

RACE COUNTS

RACE COUNTS 2023

ANNUAL REPORT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The RACE COUNTS team would like to acknowledge and express our gratitude to all those involved in the creation of this report.

Alexandra Baker
Leila Forouzan
Hillary Khan
Maria T. Khan
John Kim
Chris Ringewald
Mike Russo
Jesse Saucedo
David Segovia
Ron Simms Jr.
Roxana Reyes
Matt Trujillo

We would also like to thank the Catalyst California staff who reviewed early drafts of the report and provided feedback – Chauncey Smith, Kianna Ruff, Vickie Ramos Harris, Manuel Fierro, Karina Hernandez, and Day Son.

This report would not have been possible without guidance and input from our partners:

[*Alianza Coachella Valley*](#)
[*California Calls*](#)
[*California Child Care Resource & Referral Network*](#)
[*California Native Vote Project*](#)
[*Empowering Pacific Islander Communities \(EPIC\)*](#)
[*Faith in the Valley*](#)
[*Fresno Building Healthy Communities*](#)
[*Housing Now!*](#)
[*PICO California*](#)
[*Los Angeles County Anti-Racism, Diversity and Inclusion \(ARDI\) Initiative*](#)

We are grateful for our original core group of partners – California Calls, PICO California, and USC’s Equity Research Institute – who were vital to the creation of RACE COUNTS. We are grateful for the generous support provided by The California Endowment and The Sierra Health Foundation, whose funding helped make this report happen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

About Catalyst California

Catalyst California, alongside partners, dismantles racial injustice and redesigns systems for access and equity. We do this by shifting and building power with movement leaders in communities of color who are making real change. With the collective impact of community, data, and policy, we make the California Dream inclusive and available to all. With a mix of audacity, analysis, and action, we foster justice and create equitable futures for everyone in our state. We translate complex ideas about communities into narratives that inspire action with the racial equity movement. To achieve our vision of a world where justice thrives, we uphold the truth through deep research, turn policies into actionable change, and shift money and power back into our communities. We are a catalyst for systems transformation, ensuring that community-driven action, research, and policy foster an equitable future. We are willing to venture into the unknown for a cause, because to get to where we need to go, we need to do things in ways we have never done before.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	5
Introduction	10
The State of California’s Disparities	12
The Low-wage, High-rent Trap	19
Post-pandemic Students Need More Support	27
The Persistence of Mass Incarceration	34
Conclusion	39
Endnotes	40

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

California's conception of itself as a progressive bastion was never on stronger display than during the late 2010s, when we were faced with a federal administration nakedly hostile to our communities. But as 2020's dual crises of the COVID-19 pandemic and a nationwide reckoning over police violence played out across the U.S., despite its progressive bonafides California was not immune. The advocates and organizers working with our communities of color rose to the challenge, organizing mutual aid networks and pushing our leaders to adopt critical reforms. Now, more than three years since the first COVID case came to California and protestors took to the streets to demand justice for George Floyd, the question of whether we can make progress on racial disparities is more urgent than ever. As we enter the post-pandemic era, the data in this report can help advocates advance racial equity, support our most vulnerable residents, and chart a path into an uncertain future.

The State of California's Disparities

The RACE COUNTS data show that many smaller counties tend to have below average outcomes and higher than average disparity. Mono and Trinity counties, two of the five smallest counties in the state, have the highest

disparity and worst outcomes overall in California, respectively. Turning to moderate-sized counties, Marin and San Francisco have some of the best overall outcomes, but also among the highest disparities, in the state. The data also show that Fresno and Tulare counties are two of the five counties with the worst outcomes in California. Los Angeles, the largest county by far, has below average outcomes but also below average racial disparities. Some counties may be cause for more optimism: San Luis Obispo stands out as a particularly better outcome, lower disparity county.

Looking regionally, the Northern/Sierra counties generally have worse outcomes and higher disparities. The Bay Area is a higher outcomes region, and most of its counties are close to the average on overall racial disparity, though it has two of the highest-disparity counties in the state. All San Joaquin Valley counties have lower than average overall outcomes, while counties in the southern half of the Valley have higher than average disparities and those in the north have lower than average disparities. All counties in the Southern California region have lower than average racial disparity; four of its six counties also have worse than average outcomes. The Central Coast region is a relatively higher-outcome, lower-disparity region. The

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Sacramento Area region has similarly high outcomes, with three of its four counties having better than average overall outcomes; the region also has relatively lower racial disparities.

The Low-wage, High-rent Trap

Many Californians of color are caught in a low-wage, high-rent trap: they are paid insufficient wages, and face sky-high housing costs that eat into much of the little money they make each month. And even when they are pushed out of more-expensive coastal counties, the trap persists. An ongoing legacy of community disinvestment and wealth extraction limits the economic opportunities of Californians of color, and the pandemic exacerbated these already-deep disparities. And while the crisis of housing affordability affects everyone, many Californians of color are especially vulnerable. Thus the self-reinforcing nature of the trap: many Californians of color don't earn a fair wage for their labor, which makes it harder for them to afford housing; this economic precariousness in turn limits their ability to build wealth or invest in new opportunities; and their ongoing economic vulnerability allows unscrupulous employers and landlords to take further advantage of them.

Living Wage Findings: All counties in the San Joaquin Valley region have lower than average percentages of workers paid a living wage, while all counties in the Bay Area region have higher percentages. Of the nine counties in the Bay Area, eight also have lower racial disparity in living wage. Statewide, employers are least likely to pay Latinx, American Indian / Alaska Native, and Black workers a living wage.

Living Wage Policy Recommendations:

- Raise and enforce the minimum wage and promote pathways to high-wage jobs.
- Provide people with a guaranteed basic income.
- Expand safety net programs and services for low-income Californians.

Housing Cost Burden Findings: All counties in the Southern California region have a higher-than-average share of renters who are cost burdened, and all but one are relatively lower in disparity – though the exception, Imperial County, has the highest racial disparities in the state. Six of the eight San Joaquin Valley counties have lower outcomes on this indicator, with a higher-than-average share of cost-burdened renters. Disparities are also relatively lower here, though Kern, Merced, and Madera counties all have relatively high disparities.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Only Black and Latinx renters are more likely to be housing cost-burdened than the average California renter.

Housing Cost Burden Policy Recommendations:

- Increase affordable housing production and preserve existing affordable housing.
- Create a permanent funding source for affordable housing production and preservation that is large enough to meet California's need.
- Expand protections for low-income tenants.

Post-pandemic Students Need More Support From California's Education System

California's education system produces racial disparities and inequities; it not only creates worse outcomes for students of color, it also often pushes them into the criminal legal system. During the pandemic, California students of color felt the disproportionate impact of COVID-19, including structural barriers, such as limited internet access at home, that made the shift from in-person classes to online learning difficult. The pandemic's disruption of education also had an impact on the mental health of students

of color, and exacerbated existing inequities in finding affordable child care as programs closed temporarily or permanently. A variety of policy solutions helped mitigate these impacts, including child care fee waivers; learning interventions like summer school programs, additional tutoring, and mental health services; investments to transform public schools into "community schools"; and expanding early care and education.

Graduation Rate Findings: Most of the Bay Area and Central Coast counties have above average graduation rates, as well as relatively lower disparities. There is a notable north/south divide in the San Joaquin Valley, with better rates in the north and lower rates in the south; Fresno and Kings County have especially high disparities. Statewide, our school systems are less likely to graduate Black, American Indian / Alaskan Native, Latinx, and Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander students than the average California student.

Suspension Findings: While many of the more populous counties, like Los Angeles, Santa Clara, and Orange, have among the lowest overall suspension rates statewide, disparities remain. Most Bay Area counties have lower than average suspension rates overall, but most also have higher than average racial disparity.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

San Francisco County, where schools suspend Black students at a rate nearly four times the average, stands out as the most disparate in the state. Statewide, public schools are more likely to suspend Black, American Indian / Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander, and Latinx students than the average student.

High School Graduation and Suspension Policy Recommendations:

- Increase the number of racially just, relationship-centered community schools in high-need communities.
- Promote access to and investment in early care and education.
- Provide high-need schools and high-need students with increased, targeted resources.

The Persistence of Mass Incarceration

For low-income communities of color, incarceration has been our public systems' sole approach to creating public safety, and it has proved outdated, ineffective, and racist: incarceration is the RACE COUNTS indicator with the worst racial disparities. In the 2000s, California's prison system was so overcrowded

the federal courts mandated a reduction in the state's prison population – but much of that progress was achieved by shifting more inmates into local jails. And mass incarceration can become a self-fulfilling prophecy: as we spend scarce public dollars on a bloated jail and prison system, we have fewer resources available for investments that support communities. In recent years we have seen some positive developments, like the release thousands of incarcerated people to limit the spread of COVID-19, the enactment of “zero-bail” policies, broad sentence-reduction policies, and multiple prison closures – though some jail closures have had significant delays.

Incarceration Findings: In Bay Area counties, racial disparity levels for incarceration are mixed; Contra Costa County stands out with the second-lowest incarceration rate in the state, while also having the fifth-worst racial disparities. Similarly, Los Angeles has the tenth-lowest incarceration rate, but the third-worst disparities in the state. All but one San Joaquin Valley counties have lower than average racial disparities in incarceration. Statewide, counties are more likely to incarcerate Black, and American Indian / Alaska Native, and Latinx Californians than the average resident.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Incarceration Policy Recommendations:

- Decrease the role of law enforcement.
- Advance decriminalization policies.
- Reinvest resources spent on the criminal legal system into care-based services, education, youth development, jobs, and living wages.

Conclusion

The findings in this report spotlight just some of the ways California's systems create disparate outcomes for communities of color. Within this broad picture, RACE COUNTS helps uplift significant variations by race and by region that must be accounted for in crafting solutions. And we have identified specific, actionable policy ideas. Yet little of this is news to the residents, parents, and students who make up these communities – working alongside home-grown organizers and advocates, they are already demanding solutions that will make a difference. The aim of RACE COUNTS is to provide shared data and a shared framework that can build solidarity, cohesion, and information between racial justice advocates working across California. These connections have never been more important, as our state decides what the post-pandemic “new normal” will be: business as usual, or transformation?

