HOPE SF

RACIAL EQUITY AND REPARATIONS RESOURCE GUIDE

Presented by The Partnership for HOPE SF

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HOPE SF: Racial Equity and Reparations Resource Guide is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommerical-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. HOPE SF is an ambitious cross-sector reparations initiative to transform San Francisco's most disinvested neighborhoods into thriving, inclusive, mixed-income communities without displacing original residents. Far more than simply a housing redevelopment effort, the public-private <u>The Partnership for HOPE SF</u>, led by the Mayor's office, the San Francisco Foundation, and Enterprise Community Partners, has affirmatively framed the initiative as a way to advance "racial equity and reparations" in San Francisco.

The Partnership for HOPE SF supported the creation of this Racial Equity and Reparations Resource Guide in order to further the commitment to achieving the ambitious vision of racially and economically inclusive communities.¹ The goal of the Guide is to facilitate an atmosphere of learning, reflection and action, and to support the HOPE SF initiative in embodying the change it wants to see throughout San Francisco.

We wrote this Guide for anyone working on the HOPE SF initiative, for residents living in HOPE SF communities, and as an external resource for anyone working towards racial equity and reparations. The Guide defines key concepts and highlights relevant tools, documents and other resource materials related to racial equity and reparations.

Overview of the Guide

The major sections of this guide include:

- The HOPE SF Commitment to Racial Equity and Reparations
- How Did We Get Here? A Brief History of Inequitable Housing and Community Development Policy in San Francisco
- Racial Equity and Reparations Will Benefit All of Us
- Anti-Racism 101
- Racial Equity 101
- Reparations 101
- The HOPE SF Approach to Reparations
- How Can You Take Action to Advance Racial Equity and Reparations in HOPE SF?
- Closing Call to Action

The following working documents are also available and can be accessed in the <u>HOPE SF Racial</u> <u>Equity and Reparations Resource Folder</u>.

- <u>Catalog of Racial Equity Tools</u>
- Collection of Racial Equity Resources
- Racial Equity and Reparations Thought Leaders
- Scan of Reparations Initiatives
- <u>Collection of Reparations Resources</u>

¹ This guide was compiled in collaboration with <u>The Partnership for HOPE SF</u> by Amy Khare, Ph.D., Mark Joseph, Ph.D., and their team at the <u>National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities</u> at Case Western Reserve University and Theo Miller, Esq., Director of HOPE SF, Office of Mayor London N. Breed. Please direct any questions and suggestions to Mark Joseph at <u>mark.joseph@case.edu</u> or Ellie Rossiter at <u>erossiter@sff.org</u>.

The HOPE SF Commitment to Racial Equity and Reparations

After more than a decade of HOPE SF efforts to design and transform historically disinvested San Francisco neighborhoods into thriving, equitable mixed-income communities, much remains to be learned about how this mixed-income approach can better advance racial equity and reparations.²

HOPE SF defines <u>racial equity</u> as the condition in which race no longer predicts life opportunities and outcomes.

HOPE SF defines <u>reparations</u> as an enduring approach to acknowledging, reconciling and healing systemic harm and inequities experienced by Black and Indigenous people and communities historically and currently impacted by racism and oppression.

Research and experience have shown that while mixed-income transformations of historically disinvested neighborhoods have many benefits, these redevelopment efforts can also create challenges and exacerbate historic harm for low-income households of color. Without a framework that embeds racial equity principles, this community development work will not have the desired impact, and in fact can end up doing more harm. Within mixed-income communities, low-income households of color often experience high levels of displacement, social stigma and exclusion, and limited changes in economic opportunity.³

HOPE SF is committed to pursuing an approach to mixed-income transformation that prioritizes racial equity and reparations. At the heart of HOPE SF's reparations commitment, there is a particular focus on the historical, current and future path for African Americans.⁴ This is because of the particular legacy of slavery and White supremacy as it targeted African Americans, because African Americans have made up the majority of households in the HOPE

² The historically disinvested San Francisco neighborhoods where HOPE SF communities are located include the south eastern areas of the city, including Hunters Point, Bayview, Visitacion Valley and Portola.

³ Joseph, Mark L. (2019). Promoting Poverty Deconcentration and Racial Desegregation through Mixed-Income Development. In Molly W. Metzler & Henry S. Webber, (Eds.), *Facing Segregation: Housing Policy Solutions for a Stronger Society*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press; Khare, Amy T., Mark L. Joseph and Robert J. Chaskin. 2015. "The Enduring Significance of Race in Mixed-Income Developments." *Urban Affairs Review* 15(4): 474-503; Diane K. Levy, Zach McDade, and Kassie Bertumen, "Mixed-Income Living: Anticipated and Realized Benefits for Low-Income Households," *Cityscape*, 15 (2013).

⁴ In this Guide, we use the term "African American" when referring specifically to descendants of enslaved people in the United States and the more inclusive term "Black" when referring broadly to members of the African diaspora, including African Americans, Caribbean Americans, and Africans. In this way, we seek to acknowledge the unique history and experience of descendants of enslaved people in the United States and also the diversity of backgrounds within the larger Black community. We also capitalize the terms Black and White. Though both are labels for socially-constructed racial categories, we join organizations like Race Forward and the Center for the Study of Social Policy in recognizing Black as a culture to be respected with capitalization and White and Whiteness as a social privilege to be called out.

SF communities, and because of the pervasive nature of racism experienced by multiple generations of African Americans in San Francisco dating back to World War II. This commitment was validated and amplified in the wake of the horrific acts of police brutality in the spring of 2020 that reinvigorated the Movement for Black Lives across America and the world. The stark inequities revealed by the COVID-19 pandemic, including disparate impacts on work and schooling and above all disturbing disparities in rates of death from the virus, have further reinforced HOPE SF resolve regarding systemic harm and marginalization.

