepreneurs linked to venture funds provided by the development foundation (recommended above in conjunction with Recommendation 3). Require a commitment to hire African American employees a condition of capitalization. (Goals: 2,3,4,6,7,8.10,11)

Recommendation 13-Establish a clearinghouse for African American businesses to facilitate networking, mutual purchasing and sales opportunities through theBlack Chamber of Commerce. (Goals: 6,9,11)

Recommendation 14-Negotiate a commitment to increased lending to African American homebuyers and entrepreneurs on the part of banks and other lending institutions. (Goals: 1,,7,8)
Note: According to the Assembly's Preliminary Report on the Status of African American Males in California, "Sanwa Bank, one of the five largest banks in the world with assets of $400 billion, made only one loan to an African American in California in 1991. The Bank of California, owned by Mitsubishi Corporation with more than $7 billion in assets in this state, made only two loans to African Americans last year.

Recommendation 15-Work with labor unions to increase recruitment of African American youth for apprenticeship programs and to develop "joint ventures" with schools for vocational training courses and credits. (Goals: 2,3,4,5) **Note:** Assess the potential of the YouthBuild program as a model and identify other potential models.

Recommendation 16-Develop college education guarantee programs and provide intensive college prep in return for commitment to community service. (Goals: 1, 2,3,5)

Recommendation 17-Develop program providing intensive exposure to computer and game technology in conjunction with early childhood education programs. Seek "joint venture" agreements with Apple and/or Hewlitt Packard, etc. (Goals: 5,6)

Recommendation 18-Develop/expand mentoring program and recruit black male adults to serve as models/tutors/mentors for 1-2 black male youth. (Goals: 5,7,11)

Recommendation 19-Preserve and enhance African American equity in real estate through purchase of rights of first refusal and/or reverse annuity mortgages with African American homeowners. Implement through the development foundation (see Recommendation 3) or a community development corporation. (Goals: 1,10, 11,12)

Recommendation 20-Analyze benefits and liabilities of public housing privatization and/or tenant management programs and develop position on those issues.
(Goals: 1,4,9,10,11)

Recommendation 21-Encourage development of affordable housing with land write downs and sweat equity participation. Negotiate land deals with SF Redevelopment Agency, Section 8 subsidization with SFHA, and assess experience of local sweat equity housing examples--such as Jubilee West and Delancey St.-- for relevance. (Goals: 1,10,11)

Recommendation 21-Advocate to maintain welfare benefits and transfer payments at their current level at least and to secure additional housing benefits for AFDC families.
Note: A 1991 study, cited in the Assembly report on the status of African American males, found that the average AFDC family in California spent month more than half the maximum AFDC entitlement--in comparison with the HUD guideline which sets one third of income as the maximum amount that should be spent for housing.

Recommendation 22-Institute a media-based long term public education campaign aimed at the African American community and designed to foster confidence in Black businesses and build community cohesion. (Goals: 1,6,9,11)

Recommendation 23-Seek to build political and economic coalitions with other ethnic minority groups based on mutual benefit to support candidates and policies aimed at mutual development. (Goals: 12)

1.0-Introduction

In late 1991 the Human Rights Commission issued a Request for Proposals (RFP) to conduct "a research project on the comparative social, economic, health and educational status of African Americans in San Francisco during the period from 1964 to the present." The RFP further stated that the project will *"identify the major successes, key issues, and significant problems and barriers to progress during the period and make recommendations for new policies and future strategies needed to increase and sustain the full and prosperous participation of the African American community in the educational, social and economic life of the community."*

The issuance of the RFP was the result of "a challenging inquiry by the San Francisco Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the San Francisco Black Leadership Forum, and the African American Agenda Council" made in conjunction with the celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the Human Rights Commission in 1964. Those organizations posed the following questions:

- "What has happened to the African American Community in the intervening twenty-five years?
- "Are African Americans in San Francisco better off today; worse; or the same as twenty-five years ago?
- "How do they compare with the majority community?"
- "If they are not at parity with the majority community, what actions should be taken to improve their status or in some cases help them to exceed parity?"

To provide initial direction to the inquiry, the Human Rights Commission established the Committee on African American Parity (CAAP). The CAAP directed that the research effort focus on answering these questions with regard to eight "issue areas:"

- Employment and Entrepreneurship
- Education
- Criminal Justice
- Housing
- Health Services
- Media Relations
- Political Empowerment, and
- African American Families

However, a lack of funding limited the initial scope of the inquiry and led to a decision to look first at the area of employment and entrepreneurship.

This report, therefore, is limited to consideration of the comparative economic well being of the African American community only. It assesses economic parity from several perspectives and attempts to explain the factors that influence the extent to which parity

does, or does not, exist. It presents the findings, conclusions, and recommendations ensuing from that research.

2.0-Methodology

The approach taken to the study involved collecting data at each decennial milestone between 1960--the last census prior to the establishment of the Human rights Commissio in 1964--and 1990, and attempting to develop comparable snapshots of the condition or status of the African American community at each milestone. The primary sources of the data used to develop the snapshots were the US Census for 1960,1970, 1980, and 1990; special studies of minority owned businesses developed by the US Department of Commerce; ABAG data on the Bay Area; data developed by the San Francisco Department of City Planning; the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency; the Human Rights Commission; the California Department of Social Services; the San Francisco Police Department and the San Francisco Fire Department. Other sources included research papers by Charles Turner of the CAAP on housing issues, a report on the state of race relations in San Francisco issued by the San Francisco Conference on Religion, Race and Social Concerns of the Catholic Diocese in 1968; local and national newspapers; magazine articles; information from the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; and the annual reports of the National Urban League on the state of /black America. Several interviews were conducted with African American leaders and historical figures in the African American community to gain insight into the human aspects of various programs and developments in the community. The direction of the study also benefited from input by members of the CAAP who attended presentations of interim findings.

The study encountered some problems in obtaining some of the data, delays in obtaining other data, and difficulty in assuring that data--even that from the same source like census data--was comparable. In some instances, the terminology and defiinitions used in collecting and displaying the data changed over time, while in other cases data was not collected on some groups separately at various point in the past. Where problems of comparability or completeness exist we have attempted to identify them.

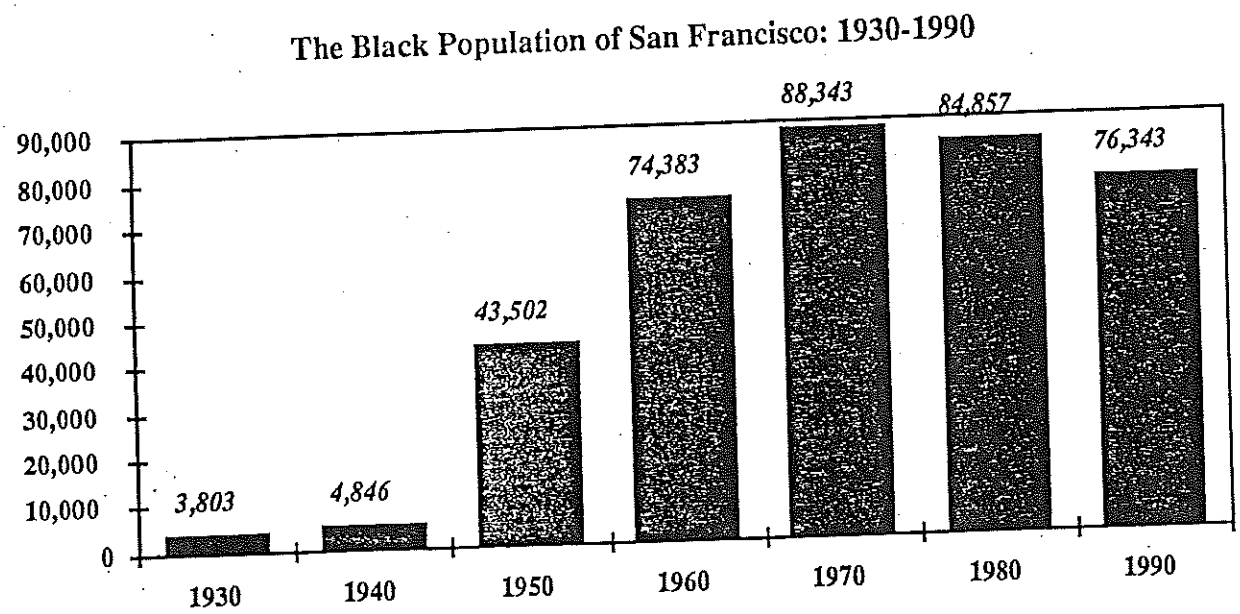
3.0-Development of the African American Community in San Francisco

A brief overview of the development of the African American community in San Francisco provides the historical context for understanding changes in the economic competitiveness and well-being of African Americans since 1964.

African Americans have lived in, and been prominent in the life of, San Francisco since the days of the Gold Rush. William Leidesdorff, an African American, was the Captain of the first steamship to enter San Francisco harbor and--as the city Treasurer--a key civic leader. His contributions to the political, social and economic development of the city were recognized by naming a street in downtown San Francisco after him.

The number of African American residents remained small until the mid-1900s, however. In 1910, there were only 1,642 African Americans in San Francisco. By 1930, the US

Census reported that 3,803 African Americans lived in the city-- and they comprised slightly more than one half of one percent of the population. The number of African American residents increased by 27 % over the next ten years so that by 1940 there were 4,846 African Americans living in San Francisco. During the following decade the number of African Americans exploded. In terms of percentages, the African American population increase 798 % in ten years until there were 43,520 African American residents in 1950. As Figure 1 and Figure 2 show, the number and percentage of African Americans continued to grow rapidly over the next twenty years until it peaked in 1970 at 88,343--or 13.4% of the population. After 1970 it declined in both absolute and comparative terms until in 1990, the US Census recorded an African American population of 76,343 or 10.9% of the overall population of the city. Figure 1 graphically depicts the growth and decline of the African American population between 1930 and 1990.



Source: 1960,70,80,90 U.S. Census, and San Francisco: A City In Crisis.

FIG: 1 THE BLACK POPULATION IN SAN FRANCISCO 1930-1990

What factors led to the rapid growth of the African American community during the 40s? What sustained that growth through the 60s? And, what led to the decline in the size of the African American community after 1970? The answers to those questions are crucial to understanding how African Americans have fared economically during the period between 1964 and 1990 that is of concern to the CAAP and the Human Rights Commission.

According to long time African American residents of the city who first came to San Francisco at that time, there was relatively little discrimination against African Americans during the 1930s in terms of housing. Black people lived throughout the city, and there was a high degree of integration, especially in neighborhoods where large numbers of Japanese also lived.

The Economic and Social Effects of World War II on African Americans

The major impetus to the rapid growth of the African American community between 1940 and 1950 was the beginning of World War II. The war, and the role that San Francisco played in the war, were the largest single factor influencing the growth and shape of the African American community to date.

It was only after the start of World War II that a clearly identifiable African American community developed. 2 During the ten year period from 1940 to 1950 the African American population of the city increased, on average, by 4,833 people per year--or by as many people each year as there were in the total population of African Americans at the beginning of the decade. Initially African Americans came--or were recruited to come--to San Francisco to work in the war industries. As the American economy geared up to fight the war and as the demand for manpower outstripped the supply of workers, industry turned to those people--women, Negroes, Okies--who had been considered untrainable and unemployable just a few years earlier. They were encouraged to do so by Executive Order 8802 which President Franklin Roosevelt had issued several months before Pearl Harbor. That order, which resulted from a threat by A. Phillip Randolph to organize a March on Washington, prohibited discrimination in employment by defense contractors. However, although the Executive Order undoubtedly had a liberalizing effect on hiring practices, the real motive for hiring African Americans in large numbers was the need for workers to fill the shortages created by rising war-related production demands and the diversion of a large portion of the work forces from the civilian sector into the armed forces.

The San Francisco Bay Area became a center for shipbuilding, an embarcation point for military personnel headed for the Pacific War Theater, and a site for the development of a plethora of new military facilities--Oakland Army Base, the Naval Supply Center, the Alameda Naval Air Station, Treasure Island, Travis Air Force Base in Marin, and Hunters Point. Kaiser built new shipyards in Oakland, Richmond, Sausalito, and Vallejo. Bechtel built Marinship in Sausalito,, and the government purchased the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company at Hunters Point. Tales abound about how Kaiser advertised nationwide and even sent trains through the southwest and south to recruit workers for its shipyards. According to some stories, trains stopped at each crossroad and recruiters called farmers and sharecroppers from the fields to pack up and get on board for California--good jobs, more cash than they'd ever seen, and decent places to live. Whether the stories are true or not, before the end of the war there were 300,000 workers employed in Bay Area shipyards and uncounted others engaged in other defense-related jobs from Seattle to San Diego. Kaiser's shipyards alone were launching a new ship every day.

Although most of the industrial labor unions discriminated against black workers--they paid dues, but were not allowed to vote--most African Americans prospered during the war and those who came in the early years of the war sent home for their families and friends. According to a report in the San Francisco Examiner of December 4, 1991 (which provided much of the background information for this section) "personal income in the Bay Area tripled during the war, and federal money accounted for 45 percent of total income."

The migration of war workers, including African Americans, into San Francisco created such a large demand for housing that the government built large tracts of "temporary war housing" in the Hunter's Point area of the city close to the nearby shipyards. Other African Americans moved into the Fillmore, an area that had been predominantly Jewish, and-- after the internment of the city's Japanese citizens in-- into Japantown. One African American who lived there at the time reported that one day all of his Japanese schoolmates and neighbors disappeared. No one said where they had gone or what had happened to them.[3]

These patterns of settlement which began during the war became more starkly defined and more racially segregated over the next 30 to 40 years. As African Americans moved in to the Western Addition, whites moved out to the Sunset, the Richmond and other Districts further away from downtown. Similarly, Hunter's Point, which was over 98% white in 1940, became 87% black by 1970.

The government assumed that African Americans living in the temporary war housing would to leave when the war ended, but that expectation was short lived. When they didn't, the one and two story wooden houses that had been built in Hunter's Point were turned over to the public housing authority. The African American population continued to grow,--not only as those here decided to stay--but as black soldiers returning from the Pacific front chose to live in San Francisco and defense workers migrated to San Francisco from other west coast cities.

By 1950 the Fillmore and Hunters Point had already become the centers of black life in San Francisco. Both communities rapidly gained reputations as lively areas of the city-- with a rich street life, strong community institutions and churches, restaurants serving black regional foods, and a range of nightclubs and cabarets that became well known for jazz and blues and other forms of African American music. Successful businesses owned by African Americans and catering to African Americans sprung up along the major streets in Hunter's Point and the Fillmore.

Progress was made during the war years, but it was slow--and it was not always constant. The general strike in 1938 increased the solidarity in some labor unions, especially in the ILWU, but it wasn't until 1945 that a State Supreme Court decision declared that some discriminatory union practices were illegal. In 1942, Mr. Audley Cole was hired as the first black conductor on San Francisco's Municipal Railway, and it was another two years

before his wife, Mrs. Josephine Cole, a native San Franciscan, became the first black public school teacher.

The years between the mid-forties and the mid-60s were the glory years for those communities from a social standpoint, but they were disastrous in other ways. When the shipyards closed and African American workers were laid off they found that could not compete for the jobs that remained. Competition from returning soldiers and sailors increased and, as it did, racial discrimination mounted. The rate of unemployment in the black community grew to over 30% in the years after the war. Incomes fell in the black community and housing discrimination stiffened until by the mid-1960s two communities--the Fillmore and Hunter's Point--which had been vibrant with hope and economic vitality 15 to 20 years before, were called low income ghettoes.

The Civil Rights Movement

The 1950s were years of foment and change for black Americans. In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court's decision overturned Plessy v. Ferguson and outlawed de jure segregation in the public schools. Less than a year later, on December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks boarded a bus in Montgomery, Alabama--an event which led to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The next year, 1956, the "Little Rock Nine" entered Central H.S. in Little Rock in the first major challenge to school segregation after Brown v. Board of Education. Then in February of 1960, the first sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina ignited nationwide supportive demonstrations and a boycott of Woolworths department stores. Although the locus of the civil rights movement remained in the South and most national attention was focussed there, in the early 60s there were demonstrations and protests in cities throughout the country--wherever there were large black populations--including San Francisco and other Bay Area cities. Led by the NAACP, local Urban League chapters, and local organizations that developed from the grassroots, African Americans demanded "Jobs and Freedom"-- an end to discrimination in employment, housing, and education. The March on Washington in September 1963, a continuation of local organizing efforts and protests across the country, and riots or uprisings in a number or major urban centers led to the passage of a number of new federal and state civil rights laws. These laws provided the basis for subsequent fair housing efforts, suits leading to the development of school desegregation plans, legal actions against unions and apprenticeship programs, and suits against municipal and state public agencies such as police and fire departments aimed at increasing employment and promotional opportunities.

However, while new civil rights laws were passed that expanded the legal rights of African Americans and programs like the War on Poverty and Model Cities increased employment and nurtured new community leaders, several other social and economic forces developed that had a profoundly detrimental impact on the African American community in San Francisco. The most influential forces involved a reformulation of the city's economic base and its view of its role in the region and the state; the development of BART; urban renewal, gentrification and increased competition for housing; the outmigration of African Americans; and, the in-migration of Latinos and Asians.

The Changing Economic Base

San Francisco : A City In Crisis, a report published by the San Francisco Conference on Religion, Race and Social Concerns in 1968, spoke of the extensive poverty in San Francisco's black ghettos as "the bitter fruit of a more sophisticated economy that has fewer jobs today than in the past for unskilled workers...the difference in general business conditions between 1947 and 1963 is due to changing production methods and industrial relocation and declining industries."

As noted above, during the war the African American workers who flooded into the Bay Area were employed in the shipyards, on the waterfront, and in other defense related jobs. Except for those employed as longshoremen or laborers, most of the jobs they held were in manufacturing. The closing of the shipyards after the war was only the beginning of a long term shift in the shape of San Francisco's economy. Between 1947 and 1963 production jobs in manufacturing in San Francisco decreased by 12,431 or 21%. The shipping industry also began to containerize--a technological innovation that cut deeply into the ranks of longshoremen--another industry that employed a significant number of black workers and paid decent wages.

The trend continued during the 70's and 80s as manufacturing jobs in San Francisco -- especially jobs in heavy industry--left the city. Figure 2 shows the decline in the number of manufacturing jobs within San Francisco.

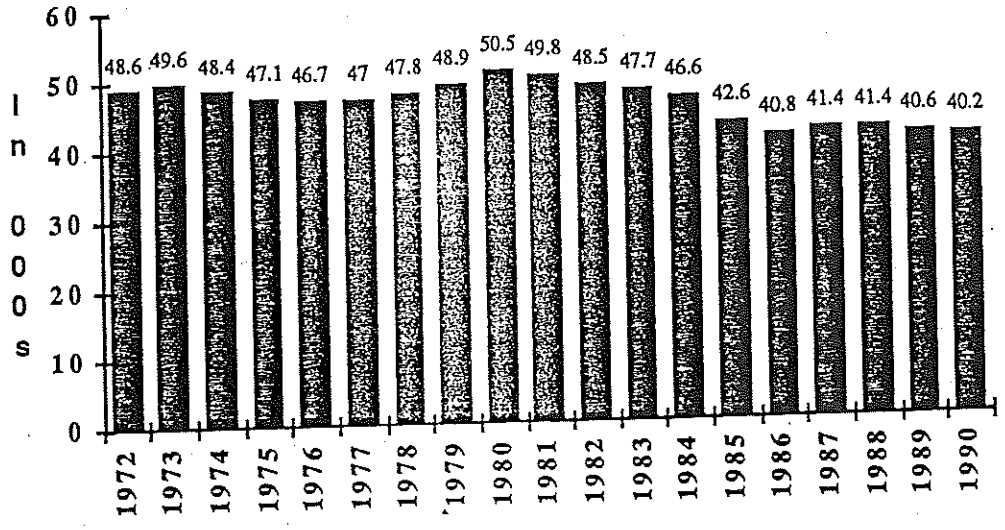


FIG 2: NUMBER OF MANUFACTURING JOBS IN SAN FRANCISCO (1972-1990)

In some cases the companies, and the jobs they provided, moved out of the region. In other cases they moved to other parts of the Bay Area. By 1990,though, San Francisco had a smaller percentage of the manufacturing jobs that remained in the Bay Area than any other sub-region except the North Bay. Table 1 shows the proportional decline of manufacturing jobs in San Francisco between 1975 and 1990.

	1975	1980	1985	1990
North Bay %	6	6	7	8
East Bay %	29	23	21	23
South Bay %	52	60	63	61
San Francisco %	13	11	9	8

TABLE 1 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MANUFACTURING JOBS IN BAY AREA SUB-REGIONS

As the number of manufacturing jobs declined and more and more heavy industries left San Francisco, the African American workers who had been employed in those industries either lost their jobs or followed them to their new locations.

However, despite the decline of manufacturing and a restructuring of the shipping industry, the overall economy of the city continued to expand. San Francisco began to redefine itself as the "administrative center of the Bay Area region" and a major center of finance and communications on the west coast. The decline in blue collar jobs in the city was more than offset by an increase in other industries. Between 1958 and 1965, for example, there were 11,200 new jobs added in the finance industry, 19,600 in the service industries, and 10,000 in the government sector.