INTRODUCTION

California's conception of itself as a progressive bastion was never on stronger display than during the late 2010s. Faced with a federal administration nakedly hostile to our values and our communities, Californians fought back: we made ourselves a sanctuary state, became a hotbed of the so-called "Resistance", and elected a governor who relished the opportunity to trade barbs with Donald Trump.

However, the 2020s have made obvious that this optimistic self-assessment ignored critical flaws in California's foundation. The COVID-19 pandemic struck in the Spring of 2020, targeting low-income communities of color with ruthless precision – due to pre-existing structural racism and institutional discrimination that made them uniquely vulnerable to both the disease and its economic impacts. Only a few months later, the murder of George Floyd galvanized a nationwide reckoning over police violence and shined an urgent light on the crisis of anti-Black racism. These dual crises played out across the U.S., and despite its progressive bona fides, California was not immune. Since the start of the pandemic over 100,000 Californians have died and 2.6 million have lost their jobs, and many of the state's law enforcement agencies, from the largest to the smallest, have been wracked by scandals of racial targeting and excessive force.¹

The advocates and organizers working with California's communities of color rose to the challenge of this critical moment, organizing mutual aid networks and connecting their members to life-saving resources and information. They also took to the streets and came together to push our leaders to adopt critical reforms and protections, from emergency food aid programs and eviction moratoria to efforts to reallocate funding from suppression-based policing in favor of positive investments. In the face of twin emergencies, we showed just what we're capable of.

Advocates realized that the pressure to return to a racially unjust status quo would be very strong. Even as they passionately argued against any attempt to move to a "new normal" that was just the same as the old normal, other voices were eager to declare victory and move on from the pandemic every time there was a brief lull between variant waves. Now, more than three years since the first COVID-19 case came to California and protestors took to the streets to demand justice for George Floyd, the question of whether we can walk the walk and make progress on racial disparities even when the media spotlight moves on is more urgent than ever.

The stakes are enormous. Given the scale of the pandemic's impact and underlying racial inequities, numerous low-income communities

About RACE COUNTS

RACE COUNTS is an initiative that uses race as the primary lens to understand inequity in California. RACE COUNTS' goal is to dismantle systemic racism and transform public systems in California through data, research, and advocacy. The RACE COUNTS initiative is built around a comprehensive, cutting-edge tool that has racial disparity data for over 40 indicators across seven issue areas. The tool has data at multiple levels: state, county, and city. In addition to the data tool, RACE COUNTS also includes research reports and data briefs, and provides support to community-based organizations in their policy change and advocacy efforts.

In developing the initiative, we partnered with key thought leaders, community organizers, and policy advocates across issues and regions, most notably California Calls, PICO California, and the University of Southern California's Equity Research Institute (ERI).

The indicators uplifted in this report represent a small selection of the data available through RACE COUNTS, and the report does not discuss city-level findings. We encourage you to visit the updated www.racecounts.org site to explore the data through maps, charts, and more. On the website you can find data for many of the racial and ethnic groups in your city and county. You can also see how equitable systems outcomes are in your community compared to other parts of the state, including seeing where your community ranks on the RACE COUNTS indices of outcomes and racial disparity. In addition, you can learn how to partner with us, including collaborating on a joint report, developing fact sheets and other materials using RACE COUNTS data, or providing a presentation on RACE COUNTS for advocates, organizers, and residents.

of color in California are struggling to recover, with many still mourning the deaths of their loved ones, finding it difficult to make ends meet, and learning that the end of COVID-era policy supports has created new vulnerabilities. Add the risks of an economic downturn, years of inflation, and the prospect of federal spending cuts, and we could well see California's long-standing racial disparities heightened by those looking to wring profit or political advantage from moments of crisis.

Yet the past three years have also shown that there is another way. We saw what was possible when our communities rallied together in solidarity, and when our leaders answered their call, thinking big and acting boldly – proving that public systems can move with speed and accountability, and meet need with resources. We know too that the seeds of 2020's

dual crises were planted in decades of unjust policies, and by going back to the old status quo, we'll simply be laying the groundwork for the next emergency.

Breaking this cycle requires commitment and strategy, but also information. Another lesson of 2020 is that well-meaning efforts to address problems without understanding racial disparities, and the policies and practices that lock them into place, will never create the California that we deserve. Nor will one-size-fits-all policies that don't build on the strengths, knowledge, and assets of our diverse communities. As we enter the post-pandemic era, the data in this report – as well as the entire RACE COUNTS initiative – can help advocates advance racial equity, support our most vulnerable residents, and chart a path into an uncertain future.

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA'S DISPARITIES

Prior to writing this report, we engaged organizers and advocates working for racial justice across California to identify the indicators and issue areas that are most central to the current policy debates playing out in the post-pandemic landscape. Before turning to those issue-specific analyses, however, it is helpful to look at the full store of data available through RACE COUNTS to assess how counties and regions are doing on overall outcomes, and overall level of racial disparities, across the entire suite of indicators.

Understanding the RACE COUNTS Categories

We assign each county to one of four categories based on how well it is doing on racial disparity and overall outcomes compared to the average of all counties in the state. For example, if a county has less racial disparity in graduation rates than the average California county, it is considered a lower disparity county for that indicator. If its overall graduation rate for all racial groups combined is higher than the average across all counties, it is considered a better outcome county. Counties like this – better outcomes, lower disparity – where *gains are at risk* are colored purple on maps, tables, and charts. The next category, for counties with better outcomes and higher disparity, where there is *prosperity for the few*, is displayed in orange. Counties with worse than average outcomes and lower than average disparity are *struggling to prosper*, and are colored yellow. Finally, counties with worse outcomes and higher disparity are considered *stuck and unequal*, and are assigned the color red.

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA'S DISPARITIES

County Ranking Analysis

The RACE COUNTS data show that many smaller counties – those with populations under 100,000 people – tend to have below average outcomes and higher than average disparity. Mono and Trinity counties, two of the five smallest counties in the state, have the highest disparity and lowest outcomes overall in California, respectively; for example, Native American and Latinx per capita income is less than half of that for Whites in Mono, while Trinity has the worst overall Economic Opportunity outcomes of any county. There are nevertheless some bright spots among the smaller counties, with Amador and San Benito counties ranking among the lowest disparity counties in the state.²

Turning to moderate-sized counties, it's notable that two Bay Area counties, Marin and San Francisco, have some of the best overall outcomes, but also among the highest disparities, in the state. Marin's position on our index of all Criminal Justice indicators is an extreme case: it has the best overall outcomes,

but also the highest disparities, in the state. The data also show that Fresno and Tulare counties are two of the five counties with the worst outcomes in California.

Los Angeles, the largest county by far, has below average outcomes but also below average racial disparities. With that said, there are some indicators where L.A. County's racial disparities are substantial: for example, the chronic absenteeism rate for Black students is five times that of the group with the lowest rate.

Some counties may be cause for more optimism: San Luis Obispo stands out as a particularly better outcome, lower disparity county. Two Southern California region counties, San Diego and Orange, are among the five lowest disparity counties in the state. And two Sacramento-area counties, Placer and El Dorado, are among California's five highest-outcome counties. While no county is better than all the others across the board, and even those with low disparity rankings are only *relatively* less disparate, there still may be lessons in equity to be learned by examining the areas where these counties have been successful.

Top 5 Best-outcome Counties

Ranking	County	Region
1	Marin County	Bay Area
2	Placer County	Sacramento Area
3	El Dorado County	Sacramento Area
4	San Luis Obispo County	Central Coast
5	San Mateo County	Bay Area

Bottom 5 Worst-outcome Counties^a

Ranking	County	Region
57	Trinity County	Northern / Sierra
56	Fresno County	San Joaquin Valley
55	Tulare County	San Joaquin Valley
54	Modoc County	Northern / Sierra
53	Lake County	Northern / Sierra

Top 5 Highest Racial Disparity Counties

Ranking	County	Region
1	Mono County	Northern / Sierra
2	Plumas County	Northern / Sierra
3	Marin County	Bay Area
4	Humboldt County	Northern / Sierra
5	Lassen County	Northern / Sierra

Bottom 5 Lowest Racial Disparity Counties^b

Ranking	County	Region
54	San Luis Obispo County	Central Coast
53	Amador County	Northern / Sierra
52	Orange County	Southern California
51	San Benito County	Central Coast
50	San Diego County	Southern California

a While there are a total of 58 counties in California, there is insufficient data for us to calculate an overall outcomes index score for every county. As such, we are only able to rank 57 counties on overall outcomes.

b While there are a total of 58 counties in California, there is insufficient data for us to calculate an overall racial disparity index score for every county. As such, we are only able to rank 54 counties on overall racial disparity.

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA'S DISPARITIES

Data Limitations

Data can only ever paint an incomplete picture of the complex reality that is California. RACE COUNTS strives to uplift communities that are often made invisible by data collection and reporting practices that do not prioritize equity, but there are still unavoidable gaps in what we are able to do. While we advocate for more equitable approaches to data, including using racial categories that better track communities' understanding of themselves and oversampling groups who otherwise might not have enough members to be included in some surveys, there are still cases where data for certain racial groups on certain indicators is missing or aggregated in misleading ways.

One way these gaps are seen is in our overall outcome and disparity rankings for counties. While there are a total of 58 counties in California, there is insufficient data for us to calculate an overall outcomes or overall racial disparity index score for every county. As such, we are only able to rank 57 counties on overall outcomes and 54 counties on racial disparity in our Racial Equity Index.

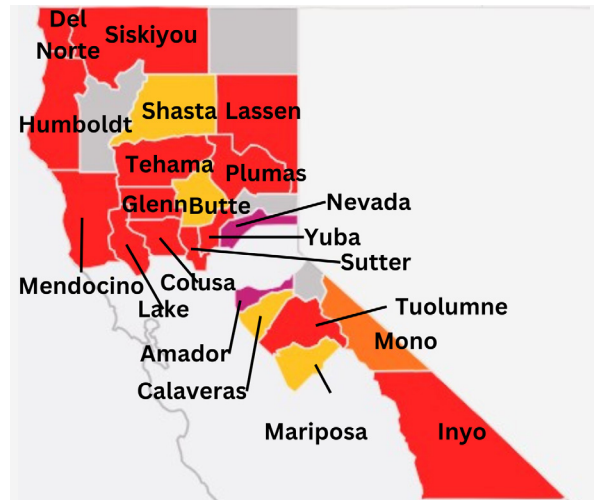
Meanwhile, aggregation can make it challenging to reflect the unique experiences of some groups in data. For example, the data we rely upon for our incarceration indicator combines the Asian and Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander groups, despite the widely disparate experiences of these distinct groups when they come into contact with law enforcement. Unfortunately, the combination of Asian and Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islanders is a common occurrence in data collection, particularly within criminal legal system data. There is a need for more disaggregated data for the Crime and Justice issue area, and overall, as the lack of this data can mask wide variation in experiences.