Furthermore, our commitment to confronting anti-Black racism and recommitting to racial justice is rooted in a continuing failure by our nation to reconcile the attempted systematic destruction of the Native peoples of North America by colonizers, both ancient and modern. The United States was built on a foundation of colonization, cultural erasure, and genocide. Therefore, in this work there is also an intersectional and essential focus on other communities of color—for example Pacific Islanders/Samoans, Latinx, and Asians—that have also been marginalized historically and currently.

Two key beliefs shape our approach to this work:

1) We balance a focus on African Americans and indigenous communities, particularly the Legacy Families of HOPE SF,⁵ as a primary target for restitution with a recognition that all people of color in the HOPE SF communities face forms of discrimination and marginalization.

2) We believe that all of us, people of color and White people, need healing from the enduring pain, shame and disconnections of past and present racial trauma. All of us are hurt by racial inequity and all of us stand to gain from reparations.

The <u>HOPE SF Guiding Principles</u> include this statement:

We explicitly acknowledge the systemic harm that public policy, government agencies, and the marketplace have disproportionately inflicted on African Americans and low-income communities of color throughout the centuries. We seek to share the truth about this harm, promote restitution to those directly affected, and achieve reconciliation and ultimately freedom for those who have suffered from this harm and those who have benefited from this harm.

HOPE SF is an opportunity to address racial equity and reparations within a city that is rapidly changing. Major economic shifts, such as the technological revolution, are causing <u>widespread</u> <u>gentrification</u> as more people with financial resources who are predominantly White and Asian

⁵ HOPE SF utilizes the term "Legacy Families" to refer to those households, a high proportion of whom are African American, who resided in HOPE SF communities on or before 2007, or the date that HOPE SF was conceived as a non-displacement initiative. Our reference to "legacy" families also implicitly pays homage to the stolen indigenous land on which many of the HOPE SF neighborhoods sit, namely the Ohlone legacies of Potrero Hill and many parts of Bayview Hunters Point.

move into the city. Neighborhoods are changing due to physical and cultural displacement, and economic marginalization of people of color. These changes are reinforcing racial inequities of voice, belonging and economic opportunity. HOPE SF helps to ensure the possibility that people of color, particularly Legacy Families, will have continued opportunities to live and thrive in San Francisco, and race and place will not be barriers to prosperity.

The HOPE SF approach to reparations currently includes:

- A Focus on "Truth." Unapologetic and healing-centered articulation of the past and enduring structural racism that creates the conditions in the HOPE SF communities that persistently harms multi-generational residents, stakeholders, and all of us;
- **Resident Power.** Recognizing the power of residents to lead their communities, developing a practice of intentional inclusion and deference across budgets, staffing, governance, and initiative inquiry and design;
- **Mayoral Ownership.** Mayoral commitment and dedicated senior leadership across multiple political transitions to HOPE SF as one of the city's leading racial equity efforts;
- **Transformative Public Policy.** Design and passage of "first-in-the-nation" laws that address root causes of multi-generational, racialized inequality, including Right to Return, 1-for-1 replacement, and eviction prevention legislation for current and previous residents;
- Healing-Centered Collective Impact. Dedicated cross-sector "communities of practice" that regularly meet, learn and teach together, and shift cultural practices and norms;
- Housing as a Platform for Economic Power. Long-term designation of citywide taxpayer resources for affordable housing redevelopment and economic advancement for the targeted benefit of HOPE SF households that if executed properly may achieve our north star of intergenerational well-being; and
- Accountability to Anti-Racist Impact. Despite the challenges of data systems, we focus on whether stakeholders are "better-off" to advance racial equity, address disproportionality, and inform decision making, assessing resource allocations and strategic interventions according to results-based accountability.

How Did We Get Here? A Brief History of Inequitable Housing and Community Development Policy in San Francisco

How did San Francisco's public housing end up in such disorder that HOPE SF should now focus on racial equity and reparations? In some ways, San Francisco's history of public housing reflects the nation's experience, though there are important differences such as the racial and ethnic diversity within public housing communities in San Francisco as compared to other metro areas. The history demonstrates how public policies, private sector influence, and decisions by White-dominated civic institutions have operated to perpetuate racial exclusion.

The San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) was established in 1938, and in its early days created housing for thousands of people, largely White working class, who moved to San Francisco for employment opportunities during World War II. By 1945, the first five public housing communities were completed and intentionally located in low-income neighborhoods. Three of those projects were designated Whites-only by the SFHA.

Over time, residents of various racial and ethnic backgrounds, including African Americans, Latinx, Pacific Islanders and Asians, moved into public housing communities which were almost always intentionally located in areas that reinforced broader patterns of racial, ethnic, and economic segregation. The segregation and disinvestment in these neighborhoods was caused by government-sponsored <u>redlining</u> and racial covenants and reinforced by White flight. In addition, the neighborhoods where public housing was located often did not have high quality retail and commercial amenities nor quality public services, such as schools, libraries, community policing, and recreational facilities. The realities of these segregated and disinvested neighborhood environments placed residents (the majority of whom were people of color) at a significant disadvantage in their efforts to overcome the effects of poverty.

Today, San Francisco has continued to become more economically segregated as it became more racially and ethnically diverse. The city's low-income population has shifted from downtown areas to the southeast part of the city. Major recent shifts in the population means that more affluent White and immigrant households with economic resources are concentrating into San Francisco's already dense city neighborhoods. The Latinx population increased modestly from 13% in 1990 to 15% in 2015, but the city has experienced a dramatic loss of African American households from 11% in 1990 to only 5% in 2015.⁶ Income, wealth and homeownership rates also differ dramatically, with African American and Latinx populations consistently facing economic disparity and barriers to upward economic mobility.

⁶ For the latest trends in demographics, see <u>Racial Segregation in the San Francisco Bay Area</u>, published in October 2019 by the Othering & Belonging Institute, University of California, Berkeley

These realities of systematic inequity and decades of social and economic marginalization motivate HOPE SF's focus on racial equity and reparations through public housing transformation.