San Francisco continued to add new jobs between 1970 and 1990, and the number of workers in the work force also grew. The size of San Francisco's labor force even grew between 1970 and 1980 when the total population declined (as shown in Table 2 below). In fact, the number of new jobs generated in the city quickly exceeded the size of the resident workforce--that is, by 1970 there were 25,973 more jobs than there were residents in the workforce. By 1980 the number of excess jobs had increased to 183,192, and by 1990 there were 188,087 more jobs than workers who lived in San Francisco. To fill these jobs and others, San Francisco became a net importer of labor from other parts of the Bay Area which had more workers than jobs.

	1970	1980	1990
Population	715,674	678,974	723,959
Jobs	478,170	594,566	629,257
Workforce	455,400	553,600	577,300

TABLE 2 SF TOTAL POPULATION, TOTAL NUMBER OF JOBS AND TOTAL WORKFORCE SIZE 1970-1990

However, the new jobs that were developed in San Francisco as manufacturing jobs decreased were in industries that, in many cases, required higher levels of skill-- or at least different skills-- than those required in the manufacturing sector. As the 1992 Commerce and Industry Inventory of the SF Department of City Planning stated: "From 1975 to 1990, San Francisco's largest employment groups are service and government industries, key sectors contributing to its role as a regional center." The service industry experienced the greatest growth. In 1975 there were 123,000 service jobs. That number had grown to 203,000 by 1990 or an increase of 80,000 new jobs over a fifteen year period. When one considers that the net number of new jobs added in San Francisco in that period was 95,000--from 482,000 in 1975 to 577,000 in 1990---the impact of the 80,000 jobs added by the service industry becomes even more apparent. Jobs in the retail industry also increased from 55,000 to 79,000--a net gain of 24,000 jobs; companies in the finance, insurance and real estate industries (F.I.R.E.) added 9,000; another 5,000 were added in construction; and, jobs in the government sector increased by 4,000. The industries that provided a declining number of jobs in San Francisco during the past 15 years included manufacturing-- which experienced a decrease in workforce of 7,000; wholesale trade, which lost 8,000 jobs; transportation, where the workforce declined by 6,000; and, communications and utilities where there was a net loss of 5,000 jobs.

Much of the competition for the jobs in San Francisco's "new" economy has come from outside of the city via a commuting workforce. This was facilitated by the development of the BART system which allows workers who live in the fast growing East Bay counties convenient access to downtown San Francisco. Thus, although the white population of San Francisco declined steadily since 1950, they still dominate the workforce and earn a disproportionate share of the income generated by San Francisco employers.

San Francisco's great economic transformation led directly and indirectly to a decrease both in the African American population's economic competitiveness and size. The urban renewal program in the Western Addition had significant negative effects on the Fillmore. In San Francisco, as in a number of other cities, urban renewal amounted to "Negro removal." The urban renewal program in the Western Addition, which was designed to widen Geary Boulevard in order to provide residents of the Richmond a

more efficient way of reaching the downtown area of the city, literally displaced thousands of African American residents when their homes were acquired by eminent domain. Although urban renewal laws stipulated that displaced residents had a priority right to new housing units developed under the renewal program, most of the former residents had either moved out of the area and were settled in new homes by the time new units in the renewal project area were completed, or--as was even more commonly the case--they could not afford to pay the market rate rents charged for the new housing units.

Renewal also had a secondary effect on black businesses. When their customers left the area, the African American entrepreneurs who depended on them either relocated or went out of business. As a report developed for the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency recently admitted, urban renewal not only caused a massive dislocation of black residents, it also destroyed Black owned businesses and the economic base of the Fillmore.

The urban renewal program in the Western Addition also contributed to a wave of gentrification in the Fillmore and in a number of other neighborhoods throughout the city including Noe Valley, the Castro, Haight Ashbury, Potrero Hill, and the Mission. As competition for housing increased and costs escalated, many of the city's low and moderate income residents--especially single wage earner families with children-- were forced to leave San Francisco. This had a disproportionate effect on black families since they were overrepresented in the low and moderate income group. In fact, they were often subject to a push-pull effect. They were pushed by the high housing costs and lack of jobs available to them in San Francisco and pulled both by the greater employment opportunities in manufacturing and other industries and the larger supply of affordable housing in other parts of the Bay Area. Figure 3 shows estimated average rental rates for San Francisco from 1970 to 1990. Figure 4 compares those rates to the per capita income of African American families for the same years. As it shows, the cost of rent increased much faster than per capita income until it peaked at almost 90% in 1985.

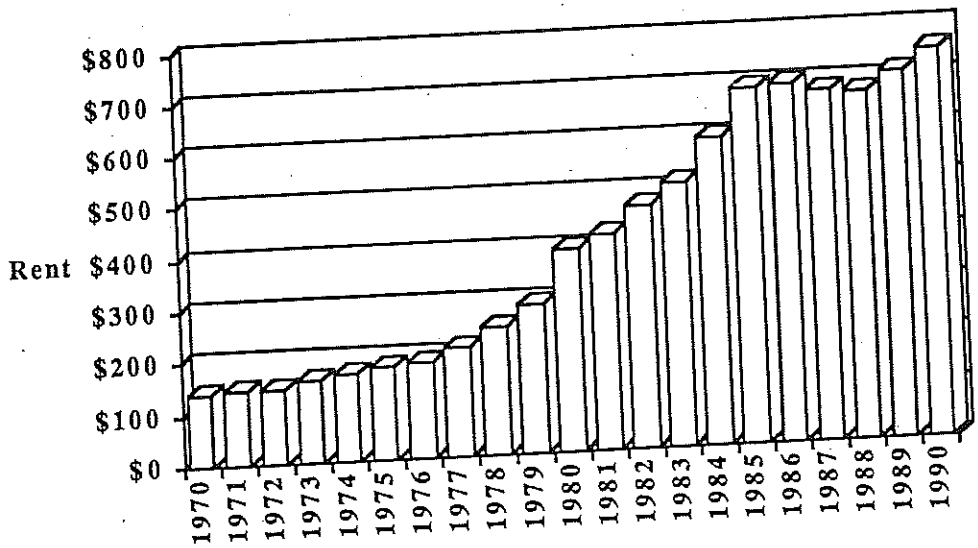


FIG 3: RENTAL RATES IN SF 1970-1990

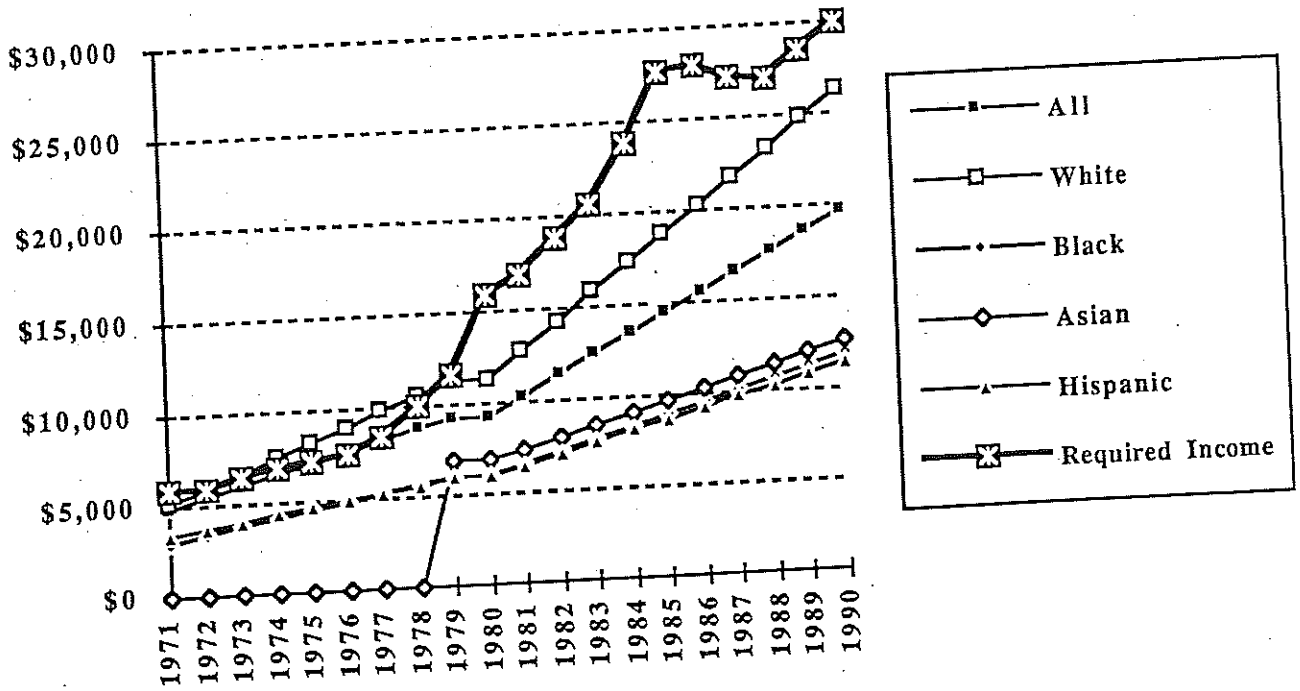


FIG 4: AFRICAN AMERICAN PER CAPITA INCOME AND AVERAGE RENT IN SAN FRANCISCO (Source: Bay Area Council Data and U.S. Census data).

The US Department of Housing and Urban Development current standard for housing costs is 30% of income--or 10% more than the standard that was established in the 1960s. Figure 5 illustrates the income African American and other residents of San Francisco would have had to receive between 1970 and 1990 in order to pay no more than 30% of their income for housing.

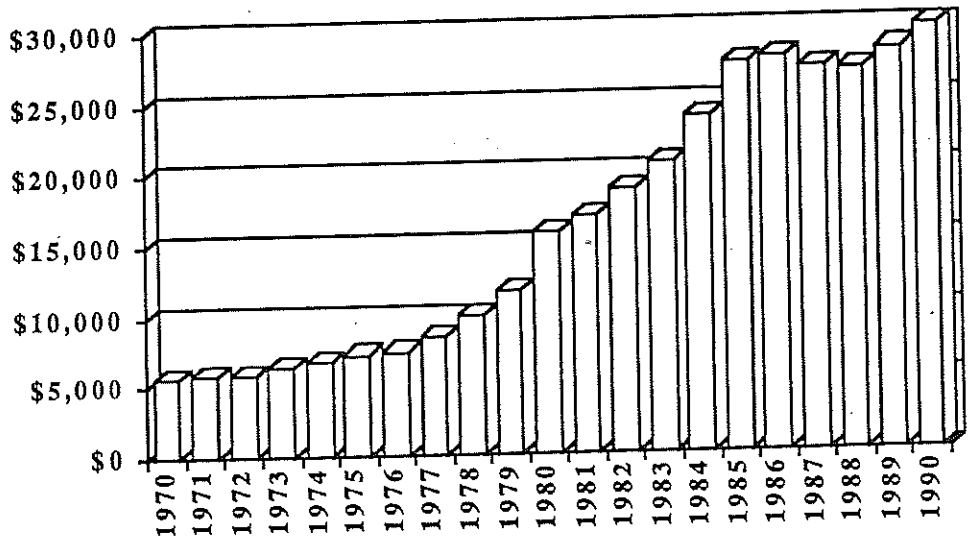


FIG 5: REQUIRED PER CAPITA INCOME - 1970 TO 1990

Between 1975 and 1980 the net out migration of African Americans from San Francisco was 11,096 people. During that period, 23,226 black people moved out of the city and 12,130 moved in. The further effects of the push-pull on African Americans is demonstrated by Table 3 which show net migration patterns by race in San Francisco between 1980 and 1990.

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1980	-1,228	-14,161	50,473	35,084
1990	0	- 7,000	40,000	33,000

TABLE 3 : NET MIGRATION RATES IN SF BY RACE 1980-1990.

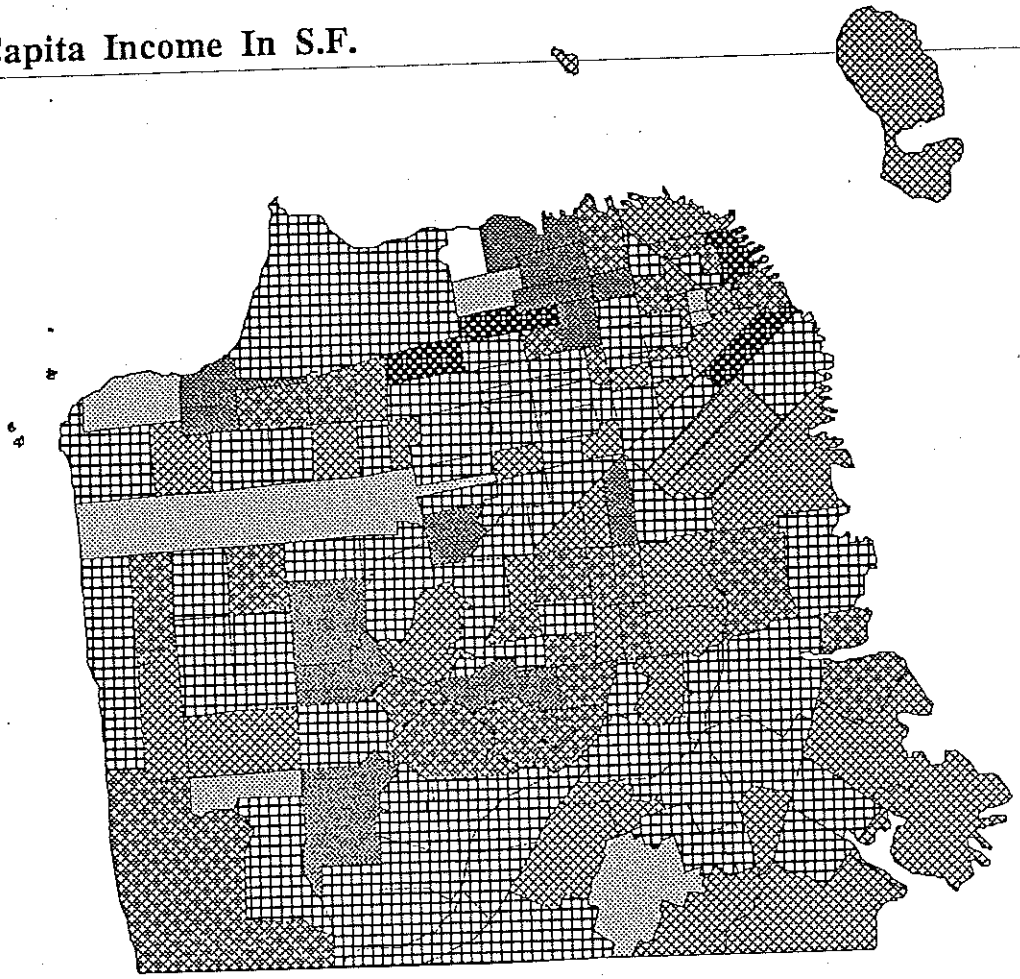
There are indications that the African Americans who are moving into San Francisco from other Bay Area counties and from areas outside of the region are different in some ways from those African Americans who have been moving out of San Francisco. The primary indicators that are visible so far are the increasing level of education in the black

community and the higher than average incomes reported by black residents of some San Francisco neighborhoods on the 1990 census.

As the Census maps (Plates I and II - Geographic Distribution by Income for African American and White Residents of SF) on the next two pages indicate, African Americans with average annual incomes between $30,000 and $50,000 have moved into the Marina, Ashbury Heights, Van Ness, Sea Cliff, St. Francis Wood, and parts of the Sunset. In addition, African Americans with even higher average incomes--between $60,000 and $70,000 per year--have moved into the area extending north from the Golden Gateway Center to just beyond Levi's Plaza and the condominiums and lofts in the Rincon area. With the exception of Sea Cliff, the Golden Gateway Center area, and a small section of Pacific Heights, where white incomes range $10,000 or more than that of African Americans, the incomes of African Americans who reside in these areas of the city are generally on a par with those of their white neighbors.

Table 4 highlights changes in African American educational attainment over the past ten years. In 1980, 11% of all African American residents had finished 4 or more years of college and an additional 21% had some college. By 1990, the percentage of those reporting 4 or more years of college had doubled to 22%, and those reporting some college had increased to 26%. While African Americans still lag behind white residents, especially with regard to the percentage receiving bachelor's and graduate degrees where only one third as many African Americans reported those levels of attainment, it is still a rather dramatic increase over a ten year period. Although this increase could be the sole result of fewer more educated African Americans moving out of the city, it is more likely a combination of more educated--and therefore more economically competitive-- African Americans staying in San Francisco coupled with in-migration of African Americans who have higher levels of education to begin with.

Black Per Capita Income In S.F.



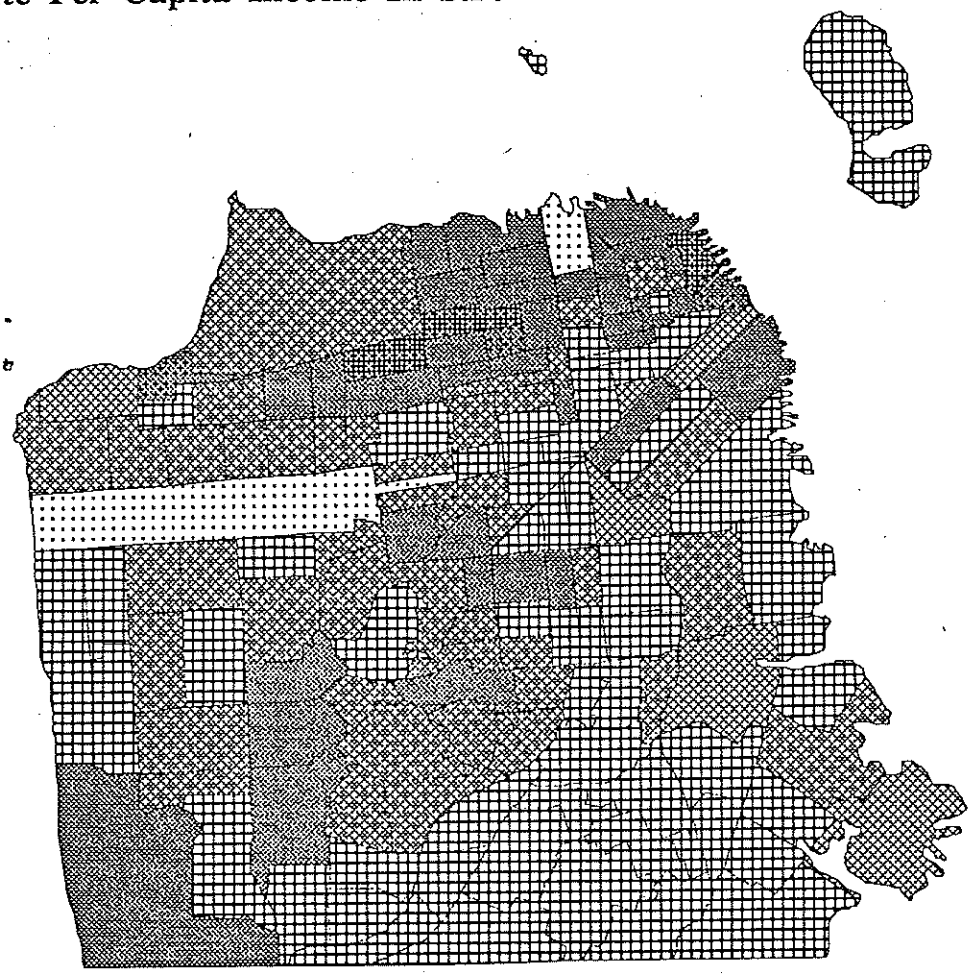
Black Income

Value

- $0 to $5000
- $5000 to $10000
- $10000 to $20000
- $20000 to $30000
- $30000 to $50000
- $50000 to $60000
- $60000 to $70000
- $70000 to $80000
- $80000 to $100000

PLATE I

White Per Capita Income In S.F.