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA'S DISPARITIES

Regional Analysis

Northern / Sierra Counties

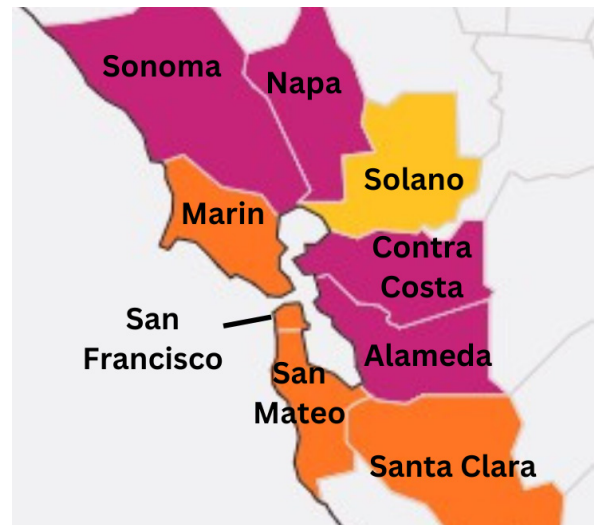
Over half of the Northern / Sierra region counties have worse outcomes and higher disparities. The region consists primarily of low-density rural counties – most have populations under 100,000 people. There are data limitations for small counties like these, with racially disaggregated data often being unavailable or unreliable. Given these challenges, more effort is needed to gather and track data by race, and better collaborate with organizations working with communities of color on the ground to understand their experiences.



Northern / Sierra Counties regional heat map: overall outcomes and disparities

Bay Area

The Bay Area is a higher outcomes region, with Solano being the only member of the nine-county region with below average overall outcomes. Most counties in the region are close to the average on overall racial disparity, though the region does include two of the highest-disparity counties in the state (San Francisco and Marin). Notably, the general prosperity of the Bay Area has not led to markedly reduced racial disparities, reinforcing the need for targeted solutions to the injustices entrenched in our public systems.



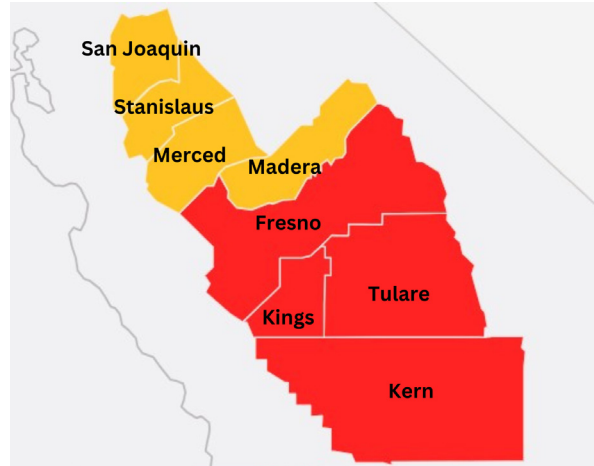
Bay Area regional heat map: overall outcomes and disparities



THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA'S DISPARITIES

San Joaquin Valley

All San Joaquin Valley counties have lower than average overall outcomes – the only region in the state where that is the case. When it comes to racial disparities, however, there is a clear geographic cleavage: counties in the southern half of the Valley have higher than average disparities, while those in the northern portion have lower than average disparities.



San Joaquin Valley regional heat map: overall outcomes and disparities

Southern California

All counties in the Southern California region have lower than average racial disparity – again, this is unique among California's regions. Unfortunately, four of its six counties (all save Orange and San Diego) also have worse than average outcomes. Interestingly, this almost leads to a coastal/inland split within the region – although Los Angeles County breaks the pattern with lower outcomes comparable to those of the Inland Empire counties.



Southern California regional heat map: overall outcomes and disparities



THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA'S DISPARITIES

Central Coast

The Central Coast region is a relatively higher-outcome, lower-disparity region, with only one higher-disparity county (Santa Cruz) and likewise only one lower-outcome county (Monterey). While the southern counties in the region are all better-outcome and lower-disparity, we see greater variation in the northern region with the two more populous northern counties, Monterey and Santa Cruz, having worse outcomes and higher disparity, respectively.



Central Coast regional heat map: overall outcomes and disparities

Sacramento Area

The Sacramento Area region has better outcomes, with three of its four counties having better than average overall outcomes. The exception, Sacramento County, is the largest county in the region by far – making it similar to other large counties in the state that also have worse outcomes. The region has relatively lower racial disparity, with only one county, Yolo, falling within the 20 most racially disparate counties in the state.



Sacramento Area regional heat map: overall outcomes and disparities



THE LOW-WAGE, HIGH-RENT TRAP

In order for Californians to thrive and live their best life, their financial resources must meet their basic needs: health care access, healthy food, housing, and transportation. Unfortunately, many Californians of color are struggling to make ends meet and are caught in a low-wage, high-rent trap. On one side of this trap, Californians are paid insufficient wages. On the other side of this trap, Californians face sky-high housing costs that eat into much of the little money they make each month. And our data indicates that even when they are pushed out of more-expensive coastal counties, the trap persists.

RACE COUNTS data show that Californians of color have substantially lower per capita incomes compared to White Californians. An ongoing legacy of community disinvestment and wealth extraction limits the economic opportunities of Californians of color – with once-bedrock union and manufacturing jobs moved out of their communities, and educational disparities and hiring discrimination making better-compensated employment harder to reach. The pandemic exacerbated these already-deep disparities: Californians of color were overrepresented in the industries that were most vulnerable to economic disruption such as businesses closing, laying off workers, or reducing hours.³

They were also disproportionately likely to serve in “essential worker” jobs that increased their exposure to COVID before there were effective vaccines.⁴ As we enter the post-pandemic period, we are slowly returning to the pre-COVID-19 economy – for example, after peaking at 16.1% in April 2020, the California unemployment rate is once again near its pre-pandemic level.⁵ But while the current economy is marked by low levels of unemployment, the reality is that many Californians of color are still not earning a living wage.

Compounding the issue of low wages is the fact that, for many California residents, a large portion of their earnings goes towards housing costs. More than half of renters statewide spend 30% or more of their income on housing, making them housing cost burdened. While the crisis of housing affordability affects everyone, many Californians of color are especially vulnerable: a history of redlining has kept them from homeownership and concentrated them in neighborhoods with higher rents and fewer services; language barriers and immigration status may also make it more challenging for them to negotiate a fair rent. As a result, many Californians of color have little money left to cover other basic needs. A study showed that two-thirds of housing cost burdened

Campaign Spotlight: Faith in the Valley

Faith in the Valley is a formidable force for change in California's San Joaquin Valley. With the collective power of 120 congregations and over 100,000 people, this faith-based grassroots community organization is committed to forging a brighter future alongside San Joaquin Valley residents.

During the pandemic, Faith in the Valley expanded their work helping build tenant power to advance housing justice. As part of this work, Faith in the Valley engages in tenant organizing, community-based participatory research, and policy and budget advocacy at the federal, state, regional, and local levels.

At the federal level, efforts include participation in the federal Homes Guarantee campaign, which seeks a National Tenant Bill of Rights as well as safe, sustainable, accessible, and affordable homes for everyone. Thanks to Faith in the Valley's work in this campaign, San Joaquin Valley tenants have a voice in federal housing policy discussions.

At the state and local levels, Faith in the Valley is pushing for policy and systems change - including rent control, a tenant right to counsel, establishing tenants unions, creating and building affordable housing trust funds, and supporting community land trusts that will prioritize San Joaquin Valley tenants. In addition, Faith in the Valley is advancing social housing to make housing permanently affordable and community controlled.⁶

households cut back on food, half deferred bill payments and/or took on more debt, one-third decreased their transportation costs, and one-fifth went without health care.⁷ They may also face the difficult decision of whether to keep a roof over their head or food on their table. California's high housing costs also put them one financial emergency away from being unable to afford rent, the first step on the road to eviction and becoming unhoused.

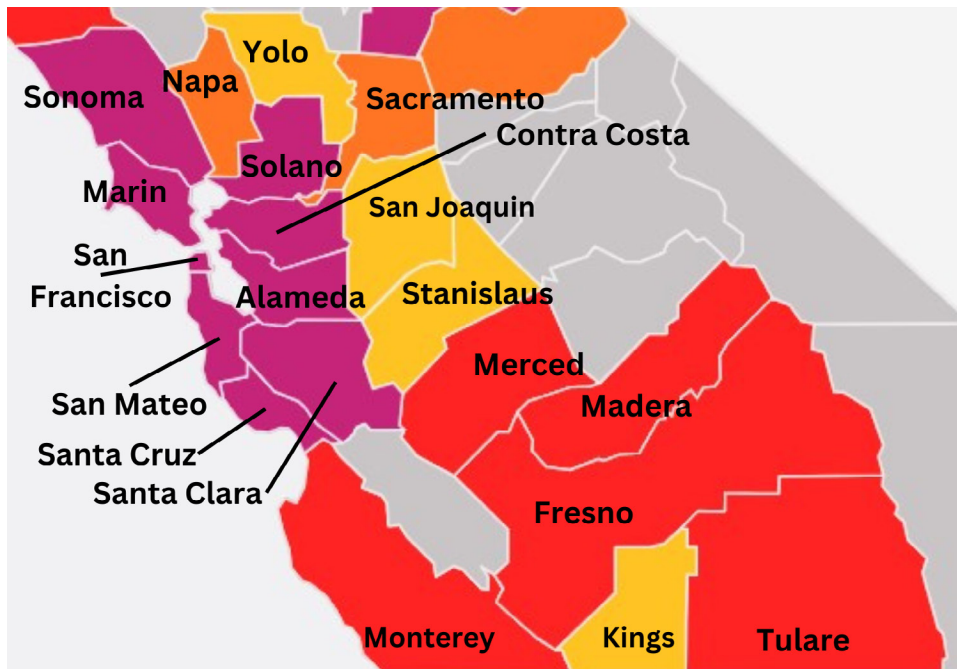
Thus the self-reinforcing nature of the trap: many Californians of color don't earn a fair wage for their labor, which makes it harder for them to afford high-priced housing; this economic precariousness in turn limits their ability to build wealth or invest in new opportunities, and their ongoing economic vulnerability allows unscrupulous employers and landlords to extract for their own profit any

increases in productivity or wages. Fortunately, during the pandemic era, in recognition of the importance of financial and housing stability, the federal and state government both implemented policies designed to provide income and housing support to vulnerable people. These policies included expanded unemployment benefits, the distribution of stimulus checks, implementation of a COVID-19 rent relief program, and the passage of eviction moratoriums. These policies provided low-income Californians, who are disproportionately people of color, with the financial resources to withstand disruptions to their employment and cover the cost of housing. However, with the formal end of the pandemic emergency, many of these policies have ended, creating new risks and vulnerabilities.