The following timeline summarizes some of the key events and actions which led to racial residential segregation in the Bay Area.⁷ Today's patterns are largely the outcome of a variety of <u>coordinated decisions and actions</u> used to <u>perpetuate racial exclusion</u>.

1880s. Zoning laws created for racialized exclusion in housing first appeared, with an initial focus on Chinese laborers whose housing was targeted for restrictions on the number of people within dwellings. Many of the land use regulations and policies were race-neutral on paper but they were created and used to reinforce racial exclusion.

1921. First Zoning Code passed which created separate areas for industrial and residential neighborhoods and further reinforced segregation based on income levels since wealthy neighborhoods could use the zoning laws to preference the building of single-family homes through restricting housing density.

1930s. Home Owner's Loan Corporation (which later became the Federal Housing Administration (FHA)), the federal agency responsible for guaranteeing home mortgages, surveyed cities and created neighborhood "grades" that delineated areas by their perceived risk to housing values. The government used these neighborhood grades to "redline" areas where they refused to guarantee loans that banks made, meaning that banks would not lend in these areas. Redlined areas included neighborhoods with a high share of people of color or more moderately sized houses and apartments. Conversely, bankers offered substantially more loans and investment in predominantly White areas. During this same period, Racially Restrictive Covenants began being used to block ownership of property by people of color in the new suburban tracts.

1938. The San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) was established.

1940s. The SFHA completed five public housing communities in different parts of the city, including Holly Courts in Bernal Heights and Potrero Terrace on Potrero Hill, Valencia Gardens in the Mission, and Sunnydale in Visitacion Valley. Much of the housing was designated for workers in World War II-related industries, including about 40 percent for African Americans. During World War II, tens of thousands of mostly southern African Americans migrated to San Francisco to live and work at the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard. By the end of World War II, SFHA assumed control of the Shipyard housing and imposed a Whites-only rule for the first three projects it built. For years SFHA maintained an official policy to accept only tenants who

⁷ This history is captured in the publication <u>Roots, Race, & Place: A History of Racially Exclusionary Housing in the</u> <u>San Francisco Bay Area</u>, published in October 2019 by the Othering & Belonging Institute, University of California, Berkeley.

conformed to the "neighborhood pattern" of sharing similar racial and ethnic demographics of existing neighborhood residents. These SFHA policies were condoned by the federal government and reflected the policies of other housing authorities across the country at the time.

The California Redevelopment Act of 1945 and the U.S. Housing Act of 1949 established a pattern of intervening in low-income areas and communities of color. City government declared areas as "blighted" and the federal government provided funding for redevelopment. Through city-led purchasing and eminent domain, government officials targeted communities for demolition that were home to many working-class people and people of color, resulting in the displacement of African American-owned housing and businesses.

1950s. New public housing communities, including the Ping Yuen community in 1952 and Hunters View in 1957, were built in racially-segregated areas. These communities involved a higher density of housing, as well as parking and fenced areas. SFHA denied admission of African Americans into certain new projects, such as at North Beach Place, through an informal racial quota system that limited applicants. Instead, the only projects open to African Americans were those located in areas where there was already a majority of people of color, including Channel, Double Rock, Valencia Gardens, and Westside Courts.

1954. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) won the Banks vs. Housing Authority case in the California State Supreme Court. The ruling forbid the practice of racial discrimination in public housing.

Mid-1950s and 1960s. Legalized racial segregation in public housing slowly ended (in part due to the outmigration of Whites as Blacks and other people of color were allowed into all developments). Following policy changes at the federal level, SFHA began admitting residents who faced greater economic challenges. At the same time, White people began moving out of the San Francisco city center to the suburbs to avoid racial integration. Federal government policies facilitated highway expansion and homeownership that prioritized White people and predominately White spaces.

1970s. HUD funding began to be significantly cut, which led to declines in the quality of management, maintenance and security of SFHA communities. As units became vacant, they were not rehabilitated and were sometimes demolished without replacement.

1985. Due to mismanagement, dysfunction and declining housing quality, SFHA was designated for the first time by HUD as one of the most challenged public housing authorities in the United States and maintained this "at risk" HUD designation until 1992.

1995. City of San Francisco allowed for a HUD receivership of the SFHA, which ended in 1997. The SFHA came off the "at risk" HUD designation again in 1999.

2005. The San Francisco Human Services Agency released an analysis of at-risk families known as the "Seven Street Corners Study." Merged and mapped data from the child welfare and juvenile justice systems revealed that most children involved with these systems lived within walking distance of just seven street corners, most of which were isolated and marginalized public housing sites.

2007. Under the leadership of Mayor Gavin Newsom, HOPE SF was launched with the goal to transform distressed public housing into vibrant and healthy mixed-income communities, including rebuilding 1,894 public housing units and adding 3,226 affordable and market-rate apartments and condos. A blue ribbon task force made up of cross-sector leaders and residents established a set of <u>initiative principles</u>. From the beginning, HOPE SF prioritized replacement housing, supportive services and inclusion of Legacy Families.

2010. First HOPE SF site groundbreaking at Hunters View. Campaign for HOPE SF (later to become the Partnership for HOPE SF) launched and HOPE SF established as a public-private partnership.

2012. HUD designates SFHA as a one of the most "at risk" public housing authorities in the U.S. for a third time.

2013. Families began moving into new apartments at <u>Hunters View</u>. By 2017, almost 70% of original residents at Hunters View return to the new housing (<u>compared with 18% median</u> <u>return rate in 259 HOPE VI projects nationally</u>).

2013. Mayor Ed Lee and SFHA launch a major shift of ownership of SFHA properties through the federal Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) project, intended to transfer approximately 28 public housing projects containing around 3,500 units to private owner-operators.

2016. HOPE SF publicly begins to introduce itself as a "reparations" initiative in press documents and civic engagement.

2017. Families begin moving into new apartments at <u>Alice Griffith</u>. Ultimately, nearly 90% of the original residents return to the new housing.