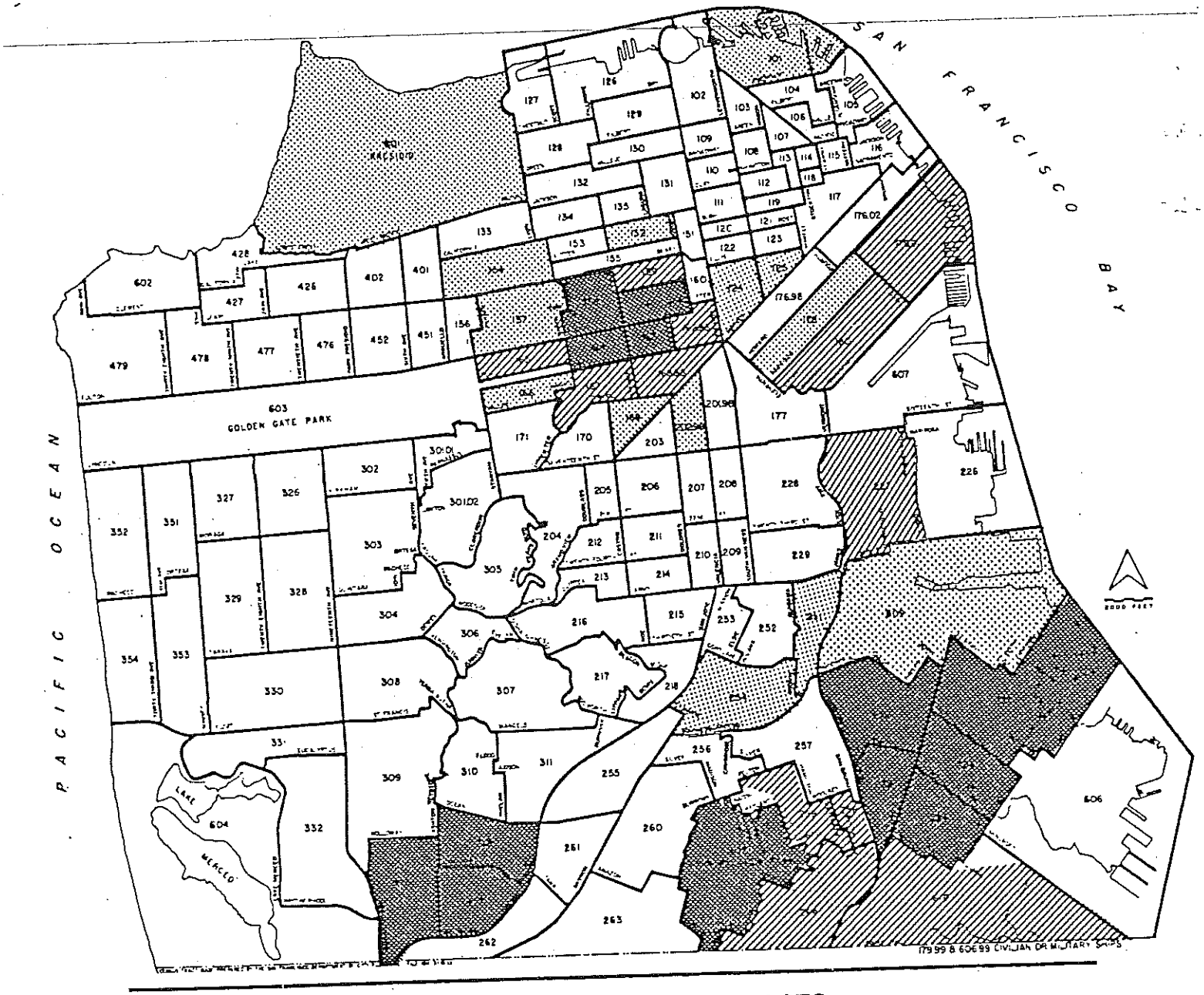


White Income

Value

- $0 to $5000
- $5000 to $10000
- $10000 to $20000
- $20000 to $30000
- $30000 to $50000
- $50000 to $60000
- $60000 to $70000
- $70000 to $80000
- $80000 to $100000

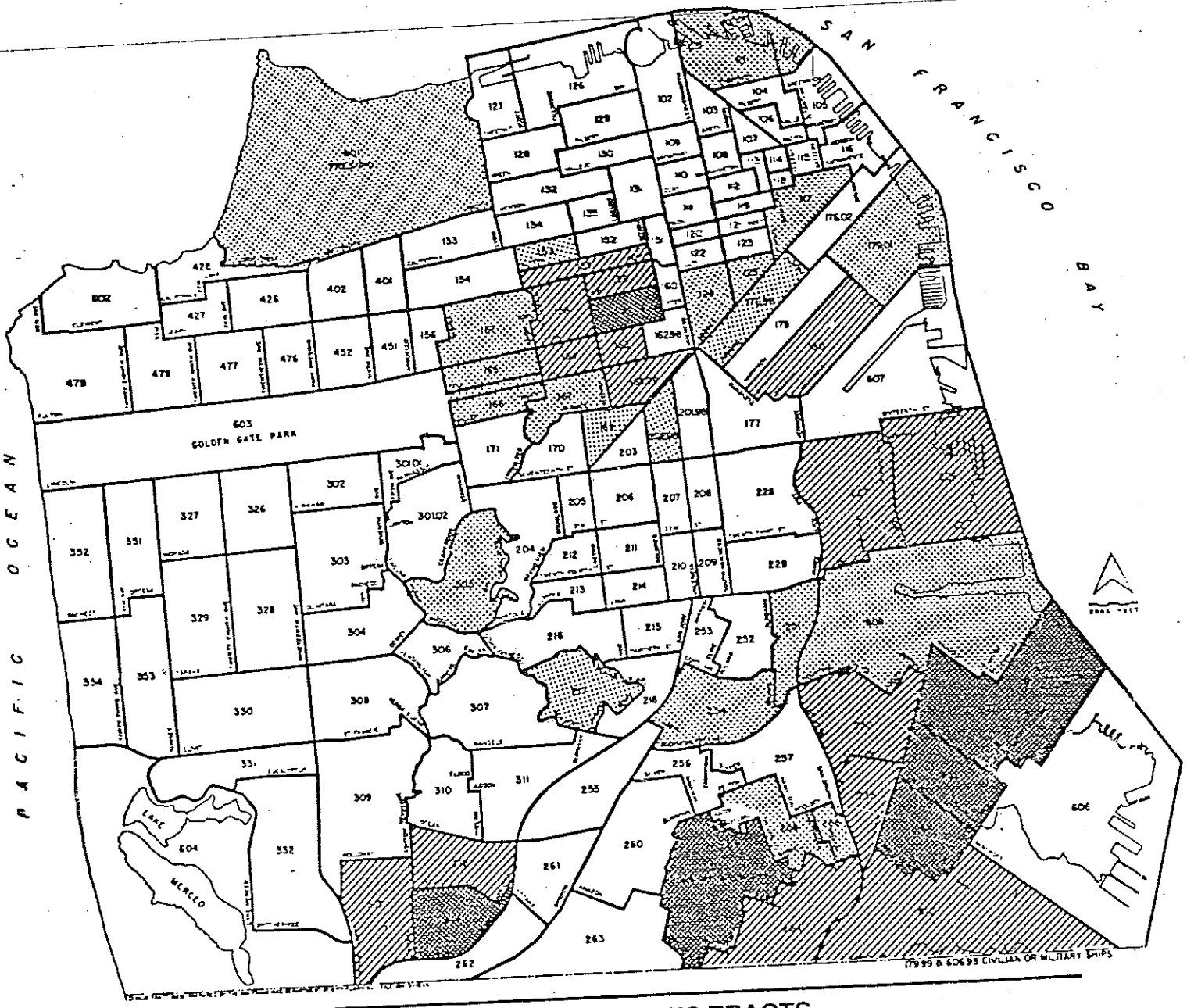
PLATE II



SAN FRANCISCO CENSUS TRACTS
BY PERCENTAGE BLACK POPULATION
1980

- Fifty percent or more African-American
- Twenty-five to forty-nine percent African-American
- Ten percent to twenty-four percent African-American
- Below ten-percent African-American

PLATE III



SAN FRANCISCO CENSUS TRACTS BY PERCENTAGE BLACK POPULATION 1990

- Fifty percent or more African-American
- Twenty-five to forty-nine percent African-American
- Ten percent to twenty-four percent African-American
- Below ten-percent African-American

PLATE IV

Educational Attainment By Race In San Francisco 1980-1990

1990	Total	%	White	%	Black	%	Asian	%	Hispanic	%
Elementary	60,736	11%	16,729	5%	4,684	9%	32,794	23%	13,078	21%
HS Drop Out	57,098	11%	24,639	8%	9,553	19%	17,988	13%	10,844	18%
High School	97,583	18%	53,794	17%	12,617	24%	25,496	18%	13,825	23%
Some College	99,482	19%	59,991	19%	13,579	26%	20,964	15%	10,167	17%
College (4yrs +)	221,116	41%	157,967	50%	11,147	22%	46,426	32%	12,970	21%
Associate Degree	33,281	6%	18,390	6%	3,460	7%	9,806	7%	3,765	6%
Bachelors Degree	118,360	22%	84,454	27%	4,736	9%	26,598	19%	6,129	10%
Grad Degree	69,475	13%	55,123	18%	2,951	6%	10,022	7%	3,076	5%
Total	536,015		313,120		51,580		143,668		60,884	
1980										
Elementary	75,764	16%	35,030	11%	9,217	18%	24,744	27%	13,806	28%
High School DO	49,029	10%	27,434	9%	9,768	19%	8,645	9%	6,713	14%
High School	120,456	25%	79,696	25%	15,111	30%	19,751	21%	13,093	27%
Some College	98,829	21%	67,425	22%	10,746	21%	16,751	18%	8,350	17%
College (4yrs +)	135,263	28%	103,515	33%	5,630	11%	23,459	25%	6,481	13%
Total	479,341		313,100		50,472		#REF!		93,350	

Source: 1980 and 1990 Census Data

TABLE 4 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY RACE IN SF 1980-90

Communities that have been primarily composed of African American residents since the 1940s and 1950s are changing demographically as a result of the out-migration of blacks and the in-migration of other ethnic groups. Although more than half (59.5%) of the African Americans in San Francisco continued to live in the Western Addition, Oceanview/Merced/ Ingleside (OMI), and Bayview-Hunter's Point in 1990, the winds of change in those neighborhoods are clearly evident. The African American populations in the Western Addition and OMI decreased between 1980 and 1990 by 4,261 and 2,244 persons respectively. In addition, blacks declined as a percentage of the population in those communities. In 1980, black residents were 42% of the population in the Western Addition. Ten years later they were only 31.5%. Similarly, blacks were 61.5% of the population of OMI in 1980 and 43% in 1990. Bayview-Hunter's Point was the only traditionally black neighborhood where the number of African American residents increased in the past ten years--and even there, the black population decreased as a percentage of the total population due to a higher rate of increase among other ethnic groups. As a result, the proportion of African Americans decreased from 73% to 62% of the Bayview-Hunter's Point community as other groups moved into the area.

As some African Americans are leaving San Francisco, others are moving into neighborhoods within the city that were formerly segregated. African American in-migrants new to the city are also moving to neighborhoods that have traditionally been predominantly white, Latino, or Asian as noted on the census tract maps showing geographic distribution by income (Plates I-II).

According to an article in the San Francisco Examiner (5/8/91), the number of African American residents increased in the following neighborhoods between 1980 and 1990:North Beach, Russian Hill, Sunset, Parkside, West Portal/Forest Hills/St. Francis Wood, Ingleside, Financial/Downtown, Tenderloin/Civic Center, Marina, Western Addition, Twin Peaks, Diamond Heights, Excelsior, Inner Sunset, and Lakeshore/Park Merced. It should be noted, however, that the number--and percentage--of African Americans in most of these communities is still quite small.

It is not clear whether movement into formerly racially segregated--or resistant-- areas is occurring because affordable housing is available outside of the traditionally black communities or if blacks are being pushed out to accomodate gentrification in communities that are geographically and topographically desireable. It is probably a combination of both reasons--in some areas like the Tenderloin it may be less costly to live than in Bayview-Hunter's Point for instance while in other area like Russian Hill and Parkside resistance to having black neighbors may be lessening.

Plate III on the following page shows areas of concentration of African Americans in 1980. Plate IV depicts the same data for 1980. A comparison of the two maps illustrates the kinds of intracity movement that has occurred in the past ten years. The maps also highlight the fact that the census tracts where blacks have maintained their majority are tracts that also have large numbers of public and federally subsidized housing (SFRA). The people who live in these census tracts may also be too impoverished and too dependent on subsidization to be able to migrate out of publicly subsidized housing or out of the city.

If some African Americans continue to exhibit a great deal of mobility with regard to housing choices in the city while others are restricted socially or economically, the African American population of the city will be further bifurcated--geographically as well as economically.

Another major factor that has, and will, have a substantial impact on the African American community is the changing demographics of the city's population. African Americans, once the second largest ethnic group in San Francisco, are now the fourth largest. As discussed earlier, the African American population of San Francisco increased rapidly and significantly between 1940 and 1970 before beginning to decline in both absolute and relative (%) terms. During that same period, the white population was also undergoing changes. The number of whites decreased steadily from 604,403 in 1960 to 337,118 in 1990 as shown in Figure 7 below. During part of that period--from 1950 through 1980--the overall population of the city also declined slightly before increasing

again between 1980 and 1990. As both the white and black population declined, however, the population of other ethnic groups grew quickly. Most of that growth came about as a result of in-migration of Latinos (or Hispanics, the term used by the US Census) and Asians. The number of Asians (including people from the Asian mainland, Japan, the Phillipines, and other Pacific Islands) increased sharply starting in 1970.

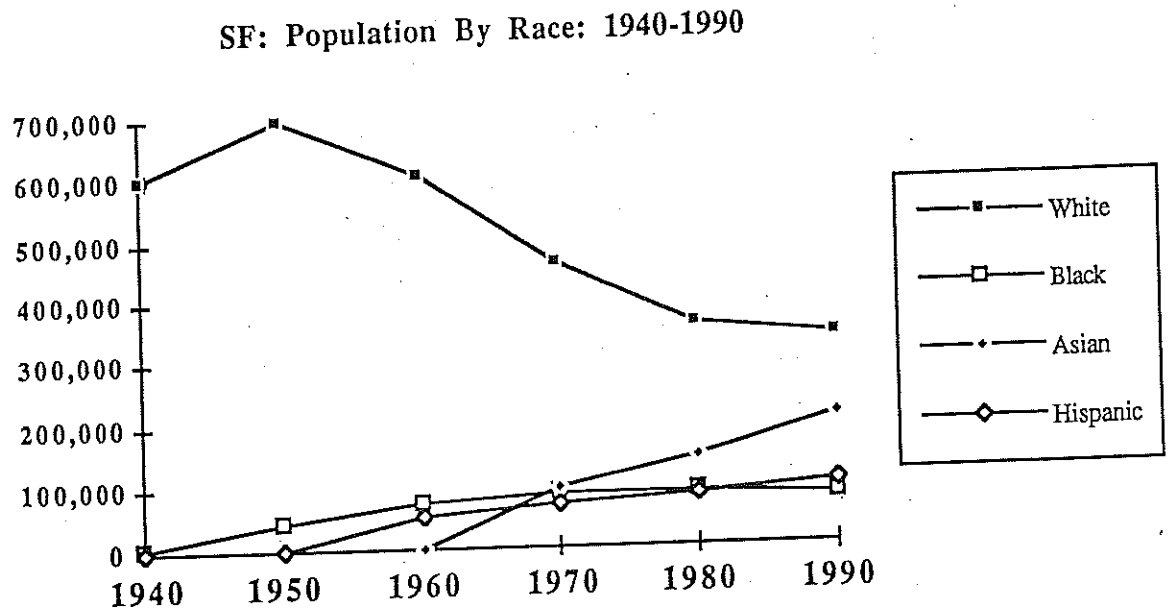


FIG 6 CHANGING RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SAN FRANCISCO 1940-1990

Figures 7-10 show the growth of the Latino and Asian population in San Francisco between 1960 and 1990 as percentages of the overall population.

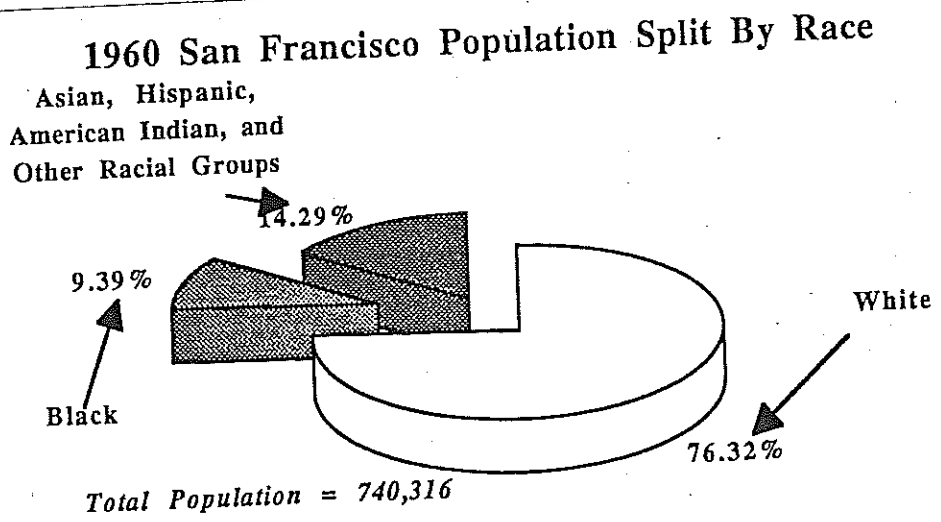


FIG 7: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SAN FRANCISCO POPULATION (1960)

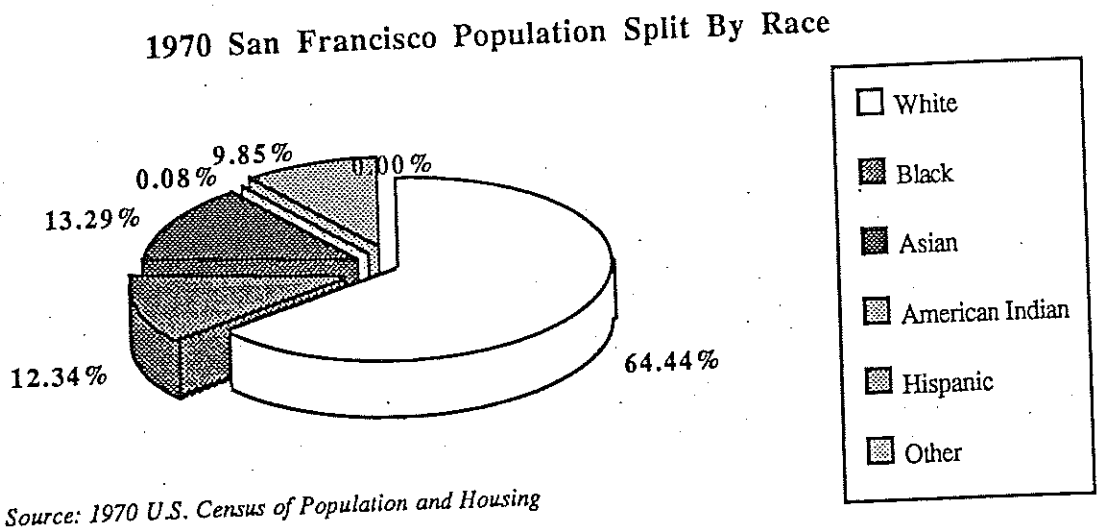


FIG 8: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SAN FRANCISCO POPULATION (1970)

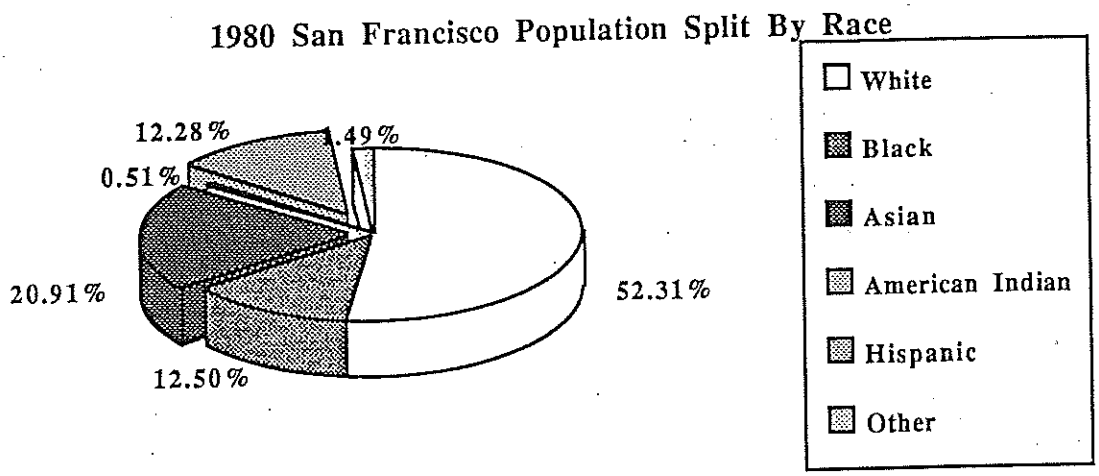


FIG 9: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SAN FRANCISCO POPULATION (1980)

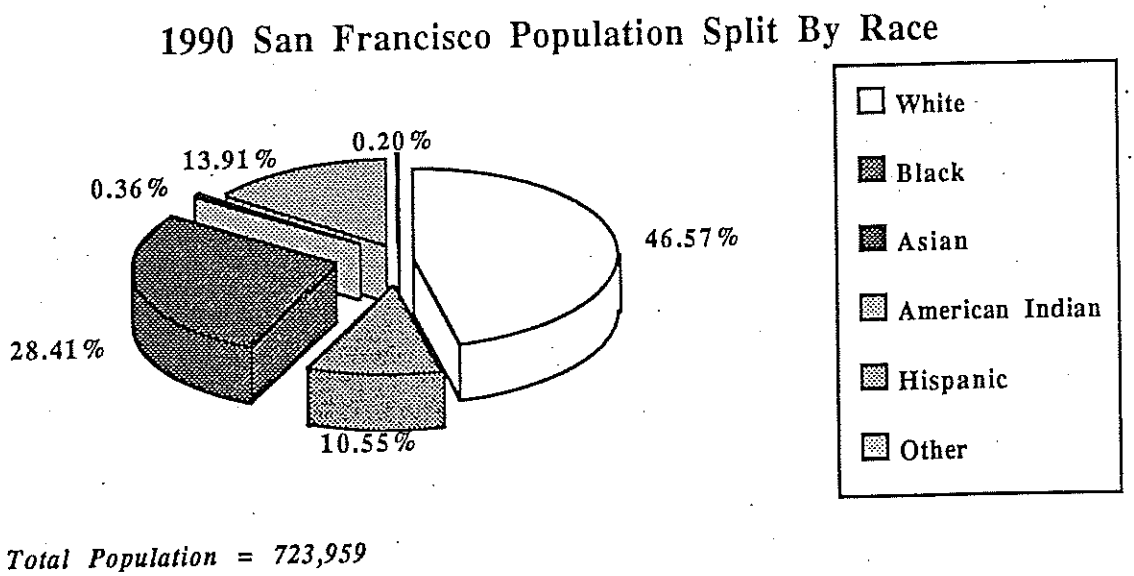


FIG 10: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SAN FRANCISCO POPULATION (1990)

These forces--shifts in the job market, displacement by urban renewal, gentrification, the destruction of a significant portion of the African American capital economy through displacement of black owned businesses, outmigration to the East Bay, and the position of being a minority among minorities—as discussed above have changed the size, the

location, the extent of geographic concentration, and the demographics of the African American population of San Francisco. It has also changed the extent to which it can claim racially based preferences without competing with other minority groups.