THE LOW-WAGE, HIGH-RENT TRAP

Living Wage

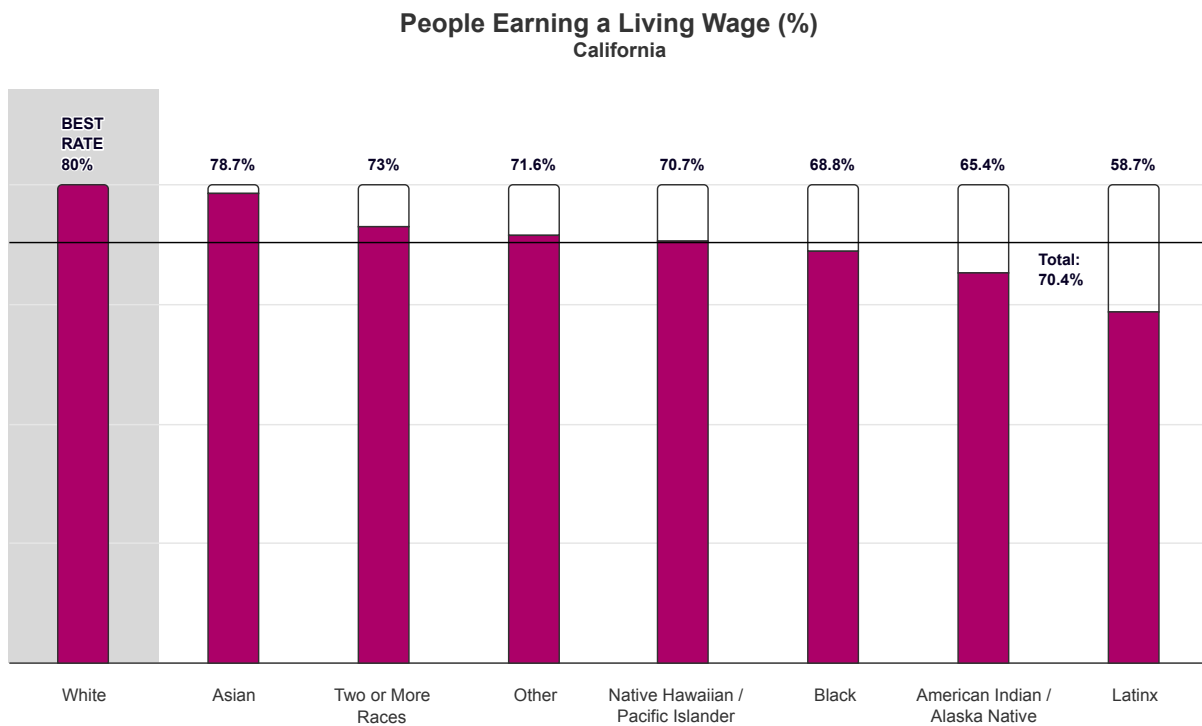
RACE COUNTS' living wage indicator measures the percentage of working-age (18-64) people who are in the labor force and earn at least \$15.50 an hour. RACE COUNTS data for this indicator is only available in five-year tranches; the most recent period is 2017-21, covering the pre-pandemic status quo as well as the first two years of COVID's impact.⁸ Our key findings include:



Living Wage disparity and outcomes heat map



THE LOW-WAGE, HIGH-RENT TRAP



Data Source: American Community Survey 5-Year PUMS Estimates (2017-2021)

- All counties in the San Joaquin Valley region have lower than average percentages of workers paid a living wage. Of the eight counties in the region, five of them also have higher levels of racial disparity. These findings may in part be due to the prevalence of the notoriously anti-worker agricultural industry in the region: while only 2% of California’s workers overall are employed in the agriculture industry, the percentage rises to 10% in Fresno County and 17% in Merced County.⁹
- All counties in the Bay Area region have higher percentages of workers paid a living wage overall. Of the nine counties in the region, eight also have lower racial disparity in living wage. The Bay Area is home to many high growth, high-wage industries like technology, which helps explain its high outcomes on this indicator, but it also has an extremely high cost of living. These factors tend to push out workers earning less than a living wage, meaning that the lower disparities registered in the Bay Area may reflect ongoing displacement of workers of color.
- Statewide, employers are least likely to pay Latinx, American Indian / Alaska Native, and Black workers a living wage. These workers are the most economically vulnerable – and were also among the communities most impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic.

THE LOW-WAGE, HIGH-RENT TRAP

Living Wage Policy Recommendations:

- **Raise and enforce the minimum wage and promote pathways to high-wage jobs.** While advocates have succeeded in winning critical increases in the state's minimum wage laws, exploitation of exceptions in the legislation and endemic wage theft in certain industries lock many workers of color out of these important gains – even as inflation erodes the value of wage increases. Beyond regular updates of the minimum wage and commitment to strong enforcement of its provisions, California must also promote pathways for low-income Californians of color to obtain high-wage jobs. These pathways can include apprenticeships, high-road training programs, place-based programs, and training through social enterprise.
- **Provide people with a guaranteed basic income so that they always have the financial resources to meet their basic needs, regardless of the whims of employers.** Many communities throughout the state, including Stockton, Los Angeles, and Sacramento, have implemented basic income pilot programs.¹⁰ While the implementation of these pilot programs is promising, they must be expanded to reach a sufficient scale to meet the need of low-income Californians of color.
- **Expand safety net programs and services for low-income Californians.** Safety net programs helped many low-income Californians of color meet their basic needs during the peak of the pandemic. With the state facing a budget deficit, it is important that it continues to invest in these programs, which provide a vital lifeline to California's most vulnerable communities.

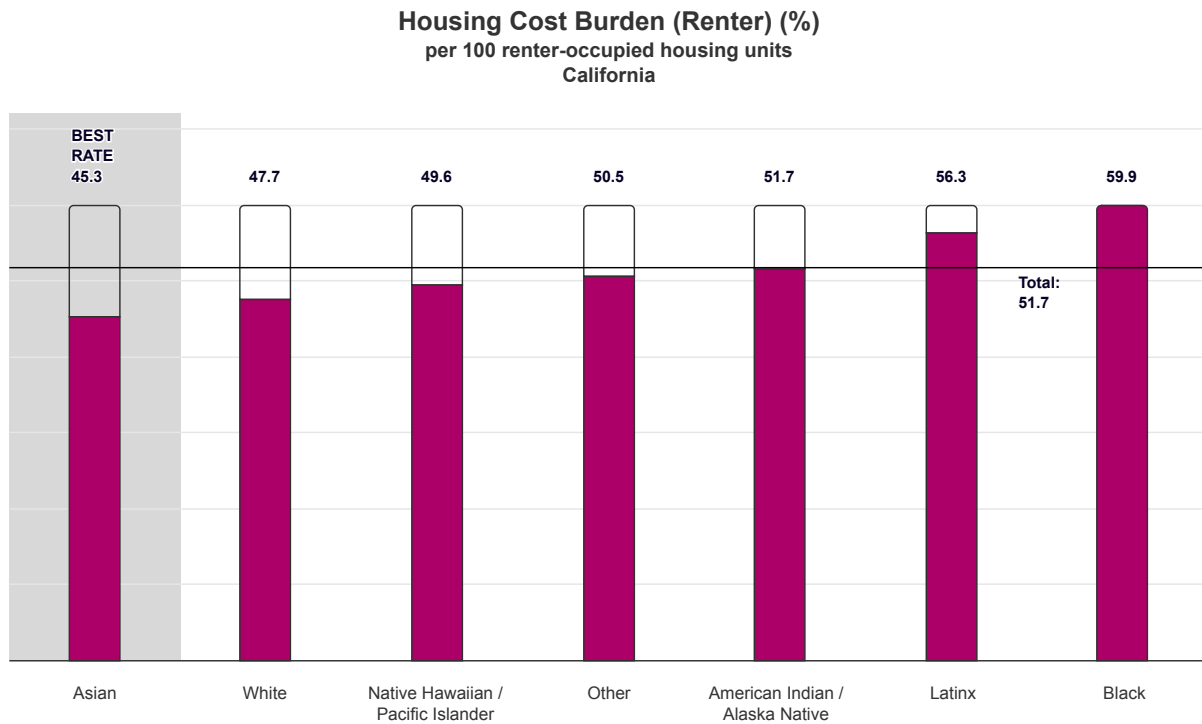
Using Race and Geography to Target Policies

The disparities we struggle with today are part of a legacy of specifically race-conscious policies that extracted wealth and labor from communities of color. The recently-released report of the California Reparations Task Force, for example, exhaustively documents the long history of explicitly racist policies and practices targeting Black Californians.¹¹ Repairing these harm requires intentional action, using both race and geography to prioritize the communities that continue to suffer the most, when implementing all of the policy solutions identified in this report – and to the extent that restrictions like Proposition 209 may limit race-conscious remedies, they should be repealed.