2019. Families begin moving into new apartments in <u>Potrero and Sunnydale</u>, marking a major milestone across all four initiative sites.

2019. HUD issued a public notice that SFHA was in default and was mandated to turn over its administration. The City and County assumed responsibility for essential functions and outsourced administration of the Housing Choice Voucher program to a third-party contractor.

2019. A major amendment to and expansion of the <u>existing Right to Return</u> was enacted on December 20, 2019. After public housing households currently living at a HOPE SF site have had the opportunity to occupy newly built public housing replacement units, former public housing

households who can demonstrate former residency at the HOPE SF site and meet the affordable housing and/or financial requirements applicable to a revitalized HOPE SF development will also have the right and highest priority to return to such HOPE SF site. In addition, current households, members of a current household, or former HOPE SF households who meet the affordable housing and/or applicable financial requirements have a priority for certain affordable tax-credit housing units.

2020. Following a series of high-profile officer-involved killings of African Americans, particularly the public murder of George Floyd on May 25th and the unrecorded killing of Breonna Taylor on March 13th, widespread solidarity for the Movement for Black Lives followed days of unrest and multi-racial protests across the country. In July, following forceful declarations that "Black lives matter," San Francisco Mayor London Breed unveiled a budget that included pulling \$120 million from law enforcement agencies and putting it into programs that support the city's largely underserved Black community, including a focus on HOPE SF communities. The Mayor's defunding plan was devised in collaboration with Supervisor Shamann Walton (who earlier in the year authored City legislation calling for reparations) as a partial restitution for city policies that led to decades of disinvestment in the Black community.

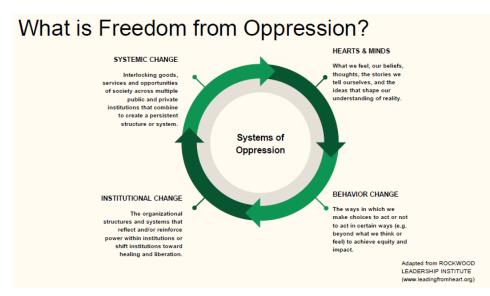
Why Racial Equity and Reparations Will Benefit All of Us

The HOPE SF approach to racial equity and reparations emphasizes that all residents of San Francisco stand to gain from this focus, not only African Americans and other people of color. These benefits could include:

- 1. **Economic Prosperity**: Economic benefits, neighborhood stability, prosperity and a more competitive local economy where everyone is contributing and benefiting.
- 2. **Healing**: An environment where healing from racism and other forms of marginalization is prioritized for all, including eradicating the racialized trauma, stress, anxiety, shame and guilt held by people across racial identities.
- 3. **Social Cohesion**: Strong neighboring relationships and a sense of belonging and inclusion for all community members across lines of race and class.
- 4. **Voice**: Communities of color are full contributors to the local democratic process, where civic engagement and political participation among all people is the norm.
- 5. **Cultural Vitality**: A sense of shared humanity where everyone's intrinsic value and cultural background is seen and embraced. Existing cultural wealth is honored and sustained.

- **6. Transformative Justice:** A collective, restorative approach to justice where each individual, family and community can lean on each other to heal from adverse experiences and promote an environment where all support one another to thrive together.
- 7. **Morality**: The sense of mission and fulfilment of a shared moral imperative to address historical and contemporary harms.

To achieve these benefits, it is essential that HOPE SF stakeholders become as informed as possible about strategies for promoting racial equity and reparations and determine what actions can be implemented to support this process. HOPE SF is committed to enacting change at four levels: individual mindsets, behavior change, institutional change and systems change. See, for example, the visual adapted from the <u>Rockwood Leadership Institute</u> on the following page.



Anti-Racism 101

Racism is a system of oppression and advantage based on race. In the U.S., racism is so pervasive that it is almost seen as the "normal" way that society functions. Racism has created a false hierarchy of human value that favors some racial groups over others. Racism determines access to resources and opportunities.

Race is a social and political construct, <u>not a scientific or biological one</u>. This means that <u>racial</u> <u>categories</u> are invented by people and reinforced by White-dominant norms, practices and law.

Colorblind racism is the worldview that everyone be treated without regard to race. It involves the denial of the causes and consequences of racism.

White supremacy is a system that provides political, social, economic and psychological benefits and advantages to White people, while systematically providing disadvantages to people who are not White. It involves the belief that White people and White cultural perspectives are superior and should be dominant over all other racial groups. In its structural and institutional form, White supremacy is a practice that aims to intimidate and exclude through violence and marginalization. White supremacy also exists as a mindset that we all carry and is played out in our everyday decisions and actions. For example, preschool teachers have been demonstrated to focus their attention on Black children when anticipating problematic classroom behavior. White supremacy endures throughout the U.S., including in San Francisco.

"At least in the South, [racism] is overt, but here, especially in San Francisco, where everyone is so liberal and so civilized and so literate, they throw it under the rug." James Baldwin, 1963

White Dominant or Supremacist Culture describes how the <u>dominant culture</u> is founded upon and then shapes the society's norms, values, beliefs and standards to validate and advantage White people while oppressing people of color. A culture is a way of life of a group of people-the behaviors, beliefs, values, and symbols that they accept, generally without thinking about them, and that are passed along by communication and imitation from one generation to the next.

White privilege is an advantage or resource that people with ascribed White racial identities receive and that people with ascribed non-White racial identities are denied.⁸

Segregated poverty within communities of color has been highly pathologized, while segregated affluence among White people is idealized. Concentrated White affluence is a

⁸ This definition and others are informed by the book *Stay Woke: A People's Guide to Making All Black Lives Matter* (2019) by Tehama Lopez Bunyasi and Candis Watts Smith.

contributor to inequity and ultimately a detriment to Whites by preventing their comfort and skills navigating an increasingly globalized and interconnected world. In addition, "<u>opportunity</u> <u>hoarding</u>" among people with financial resources makes it harder for others to rise up to the top rung (Reeves 2017).⁹ Examples of "opportunity hoarding" include zoning laws to prohibit multi-family housing and segregated schooling.