4.0-An Assessment of the Extent of Economic Parity

A basic assumption underlying the study is that in the absence of discrimination or other malign contributing factors the African American residents of San Francisco would enjoy economic and social parity with all other residents of the city. That is, African Americans would be socioeconomically indistinguishable from any other ethnic group. Based on this assumption, and lacking any guidance or clear alternative definition of the term parity, Polaris developed several ways of looking at and measuring the extent to which the African American Community enjoys economic parity and the extent to which parity has increased or decreased since 1965. We looked at parity from the following perspectives:

1-The incomes of African American residents of San Francisco compared with the incomes of white residents.

2-The incomes of African American residents of San Francisco compared with the incomes of other non-white residents.

3-The income of African Americans as a percentage of the total income of San Francisco residents compared to their percentage of the population.

4-The percentage of African Americans in the workforce compared to the percentage of the population that is African Americans and that ratio compared to the ratio for other sub-groups of the resident population.

5-The percentage of African Americans in various categories of public and private employment compared both to other groups and to their percentage in the population.

6-The degree to which African Americans are engaged in entrepreneurial and job generating ventures compared to other sub-groups.

A lack of data prevented consideration of other measures of comparative economic wellbeing and stability which we wished to explore. For example, it was not possible to obtain data on the comparative access to capital, foreclosures and losses, or aggregated wealth and equity in the black community.

In each case, the assessment of parity is followed by a discussion of the factors that have contributed to any variances between the status of African Americans and other groups.

4.1-Comparative Income: African American and White Residents of San Francisco

How has the African American population of San Francisco fared economically in comparison with the white population of the city over the past 30 years? If there was a disparity in income between whites and African Americans in 1960, has that disparity increased or decreased over time--and by how much?

In 1960, according to census data reported in the San Francisco Conference on Religion, Race, and Social Concerns report, white males earned $5,109 per year and black males $3,553--or 69.5% of the annual earnings of white men.

In 1970, the average per capita income of white residents of San Francisco was $4,289 and that of African American San Franciscans was $2,585. On average, at that point each white resident--man. woman, or child-- received $1704 per year more than each African american resident. By 1980, the incomes of both groups had more than doubled, but the gap between the average income of each individual white resident and each individual African American resident had grown to $5,301. During the next decade, from 1980 to 1990, per capita income for both groups more than doubled again, but the gap also increased to $14,393. In other words, by 1990 the average per capita income of white San Franciscans was 222% of that of African Americans--or more than double African American per capita income.

	White	Black
1970	$ 4,289	$ 2,585
1980	11,295	5,994
1990	26,222	11,829

TABLE 4: PER CAPITA INCOME OF WHITE AND AFRICAN AMERICAN RESIDENTS OF SAN FRANCISCO 1970-1990

As shown by Figure 11, with the brief exception of two years (1980 and 1981) black per capITa income as a percentage of white per capita income has declined steadily over the past twenty years since the Census reported a high of 60.1% in 1970 sto a low of 45.1% in 1990. What is more, there is no reason to believe that the trend exhibited by the bar graph will change direction even though the absolute per capita income of African Americans is likely to continue to increase. That is, absent some major economic intervention, African American incomes will continue to increase but white incomes will increase more rapidly.

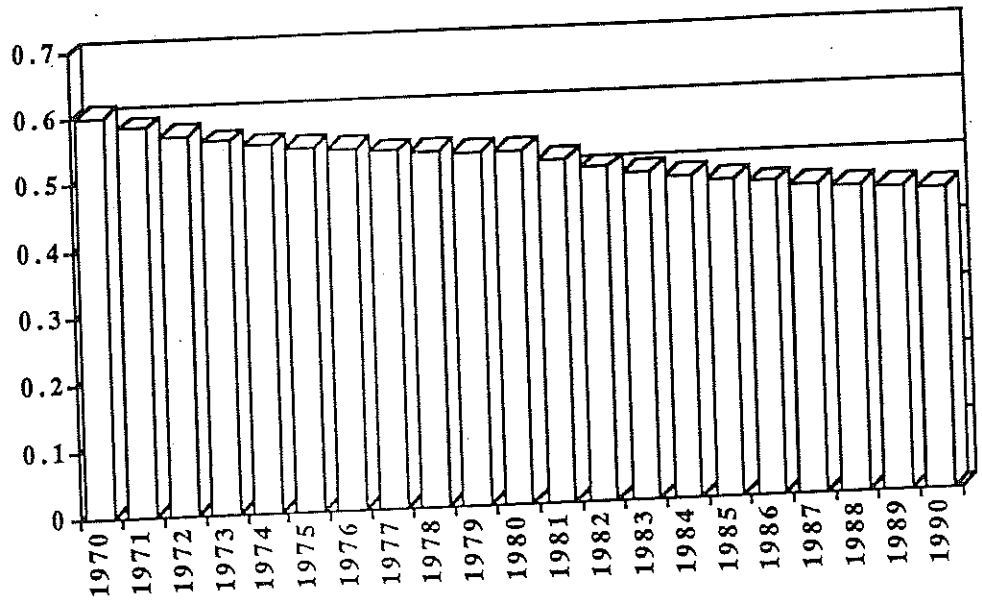


FIG 11: BLACK PER CAPITA INCOME AS A PERCENTAGE OF WHITE PER CAPITA INCOME IN SF 1970-1990 (U.S. Census Data)

Nor are these differences an artifact of differences in household size. African American households are not, on average, sufficiently larger than white households in San Francisco to account for the disparity in per capita income. This is illustrated by looking at Figure 12: San Francisco Household Income by Race for 1980 and 1990. This graph also shows the increasing gap between the incomes of white and African American residents of the city.

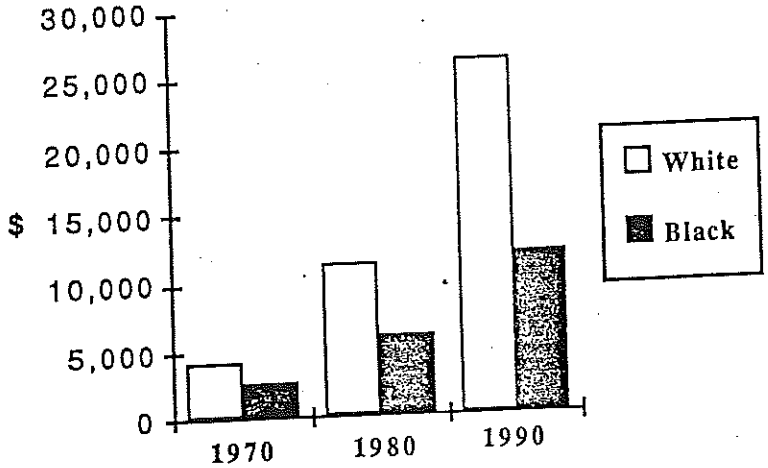


FIG. 12 SF HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY RACE 1980-1990

Differences in age of the two groups also fail to account for the differences in income. Commonly, the aggregate income of a group is lower when that group is substantially younger than another group and has fewer members within the age range where people hit their peak earning power. In fact, median ages of white and black San Franciscans were more disparate in 1970 than in 1990 for both males and females. As illustrated in Table 5, in 1970 white males were, on average, 11.1 years older than black males and white females were 16.1 years older than black females. By 1990 those differences in average age had decreased to 4.1 years for males and 4.1 years for females. This indicates that even as the African American population has aged it has not increased in comparative earning power as might be expected. In fact, comparatively, it has done worse.

	White	Black
1970	35.6 -Male 41.4 -Female	24.5 - Male 25.3 - Female
1980	36.1 - Male 40.2 - Female	28.9 - Male 30- Female
1990	37.2 - Male 38.0 - Female	33.1 - Male 33.9 - Female

TABLE 5 SF POPULATION MEDIAN AGE 1970,80,90

4.2-Comparative Income: African Americans and Other Non-White Groups

How have African Americans fared economically in comparison with other non-white ethnic groups in San Francisco? Have they prospered--or suffered--disproportionately? What trends, if any, can be identified with regard to camparative economic well-being or advantage?

By 1990, San Francisco had become a city of minorities. There was no single ethnic group that comprised a majority of the population. Whites, who had dominated the population for one hundred years or more, became a minority between1980 and 1990. By 1990, whites were only 47% of the overall population--although as seen above, they continued to dominate the economy. However, Asians and Latinos had also become more and more economically competitive--especially with the African American population. Table 6 adds comparative per capita income for Asians and Hispanics to the data shown above for white and African American San Franciscans.

	White	Black	Asian	Latino
1970	$ 4,289	$ 2,585	n/a	$ 2,979
1980	11,295	5,994	6,791	5,924
1990	26,222	11,829	12,665	11,400

TABLE 6 PER CAPITA INCOME BY RACE 1970-1990

In fact, by 1990 per capita income for Asians had exceeded that for African Americans and Hispanic per capita income was approaching African American per capita income. Moreover, household income for both Asians and Latinos was higher than that of African Americans for both 1980 and 1990 as indicated by Table 7.

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1980	$20,041	$14,464	$21,392	$16,822
1990	$41,320	$27,500	$36,654	$33,800

TABLE 7: SF HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY RACE

The higher median incomes of Asian and Latino residents of San Francisco are the result of the ways income has been distributed by race. Figure 15 and Figure 16 graph the distribution of income by races during the decade of the 70s and 80s. As they indicate, with respect to all three other broad ethnic groups, African Americans are over represented in the lower income ranges and greatly under represented in all of the income ranges above $25,000 per household in both 1980 and 1990.

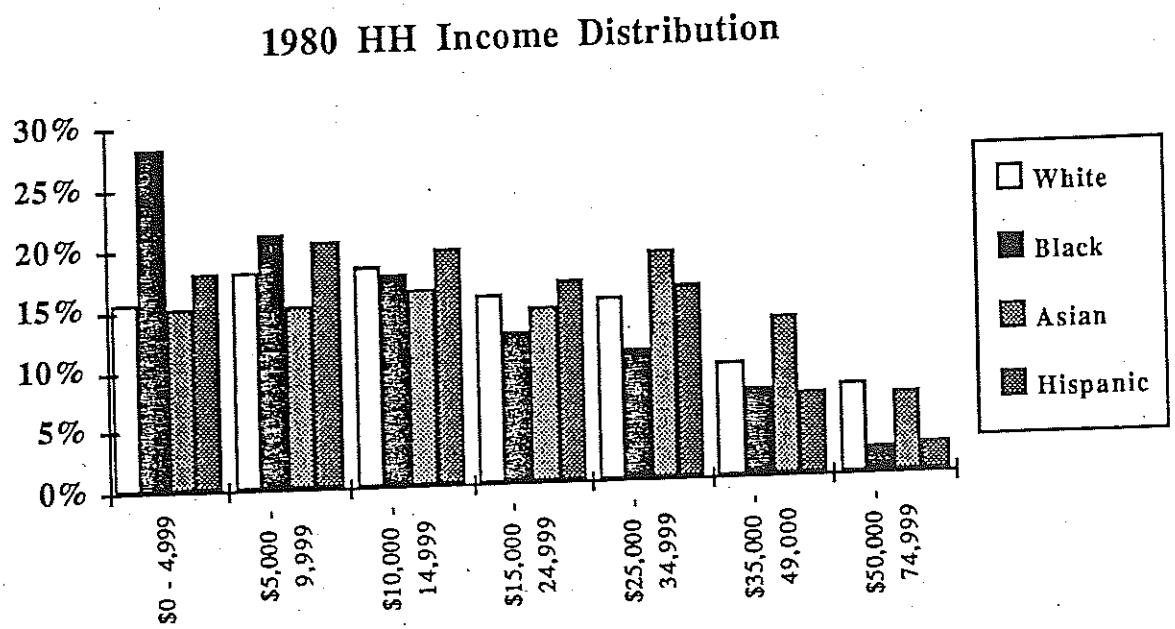


FIG 12 HOUSEHOLD INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY RACE IN SAN FRANCISCO (1980)

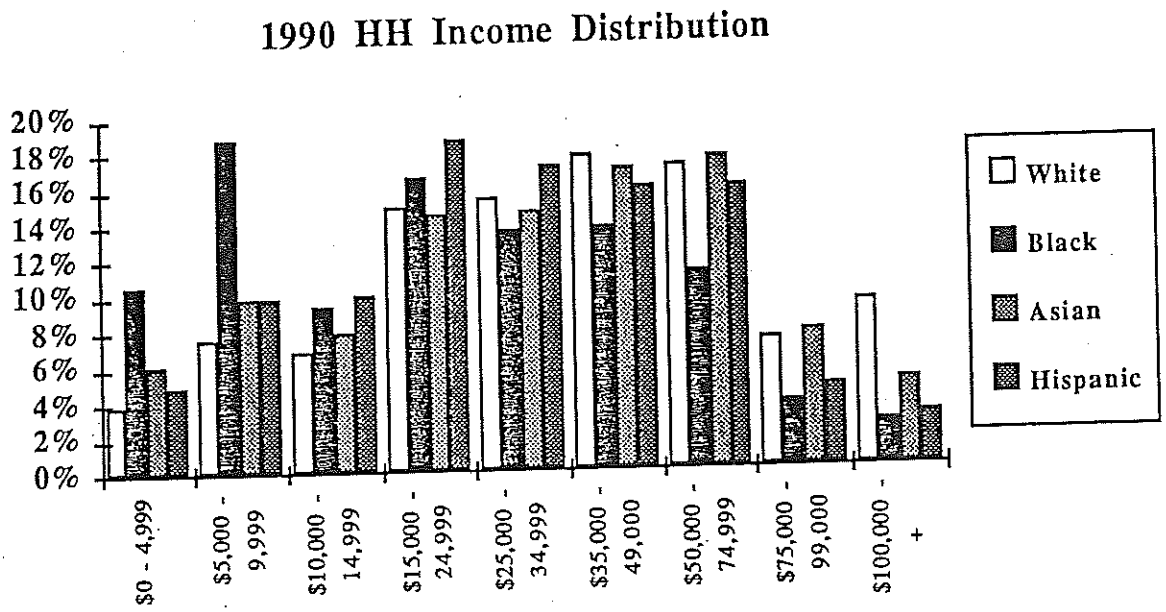


FIG13 HOUSEHOLD INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY RACE IN SAN FRANCISCO (1990)

The economic disparity between ethnic groups is further underscored by looking at the poverty rates of each group and the extent to which the members of each group are dependent on public assistance. Table 8 displays poverty rates for each of the four ethnic groups in 1980 and 1990. As it shows, in both 1980 and 1990 the proportion of African American residents of San Francisco who fell below the poverty line was the highest by far of any of the broad ethnic groups in the city. In addition, while both population share and poverty rates among white residents declined slightly during the 80s, poverty among blacks increased slightly even as their share of the population decreased.

Persons Above and Below Poverty Level in San Francisco by Race -1980 Census

	White	%	Black	%	Asian	%	Hispanic	%
Above poverty	349,513	89%	62,824	75%	128,934	87%	68,687	83%
Below poverty	43,468	11%	21,045	25%	18,697	13%	14,146	17%
Total	392,981		83,869		147,631		82,833	

Persons Above and Below Poverty Level in San Francisco by Race-1990 Census

	White	%	Black	%	Asian	%	Hispanic	%
Above poverty	345,087	91%	56,742	74%	182,505	87%	79,352	84%
Below poverty	35,205	9%	20,096	26%	26,626	13%	15,548	16%
Total	380,292		76,838		209,131		94,900	

TABLE 7 POVERTY RATES BY RACE 1980 and 1990

The incidence of public assistance also points to the fragile economic condition of a significant portion of the African American community. Figure 14 shows the numbers of AFDC recipients in San Francisco by race between 1984 and 1990. It is easy to see from the graph that while the number of white and Hispanic recipients declined over that period (except for 1990) and the number of Asian recipients decreased steadily as well, incidence among African Americans increased. Moreover, while incidence among African Americans was increasing, the total number of recipients decreased from 38,776 in 1984 to 34,498 in 1989 before increasing to 36,883 in 1990. By 1990, African Americans accounted for 52.5% of all of the 14,710 AFDC recipients in the city who were 16 years of age or older.

AFDC Recipients By Race 1983 - 1990

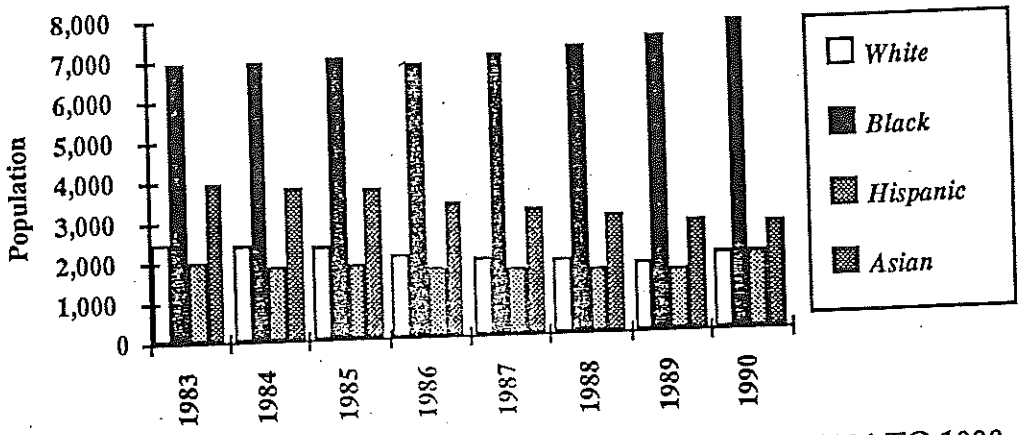


FIG 14 SAN FRANCISCO AFDC RECIPIENTS BY RACE-1984 TO 1990
Source: Public Welfare in California, Department of Social Services

As the next table (Table 9) shows, differences in median age between Blacks, Asians, and Latinos was neglible in 1990. This suggests that unless continued in-migration by Asians and Latinos involves a substantially younger or older population, the different racial groups in San Francisco's workforce are likely to hit their peak earning years together and to compete with each other for jobs and other scarce resources.

San Francisco Population Median Age: 1970, 80, and 90

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1970	35.6 -Male 41.4 -Female	24.5 - Male 25.3 - Female	N/A N/a	26.5 - Male 27.3 - Female
1980	36.1 - Male 40.2 - Female	28.9 - Male 30- Female	29.8 - Male 31.9 - Female	27.2 - Male 29.6 - Female
1990	37.2 - Male 38.0 - Female	33.1 - Male 33.9 - Female	33.4 - Male 33.4 - Female	29.0 - Male 31.5 - Female

TABLE 9 MEDIAN AGE BY RACE 1980-1990

4.3-Income Compared to Population Size

If every ethnic or racial group in San Francisco shared equally in the economy, the aggregated income of each group as a percentage of total citywide income would be roughly proportional to their representation in the population. Does this hold true for African Americans? Is their share of income higher or lower than their population share, and by how much? What trends is it possible to identify?

The income of the African American population, as illustrated in Figure 19 below, has been consistently lower than it would be if total equity existed. In contrast, the aggregated income of white San Franciscans as a proportion of total income in the city greatly exceeded their proportion of the population.

Racial Group Share of Pop and Income in S.F.: 1990

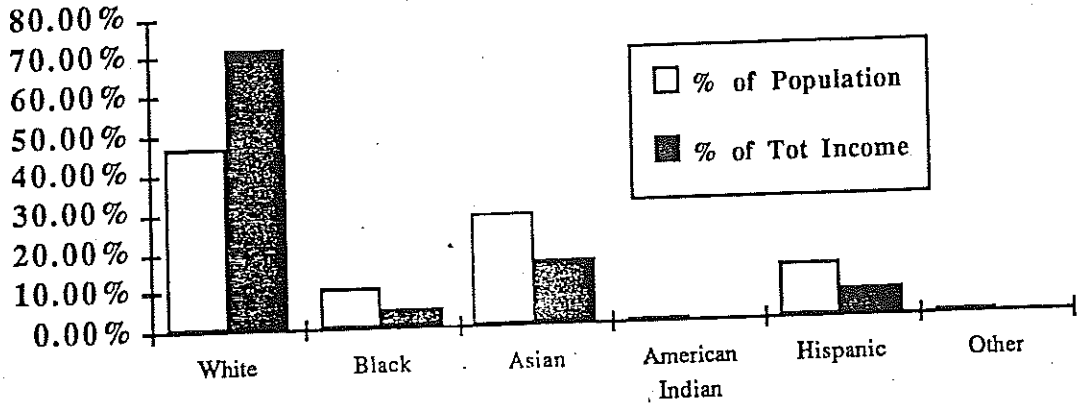


FIG 15 PERCENT OF POPULATION VS. PERCENT OF INCOME BY RACE (1990)

Moreover, as Table 10 demonstrates, African American aggregate income as a proportion of overall income in San Francisco declined from 7.9% in 1970 to 5.2% in 1980 and 4.7% in 1990. The decline in share of income cannot be explained solely as a result of decline in population. Between 1970 and 1990 there was a decrease of 19% in African Americans' share of the overall population of the city (from 13.4% to 10.9%) and a 41% decrease in their share of the overall income received by San Francisco residents (from 7.9% to 4.7%). Moreover, the sharpest decline in share of income, from 7.9% to 5.2%--a decrease of 34%--occurred between 1979 and 1980, a period when the decrease in the African American population was relatively small.