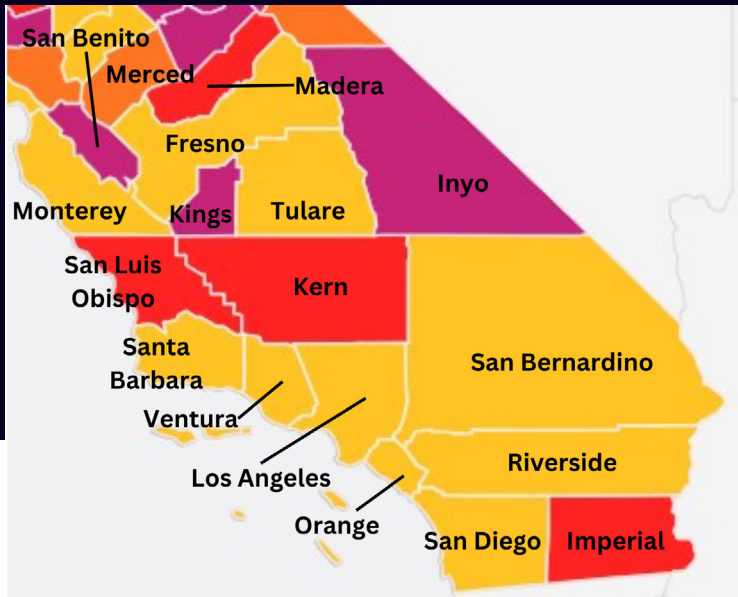
THE LOW-WAGE, HIGH-RENT TRAP

Housing Cost Burden

We measure the burden of housing costs on renters by identifying the percentage of renter-occupied housing units where tenants spend 30% or more of their income on rent. This data is from 2014-18, constituting a pre-pandemic baseline. Among our key findings:



Data Source: US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS) (2014-2018)



Housing Cost Burden (Renter) disparity and outcomes heat map

- All counties in the Southern California region have a higher-than-average share of renters who are cost burdened. All but one of the Southern California region counties are relatively lower in disparity – though the exception, Imperial County, has the highest racial disparities on this indicator in the state. The overall low outcomes mean that even in lower-disparity counties, Californians of color are struggling. For example, in Los Angeles County, about six in every 10 Black or Latinx renters are cost-burdened – one reason residents of color are increasingly being pushed out of expensive coastal counties as they experience the prototypical low-wage, high-rent trap.
- Perhaps surprisingly, the picture in the San Joaquin Valley is not appreciably different. Six of the eight counties in

the region have lower outcomes on this indicator, with a higher-than-average share of cost-burdened renters. Disparities are also relatively lower in most San Joaquin Valley counties, though Kern, Merced, and Madera counties all have higher disparities. As a result, even as residents of color are displaced from coastal regions to inland communities, they may find that they cannot escape the low-wage, high-rent trap: while their new housing maybe be more affordable, wages are commensurately lower.

- Black and Latinx renters are the only two groups more likely to be housing cost-burdened than the average California renter. This is the predictable result of racial inequities in wages combining with additional housing-related disparities discussed above.

THE LOW-WAGE, HIGH-RENT TRAP

Housing Cost Burden Policy Recommendations:

- **Increase affordable housing production and preserve existing affordable housing.** One major cause of California's affordable housing crisis is that there are not enough affordable housing units to meet demand. To address this imbalance, California must produce and preserve more affordable housing, set clear affordable-housing metrics and benchmarks, and hold local jurisdictions accountable to them. This effort should also include increasing the number of social housing units, which are units that are socially owned, permanently affordable, and managed by residents.
- **Create a permanent funding source for affordable housing production and preservation that is large enough to meet California's need.** The status quo is failing to address California's affordable housing crisis, and a new permanent funding stream is needed that is sufficient to support the high levels of need across all our state's communities.
- **Expand protections for low-income tenants.** Relative to landowners, tenants have few protections and rights in the housing system. California can help support vulnerable tenants by expanding protections that include, but are not limited to, tenant right to counsel, just cause eviction limitations, and rent control.

POST-PANDEMIC STUDENTS NEED MORE SUPPORT FROM CALIFORNIA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

California should have an education system that supports youth of color and that helps put them on a path to thrive. However, much like our economic system, California's education system produces racial disparities and inequities. For example, RACE COUNTS shows that not only are our schools creating worse outcomes for students of color than White students, they often push them into the criminal legal system.

Educational attainment is closely connected to later economic and health outcomes. High school graduates are more likely to be employed and to have higher lifetime earnings than non-graduates.¹² In addition, high school graduates experience better health outcomes and increased access to quality living conditions.¹³ The benefits of education occur early, as young children who are in licensed early childhood education programs are more likely to have positive educational outcomes such as higher graduation rates, and subsequently attain higher earnings.¹⁴

During the height of the pandemic, California students of color felt the disproportionate impact of COVID-19. Many of these students faced structural barriers, such as limited internet access at home, that made the shift from in-person classes to online learning

difficult. As RACE COUNTS data show, one result of these barriers is significant racial disparities in graduation during the pandemic era. The pandemic's disruption of education also had an impact on the mental health of students of color, as many of them experienced social and emotional challenges during this period. The pandemic likewise placed heightened amounts of physical, psychological, emotional, and financial stress on low-income families, and exacerbated existing inequities in finding affordable child care as programs closed temporarily or permanently.

To mitigate the pandemic's impacts on families' access to child care, the state implemented fee waivers to reduce the cost burden. To combat the impact on students, the state and federal government made major investments that districts were able to use for learning interventions such as summer school programs, additional tutoring, and mental health services.¹⁵ The state also took a more holistic approach that recognizes that for students to thrive, they need support both at school and at home, through access to food, health care, and transportation. For example, California has invested \$4.1 billion to help transform public schools into "community schools", which involve students, families, and community members in shared decision making – allowing

Campaign Spotlight: Whole Child Equity Partnership

The first three years of life are a time of incredible capacity for growth and learning, which sets the foundation of babies' social, language, and cognitive skills; as a result, high-quality early care and education experiences are critical for their lifelong success. The Whole Child Equity Partnership (WCEP) is a transformative coalition of organizations, advocates, and community leaders dedicated to supporting California's youngest children of color, from pre-natal to age three.

Underlying the Whole Child Equity Partnership are three core principles:

- Advance strategies that promote healing and long-term asset building for children, families, and communities most impacted by institutionalized anti-Black racism;
- Move forward community-centered, culturally and linguistically affirming solutions in health, education, and social systems; and
- Uplift community strengths and leadership to understand how to best allocate resources to meet the needs of children and families.

Guided by these principles, the partnership has outlined a comprehensive set of objectives, including enhancing access to critical services, providing social support and financial resources, and improving health care and early learning opportunities for children of color and their families. Notably, their efforts were instrumental in the passing of AB 2832, known as the Whole Child Equity bill, which seeks to revolutionize the allocation of early care and education resources in California by equitably allocating holistic resources for children in the communities most impacted by historical discrimination and disinvestment. Since the passage of the Whole Child Equity bill, the WCEP has continued to fight for California's youngest children of color by advocating that families of color are involved in its implementation.¹⁶

them to be more relationship-centered and responsive to student needs, and provide a variety of services both to students and their families.¹⁷ In addition to supporting community schools, California also invested significantly in early care and education by allocating a historic \$2.7 billion for expansion of Pre-K.

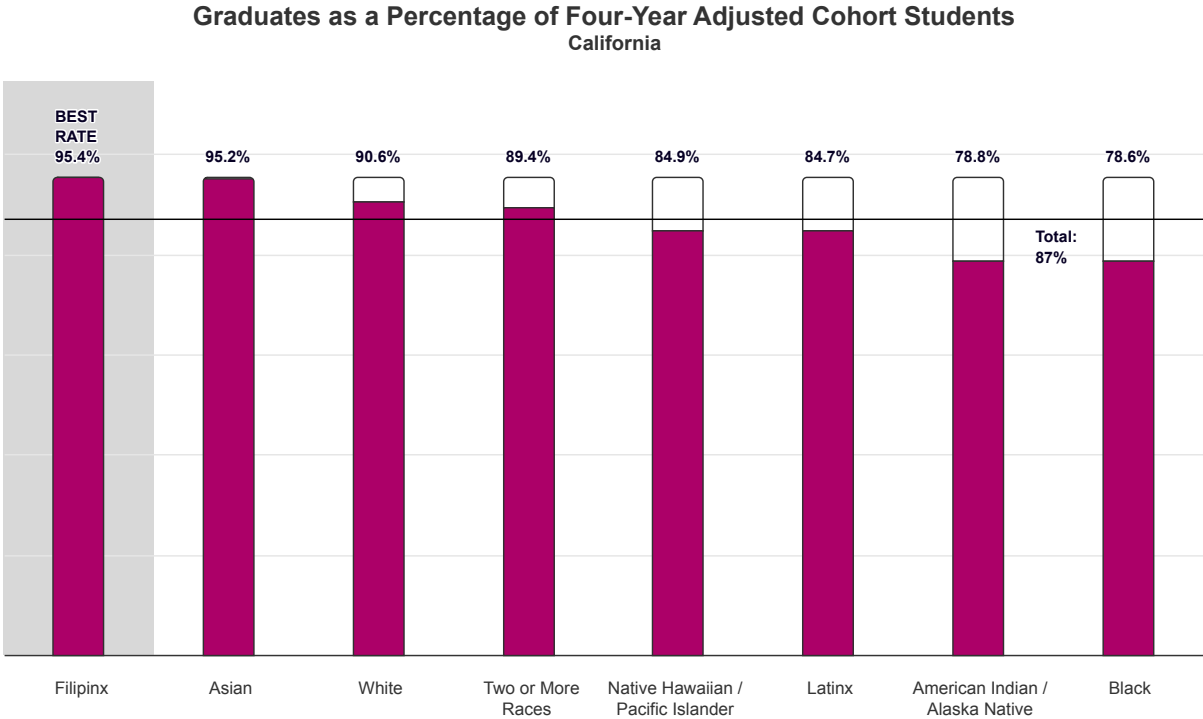
While education should be preparing children for success, some policies can put them on the wrong track. In particular, suspension is associated with negative educational and other outcomes. When a school suspends students, those students are less likely to graduate from high school. Suspended students are also more likely to be arrested and incarcerated.¹⁸ For many youth, being suspended from school is the entry point to the so-called "school to prison pipeline."