Implicit or Unconscious Bias refer to the beliefs and actions we have about a person or group that we hold in our minds and that greatly influence our thinking and actions. Unlike explicit bias expressed by overt racists, we are often not aware of how strongly these beliefs shape our perceptions. Research has demonstrated, for example, how <u>implicit biases influence</u> the actions and perspectives of law enforcement officers and citizens related to criminal justice or teachers in relation to students in their classroom. To learn more about your own implicit biases, try out this short <u>Implicit Bias questionnaire</u>.

Reverse racism is the claim that Whites are now a disadvantaged group in society, given all the policies and initiatives aimed at creating access and opportunity for African Americans and other people of color. Claims of <u>reverse racism</u> are made in the face of the overwhelming racial disparities that endure and the persistence of pervasive systemic inequities that continue to disadvantage racial minorities.

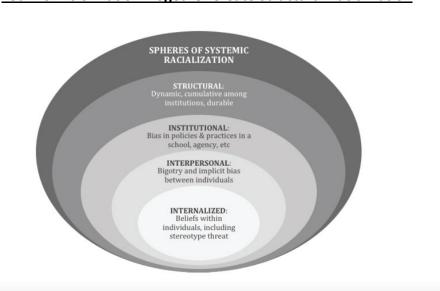
In order to fully understand racism, we must understand it as a condition that relates to structures and institutions, not only as an experience between people. According to the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, <u>Structural Racism</u> is "a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity." This system produces and reproduces unequal outcomes along racial lines with or without intent. This means that racism exists even without intentional beliefs or actions on the part of individual people.

It is important to understand and distinguish the <u>four forms of racism</u>:

- 1. **Structural Racism** A history and current reality of pervasive institutional racism, combining to create a societal system that negatively impacts communities of color and positively impacts people who are White.
- 2. **Institutional Racism** The systematic distribution of resources, power and opportunity through institutions in our society to the benefit of people who are White and the exclusion of people of color.
- 3. Interpersonal Racism Prejudice, bias or discrimination based on race by individuals which negatively impacts relations between people.

⁹ See Dream Hoarders: How the American Upper Middle Class is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, What That is a Problem, and What to Do About It (2017), by Richard V. Reeves.

4. Internalized Racism – Beliefs and behaviors by individuals of color that reflect a conscious or subconscious acceptance of White supremacy. Internalized racism manifests itself in many ways including as a sense of inferiority, self-hate, powerlessness, apathy, and unhealthy behavior.



Four Forms of Racism Together Create Structural Racialization

From Systems Thinking and Race: Workshop Summary, john a. powell, et al., June 2011

Anti-racism is the practice of dismantling a system marked by White supremacy and racism through deliberate action. It is an essential antidote to the pervasive racist thoughts and behavioral habits that influence all of us on a daily basis. Anti-racism involves intentional efforts to address and seek to reduce and ultimately eliminate the harmful effects of racism in our society for all people.

Examples of anti-racist practices include educating and reflecting on your own experience, challenging your friends and colleagues to discuss racism, interrupting racist behavior, striving to make organizations and systems accountable to communities of color, and mobilizing with people of color. For more information, see <u>How to be an Antiracist</u> and <u>Aorta: Anti-oppression</u> <u>Resource and Training Alliance</u>.

The Anti-racism movement is growing in the expectation that White people need to take responsibility to <u>educate</u> themselves about racism. Resources on this topic include:

- <u>Showing Up for Racial Justice</u> (SURJ) has helped build a national network of groups and individuals working educate White people to help undermine White supremacy. SURJ uses community organizing, mobilizing and education to engage White people to be part of a larger multi-racial movement.
- <u>White Ally Toolkit</u> developed by Dr. David W. Campt. This curriculum supports White people to develop skills in active listening, empathy and personal storytelling.

- <u>Transforming White Privilege: A 21st Century Leadership Capacity</u> and <u>Witnessing</u> <u>Whiteness</u> are curriculums designed to help leaders better identify, talk about and intervene to address White privilege and its consequences.
- <u>Waking Up White</u> and <u>White Fragility</u> and <u>White Like Me: Reflections on Race from a</u> <u>Privileged Son</u> are recent books that are aimed at promoting awareness and anti-racist effectiveness among Whites.

Intersectionality is a concept and frame <u>coined by Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw</u> in 1989, to describe the ways in which race, class, gender, and other aspects of our identity "intersect," overlap and interact with one another, informing the way in which individuals simultaneously experience oppression and privilege in their daily lives interpersonally and systemically. Intersectionality promotes the idea that aspects of our identity do not work in a silo.

Racial Equity 101

Racial Equity is achieving the condition in which a person's racial identity does not determine their life opportunities and outcomes. "Equity is not the same as equality. After centuries of discrimination, the needs of historically marginalized populations may be higher than those of groups who have had privileged opportunity and power. Thus, getting a fair share does not mean that everyone receives an equal amount of resources. Equity requires that people receive a different share of resources, opportunities, social supports and power, given their differential needs and circumstances based on different life experiences" (Khare and Joseph, 2019).

Racial equity is both a process and an outcome. **Racial equity as a process** occurs when "those most impacted by structural racial inequity are meaningfully involved in the creation and implementation of the institutional policies and practices that impact their lives" (<u>CSI, 2019</u>).

Racial equity as an outcome occurs when "race no longer determines one's socioeconomic outcomes; when everyone has what they need to thrive, no matter where they live" (<u>CSI, 2019</u>).

Racial equity tools are designed to "integrate explicit consideration of racial equity in decisions, including policies, practices, programs, and budgets" (<u>GARE, 2019</u>). Racial equity tools can help identify clear goals and outcome measures. These tools can help to examine and mitigate unintended consequences of decisions and develop mechanisms for successful implementation and evaluation of impact.