	1970	1980	1990
White	83.47%	76.94%	71.85%
Black	7.85%	5.17%	4.73%
Asian	n/a	12.20%	16.60%
American Indian	n/a	n/a	n/a
Hispanic	8.67%	5.69%	6.82%
Other	n/a	n/a	n/a

TABLE 9: AFRICAN AMERICAN AGGREGATE INCOME AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME 1970-1990

Between 1980 and 1990 the rate of growth of aggregate income for blacks in San Francisco fell off to an increase of 1.3% and for whites to 3.5%. During that period the fastest rates of growth were experienced by Hispanics (32.8%) and Asians (50.8%) reflecting in part their increasing share of the population as well as increases in per capita income.

The aggregate income of all non-white groups for 1990 fell far below the level where white aggregate income was twenty years earlier. This held true even if the aggregate incomes for each non-white group were added together. It is also worth noting that white population was decreasing during this period while aggregate income of whites was expanding so rapidly.

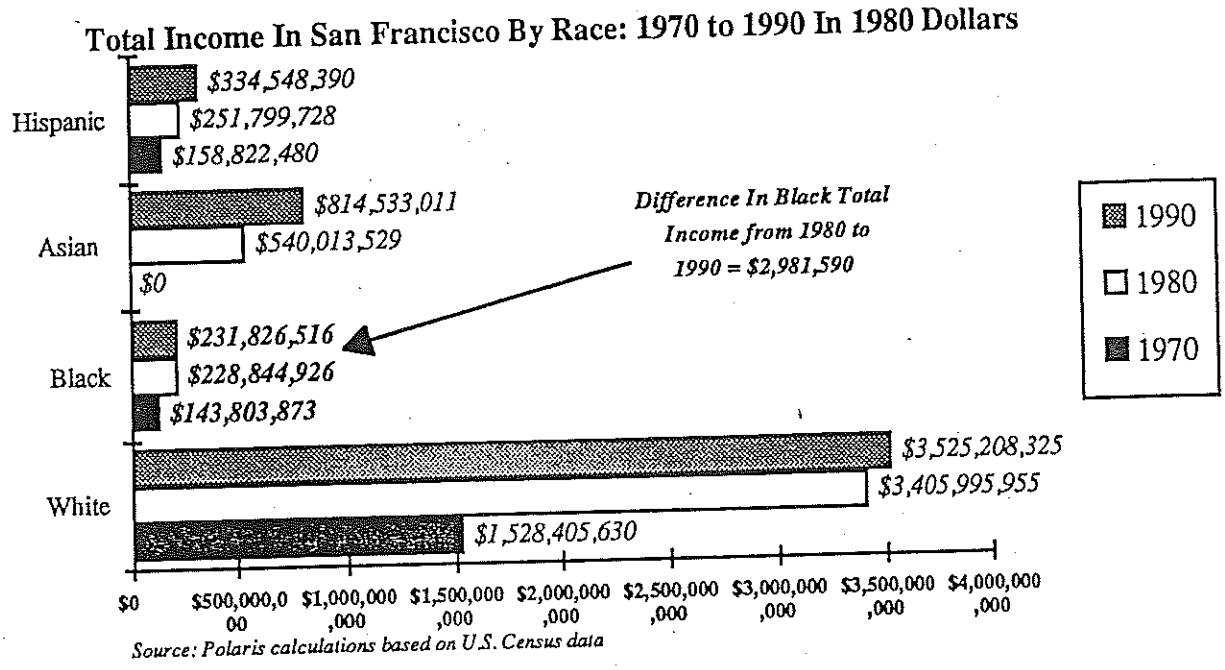


FIG. 16 AGGREGATE INCOME BY RACE 1970-1990

4.4-African American Participation in the Job Market

Given the changes that have occurred in the Bay Area's economy since the end of World War II, how have African Americans fared? Do African Americans participate in the job market in numbers proportional to their share of the population? If they are unemployed are they able to obtain new jobs as readily as other workers? Are they likely to be employed equally in various job categories? Are there some kinds of jobs that African Americans are more--or less-- likely to get?

Table 11 depicts the composition of the labor force in San Francisco by race between 1970 and 1990, the proportion of each ethnic/racial group in the labor force, and participation rates for each group *(for 1970 the data was only available for "all" and blacks--so for that year, "all" is assumed to be coincidental with white rates).

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
Population				
1970	461,192	88,348	95,095	70,461
1980	355,161	84,857	141,970	83,373
1990	337,118	76,343	205,686	100,717
Civilian Labor Force				
1970	*340,075	21,764	na	na
1980	229,428	37,153	78,301	41,209
1990	244,431	35,633	116,934	53,357
Percentage of Population in the Civilian Labor Force				
1970	———	25%	na	na
1980	65%	44%	55%	49%
1990	73%	47%	57%	53%

Table 11 COMPOSITION OF SAN FRANCISCO'S CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE 1970-1990

As the table indicates, the percentage of blacks in the civilian labor force has been consistently lower than for other groups in San Francisco over the past twenty or more years. The most common reason for low labor force participation rates is the age distribution of the population. When a large proportion of the population is under the age of 16, rates are lower than they are when more members of that population are of working age.

What Table 11 does not show is the extent to which those in the labor force are actually employed--yet that is the most common overall measure of a population's actual access to the job market. Table 12 shows unemployment rates for the various ethnic groups in San Francisco between 1970 and 1990.

	Percentage Unemployed			
	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1970	7.0	11.0	—	—
1980	5.5	11.6	4.2	8.5
1990	5.0	16.0	6.0	10.0

Table 12 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN SAN FRANCISCO BY RACE 1970-1990

As the data on the table shows unemployment rates have steadily increased for African Americans over the past 20 years as has the gap between white and black rates. In 1970 the ratio of black to white unemployment was 1.57. By 1980 the ratio had grown to 2.1 and by 1990 to 3.2. While unemployment rates in 1990 were high for Asians and Hispanics as well, they were still significantly below the rates for African Americans.

It is also generally agreed that official unemployment rates seriously understate the true extent of unemployment--especially among minorities. Official unemployment rates fail

to include those people who have dropped out of the labor market and who are not looking for jobs, but who nevertheless are no longer counted among the unemployed. Thus, true rates for African Americans may be as much as twice as high as the officially reported rates.

The effects of unemployment on per capita and on aggregate income are significant. In 1980, 2,265 more African Americans would have been employed. Even if all of those 2,265 people only earned the minimum wage of $4.25 per hour is would have meant an increase in the aggregate income of African Americans of $20,022,600. Similarly, in 1990, if the unemployment rate for African Americans had been 5% instead of 16%, the increase in aggregate income would have been $26,245,960--again assuming only the minimum wage.

Another way of looking at the extent of disparity in the participation of different racial/ethnic groups in the job market is to consider the number of weeks workers in each ethnic group worked. Table 13 presents that data for 1979-80 for black and white males and females. In that year, as the table shows, most workers of both races were employed 50-52 weeks per year--but the percentages for male and female black workers who were employed for the entire year was lower than for male and female white workers. As the number of weeks worked during the year decreased, the percentage of African American male and female workers increased until the percentages of African Americans exceeded the number of whites who worked 26 weeks per year or less. That is, African Americans are not only less likely to be employed at all, but for those who are employed they are either less likely to be employed full time or more likely to be laid off. It is also interesting to note that black women workers are slightly less vulnerable than black men in comparison with white female and male workers. White males are also less vulnerable than white females as indicated by the higher percentage of white males who worked 50-52 weeks and the higher percentage of white females who worked 26 weeks or less.

Weeks Worked	White %	Black %
50-52		
Male	61.3	56.4
Female	55.8	54.5
40-49		
Male	16.0	15.0
Female	17.3	15.6
27-39		
Male	7.9	7.5
Female	9.5	8.8
14-26		
Male	8.5	10.8
Female	9.8	10.5
13 and less		
Male	6.2	10.2
Female	7.6	10.7

Table 13 NUMBER OF WEEKS WORKED DURING YEAR BY RACE 1979

African Americans who were employed also suffered--and according to the data, still do suffer-- disadvantages within the overall job market in San Francisco in terms of the kinds of jobs they have been able to obtain.

4.4.1-Sectoral Participation of African Americans

Table 14 presents data on African American employment in various sectors of the economy between 1970 and 1980. As the table makes clear, the number of jobs that African American workers held in the private sector decreased by 8% in that time with the number of jobs held by male African Americans decreasing by 11% and those held by African American females by 3%. The number of African Americans employed in federal and state government jobs also declined during the 70s--a 67% decrease in the number of federal jobs and a 68% decrease in jobs at the state level. Again the decline was either greater for men than for women or roughly the same in terms of percentage decrease. Jobs in local government increased by 314% but not enough to offset the losses in federal and state jobs. The number of self employed workers also increased dramatically--by almost 5000%--perhaps as 1,522 of the more than 7000 workers who were displaced turned to self-employment. Among those who became self-employed, men outnumbered women almost 2 to 1.

All in all, when those who became self-employed are removed from the calculation, African American men lost a total of 4,799 jobs and African American women a total of 2,372 during the decade of the 70s.

San Francisco Black Population Labor Force Characteristics: 1970 to 1980

	1980	1970	%	80-M	70-M	%	70-F	80-F	%
Private Sector	20844	22563	-8%	10848	12228	-11%	10335	9996	-3%
Federal Government	3849	11538	-67%	2087	6166	-66%	5372	1762	-67%
State Government	1479	4560	-68%	592	2517	-76%	2043	887	-57%
Local Government	5504	1331	314%	2702	880	207%	451	2802	521%
Self-employed Workrs	1163	23	4957%	763	5	15160%	18	400	2122%
Unpaid Family Workrs	5	0	0%	5	0	0%	0	0	0%
Totals	34,824	41,985	-17%	16,997	21,796	-22%	18,219	15,847	15%

Source: 1980 and 1970 Census Data

TABLE 14 SAN FRANCISCO BLACK POPULATION LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS 1970 TO 1980

4.4.2-African American Participation in the Private Sector

Although data on private sector employment patterns was not available on a company by company basis, state labor data provides a broadbrushed picture of the situation. Table 15 lays out the racial composition of the workforce employed in various kinds of jobs in San Francisco--although it should be noted that given the commuter work patterns in the Bay Area it is not possible to ascertain what proportion of these workers are residents of the city.

		White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1970					
	Manager	87.55%	5.68%	n/a	6.77%
	Tech Sal	79.69%	8.73%	n/a	11.58%
	Service	64.07%	19.97%	n/a	15.97%
	Craft	68.55%	7.01%	n/a	24.44%
	Laborers	56.06%	25.63%	n/a	18.31%
1980					
	Manager	74.79%	9.07%	20.70%	10.41%
	Tech Sal	69.22%	5.48%	14.28%	5.45%
	Service	44.30%	9.80%	10.49%	10.49%
	Craft	57.35%	13.27%	26.82%	15.61%
	Laborers	46.00%	9.33%	19.81%	13.51%
1990					
	Manager	73.81%	5.37%	19.18%	6.31%
	Tech Sal	60.21%	4.82%	14.98%	6.07%
	Service	28.81%	9.27%	20.01%	10.23%
	Craft	42.67%	7.93%	30.10%	18.55%
	Laborers	24.67%	6.97%	22.84%	45.22%

TABLE 15 PARTICIPATION IN VARIOUS JOB CATEGORIES BY RACE 1970-1990

It is apparent from Table 15 that African Americans are severely underrepresented in those job categories that demand higher skills and pay higher salaries and more likely to be employed in those jobs that pay lower salaries and require lower levels of skill. However, it is also clear that over the past twenty years black workers in San Francisco have even become less competitive with regard to lower paying jobs.

White workers have continued to dominate in every job category although the percentage of jobs held by whites in each category has declined across the board. So, too, has the percentage held by African Americans. However, the declining number of whites and blacks in these jobs has been more than offset by an increase in Asian and Hispanic participation at all levels of the job market. What is particularly noteworthy, however, is that in the past African Americans were displaced as manufacturing jobs and other jobs in heavy industry moved out of the city--now they are also being displaced from various low wage jobs in the service sector as well.

4.4.3-African American Participation in the Local Governmental Sector

Statistics on the participation of African Americans and other non-white workers are kept for nine different categories of jobs in the various public agencies in San Francisco including those kept under the consent decrees mandating increased minority hiring and promotions in the San Francisco Fire Department and the Police Department. If African Americans have achieved minimum parity with regard to public employment, they

should comprise 10% to 11% of the workforce at each level in each municipal agency--that is, a percentage more or less equal to their share of the population.

Figures 17A-25B show the percentage of African Americans employed in each of the nine job categories used in collecting data on hiring practices in the city's public agencies.

SF OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATORS

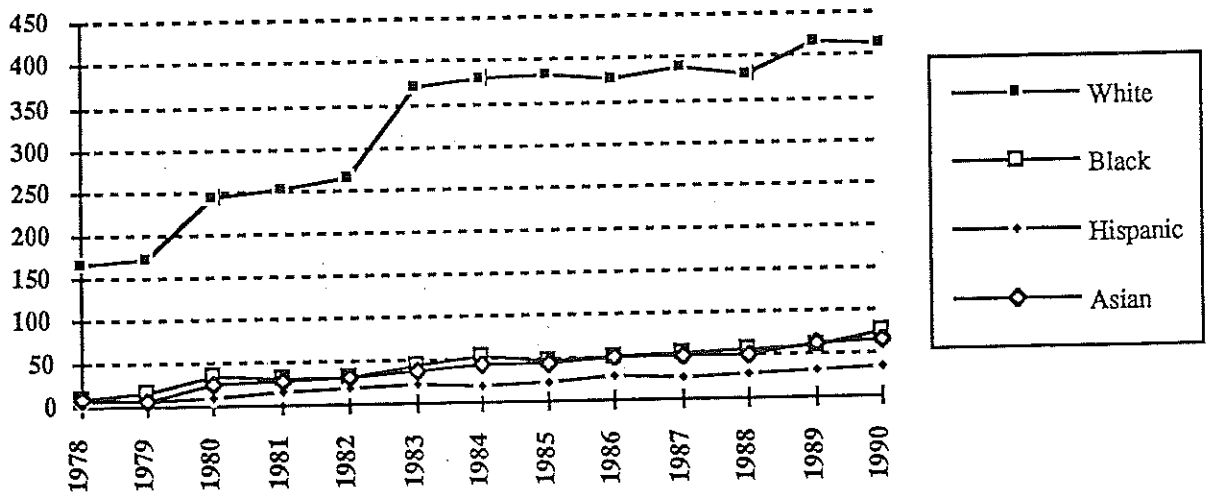


FIG 17-A: OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATORS BY RACE 1978-1990

SF Black Male and Female Officials and Admin: 78/90

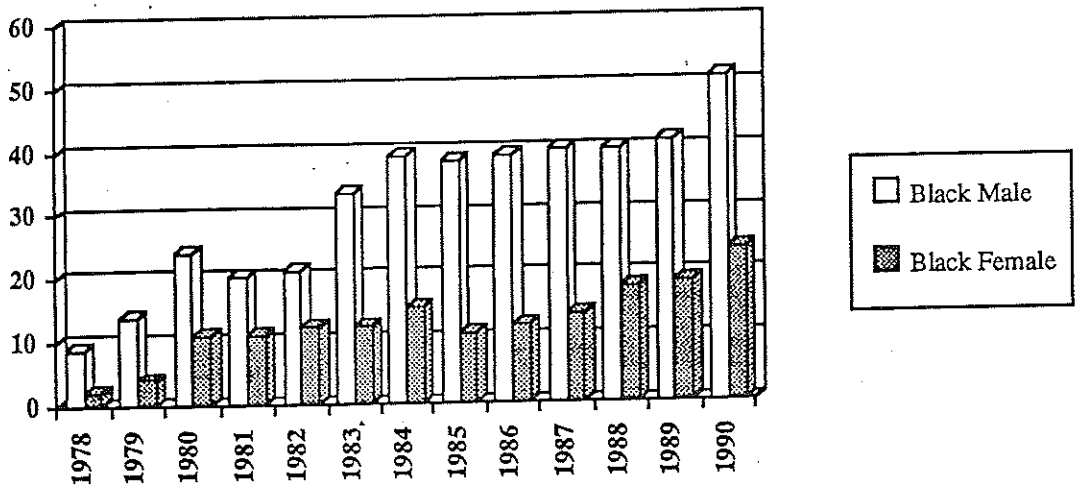


FIG 17-B BLACK OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATORS BY GENDER