Over the past few years, there has also been a growing focus on the suspension rates within public schools, and an acknowledgment that many of the existing disparities are due to a lack of resources and culturally competent staff in schools, as well as harsh discipline policies.¹⁹ Many districts, as well as the state as a whole, have begun to move away from allowing suspensions for so-called "willful defiance" – given the vague definition of this behavior, whether a student is deemed to be willfully defiant is largely up to subjective judgment by the teacher or administrator. These kinds of standards can allow stereotypes and unconscious biases to lead to disparities in outcomes.

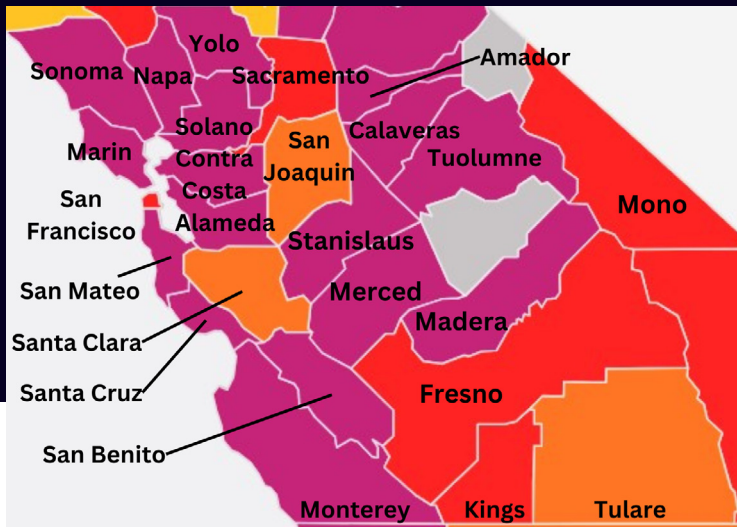
POST-PANDEMIC STUDENTS NEED MORE SUPPORT FROM CALIFORNIA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

High School Graduation

Our graduation rate indicator counts students who obtained a regular high school diploma in the 2021-22 school year. It follows a four-year cohort of potential graduates, adjusted for transfers. Selected findings include:



Data Source: California Department of Education (2021-22)



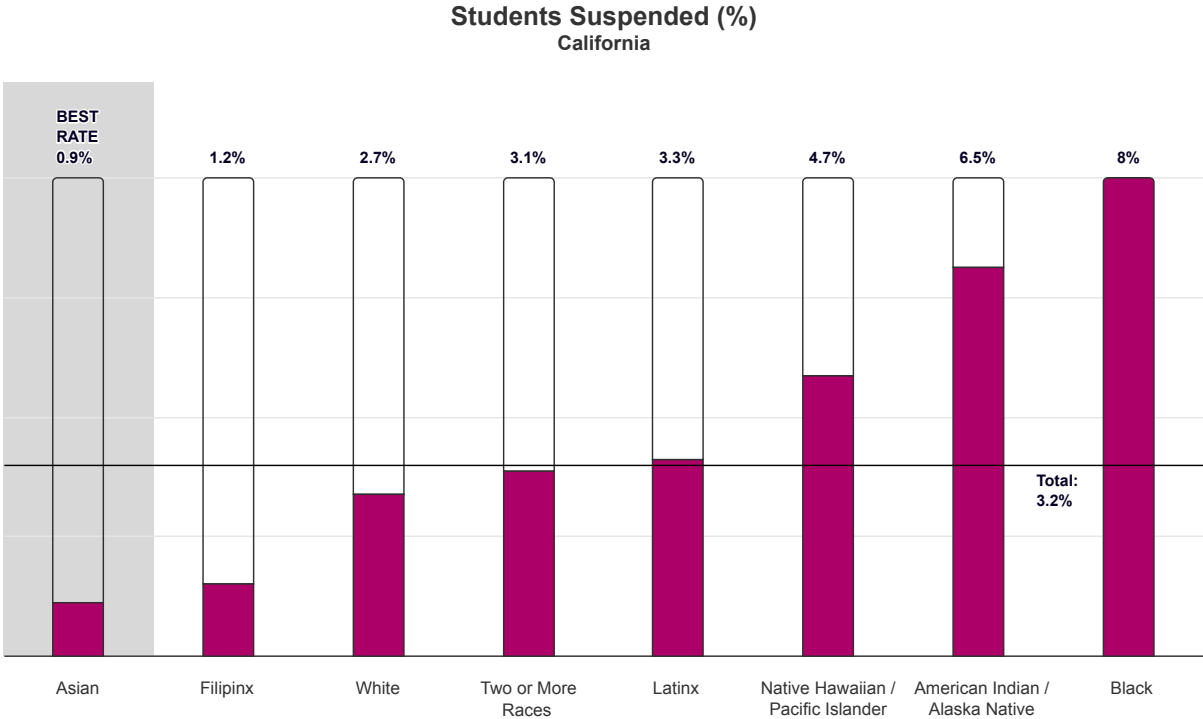
High-School Graduation disparity and outcomes heat map

- Most of the Bay Area and Central Coast counties have above average graduation rates, as well as relatively lower disparities – though per the living wage indicator discussion, some of this may reflect displacement of lower-income Californians of color from relatively more expensive regions.
- There is a notable north/south divide in the San Joaquin Valley, with the southern part of the Valley up to Fresno having worse graduation rates and counties in the northern half having generally better graduation rates and lower disparity. Fresno and Kings County have especially high disparities, the fourth and sixth highest, respectively, in the state.
- Statewide, our school systems are less likely to graduate Black, American Indian / Alaskan Native, Latinx, and Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander students than the average California student.

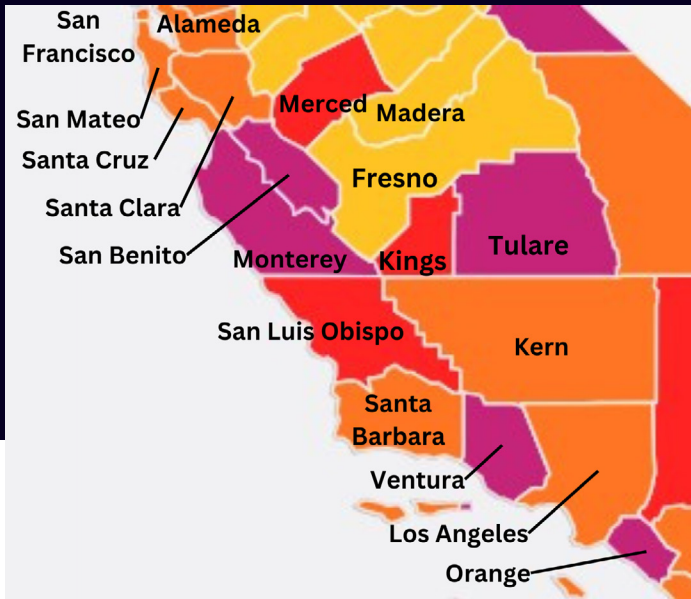
POST-PANDEMIC STUDENTS NEED MORE SUPPORT FROM CALIFORNIA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

Suspensions

Suspensions are measured as the percentage of students suspended for any reason, including willful defiance. The rate calculation is based on the unduplicated count of suspensions, divided by student enrollment, for the 2021-22 school year. That means that if a single student is suspended multiple times in the school year, they are only counted once. Our key findings include:



Data Source: California Department of Education (2021-22)



Suspensions disparity and outcomes heat map

- While many of the more populous counties, like Los Angeles, Santa Clara, and Orange, have among the lowest overall suspension rates statewide, disparities remain. For example, Santa Clara County schools are more than twice as likely to suspend Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander and Black students than the average student.
- Most Bay Area counties have lower than average suspension rates overall, but most also have higher than average racial disparity. San Francisco County, where schools suspend Black students at a rate nearly four times the average, stands out as the most disparate in the state.
- Statewide, public schools are more likely to suspend Black, American Indian / Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander, and Latinx students than the average student. The persistence and scale of these disparities – statewide, Black students are suspended more than twice as much as the average student, which is among the highest disparities in all the RACE COUNTS indicators – indicates that color-blind strategies aimed at lowering the overall suspension rate will not necessarily reduce racial disparities.

POST-PANDEMIC STUDENTS NEED MORE SUPPORT FROM CALIFORNIA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

High School Graduation and Suspension Policy Recommendations

- **Increase the number of racially just, relationship-centered community schools in high-need communities.** Community schools are public schools that serve students in Pre-K through 12th grade, and center shared power and decision making with students, families, and community members to support improved academic outcomes, whole-child engagement, and family development.²⁰ These schools also help address the school-to-prison pipeline with approaches that sustain behavioral health such as restorative justice practices and social-emotional learning rather than punitive approaches like suspension. Schools with this model have seen positive impacts on their graduation rates.
- **Promote access to and investment in early care and education (ECE).** Access to affordable, quality ECE is associated with positive educational outcomes later in life, including being more likely to graduate from high school. By promoting access to and investment in ECE, California can help put youth on a path to prosperity.
- **Provide high-need schools and high-need students with increased, targeted resources.** California's schools need more resources overall, and equitable allocation can ensure new funds are spent wisely. At both the district and school-site level, school funding should be distributed according to need, such as L.A. Unified's Student Equity Needs Index, which equitably allocates increased resources to high-need schools. These additional resources can be used for to invest in strategies for reducing racial disparities, like materials and trainings on culturally-engaging and sustaining practices to support Black students, and recruiting and retaining educators of color.

THE PERSISTENCE OF MASS INCARCERATION

Californians deserve to live in communities where they feel safe. But while many factors go into creating a community centered on safety and well-being, for low-income communities of color incarceration has been our public systems' sole approach, and it has proved outdated, ineffective, and racist. Racial bias exists at every level of the criminal legal system – from “predictive policing” and “broken windows” models that disproportionately arrest people of color for low-level offenses, to cash bail policies that effectively criminalize poverty, to discriminatory charging and prosecution decisions. Because it is downstream of all these factors, incarceration is the RACE COUNTS indicator with the worst racial disparities, with Black Californians locked up at three times the state average rate.

California's incarceration rate is about 289 per 100,000 people, which has nearly tripled since the state embarked on a spree of sentencing increases and jail and prison construction in the 1970s.²¹ In the 2000s, California's prison system was so overcrowded the federal courts mandated a reduction in the state's prison population – but much of that progress was achieved by shifting more inmates into local jails, limiting its impact on the oversized footprint of the carceral state.