City leaders have started to acknowledge how policies and practices need to change in order to address differences in outcomes based on racial groups. The City of Toronto and Black leaders, for example, partnered to create and implement a four-phase <u>Toronto Action Plan to Confront</u> <u>Anti-Black Racism</u>.

Racial Equity Impact Assessments involve the "systematic examination of how different racial and ethnic groups will likely be affected by a proposed action or decision. REIAs are used to minimize unanticipated adverse consequences in a variety of contexts, including the analysis of proposed policies, institutional practices, programs, plans and budgetary decisions." (<u>Race</u> <u>Forward</u>, 2019). The City of Seattle, for example, requires all City departments to use Seattle's Racial Equity Toolkit to guide decision-making and budget allocations. To learn more, see this <u>guidebook</u> developed by the Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE).

Reparations 101

HOPE SF defines reparations as a comprehensive approach to acknowledging, reconciling and healing systemic harm and inequities experienced by people and communities historically and currently impacted by racism and oppression.

There is a **long history** of efforts to advocate for and institute reparations. Under international law through the United Nations, there is a provision establishing the Right to a Remedy and Reparations for victims (see the work of the <u>International Center for Transitional Justice</u>).

In general, government has been the institutional actor called upon to provide reparations to compensate victims of systemic racism. For example, the U.S. government paid reparations to American citizens of <u>Japanese ancestry for internment</u> during World War II. More recently, there have been several reparations initiatives supported by government. The Chicago City Council, for example, adopted legislation in 2015 that formally sought to repair the damage from decades of police torture, provide compensation to torture survivors, and <u>educate young people about this history</u>.

There are an increasing number of instances where private entities, such as <u>banks</u> and <u>universities</u>, are being called on to provide reparations for the ways in which they profited from slavery and related racial injustices. Mobilized efforts, such as those led by <u>Old Money New</u> <u>System</u> and <u>Resource Generation</u>, seek to hold foundations accountable for racially inequitable practices. In these efforts, the focus in not only on the people who have been harmed, but also on the people and institutions who have benefited from inequities with the goal of restitution.

In the U.S. there have long been claims for a <u>national remedy for the systemic injury of slavery</u> and historical White supremacy within the U.S. "<u>40 acres and a mule</u>" is a reference to the federal government's post-civil war commitment to <u>redistribute land to freed slaves</u> that was overturned by President Andrew Johnson. In 1969, James Foreman, a spokesperson for the Black Economic Development Conference, presented a <u>Black Manifesto</u> that demanded reparations from religious organizations.

Starting in the late 1980s, the <u>National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America</u> (N'COBRA) re-activated the call for U.S. reparations for Blacks. Their influence helped to promote congressional <u>House Bill 40</u>, introduced by Congressman John Conyers, that sought to create the Commission to Study and Develop Reparations Proposals for African-Americans Act.

More recently the 2014 essay, <u>The Case for Reparations</u>, by Ta-Nehisi Coates garnered national attention. The <u>National African American Reparations Commission</u> (NAARC) was established in 2015 and organized a group of distinguished professionals across sectors into a united organization which has generated a 10-point <u>Reparations Plan</u>. The <u>Movement for Black Lives</u> <u>added Reparations</u> to its platform. In 2019, some democratic presidential candidates have offered their ideas about reparations policies. The <u>Congressional Reparations Proposal</u> has finally received a congressional hearing and Ta-Nehisi Coates delivered <u>compelling testimony</u>.

The City of Evanston, a suburb of Chicago, voted in December 2019 to institute a 3% tax on recreational marijuana to generate a <u>Reparations Fund</u>. The City of Asheville, North Carolina, voted unanimously in July 2020 for a <u>resolution apologizing for past harms and supporting</u> <u>"Community Reparations for Black Asheville</u>", including a commitment to increase minority homeownership and access to other affordable housing, increase minority business ownership and career opportunities, strategies to grow equity and generational wealth, closing the gaps in health care, education, employment and pay, neighborhood safety and fairness within criminal justice.

Nationally, <u>Danny Glover</u> is a prominent voice currently calling for reparations. Locally in San Francisco, calls for reparations are currently being led by <u>Supervisor Shamann Walton</u> and former Supervisor and current head of the San Francisco chapter of the NAACP <u>Amos Brown</u>. On September 30, 2020, California Governor Gavin Newsom signed <u>AB 3121, the first state-</u> <u>level legislation</u> in the country establishing a task force to study and make recommendations on reparations for slavery.

Reparations efforts have taken the following forms:

Economic Reparations

These reparations strategies focus on material compensation. They provide financial relief to people to compensate for the lost wealth accumulation among their ancestors or families. For example:

- Providing credit or directly funding targeted community reparations projects
- Paying pensions, wages or survivors payments
- Rebuilding homes that have been destroyed
- Providing land, for example in <u>Black Land and Liberation Initiative</u>
- Offering capital or economic development opportunities

Symbolic Reparations

These reparations publicly recognize past harm. For example:

- Public apology from government authorities
- Public rites and ceremonies
- Establishment of memorials
- Designation of streets, public space, and public art in honor of victims
- Dignified burial sites and locating remains or goods of the deceased in a protected space

Political Reparations

These reparations seek to establish power and influence among groups of people who have been harmed. For example:

• Developing mechanisms whereby residents hold people in positions of authority accountable, such as with police accountability boards

Cultural Reparations

These reparations seek to promote the culture and heritage of communities of color. For example:

- Support for education about the culture, heritage of and contributions of victims of racism
- Recognizing one's own family history of racist actions and making amends, for example in <u>Reparations 4 Slavery</u>
- Developing support for individual and collective healing, such as in the work of <u>Coming</u> to the Table

In summary, **approaches to reparations** have evolved to include several elements:

- Establishing and generating awareness of historic truths about structural racism
- Countering White supremacy by establishing the intrinsic value and belonging of African Americans and other people of color
- Healing the psychological and emotional trauma from historic and contemporary harm
- Revealing White privilege and generating a self-conscious racial critique
- Fostering a stronger sense of interracial solidarity and community
- Redistributing economic power and ownership
- Promoting land control and ownership
- Shifting political power

The HOPE SF Approach to Reparations

HOPE SF is committed to explicitly acknowledging the systemic harm that public policy, government agencies, and the marketplace have disproportionately inflicted on African Americans and low-income communities of color. We seek to share the truth about this harm, promote restitution to those directly affected, and achieve reconciliation and ultimately freedom for those who have suffered from this harm and those who have benefited from this harm.