SF PROFESSIONALS : 78/90

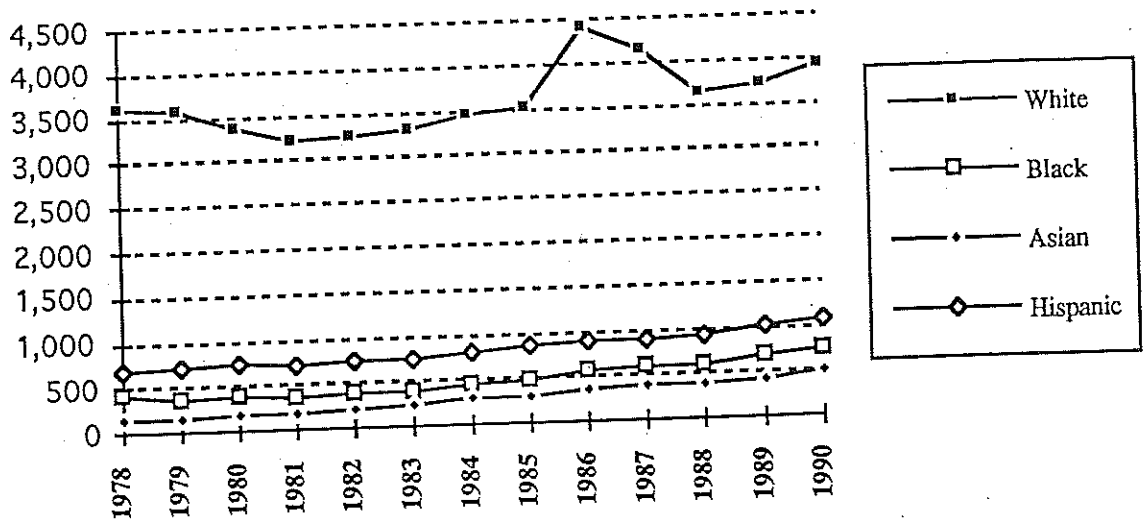


FIG 18-A PROFESSIONALS BY RACE 1978-1918

SF BLACK MALE AND FEMALE PROFESSIONALS: 78/90

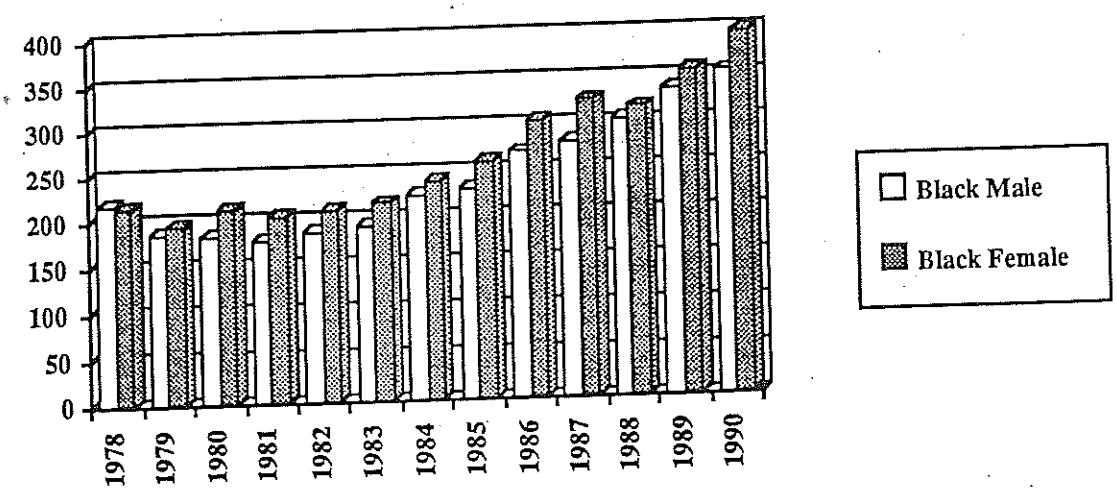


FIG 18-B BLACK PROFESSIONALS BY GENDER

Technical Workers In S.F.: 1970-1990

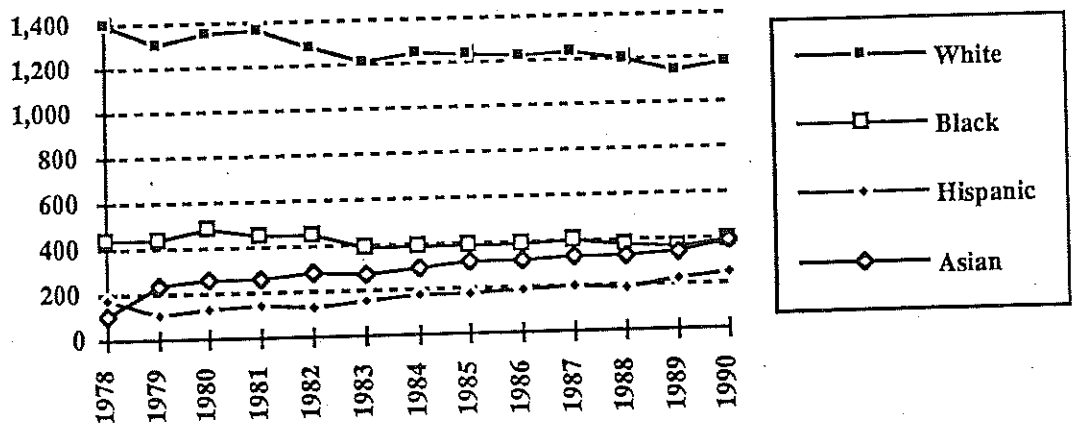


FIG 19-A TECHNICIANS BY RACE 1978-1990

SF BLACK MALE AND FEMALE TECHNICAL WRKS

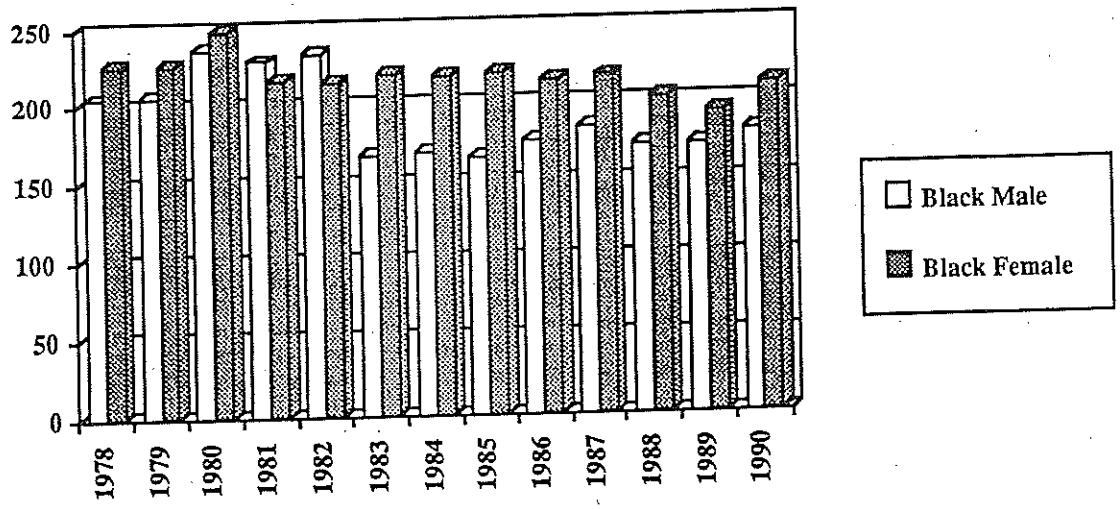


FIG 19-B BLACK TECHNICIANS BY GENDER

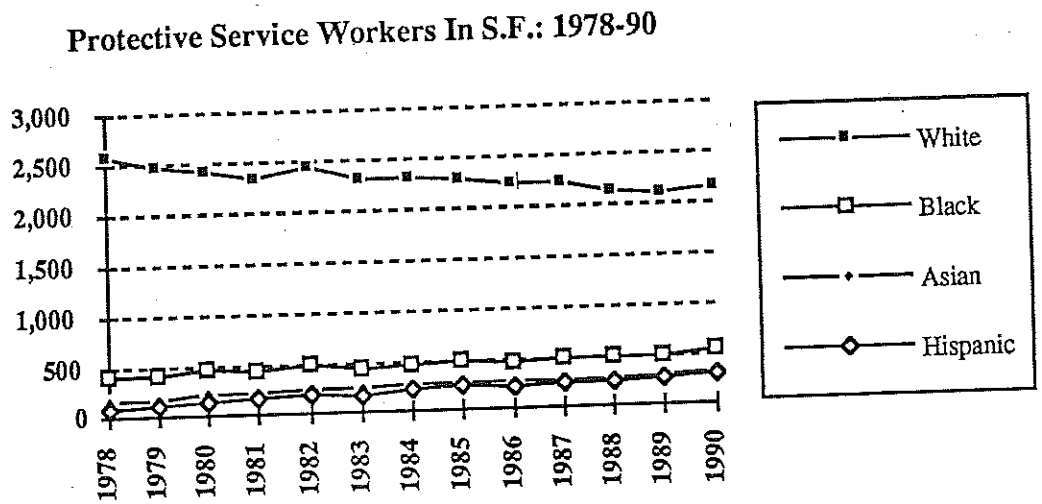


FIG. 20-A PROTECTIVE SERVICE WORKERS BY RACE 1978-1990

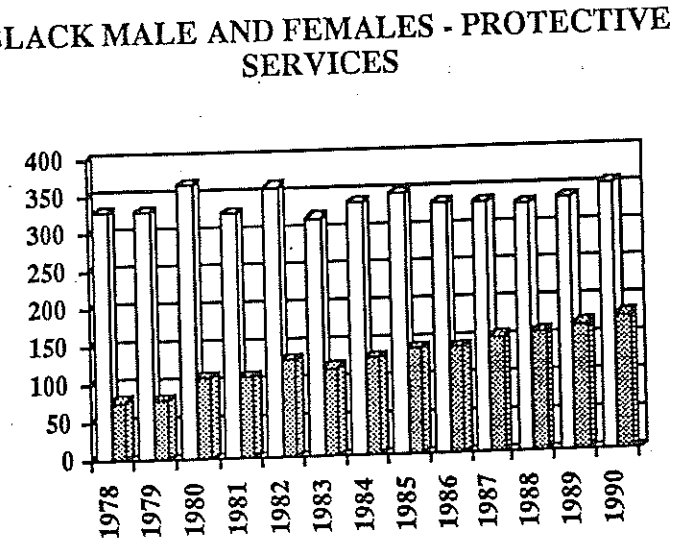


FIG 24-A BLACK PROTECTIVE SERVICE WORKERS BY GENDER

Para - Professional Workers In S.F.: 1978-90

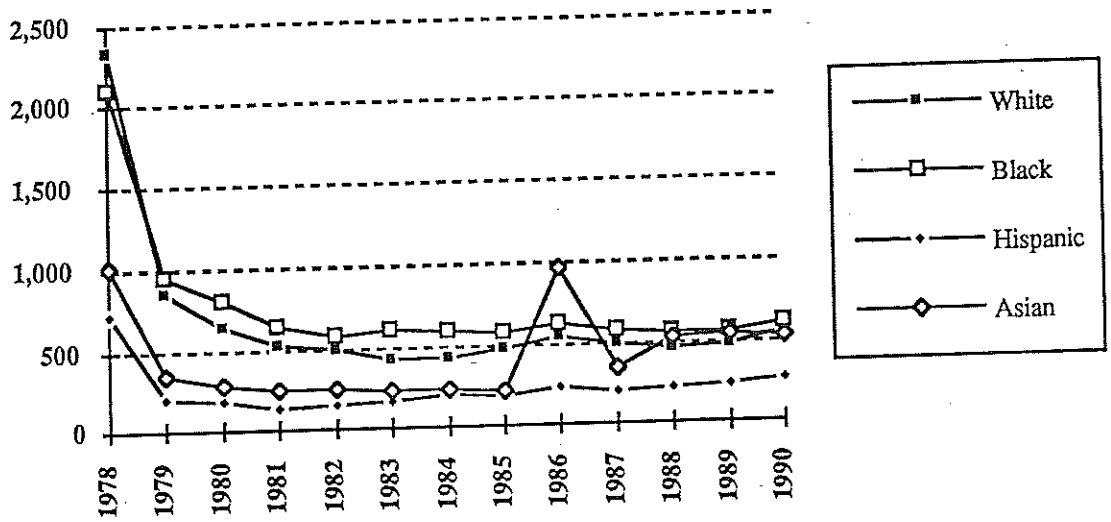


FIG 21-A PARAPROFESSIONALS BY RACE 1978-1990

SF BLACK MALES AND FEMALES - PARA PROFESSONALS

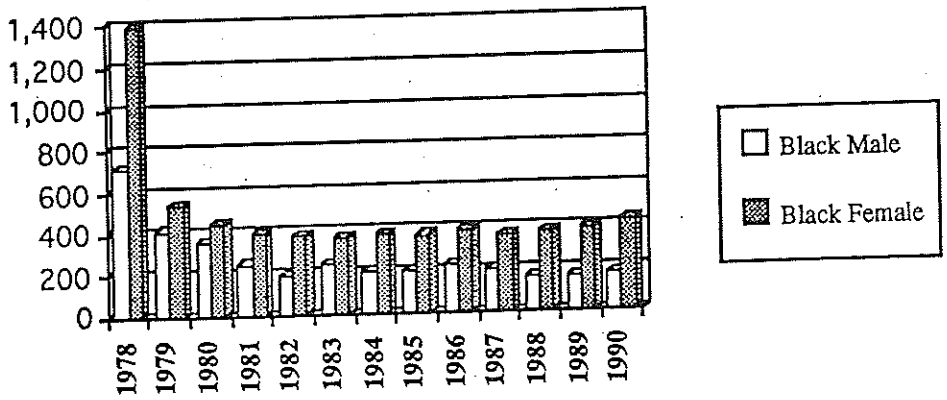


FIG 21-B: BLACK PARAPROFESSIONALS BY GENDER

Office and Clerical Workers In San Francisco Municipal Government: 1978 to 1990

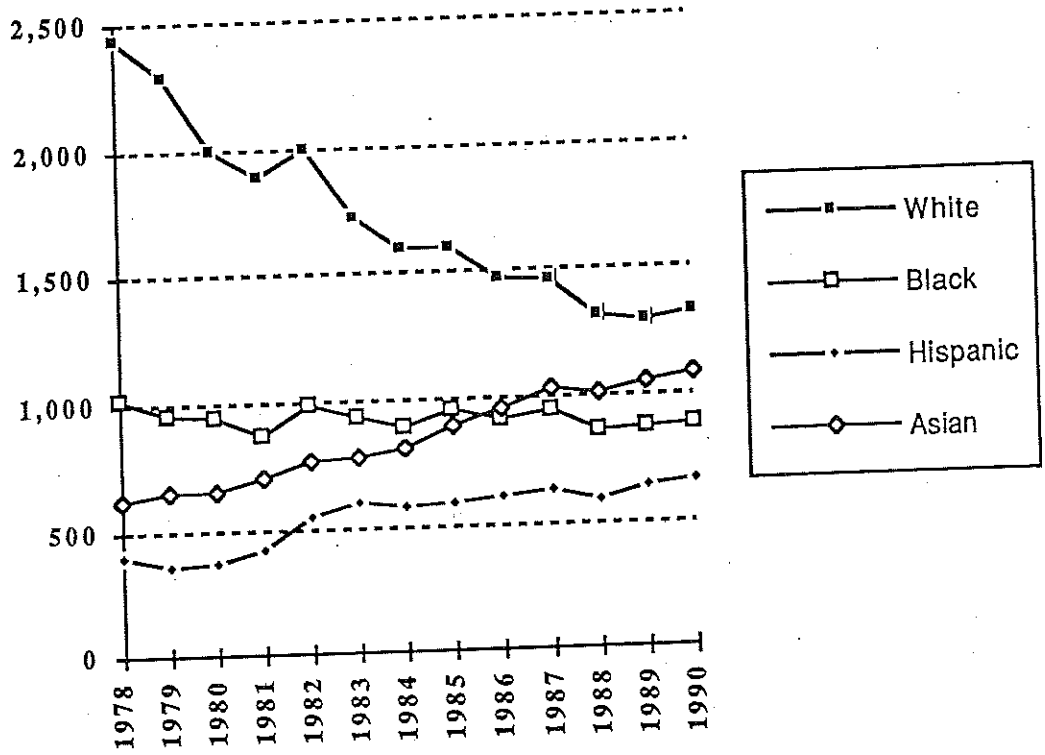


FIG22-A OFFICE/ CLERICAL WORKERS BY RACE 1978-1990

SF BLACK MALE AND FEMALE: OFFICE AND CLERICAL SUPPORT

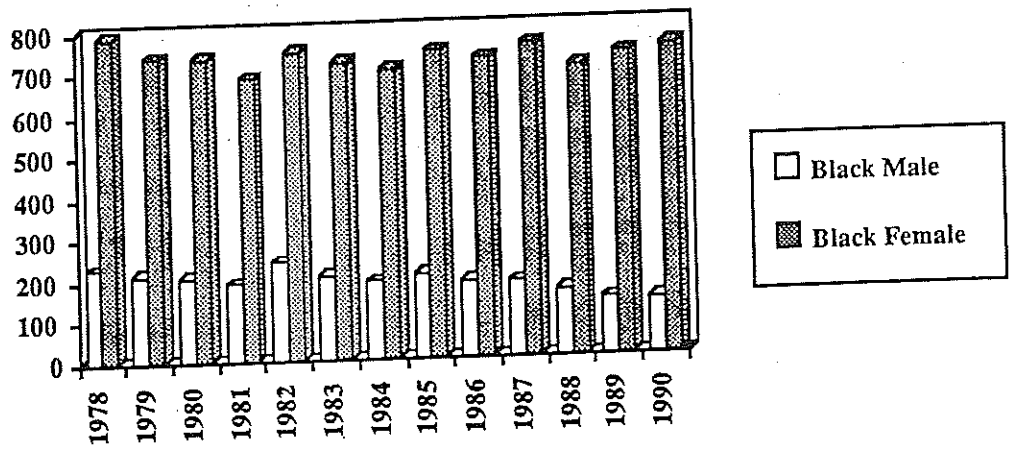


FIG22-B OFFICE AND CLERICAL WORKERS BY GENDER

Maintenance Workers in S.F.;1978 - 90

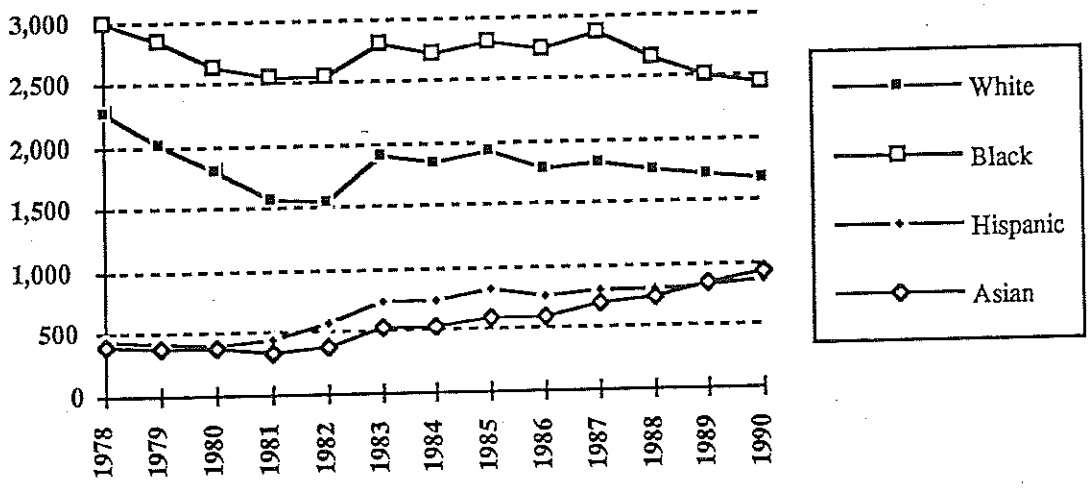


FIG 23-A MAINTENANCE WORKERS BY RACE 1978-1990

SF BLACK MALE AND FEMALE - MAINTENANCE

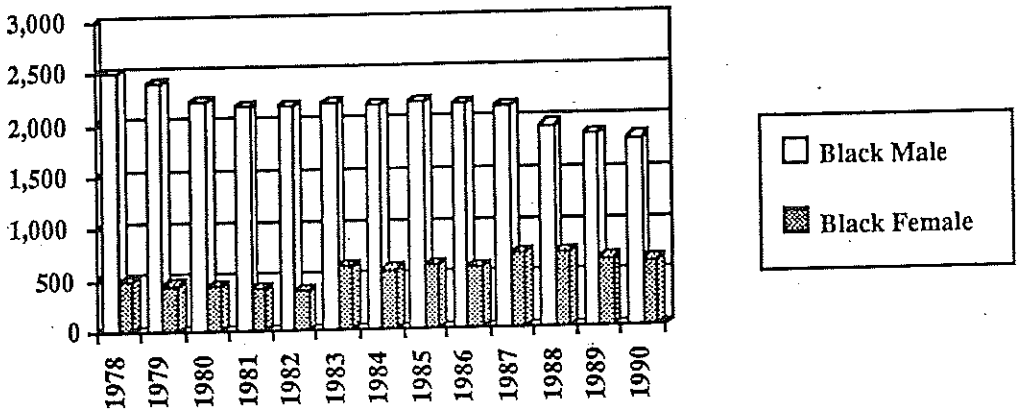


FIG 23-B: MAINTENANCE WORKERS BY GENDER

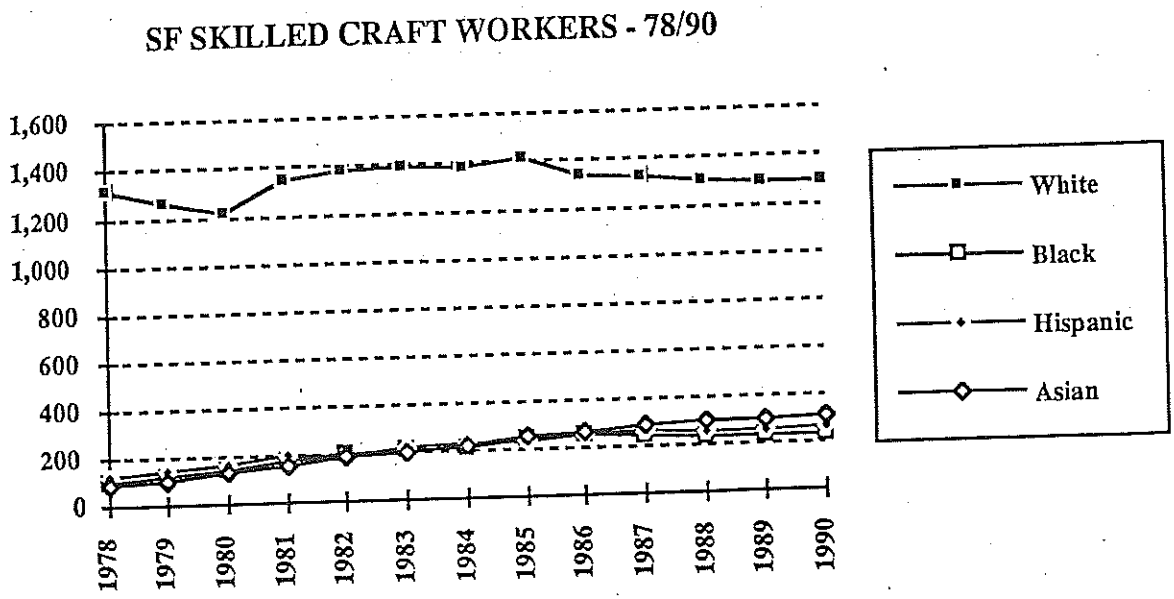


FIG 24-A SKILLED CRAFT WORKERS BY RACE 1978-1990

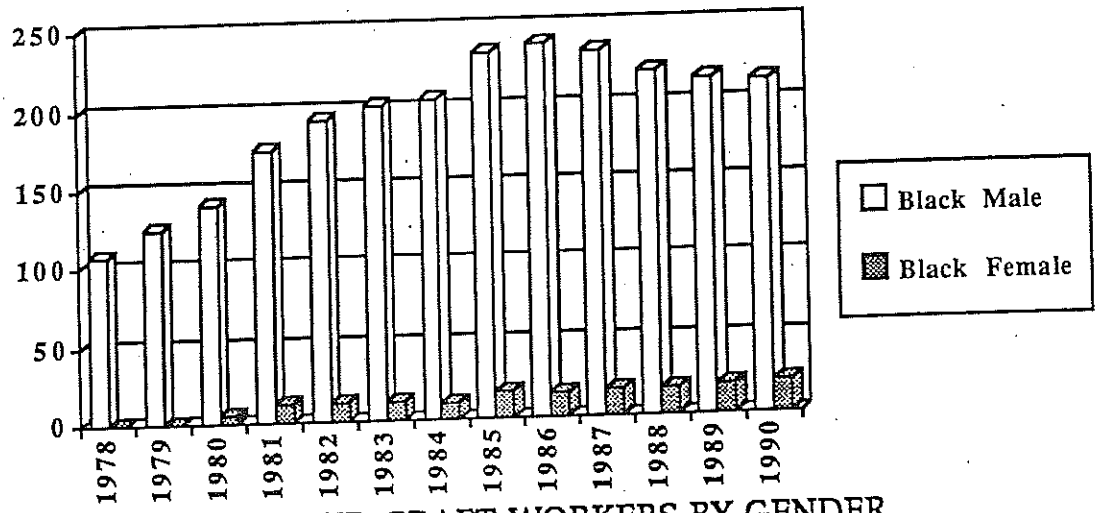


FIG 24-B BLACK SKILLED CRAFT WORKERS BY GENDER

SF ELECTED OR EXEMPT POSITIONS: 78/90

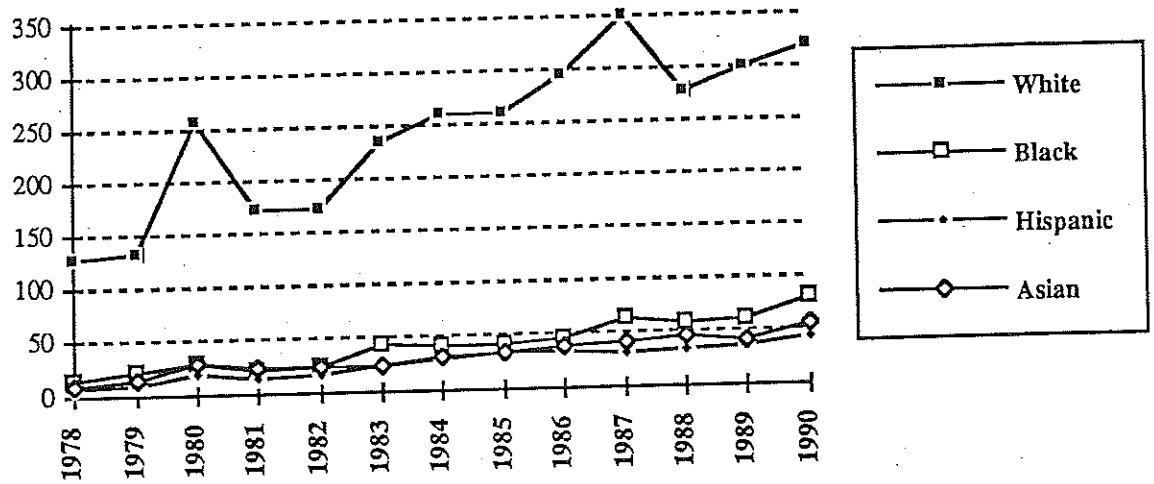


FIG 25-A ELECTED OR EXEMPT OFFICIALS BY RACE 1978-1990

SF BLACK MALE AND FEMALE ELECTED OR EXEMPT OFFICIALS

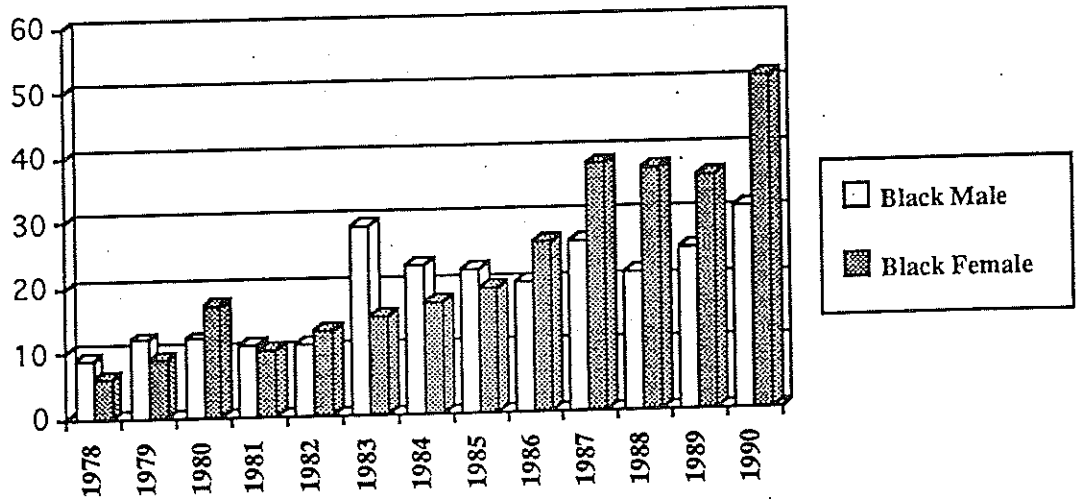


FIG 25-B BLACK ELECTED OR EXEMPT OFFICIALS BY GENDER

As the graphs and Table 16 illustrate, African Americans are well represented in the various municipal employment categories. If there is any cause for concern with regard to municipal jobs it is the need to maintain such extensive representation in the

Category	Total #	%All Black	%Black Male	%Black Female
Elected/Exempt	502	16.3	12.7	19.8
Officials/Administrators	592	12.7	12.3	13.6
Professionals	6262	12.0	11.0	13.0
Technicians	2198	17.8	11.8	31.2
Protective Services	3333	16.0	12.8	31.1
Para-Professionals	1960	30.7	22.4	36.1
Office/Clerical	3960	22.4	15.1	24.5
Skilled Crafts	2113	11.1	10.5	22.8
Service/Maintenance	5910	41.4	42.1	39.5

TABLE 16 PERCENTAGE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN VARIOUS MUNICIPAL JOB CATEGORIES IN 1992

future, and to increase the percentage of African American males who are employed--especially in the categories of elected and exempt employees, professionals, and the skilled crafts. However, as an article from the San Francisco Examiner of June 26, 1992 makes clear, othe non-white ethnic groups are also concerned about increasing their participation in these job categories. In the article, Chinese for Affirmative Action leaders pointed to limited promotional opportunities and claimed that Asian Americans were in worse shape in 1992 than they were in the mid-80s. According to the articles, Asian americans who comprised 29% of the population of San Francisco in 1990 also hold 29% of the professional jobs but only 13.3 % of the jobs at the administrators level. The point is that unless there are coalitions formed with other non-white ethnic groups they may end up competing with each other for the kinds of civil service jobs that have traditionally provided a stable base of development for national and ethnic minority groups before they were fully able to enter the economic mainstream.

With regard to the fire department, the overall percentage of African Americans employed by the San Francisco Fire Department increased from 5.90% in 1987 to 8.85% in 1992. By September 1992 there were 127 African Americans in the Fire Department--117 men and 10 women--out of the 1,431 people in the Department. However, at the higher levels of the Department (H40 and higher positions with the titles of "Chief") there were 45 people employed and of that number 3 were African American and 3 were Hispanic. At the next level, H30 and H39, with the titles of Captain, there were 79 filled slots including 7 African Americans, 8 Hispanics, 3 Asian/Pacific Islanders, and 1 Filipino. With the exception of Lieutenants (H20) there was no level within the Department as of September 1992 where African Americans comprise more than 10% of the workforce.

The San Francisco Police Department only provided data on the overall percentage of the various non-white groups in the Department. No data was provided on percentage representation at each level of the organization. The aggregated data on the Department shows that in December 1986--the earliest year for which data was made available--there were 159 African Americans in the Police Department (115 men and 44 women). They

represented 8.4% of the Departments personnel that year. At the same time, 10.1% of the personnel were Hispanic and 9.0% were Asian. By December 1992, African Americans comprised 9.6% of the Department's personnel. Hispanics were 10.6% and Asians 11.7% of the police force at the end of 1992.

In 1990, there were 5,862 elementary school teachers in San Francisco, according to the US Census, and 1,137 secondary school teachers. Of that number, only 489 of the elementary teachers--or 8.3%--were black. Another 426 (7.3%) were Hispanic and 747 were Asian (12.7%). The percentage of secondary school teachers who were African American was even smaller. Of the 1,137 teachers in the secondary schools, 49--4.3% were black. In addition, there were 67 Hispanics (5.9%) and 79 Asians (6.9%).

The plate on the next page (Plate V) is a full tabular list of data on employment patterns for all of the occupational categories in the San Francisco public employment system.

Municipal Hiring Patterns By Category and Race In San Francisco

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Totals
Officials and Admin														
White Male	148	155	191	191	202	294	301	298	287	290	279	305	298	3,239
White Femal	18	17	51	62	62	75	79	84	90	99	101	111	116	965
Totals	166	172	242	253	264	369	380	382	377	389	380	416	414	4,204
Black Male	9	14	24	20	21	33	39	38	39	40	40	41	51	409
Black Femal	2	4	11	11	12	12	15	11	12	14	18	19	24	165
Totals	11	18	35	31	33	45	54	49	51	54	58	60	75	574
Hisp Male	7	7	9	10	12	15	15	16	22	18	20	21	24	196
Hisp Female	2	2	3	6	7	9	6	8	7	9	10	12	11	92
Totals	9	9	12	16	19	24	21	24	29	27	30	33	35	288
Asian Male	10	8	19	18	21	28	29	31	32	34	32	42	43	347
Asian Femal	1	1	8	10	12	11	16	15	18	18	19	21	25	175
Totals	11	9	27	28	33	39	45	46	50	52	51	63	68	522
Professionals														
White Male	2,230	2,167	2,076	1,981	1,988	1,933	2,011	2,007	2,367	2,136	1,961	1,935	1,997	26,789
White Femal	1,364	1,397	1,303	1,248	1,262	1,391	1,439	1,508	2,048	2,001	1,690	1,785	1,929	20,365
Totals	3,594	3,564	3,379	3,229	3,250	3,324	3,450	3,515	4,415	4,137	3,651	3,720	3,926	47,154
Black Male	217	185	183	177	185	192	224	229	269	280	302	335	354	3,132
Black Femal	215	194	212	202	209	216	238	258	303	325	316	355	396	3,439
Totals	432	379	395	379	394	408	462	487	572	605	618	690	750	6,571
Hisp Male	98	104	115	108	129	134	165	155	185	203	198	223	248	2,065
Hisp Female	63	59	73	93	101	117	149	140	172	188	192	217	253	1,817
Totals	161	163	188	201	230	251	314	295	357	391	390	440	501	3,882
Asian Male	477	479	475	468	461	477	489	510	513	506	530	582	616	6,583
Asian Femal	226	253	263	262	280	285	329	350	378	401	399	426	469	4,321
Totals	703	732	738	730	741	762	818	860	891	907	929	1,008	1,085	10,904
Technicians														
White Male	1,083	1,041	1,059	1,123	1,040	992	1,034	1,016	995	1,005	969	934	942	13,233
White Femal	307	259	284	238	241	213	208	214	221	226	228	208	235	3,082
Totals	1,390	1,300	1,343	1,361	1,281	1,205	1,242	1,230	1,216	1,231	1,197	1,142	1,177	16,315
Black Male	205	206	237	229	233	166	168	165	175	184	171	172	180	2,491
Black Femal	227	226	249	216	214	219	218	219	214	217	202	192	211	2,824
Totals	432	432	486	445	447	385	386	384	389	401	373	364	391	5,315
Hisp Male	29	72	103	103	99	111	117	119	126	136	139	150	165	1,469
Hisp Female	152	31	32	38	38	41	63	54	63	65	55	70	81	783
Totals	181	103	135	141	137	152	180	173	189	201	194	220	246	2,252
Asian Male	45	171	179	176	190	180	193	201	204	212	212	213	234	2,410