People who are incarcerated are often subjected to inhumane treatment that negatively impacts their long-term physical and mental health. Moreover, incarceration is associated with lower levels of educational attainment, employment, and income – unsurprisingly, it is often harder for those with criminal backgrounds to get stable, well-paying jobs and housing. It robs people of their health and their livelihoods, and these negative impacts then flow through their families and communities. Many proponents of incarceration argue that these negative consequences are justified because incarceration helps to reduce crime. However, due in part to the financial hardship that is associated with incarceration, research has shown that incarceration increases the likelihood of someone committing a future crime post-release; our state's recidivism rates regularly approach 50%.²² And mass incarceration can become a self-fulfilling prophecy: as we spend scarce public dollars on a bloated jail and prison system, we have fewer resources available for investments that can deliver true community safety.²³

In recent years we have seen some positive developments in California's criminal legal system. One such development was the decision to release thousands of incarcerated people early in an effort to limit the spread of

THE PERSISTENCE OF MASS INCARCERATION

COVID-19 in overcrowded prisons and jails.²⁴ More bright spots came with the enactment of “zero-bail” policies that set bail to zero dollars for many misdemeanors and lower-level felonies, and broad sentence-reduction policies like Props 47 and 57.²⁵ We have also seen multiple prison closures in recent years,

and an increased understanding of the power of community-based alternatives to incarceration – though some planned jail closures, like that of Men’s Central Jail in L.A., have had significant delays, leaving incarcerated people to live in unhealthy and unsafe conditions.²⁶

Campaign Spotlight: PUSH LA

The Promoting Unity Safety & Health Los Angeles coalition, known as “PUSH LA,” is a grassroots movement formed in response to decades of racist policing practices that have disproportionately impacted Black and Brown communities in Los Angeles. Comprising base building organizations, advocacy groups, labor unions, and interfaith organizations, its mission is to reform law enforcement practices that perpetuate racial profiling and harm to L.A.’s communities of color.

Since 2019, PUSH LA has spearheaded a campaign to end racially biased traffic stops by the Los Angeles Police Department. PUSH LA also advocates for the adoption of non-law-enforcement alternatives to traffic safety – including shifting toward unarmed traffic safety workers, eliminating ticket fees and fines, and investing in street infrastructure upgrades to minimize traffic safety risks.

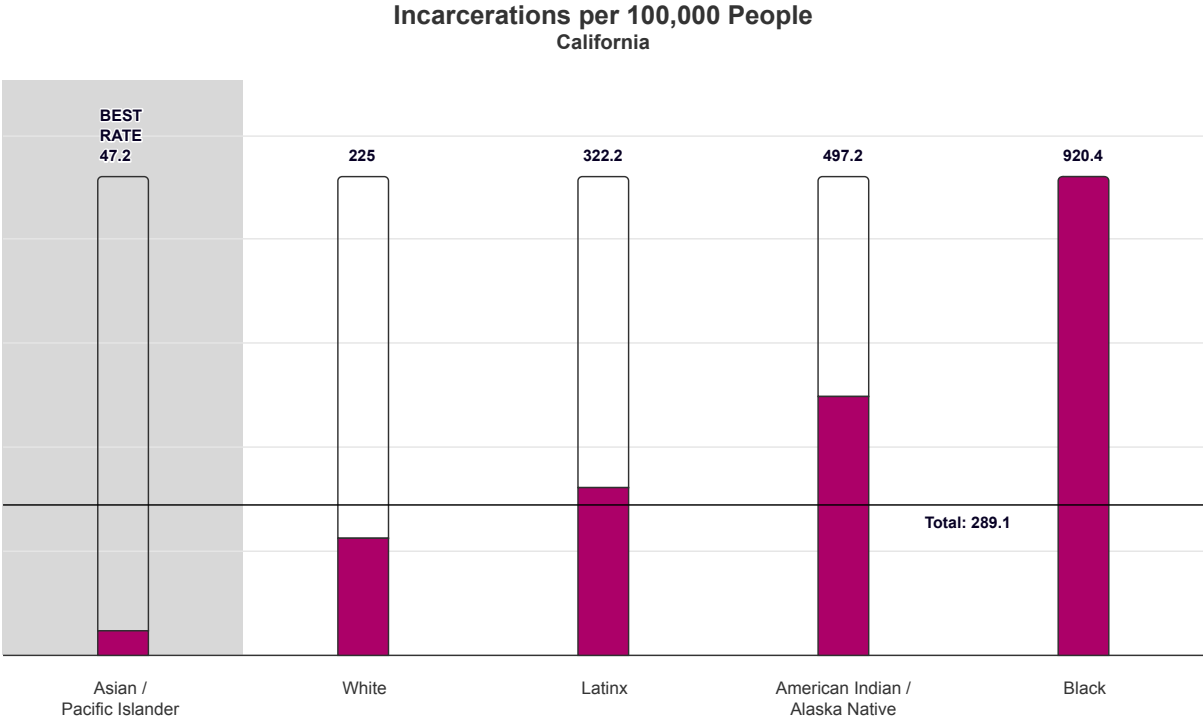
In February 2021, after extensive community organizing efforts, PUSH LA achieved a significant milestone when the Los Angeles City Council passed a motion to establish a Task Force responsible for developing recommendations on non-law-enforcement traffic safety solutions.

The coalition’s ultimate goal is to transform community safety in Los Angeles by shifting from an over-reliance on policing and punishment to greater investments in care- and equity-centered programs and services.²⁷

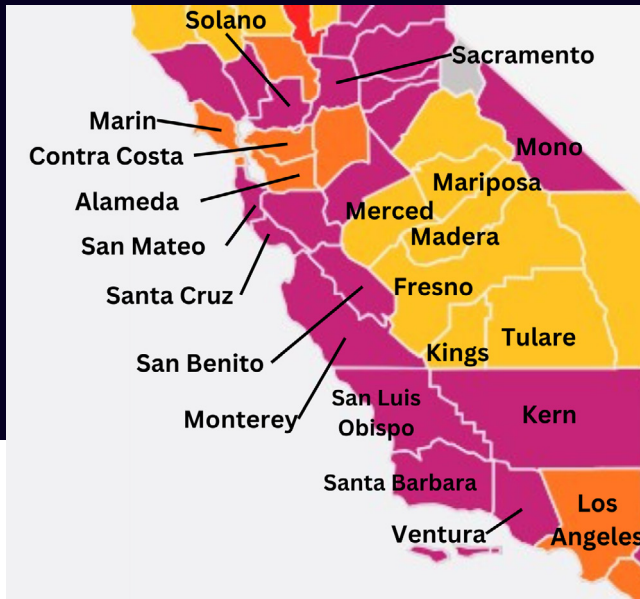
THE PERSISTENCE OF MASS INCARCERATION

Incarceration

The RACE COUNTS incarceration indicator measures the number of people incarcerated in jails under local, state, and federal authorities; the latest data available are from 2018.



Data Source: Vera Institute of Justice (2018)



Incarceration disparity and outcomes heat map

- In Bay Area counties, racial disparity levels for incarceration are mixed, with half having better than average and half having worse than average disparities. Contra Costa County stands out with the second-lowest incarceration rate in the state, while also having the fifth-worst racial disparities. This example points to a pernicious dynamic, where the deep racial biases built into the criminal legal system may mean that even as a jurisdiction reduces its overall incarceration rate, disparities may persist or even increase.
- Los Angeles is another potential example of this relationship. While its incarceration rate is the tenth-lowest in the state, as advocates have successfully pushed for alternatives to incarceration, it still has the third-worst disparities.
- All San Joaquin Valley counties but one have lower than average racial disparities in incarceration. However, even lower-than-average disparities are unconscionable. For example, the criminal legal system in Fresno County is nearly five times more likely to incarcerate Black residents than White residents.
- Statewide, counties are more likely to incarcerate Black, Latinx, American Indian / Alaska Native Californians than the average resident. As discussed previously, these disparities are deep and are present even in counties with relatively lower incarceration rates, pointing to the futility of attempting to solve this problem with purely race-neutral analyses.

THE PERSISTENCE OF MASS INCARCERATION

Incarceration Policy Recommendations

- **Decrease the role of law enforcement.** Coming into contact with police necessarily precedes being incarcerated, and there are many instances where Californians of color come into unnecessary contact with police. For example, most members of the public are far more concerned about serious crimes like homicide and burglary than minor traffic infractions, but most California police forces spend a significant portion of their patrol time on racially biased traffic stops.²⁸ Cities across the country are innovating by creating alternative traffic enforcement models that do not rely on armed police; California should follow their lead.²⁹
- **Advance decriminalization policies.** Many of the racial inequities we see in incarceration are connected to “tough on crime” policies that increased penalties for a variety of crimes that disproportionately impacted people of color. One way to address this is to continue decriminalizing minor offenses that pose little risk to public safety, as has been done with the legalization of marijuana

and the reclassification of certain non-violent property crimes from felonies to misdemeanors, as well as reducing sentences overall.³⁰

- **Reinvest resources spent on the criminal legal system into care-based services, education, youth development, jobs, and living wages.** California wastes significant public resources on the criminal legal system and interventions that are not effective at promoting community safety. These resources should be reinvested in evidence-based interventions – such as workforce development programs, health case and substance abuse treatment, reentry services, and youth development programs – and care- and community-centered harm reduction strategies that are effective at promoting community safety.³¹

CONCLUSION

The findings in this report spotlight just some of the ways California’s systems create disparate outcomes for communities of color. Our analysis finds that employers are less likely to pay Californians of color a living wage, which in combination with the housing crisis then makes them disproportionately rent-burdened. Similarly, students of color are less likely to graduate from high school and more likely to be suspended, which can provide an entry point into a criminal legal system that is more likely to incarcerate them. Within this broad picture, RACE COUNTS helps uplift significant variations by race and by region that must be accounted for in crafting solutions. And we have identified specific, actionable policy ideas that respond to the data and can at last bring an end to the disparities that our public systems have inherited, and still reproduce every year.