As mentioned earlier, the HOPE SF approach to reparations includes the following seven core tenets:

- A Focus on "Truth." Unapologetic and healing-centered articulation of the past and enduring structural racism that creates the conditions in the HOPE SF communities that persistently harms multi-generational residents, stakeholders, and all of us;
- **Resident Power.** Recognizing the power of residents to lead their communities, developing a practice of intentional inclusion and deference across budgets, staffing, governance, and initiative inquiry and design;
- **Mayoral Ownership.** Mayoral commitment and dedicated senior leadership across multiple political transitions to HOPE SF as one of the city's leading racial equity efforts;
- **Transformative Public Policy.** Design and passage of "first-in-the-nation" laws that address root causes of multi-generational, racialized inequality, including Right to Return, 1-for-1 replacement, and eviction prevention legislation for current and previous residents;
- Healing-Centered Collective Impact. Dedicated cross-sector "communities of practice" that regularly meet, learn and teach together, and shift cultural practices and norms;
- Housing as a Platform for Economic Power. Long-term designation of citywide taxpayer resources for affordable housing redevelopment and economic advancement for the targeted benefit of HOPE SF households that if executed properly may achieve our north star of intergenerational well-being; and
- Accountability to Anti-Racist Impact. Despite the challenges of data systems, we focus on whether stakeholders are "better-off" to advance racial equity, address disproportionality, and inform decision making, assessing resource allocations and strategic interventions according to results-based accountability.

What makes the HOPE SF approach to reparations unique and groundbreaking?

- While some reparations approaches focus exclusively on demands and confrontation, HOPE SF also strives for aspiration, hope and solidarity.
- While some reparations approaches focus exclusively on compensation for past harm, HOPE SF also focuses on forward-looking individual and collective transformation.
- While some reparations efforts spotlight White guilt, HOPE SF also promotes White consciousness raising, collective responsibility and healing for all.

• While some reparations efforts focus on a specific program or initiative, HOPE SF also focuses on structural change that comes about through wide-ranging collective action, institutional practices and systems change.

HOPE SF is taking a number of specific actions to promote its vision of reparations:

Political Reparations:

- Three mayors, Mayor Gavin Newsom, Mayor Ed Lee and Mayor London Breed, have reinforced the importance of HOPE SF as one of the city's leading racial equity efforts.
- San Francisco passed Right to Return legislation that ensures public housing residents have a right to return to new mixed-income developments and gives former public housing households who previously lived in a public housing site the right and next highest priority to return to that site.
- HOPE SF leaders recognize the power of residents and actively encourage residents to participate in shaping decisions that will impact their communities.
- HOPE SF is committed to being accountable and assesses its anti-racist impact through using a results-based accountability approach.
- HOPE SF created an approach to holding systems and various stakeholders accountable through the collective impact tables.
- HOPE SF is involved in efforts to develop a comprehensive database that will allow the initiative to document outcomes for individuals and communities, which is essential to understanding the "truth."

Economic Reparations:

- HOPE SF has designed and helped to enact laws that address root causes of multigenerational, racialized inequality, including 1-for-1 replacement of original public housing units; 750 new affordable units have been built and occupied to date.
- Comprehensive action to promote a high rate of return by Legacy Families:
 - no rescreening of public housing residents currently living within HOPE SF communities before returning to new units at that same site
 - \circ $\,$ designation of an eviction prevention fund and intensive eviction prevention efforts
- HOPE SF allocates resources generated from a long-term designation of citywide taxpayer resources for affordable housing redevelopment and economic advancement intended to support residents.
- HOPE SF has developed pathways for residents to gain employment in industries, such as construction, that are involved in redevelopment projects. A HOPE SF Task Force on Economic Mobility is forming to develop community and individual wealth-building (including home ownership) strategies for HOPE SF residents.
- HOPE SF has provided policies and support related to eviction prevention and housing stability for residents during the period of redevelopment and beyond.

Symbolic Reparations:

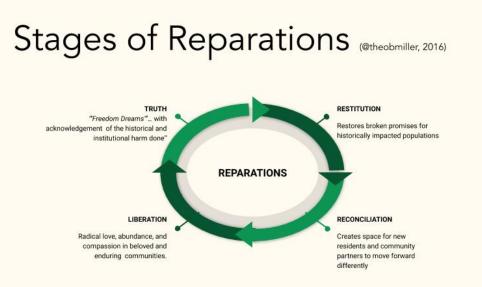
- HOPE SF leaders have verbalized and written acknowledgements of the past and enduring structural racism that creates the conditions in the HOPE SF communities that persistently harms multi-generational residents. This Guide is one example.
- Far beyond a social service orientation, HOPE SF leaders have called for articulating and acting out of a "love" of the Legacy Families of HOPE SF.

Cultural Reparations:

- HOPE SF staff and residents have been trained by the <u>Trauma-Transformed</u> organization in the Trauma Informed Systems curriculum.
- The Resident Warriors, a group of resident leaders from across the four sites who have been trained as healers, engage in a weekly restorative circle and regularly facilitate community-wide healing circles to address community trauma.
- <u>Trauma-Informed Community Building</u> was conceived and initially advanced at the Potrero HOPE SF site.
- HOPE SF convenes a cross-sector "communities of practice" that regularly connects professionals at and across the four communities and within government to actively work towards individual, organizational and institutional change.