Asian Femal	62	61	76	87	90	97	107	118	117	121	120	131	150	1,337
Totals	107	232	255	263	280	277	300	319	321	333	332	344	384	3,747
Protective Service Wkr														
White Male	2,427	2,320	2,225	2,132	2,229	2,082	2,077	2,058	2,001	1,965	1,876	1,852	1,870	27,114
White Femal	160	160	211	217	217	231	236	232	248	248	268	252	246	296	3,005
Totals	2,587	2,480	2,436	2,349	2,460	2,318	2,309	2,306	2,249	2,233	2,128	2,098	2,166	30,119

Black Male	330	329	364	325	359	316	336	346	333	333	330	335	355	4,391
Black Femal	76	79	107	108	129	116	127	140	139	152	158	166	177	1,674
Totals	406	408	471	433	488	432	463	486	472	485	488	501	532	6,065
Hisp Male	155	168	187	192	220	227	241	252	240	240	235	240	262	2,859
Hisp Female	10	13	26	25	30	31	31	33	36	42	43	53	65	438
Totals	165	181	213	217	250	258	272	285	276	282	278	293	327	3,297
Asian Male	77	95	116	146	174	138	190	207	203	224	230	239	277	2,316
Asian Femal	13	14	24	23	30	28	32	32	27	30	29	29	31	342
Totals	90	109	140	169	204	166	222	239	230	254	259	268	308	2,658
Para Professional														
White Male	918	444	329	260	238	218	211	228	242	233	227	241	270	4,059
White Femal	1,416	403	309	272	258	214	223	240	293	252	229	238	293	4,640
Totals	2,334	847	638	532	496	432	434	468	535	485	456	479	563	8,699
Black Male	713	415	353	248	195	246	207	203	231	200	168	161	173	3,513
Black Femal	1,392	533	445	391	380	368	382	376	399	370	382	390	429	6,237
Totals	2,105	948	798	639	575	614	589	579	630	570	550	551	602	9,750
Hisp Male	227	104	93	70	72	77	85	75	83	78	79	87	94	1,224
Hisp Female	490	101	94	67	74	87	111	103	143	122	129	142	174	1,837
Totals	717	205	187	137	146	164	196	178	226	200	208	229	268	3,061
Asian Male	394	176	138	121	120	108	106	88	257	169	244	234	234	2,389
Asian Femal	627	174	142	123	124	127	130	134	705	173	284	304	293	3,340
Totals	1,021	350	280	244	244	235	236	222	962	342	528	538	527	5,729
Office Clerical														
White Male	742	706	612	610	653	540	503	506	476	449	393	364	367	6,921
White Femal	1,695	1,583	1,389	1,278	1,344	1,190	1,091	1,097	996	1,010	924	935	958	15,490
Totals	2,437	2,289	2,001	1,888	1,997	1,730	1,594	1,603	1,472	1,459	1,317	1,299	1,325	22,411
Black Male	232	214	208	192	242	208	193	207	188	186	163	141	136	2,510
Black Femal	789	740	736	687	749	725	704	746	727	758	705	733	750	9,549
Totals	1,021	954	944	879	991	933	897	953	915	944	868	874	886	12,059
Hisp Male	95	58	74	95	144	150	156	162	166	146	125	137	136	1,644
Hisp Female	309	297	298	326	408	448	423	425	446	490	464	501	528	5,363
Totals	404	355	372	421	552	598	579	587	612	636	589	638	664	7,007
Asian Male	171	169	166	176	205	213	198	222	257	269	247	259	264	2,816
Asian Femal	454	489	491	525	561	567	610	669	705	761	760	792	821	8,205
Totals	625	658	657	701	766	780	808	891	962	1,030	1,007	1,051	1,085	11,021
Skilled Craft Worker														
White Male	1,310	1,255	1,209	1,326	1,362	1,368	1,344	1,378	1,295	1,286	1,258	1,249	1,240	16,880
White Femal	3	9	10	18	25	30	33	35	38	37	46	50	52	386
Totals	1,313	1,264	1,219	1,344	1,387	1,398	1,377	1,413	1,333	1,323	1,304	1,299	1,292	17,266
Black Male	107	124	140	174	192	201	205	233	239	234	220	214	213	2,496
Black Femal	0	0	5	11	11	12	10	17	15	16	16	18	21	152
Totals	107	124	145	185	203	213	215	250	254	250	236	232	234	2,648
Hisp Male	132	146	176	197	193	225	226	229	249	260	247	251	263	2,794
Hisp Female	0	1	0	3	5	5	7	8	7	7	8	12	11	74
Totals	132	147	176	200	198	230	233	237	256	267	255	263	274	2,868

Asian Male	87	99	138	159	187	199	226	251	265	288	293	300	305	2,797
Asian Femal	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	5	4	5	5	5	8	49
Totals	89	101	140	161	189	201	231	256	269	293	298	305	313	2,846
Maintenance														
White Male	1,844	1,617	1,431	1,391	1,409	1,414	1,394	1,434	1,338	1,317	1,273	1,262	1,237	18,361
White Femal	439	411	375	181	131	494	461	504	454	519	481	450	449	5,349
Totals	2,283	2,028	1,806	1,572	1,540	1,908	1,855	1,938	1,792	1,836	1,754	1,712	1,686	23,710
Black Male	2,502	2,396	2,210	2,161	2,165	2,198	2,158	2,197	2,158	2,136	1,951	1,853	1,814	27,899
Black Femal	489	451	430	400	378	612	573	609	594	727	711	650	632	7,256
Totals	2,991	2,847	2,640	2,561	2,543	2,810	2,731	2,806	2,752	2,863	2,662	2,503	2,446	35,155
Hisp Male	347	344	329	368	490	578	583	615	592	594	619	615	638	6,712
Hisp Female	84	72	73	80	76	170	160	214	177	203	192	201	219	1,921
Totals	431	416	402	448	566	748	743	829	769	797	811	816	857	8,633
Asian Male	289	287	268	273	325	383	394	436	425	488	522	579	622	5,291
Asian Femal	102	87	100	53	47	134	141	151	159	201	217	270	299	1,961
Totals	391	374	368	326	372	517	535	587	584	689	739	849	921	7,252
Elected or Exempt														
White Male	107	109	159	111	113	133	140	138	159	179	144	153	159	1,804
White Femal	22	24	99	62	59	101	120	121	136	169	133	145	161	1,352
Totals	129	133	258	173	172	234	260	259	295	348	277	298	320	3,156
Black Male	9	12	12	11	11	29	23	22	20	26	21	25	31	252
Black Femal	6	9	17	10	13	15	17	19	26	38	37	36	51	294
Totals	15	21	29	21	24	44	40	41	46	64	58	61	82	546
Hisp Male	4	4	5	9	9	10	14	16	16	17	17	19	22	162
Hisp Female	3	4	13	6	7	13	14	17	17	14	17	16	22	163
Totals	7	8	18	15	16	23	28	33	33	31	34	35	44	325
Asian Male	7	13	20	17	15	20	21	22	25	23	29	27	32	271
Asian Femal	1	1	9	7	8	5	11	12	13	19	16	14	24	140
Totals	8	14	29	24	23	25	32	34	38	42	45	41	56	411
Totals	29,005	24,374	23,602	22,716	23,511	24,252	24,531	25,244	26,819	26,451	25,352	25,733	26,830	328,420

4.5-African American Economic Participation as Entrepreneurs

It has been widely acknowledged that small businesses have been the engine of growth in the American economy for the past 10 to 20 years. They have been the major job generators and a source of growth during a period when many major large companies have been downsizing their workforces. Certainly in San Francisco, small businesses have been an increasingly important part of the city's economy. They have also become an increasingly influential voice in shaping public and the private policy.

How extensively have African Americans been involved in developing entrepreneurial enterprises in San Francisco? How many, and what kinds of, businesses have African American entrepreneurs created? How many jobs have they created? What volume of sales have they been able to achieve? Are they growing or declining in number? In size? In revenues? And, how do they compare with other ethnic groups in terms of these measures?

Plate VI on the next page presents data from the US Department of Commerce on minority owned businesses in San Francisco for 1982 and 1987. Changes in data collection methodology may cause data on the number of black and other minority owned businesses to be understated slightly for 1987 as compared to 1982. Another report, with data from 1992, will be issued in mid-1993.

MINORITY OWNED BUSINESSES IN SAN FRANCISCO (1982-87)

1982	BLACK		HISPANIC		ASIAN+*		ALL MINORITIES	
	#	S&R (OOO)	#	S&R(OOO)	#	S&R(OOO)	#	S&R(OOO)
FIRMS	1,980	80,193	1759	164195	7812	649949	11551	894337
FIRMS w EMPLYEE	221	56948	298	127282	2034	477201	2553	661431
% w EMP	11.2%	71.0%	16.9%	77.5%	26.0%	73.4%	22.1%	73.9%

Black-owned as % of all minority-owned firms 17.1%
Black-owned firms with employees as % of all minority-owned firms with employees 8.7%
Sales and receipts of all black owned firms as % of S&R of all minority owned firms 9.0%
Sales and receipts of all black owned firms with employees as % of all minority owned firms with employees 8.6%
Average number of employees of black-owned firms 5.7
Average number of employees of all minority-owned firms 5.1

1987	BLACK		HISPANIC		ASIAN+*		ALL MINORITIES	
	#	S&R (OOO)	#	S&R(OOO)	#	S&R(OOO)	#	S&R(OOO)
FIRMS	1965	99296	2787	244974	10991	1221309	15570	1527929
FIRMS w EMPLYEE	362	66826	488	198369	3304	961848	4098	1227043
% w EMP	18.4%	67.2%	17.5%	80.9%	30.1%	78.8%	26.3%	80.3%

Black-owned as % of all minority-owned firms 12.6%
Black-owned firms with employees as % of all minority-owned firms with employees 8.8%
Sales and receipts of all black owned firms as % of S&R of all minority owned firms 6.4%
Sales and receipts of all black owned firms with employees as % of all minority owned firms with employees 5.4%
Average number of employees of black-owned firms 3.3
Average number of employees of all minority-owned firms 4.5

As the table indicates, in 1982 there were 1,980 black owned firms in San Francisco, but only 221 or 11.2% of those firms had employees. Those 221 firms, however, accounted for 71% of the total sales and revenues (S&R)--or $56,948,000–generated by all black owned firms. And with workforces that averaged 5.7 people they provided, in the aggregate, a total of 1,260 jobs.