Yet little of this is news to the residents, parents, and students who make up these communities – they experience the reality of our public systems’ failures every day. And working alongside home-grown organizers and advocates, they are already demanding solutions that will make a difference in their lives, through compelling messages and powerful campaigns. The aim of RACE COUNTS is to support them by providing shared data and a shared framework that can

build solidarity, cohesion, and information between racial justice advocates working across California.

These connections have never been more important, as our state decides what the post-pandemic “new normal” will be: business as usual, or transformation? Those who had been profiting from the status quo have every incentive to shy away from the stark racial disparities laid bare by the dual crises of 2020 – but to follow their prescriptions would simply make the same mistakes over again. Instead, we should see the years when public systems, galvanized by advocates and organizers calling for justice, took forceful action for racial equity not as an aberration but as a model, a model that can be followed even as the once-in-a-century conditions that gave rise to that moment recede. Sustaining that sense of urgency, innovation, and resolve will not be easy, but to become the state that Californians deserve, we can do nothing less.

ENDNOTES

1. Dan Walters, “California finally regains jobs lost in COVID-19 Recession,” Cal Matters, August 31, 2022, <https://calmatters.org/commentary/2022/08/california-finally-regains-jobs-lost-in-covid-19-recession/>.
2. Results for individual small counties should be viewed cautiously. As they may have very small numbers of residents in certain racial categories, the data can sometimes shift significantly based on relatively small changes or the presence of only a few outliers. Still, the fact that many small counties all show as having worse outcomes and higher disparities is a robust finding.
3. Alissa Anderson, “California Low Paid Workers & Their Families Struggle as Jobs Decline Again,” California Budget & Policy Center, February 2021, <https://calbudgetcenter.org/resources/california-low-paid-workers-their-families-struggle-as-jobs-decline-again/>.
4. Chas Alamo, “COVID-19 and the Labor Market: Who Are California’s Frontline and Remote Workers?” Legislative Analyst’s Office, December 8, 2020, <https://lao.ca.gov/LAOEconTax/article/Detail/593>.
5. “Databases, Tables & Calculations by Subject,” U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed September 25, 2023. https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LASST0600000000000003?amp%253bdata_tool=XGtable&output_view=data&include_graphs=true
6. Learn more about Faith in the Valley’s campaigns by visiting their website at <https://faithinthevalley.org/>; more information on their federal Homes Guarantee work can be found at <https://homesguarantee.com/>.
7. Painter, G., De Gregorio, S., Angst, S., Rosen, J. (2021). “How Do Renters Cope With Unaffordability?” Sol Price Center for Social Innovation. <https://socialinnovation.usc.edu/rent-burden/>.
8. “Our Methodology,” RACE COUNTS, accessed September 25, 2023. www.racecounts.org/explore-the-data/our-methodology/.
9. “Employment by Industry Data,” California Employment Development Department, accessed September 25, 2023. <https://labormarketinfo.edd.ca.gov/data/employment-by-industry.html>.
10. Jeanne Kuang, “More than 12,000 Californians are getting cash from guaranteed income experiments,” Cal Matters, February 14, 2023, <https://calmatters.org/california-divide/2023/02/universal-basic-income/>.
11. California Task Force to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans (2023). “California Reparations Report”. California Department of Justice. <https://oag.ca.gov/ab3121/report>.
12. “High School Graduation,” Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, accessed September 25, 2023. <https://www.healthypeople.gov/2020/topics-objectives/topic/social-determinants-health/interventions-resources/high-school-graduation>; America’s Promise Alliance, “High School Graduation Facts: Ending the Dropout Crisis,” (October 1, 2020), <https://www.americaspromise.org/high-school-graduation-facts-ending-dropout-crisis>; U.S. Census Bureau, “Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2012,” (December 16, 2021), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2011/compendia/statab/131ed.html>; Kristin Anderson Moore, “Making The Grade Assessing the Evidence for Integrated Student Supports,” Child Trends (February 2014), <http://www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/2014-07ISSPaper2.pdf>; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “U.S. High School Graduates and Dropouts: Unemployment Rate 2020,” Statista (June 3, 2021), <https://www.statista.com/statistics/184996/unemployment-rate-of-high-school-graduates-and-dropouts/>.
13. Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, “High School Graduation,” (2020), <https://wayback.archive-it.org/5774/20220414161015/https://www.healthypeople.gov/2020/topics-objectives/topic/social-determinants-health/interventions-resources/high-school-graduation>; Nicholas Freudenberg and Jessica Ruglis, “Reframing School Dropout as a Public Health Issue,”

ENDNOTES

- Preventing chronic disease (U.S. National Library of Medicine, September 15, 2007), <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/17875251/>; Henry Levin et al., “The Costs and Benefits of an Excellent Education for All of America’s Children,” Academic Commons (Teachers College, Columbia University, January 1, 2007), <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D8CF9QG9>; Catherine E. Ross and Chia-ling Wu, “The Links Between Education and Health.” (American Sociological Review 60, no. 5, 1995): 719–45. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096319>; David M. Cutler and Adriana Lleras-Muney, “Education and Health: Evaluating Theories and Evidence,” NBER (National Bureau of Economic Research, July 3, 2006), <https://www.nber.org/papers/w12352>; U.S. Census Bureau, “The Big Payoff: Educational Attainment and Work-Life Earnings,” Census.gov (U.S. Census Bureau, October 8, 2021), <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2002/demo/p23-210.html>.
14. Bustamante, A., Dearing, E., Zachrisson, Z. Vandell, D., Hirsh-Pasek, K, “High-quality early child care and education: The gift that lasts a lifetime,” Brookings Institution (November 4, 2021), <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/high-quality-early-child-care-and-education-the-gift-that-lasts-a-lifetime/>.
 15. Iwunze Ugo, “Assessing the Pandemic’s Effects on Student Learning, Absenteeism, and Graduation,” Public Policy Institute of California (blog), March 14, 2023, <https://www.ppic.org/blog/testimony-assessing-the-pandemics-effects-on-student-learning-absenteeism-and-graduation/>; “Governor Newsom Unveils New Plan to Transform Kids’ Mental Health,” Office of Governor Gavin Newsom, accessed September 25, 2023. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2022/08/18/governor-newsom-unveils-new-plan-to-transform-kids-mental-health/>.
 16. Learn more about the Whole Child Equity Partnership and its work at <https://www.catalystcalifornia.org/key-issues/educational-equity/whole-child-community-equity>.
 17. Kyle Stokes, “What Are ‘Community Schools’? And Why is California Betting Big That They’ll Remake Public Education?,” LAist, July 7, 2022, <https://laist.com/news/education/what-are-community-schools-and-why-is-california-betting-big-that-theyll-remake-public-education>.
 18. Janet Rosenbaum, “Educational and Criminal Justice Outcomes 12 Years after School Suspension,” Youth & Society 52, no. 4 (2018): 515–547, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118x17752208>; Alison Yin, “We Must Disrupt the School-to-Prison Pipeline,” EdSource (August 13, 2019), <https://edsources.org/2019/we-must-disrupt-the-school-to-prison-pipeline/616234>.
 19. Leung-Gagne, M., McCombs, J., Scott, C., Losen, D. (2022). “Pushed Out: Trends and Disparities in Out-of-School-Suspension” Learning Policy Institute. <https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/crdc-school-suspension-report>.
 20. “Community Schools,” California Department of Education, accessed September 25, 2023. <https://www.cde.ca.gov/eo/in/ts-communityschools.asp>.
 21. Joe Matthews, “Even After a Decade of Reforms, California’s Era of Mass Incarceration is Far From Over,” Zocalo Public Square, February 15, 2021, <https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2021/02/25/california-mass-incarceration/events/the-takeaway/>.
 22. Jamie Santa Cruz, “Rethinking Prison as a Deterrent to Future Crime,” JSTOR Daily, July 18, 2022, <https://daily.jstor.org/rethinking-prison-as-a-deterrent-to-future-crime/>; “CDCR Recidivism,” California Department of Corrects & Rehabilitation, accessed September 25, 2023. <https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/cdcr.org/viz/CDCRRecidivism/Homepage>.
 23. Catalyst California, ACLU of Southern California. (October 2022). Reimagining Community Safety in California. https://catalyst-ca.cdn.prismic.io/catalyst-ca/126c30a8-852c-416a-b8a7-55a90c77a04e/APCA+ACLU+REIMAGINING+COMMUNITY+SAFETY+2022_5.pdf

ENDNOTES

24. Heather Harris and Joseph Hayes, “California Jails and COVID-19,” Public Policy Institute of California (blog), August 11, 2021, <https://www.ppic.org/blog/california-jails-and-covid-19/>.
25. Premkumar, D., Sloan, T., Lofstrom, M., Hayes, J. (February 2023). Assessing the Impact of COVID-19 on Arrests in California. Public Policy Institute of California. <https://www.ppic.org/publication/assessing-the-impact-of-covid-19-on-arrests-in-california/>.
26. LA Times Editorial Board. “Why is LA’s Cruel and Deadly Jail Still Open on Shutdown Date?” Los Angeles Times (2023). <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2023-03-30/dangerous-l-a-jail-reaches-shutdown-target-date-with-no-closure-in-sight>.
27. Learn more about PUSH LA and its work at <https://pushla.org/>.
28. Catalyst California, ACLU Southern California. (July 2023). Reimagining Community Safety in California. Catalyst California. <https://www.catalystcalifornia.org/campaign-tools/publications/reimagining-community-safety-in-california>.
29. Tom MacDonald, “Philly Police May Replace Some Officers with Civilians, Arbitration Panel Rules,” WHYY-PBS, November 16, 2022, <https://whyy.org/articles/philadelphia-city-council-new-public-safety-officers-ruling/>.
30. Catalyst California, ACLU Southern California. (October 2022). Reimagining Community Safety in California. Catalyst California. https://catalyst-ca.cdn.prismic.io/catalyst-ca/126c30a8-852c-416a-b8a7-55a90c77a04e_APCA+ACLU+REIMAGINING+COMMUNITY+SAFETY+2022_5.pdf.
31. Sebastian, T., Love, H., Washington, S., Barr, A., Rahman, I., Paradis, B., Perry, A., Cook, S. (2022). A New Community Safety Blueprint. Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/a-new-community-safety-blueprint-how-the-federal-government-can-address-violence-and-harm-through-a-public-health-approach/>.