By 1987, five years later, the total number of firms owned by African Americans hd declined to 1,965, but the number with employees had increased to 362 or 18.4% of the total. Despite the smaller number of black owned firms overall sales and revenues increased by almost $20 million. Although sales increased and each employee generated a higher per capita amount of sales and revenues ($45,196 per employee in 1982 and $55,921 in 1987) which was beneficial to the black owners and shareholders, the number of jobs their businesses generated (3.3 on average) fell to 1,195.

In contrast, both Hispanic and Asian owned businesses increased in number and in sales and revenues. The number of Hispanic owned firms increased by 58% from 1,759 to 2,787 and revenues grew by 56%. Asian owned firms increased in number by 41% and in sales and revenues by 101%--or more than double. In terms of the number of jobs they generated, based on an average of 5.1 employees for all minority firms in 1982 and 4.5 in 1987, Hispanic owned firms provided 1,520 jobs in 1982 and 2,196 jobs in 1987; and, Asian firms generated 10,373 jobs in 1982 and 14,868 in 1987.

In addition to generating many more jobs than black owned businesses, firms owned by Hispanics and Asians generated much higher per capita sales and revenues than black owned firms. In 1982, Asian owned firms had a per capita S&R of $46,004--not much more than the $45,196 figure for black owned firms. However, by 1987, Asian firms had per capita sales of $64,692 or almost $10,000 more per employee than firms owned by African Americans. The contrast is even more dramatic when black owned firms are compared to Hispanic owned firms. In 1982, Hispanic firms generated per capita sales of $83,738 and by 1987 that had grown to $90,692 of sales per employee.

One source of business for minority owned firms is the City and County of San Francisco. San Francisco spends close to $1 billion per year on contracts for providing needed goods and services to the city. Under Ordinance 175-89 (Section 12D of the Administrative Code), which became effective in 1989, firms which qualify as minority business enterprises (MBEs), women owned business enterprises (WBEs), and local business enterprises (LBEs) are eligible for a 5% or 10% "preference" on bids submitted to municipal agencies for contracts--if certain criteria are met.

Although the city does not establish the kinds of set asides that were challenged in Richmond v. Croson, the Human Rights Commission establishes broad goals for MBE/WBE contracting in various industries based on the application of a sophisticated formula for assessing the extent to which a disparity "between the contract dollars awarded to MBEs and WBEs in a specific industry and their available numbers must be

determined statistically significant and not attributable to chance. The disparity can then be reasonably inferred to indicate the results of discrimination."xxx

Table 17 displays data on the extent to which MBE/WBE/LBEs owned by African Americans participated in city contracts during the first ten months of 1992 in each of the 12 industries that fall under the provisions of the ordinance (based on draft reports 844 and 846, Human Rights Commission, 10/14/92).

Industry & Amount	Percentages of Contracts Awarded Black	Asian	Latino	Non-Minority
Construction/Facilities ($60,755,588)	.4	8.6	6.6	84.4
Equipment & Supplies ($118,942,682)	4.1	5.2	1.6	89.1
Fuels, Lubricants, etc. ($8,103,180)	–	–	–	100.0
General Services ($106,369,503)	1.2	.4	.9	97.4
Accounting/Auditing	na			
Architecture/Engineering ($23,215,775)	1.5	6.2	.8	91.5
Computers ($7,249,816)	4.0	.1	—	95.8
Finance and Insurance	–	–	–	
Legal ($1,113,276)	.1	1.5	–	98.3
Medical ($12,466,203)	9.0	1.1	–	89.9
Management Consulting ($6,382,587)	--	87.3	–	12.7
Miscellaneous Services ($46,976,765)	4.5	1.1	.8	93.7
TOTAL ($391,583,566)	2.6	5.0	1.9	90.5

Supplies

Table 17 SAN FRANCISCO MBE/WBE CONTRACT AWARDS BY RACE (10/14/92)

In its 1989-90 Progress Report the Human Rights Commission pointed to the failure of city agencies to meet the goals that had been set for the percentage of city contract awards to various minority groups. With respect to African Americans, the goals were not met for any of the twelve industries. The data in Table 15 also indicates that city and county agencies still are not complying fully with the intent of the ordinance. Contracts with the city provide an important pool of potential business and opportunities for establishing and growing businesses that have not yet been realized. Because of their diverse character the kinds of things that the city purchases from contractors also include unskilled and low skilled jobs as well as skilled jobs and work requiring professional training.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS

As the data reviewed above clearly indicates, according to most measures the economic condition of the African American population of San Francisco has deteriorated over the past thirty years. The per capita and household income of African Americans has declined steadily in comparison with white per capita and household income. African Americans have become the smallest minority among a city of minorities. Other non-white groups have surpassed the African American population in size, and have either surpassed it in income as well or probably will do so within the next five to ten years.

Although the Department of Commerce report on black owned businesses that will be released in July 1993 may indicate that the rate of business formation, job generation, and sales and revenue figures have turned around since the 1987 report, it is unlikely. If the trend identified between 1982 and 1987 continues as expected, there will be fewer black owned businesses with smaller work forces identified in the data for 1992. That is, the gap between black owned small businesses and those owned by Hispanics and Asians will increase.

By its own admission, the Redevelopment Agency's programs in the Western Addition devastated Black owned businesses in that area, but urban renewal can not be blamed for the decline of African American owned businesses in Bayview-Hunter's Point, OMI, or other areas within the city. Many of those businesses also lost their markets as their customers left the community or as they were unable to compete with other non-black owned small businesses for capital or with large businesses that began to develop an appreciation of the size of the African American market in the 70s. In San Francisco as elsewhere, small businesses in general and black owned businesses in particular lack access to capital and cash flow financing. While this problem--rooted in racism-- has plagued black businesses for years, in the current economy as banks attempt to minimize their exposure on loans they consider risky capitalization it is even more difficult to obtain appropriate financing. Black business people also often lack the collateral required to reassure lenders, nor do they often have families and friends with sufficient capital to invest in new startups or expansions--yet the most common ways that small business secure initial capital is from savings and loans or investments by friends and family members.

Once businesses are started by African Americans, however, they also appear to be at a disadvantage. Small businesses aimed at serving a neighborhood market often count on one, or both, of two strategies for success. Many succeed in marginal markets by having unpaid or low paid family members participate in the operation of the business. Others serve a "captive" market--customers who by virtue of their limited linguistic abilities or ethnic tastes and needs--cannot, or prefer not to, buy their goods and services from businesses serving the mainstream. While black owned small businesses can adapt the first approach and link it to convenience shopping patterns, they do not enjoy the

potential patronage of captive customers. Safeway sells almost any foods that blacks might want and Walgreens sells all of the products that African Americans used to be able to buy only at black businesses.

To succeed today in San Francisco, Black businesses must be able to compete in the mainstream or the community must either develop protected markets--or better exploit protected markets that do exist like the city and county's MBE/WBE preference program.

With regard to the job market, the data is clear that African Americans have not been able to compete at a level that even approaches equity except in municipal jobs--and even there they are over represented in those jobs that pay less and require lower levels of skill and under represented at the upper levels of the heirarchy of municipal jobs.

It is not clear how much of the disparity is due to a mismatch between the skills available in the African American workforce and those required by the job market and how much is due to racism on the part of those responsible for recruiting and hiring personnel.

The data presented above show that poverty among blacks increased slightly 1980-90 even as their share of the population decreased. This supports the notion that more economically viable working class blacks moved out of San Francisco to follow jobs in the manufacturing sector. But it also suggests that the African American population may become more bifurcated as the working middle class segment of the population moves out leaving behind those who have not been able to compete effectively in the services sector --even at the lowest skill levels--and a more upper income group that is being augmented by recent in-migrants who are more educated and economically competitive.

If some African Americans continue to have a great deal of mobility with regard to housing choices and lifestyle choices in the city while others are restricted socially or economically, the African American population of the city will also become more geographically dispersed as well with isolated pockets of poverty peopled by low income African Americans. The effects of any additional spatial separation of the black population by class and income will exacerbate the problem of further stripping the community of visible role models and social controls. A number of observers have pointed to the movement of middle class blacks out of the ghettos as one of the outcomes of integration that has had a negative impact on those who lacked the money or skills needed to be equally mobile.

However, it is also possible that within the next 10 to 15 years low income African Americans may be pushed out of those areas where low income African Americans are still concentrated as the competition for subsidized housing increases among other ethnic groups. Whether this ultimately means that even those portions of the African American population that are most dependent on transfer payments and public subsidies will be forced out of San Francisco is not yet predictable--but it is possible.

The decreasing size of the African American community is also a matter for concern. As we have seen, the decline in population size and share is the result of an aging African

American population with lower birth rates, an increase in single and unrelated households, and a net outmigration from San Francisco. Based on available data, it seems likely that the African American population will continue to decrease. It will become a little smaller in absolute terms, but it will decrease dramatically in terms of share of population in the next ten years. The effect of that decrease will be a loss of potential for assuring representation and influencing policy—especially within the context of increasingly competing interests of other groups within the city.

Finally, it should be noted that many of the issues identified in the present study are consistent with the findings of The California Commission on the Status of African American Males, which issued *A Preliminary Report on the Status of African-American Males in California*, in July 1992. Key findings in the sections on employment and economic empowerment included the following:

> "Most African Americans, and African American males in particular, have long been concentrated in the manufacturing sector. It is these blue collar jobs that are being eliminated from the economy." p.4
>
> "Basic industries employing unskilled workers actually lost ground. Young African-American men were hit hard by the loss of manufacturing jobs during this period and were increasingly in competition with the rapidly growing Hispanic community for the comparatively few low-skilled entry level jobs that remained." p.7
>
> "The challenge becomes even greater as the country moves from an industrial- and manufacturing-based economy to one emphasizing high technology and the service sector. By the year 2000, a majority of the new jobs created in this country will require some postsecondary education; at least 30 percent will require a college degree; and even most low level positions will require somewhat complex reading, writing, and computational skills." p.4
>
> "The state Employment and Development Department reports that the 1991 annual average unemployment rate for African American males in California was 12.4%...That compares to an average unemployment rate of 7.5% for all Californian males." p.5
>
> "...combined statistics for African American..teenage unemployment (rates) and (figures for those) 'not in the workforce' reveals... (an) African American teenage (16-19) 'idleness indicator' of 74.2%...Other reports indicate that many African American males remain unemployed year after year. Many may not even be counted among the ranks of the unemployed because they have given up the search for a job...Therefore, the true extent of joblessness among African American men is actually much more devastating that the state's official figures suggest." p.7

"According to one study, almost half of all African American men aged 16-24 had no work experience..." p.11

"The African American male has little understanding of the concept of economic empowerment. This is due in large part to:

1-The breakdown in the family structure,

2-The absence of successful business models in the home and community , and

3-The lack of entrepreneurial training within the educational system.

"The reasons for the above is partly attributable to the expansion of the 1970s affirmative action programs--originally designed to focus on African Americans--to include a much broader range of ethnic groups. The result has been a dilution of programs targeted specifically to African Americans, and a virtual dearth of programs designed to facilitate the economic mobility of the African American male."

When the San Francisco Human Rights Commission was founded in 1964, it was the moral force and political influence of the civil rights movement that led to its creation and gave it credibility. Those who pushed for its formation saw the Human Rights Commission as an organization that would institutionalize their concerns within the city government and mobilize public power and authority behind their cause. But issues were simpler and more clearly defined in 1964 than they are in the 1990s. There are more groups in the city who feel that their rights require protection as well--other non-white minorities, gays and lesbians, immigrants, and youth among them. The economic and political environment have changed substantially too. In 1964, the economy was expanding and funding was available for large scale programs aimed at community and economic development. Today we are facing enormous deficits in the state and in the nation as a whole. Basic notions about how to establish and protect social equity in the United States are being examined and few can doubt that various entitlement programs will be substantially modified as a result. The question for the African American community is what can be done to address these inequities in the 1990s? What combination of public and private policies, programs and actions can be mounted to bring about economic parity for African Americans in San Francisco--and does the will exist to do so?

6.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

Planning directed at ensuring the well being and equitable participation of African Americans in the economic, social and political life of San Francisco must be done within a strategic context that recognizes and takes into account the changes that have occurred in the demography and distribution of influence and economic power in the city. If it doesn't--if the vision is too limited, if activities are not coordinated and aligned with an overall strategic plan for community development, and if reliance is placed solely on the traditional resort to legislative and political remedies, the condition of the African American community in San Francisco will continue to decline. The parties involved

must include the public sector, the private for-profit and non-profit sectors, and the African American community.

The notion of developing a strategic plan for a community is novel--yet the largest corporations in the nation and the world, and an increasing number of large and complex public agencies rely on the process to provide direction for their efforts, to help them set priorities, to define how all of their departments fit together, to guide decisions about how to allocate resources, and to provide a basis for assessing their progress and growth. We believe that this approach offers a structured way of thinking about community development that has been lacking.

We recommend that the CAAP--or any other body which takes on a coordinating role--initiate a strategic planning process. To be effective, that process must ensure that developments under the strategic plan are consistent with the overall economic direction and thrust of the city. For San Francisco, that means building upon the base of tourism, arts and entertainment, professional services, health, education, social services, financial services, small manufacturing, biosciences, and technology that will be mainstays of the city's economy for at least the next quarter of a century.

The recommendations which follow are consistent with the proposal for a strategic plan to guide the future development of the African American community. While they focus on the development of economic equity or parity, they inevitably relate to issues such as housing, education, criminal justice, and family stability that are integrally entwined with economic development and empowerment.

First, in Section 6.1, we have defined a minimum set of long term goals that the strategic plan should seek to accomplish. They are followed by recommendations for a number of specific policy and program initiatives in Section 6.2. The goals related to each initiative are referenced following each of the specific recommendations.

6.1-African American Community Development Goals

Goal 1-To halt, and/or, reverse the decline in the size of the African American population in San Francisco.
Goal 2-To increase per capita and/or household income in the African American community.
Goal 3-To raise the income of African American individuals and families with the lowest incomes above the poverty level.
Goal 4-To create jobs and job opportunities that fit the full range of skills within the African American community from entry level to those requiring technical skills and professional training.
Goal 5-To increase the employability and employment of African American males. Studies show that when incomes are held constant, the rates of single parent families are more or less equal among blacks and whites. Effective economic interventions aimed at black males should, therefore, provide leverage on a number of problems--increasing per capita and family incomes, increasing family stability, and decreasing the number of

black males in prison (currently 1 of every 3 black males in California between the ages of 20 and 29 are under the control of the criminal justice system and they make up a third of the prison population although they comprise only 3.7% of the overall state population).
Goal 6-To increase the number and economic viability of African American entrepreneurs and businesses.
Goal 7-To increase the level of "human capital"in the African American community.
Goal 8-To increase access to capital for entrepreneurs.
Goal 9-To provide access to "protected" or "captive" markets for goods and services provided by African Americans. These should include: goods and services attractive to, or needed by, African American consumers, goods and services attractive to non-African American consumers but accessible only through African American businesses, and access to markets protected by set-asides or preferences.
Goal 10-To preserve and/or increase the level of capital and wealth in the African American community.
Goal 11-To increase community cohesion and strengthen identity.
Goal 12-To increase the community's political power and influence on public policy.

6.2-Recommended Policy and Program Initiatives

Recommendation 1- Secure a clearly stated public commitment of the public and private sector leadership of the city to the existence of a viable African American community in San Francisco. San Francisco, like most cities in the United States, has had a laissez faire approach with regard to population demographics. That is, the unstated policy has been to allow people to in-migrate and out-migrate from the city without regard to social policy or goals regarding the composition of the city. In contrast, this recommendation calls for the establishment of a clearly articulated and publically stated "vision" which speaks directly to the issue of defining diversity as it pertains to African Americans within the city. This vision should provide the rationale for policy initiatives designed to preserve or enhance the size and condition of the African American population and provide yardsticks for measuring whether the city is achieving its vision. (Goals: 1,11,12)

Recommendation 2-Establish an African American economic development district in San Francisco to serve as the center of a new tourism area that will attract tourists in the same way as Chinatown, Fisherman's Wharf or other locations that are central to the tourism economy. In this area African American entrepreneurs will be assisted in developing restaurants, night clubs, gift shops, small manufacturing plants, artist's studios, music and video studios, and other businesses that are thematically consistent. The area should be designed to attract African American and other residents of San Francisco as well as tourists. Seek land and development funding from the SF Redevelopment Agency. (Goals: 4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12)

Recommendation 3-Establish an African American development foundation and fund it through: a voluntary "tax" of .005% (half of one percent) on gross revenues of African American owned businesses--especially those that receive city contracting preferences under the MBE/WBE Ordinance, minority preferences from the corporate sector, and/or

subsidization through the African American development district recommended above. Issue stock to investors. Seek matching funds from banks and local corporations. (Goals: 8,10,11,12)

Recommendation 4-Negotiate specific private sector hiring and training goals with the private sector companies in San Francisco--especially those that benefit sustantially through sales to African Americans. (Goals: 1,2,4,5)

Recommendation 5-Negotiate goals with private sector companies for sub-contracts with San Francisco based African American entrepreneurs. (Goals: 2,4,6,9)

Recommendation 6-Negotiate training and hiring goals and sub-contracting goals in conjunction with non-profit and for-profit developments in the city such as: the Laurel Heights campus of UCSF, Mission Bay, SFO International Airport, the Navy Yard, the Presidio, the Port, etc. (Goals: 2, 4,6,9)
Note: The negotiated agreement with Host/Marriot to sub-lease one third of their restaurant operations at SFO to minority firms in return for a non-competitve extension of their lease offers a potential model for any organization or corporation seeking concessions from the city--whether for building, easements, land, contracts, etc.

Recommendation 7-Implement aggressive recruitment and increase affirmative action hires in targeted areas of municipal employment--especially at the upper levels of municipal agencies.

Recommendation 8-Meet with municipal agencies and negotiate broad goals for contracting with African American MBE/WBE firms--especially in the areas of finance, insurance, and real estate, fuels and equipment purchases. Identify firms capable of fulfilling contracts in these areas. (Goals: 6,9,10)

Recommendation 9-Promote alternatives to incarceration and oppose construction of additional jails and prisons. (Goals: 5,7)

Recommendation 10-Establish vocational programs in jails and in conjunction with programs offering alternatives to incarceration. Contract with local companies to supply goods built, grown, or developed by participants. Models such as the horticultural training program at San Bruno jail exist. (Goals: 4,5,7,8)

Recommendation 11-Seek improvements in the scope and effectiveness of vocational training programs in the public schools and link training to job placement. (Goals: 4, 5,7)

Recommendation 12-Establish training programs for African American entrepreneurs linked to venture funds provided by the development foundation (recommended above in conjunction with Recommendation 3). Require a commitment to hire African American employees a condition of capitalization. (Goals: 2,3,4,6,7,8.10,11)

Recommendation 13-Establish a clearinghouse for African American businesses to facilitate networking, mutual purchasing and sales opportunities through theBlack Chamber of Commerce. (Goals: 6,9,11)

Recommendation 14-Negotiate a commitment to increased lending to African American homebuyers and entrepreneurs on the part of banks and other lending institutions. (Goals: 1,,7,8)
Note: According to the Assembly's Preliminary Report on the Status of African American Males in California, "Sanwa Bank, one of the five largest banks in the world with assets of $400 billion, made only one loan to an African American in California in 1991. The Bank of California, owned by Mitsubishi Corporation with more than $7 billion in assets in this state, made only two loans to African Americans last year."

Recommendation 15-Work with labor unions to increase recruitment of African American youth for apprenticeship programs and to develop "joint ventures" with schools for vocational training courses and credits. (Goals: 2,3,4,5)
Note: Assess the potential of the YouthBuild program as a model and identify other potential models.

Recommendation 16-Develop college education guarantee programs and provide intensive college prep in return for commitment to community service. (Goals: 1, 2,3,5)

Recommendation 17-Develop program providing intensive exposure to computer and game technology in conjunction with early childhood education programs. Seek "joint venture" agreements with Apple and/or Hewlitt Packard, etc. (Goals: 5,6)

Recommendation 18-Develop/expand mentoring program and recruit black male adults to serve as models/tutors/mentors for 1-2 black male youth. (Goals: 5,7,11)

Recommendation 19-Preserve and enhance African American equity in real estate through purchase of rights of first refusal and/or reverse annuity mortgages with African American homeowners. Implement through the development foundation (see Recommendation 3) or a community development corporation.
(Goals: 1,10, 11,12)

Recommendation 20-Analyze benefits and liabilities of public housing privatization and/or tenant management programs and develop position on those issues.
(Goals: 1,4,9,10,11)

Recommendation 21-Encourage development of affordable housing with land write downs and sweat equity participation. Negotiate land deals with SF Redevelopment Agency, Section 8 subsidization with SFHA, and assess experience of local sweat equity housing examples--such as Jubilee West and Delancey St.-- for relevance. (Goals: 1,10,11)

Recommendation 21-Advocate to maintain welfare benefits and transfer payments at their current level at least and to secure additional housing benefits for AFDC families.

Note: A 1991 study, cited in the Assembly report on the status of African American males, found that the average AFDC family in California spent month more than half the maximum AFDC entitlement--in comparison with the HUD guideline which sets one third of income as the maximum amount that should be spent for housing.

Recommendation 22-Institute a media-based long term public education campaign aimed at the African American community and designed to foster confidence in Black businesses and build community cohesion. (Goals: 1,6,9,11)

Recommendation 23-Seek to build political and economic coalitions with other ethnic minority groups based on mutual benefit to support candidates and policies aimed at mutual development. (Goals: 12)

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