The HOPE SF approach envisions four stages to reparations:

- Truth
- Restitution
- Reconciliation
- Liberation



Fundamental to each of these stages is a commitment to <u>racial healing</u>, "a process that restores individuals and communities to wholeness, repairs the damage caused by racism and transforms societal structures into ones that affirm the inherent value of all people." It requires acknowledging and speaking the truth about past wrongs created by individual and systemic racism and fully addressing present-day consequences for people, communities, and institutions.

Stage 1: Naming the Truth

One of the core tenets of reparations relates to explicit naming of the truth of the harm done by all forms of racism. A public acknowledgement of the harm is an essential foundation for the repair and healing to follow. Facts may be complicated and disputed and there may be myths and misconceptions that have taken hold over time. It is an important element of the process for those who have been wronged to hear that acknowledgement from those who have benefitted from the inequity. The process of Naming the Truth occurs continuously over time with new waves of people who become involved in the work. Naming the Truth can occur on both individual and collective levels.

For HOPE SF, the Truth is this: As a nation and a city, we must acknowledge our history of racial injustice, including the genocide of Native people, the legacy of slavery and racist actions against African Americans through the Jim Crow era, the discrimination against immigrants, and other racist terror against people of color. In addition, we must acknowledge the truth of contemporary ways that policies and programs continue to inflict harm on people of color, especially those who face economic challenges. In San Francisco, families living in public housing communities face ongoing social and economic inequities. Racial injustice is experienced every day when the location of ones' home determines the access to opportunity and amenities.

Stage 2: Restitution

Restitution means to restore or "re-establish the situation which existed before the wrongful act was committed" (International Law Commission, Articles on Responsibility of States for International Wrong Act, Article 31, 2001). Restitution for victims may include the "restoration of freedom, recognition of humanity, identity, culture, repatriation, livelihood and wealth" (N'COBRA). Restitution is a critical stage in order to "set things right," "make everyone whole," and achieve a baseline condition of equal status and mutual respect.

For HOPE SF restitution involves fulfilling broken promises for historically impacted populations and providing structural redress.

Stage 3: Reconciliation

Reconciliation is stage where both victims and beneficiaries of historical and contemporary inequities are satisfied that there has been appropriate restitution and are ready to move forward with a new relationship and shared commitment.

"True reconciliation is never cheap, for it is based on forgiveness which is costly. Forgiveness in turn depends on repentance, which has to be based on an acknowledgment of what was done wrong, and therefore on disclosure of the truth. You cannot forgive what you don't know."

Bishop Desmond Tutu

For HOPE SF, reconciliation means creating and holding space for new residents and community partners to move power forward differently.

Stage 4: Liberation

Liberation is the stage where all parties are no longer burdened by the trauma, hurt, guilt, shame of their role as victim or beneficiary of an inequitable system. Instead, individuals are free to engage with each other and with society liberated from the sins of the past and open to a much broader realm of possibility in terms of social interactions and collective achievement.

For HOPE SF, liberation will be the culmination of the process of systemic change that we are seeking to create in the years and decades to come. This journey involves actions to advance a coordinated and holistic system across multiple public and private institutions that creates transparency, shares power and control and builds individual and community capacity.

How Can You Take Action To Advance Racial Equity and Reparations in HOPE SF?

Many San Franciscans are proud of the city's reputation as a progressive city. However, it is clear that the city is becoming increasingly exclusive with a limited sense of belonging and opportunity across race and ethnicity.

To advance racial equity and reparations, <u>all</u> HOPE SF stakeholders need to:

Take an explicit stance that a successful future for San Francisco depends on the social and economic inclusion of people of color

- Do you believe that San Francisco can be successful and sustainable as a city if only the White and Asian community are thriving?
- How often and how effectively do you make this case in your personal and professional networks?

- Never miss an opportunity to remind yourself and those around you that we <u>all</u> only win if <u>all</u> populations are thriving.
- When you discuss HOPE SF, make the case that it is not about charity or guilt, it is about the value that HOPE SF residents bring to our city, when they are fully included.

Examine and counteract your implicit bias

- We all have implicit biases that are reinforced on a daily basis by the media and our surroundings.
 - Are you aware of your own implicit bias?
 - Have you committed to becoming anti-racist in your daily actions?
 - \circ Who have you discussed this with and who is holding you accountable?
 - For each decision and action you make about HOPE SF, how might your implicit bias influence you and how can you reconsider your thinking and action?

Inform yourself and those in your sphere of influence about the history and current context of racism and marginalization

- Make time to review some of the resources linked in this document
- Share and discuss this document and other resources with those in your professional and personal networks

Elevate and center the voices of those most directly impacted by the legacy of racism

- What spaces and decisions currently do not have direct input from HOPE SF residents?
- How can you create more room for input and decision-making by those most affected by the mixed-income community transformation in HOPE SF?

Recognize and leverage the existing resilience and beauty in HOPE SF communities

- Does your approach to your HOPE SF role acknowledge the strengths of the existing culture and networks among the Legacy Families of HOPE SF?
- How can you advance your work in ways that sustain and build upon existing cultural beauty and community resilience? How can you help minimize disruptions to those existing assets?

Take action to promote systemic change in the institutions and organizations in which you have influence

- In what ways does your organization, consciously or unconsciously, reinforce racial inequity?
- How could your organization make a more explicit commitment to promoting racial equity and take more consistent action to shift policies, procedures and operations to expand access and opportunity to African Americans and other people of color?

Specific actions for HOPE SF stakeholders who are White and for majority White organizations:

The following actions are intended for White people and those working within majority White organizations to reflect on their own actions and be called into the work of racial justice. Reparations involves repairing harm in order for all of us – White people and people of color – to experience racial healing. When those of us who are White realize that *racial justice is core to our liberation as well*, then we will truly start to be part of the work necessary to address White supremacy. And, our work must be mutually supportive of the work led by people and communities of color.

Recognize that you can perpetuate harm even though you are well-meaning

- Having good intentions about promoting positive change is not enough, your actions and decisions may be reinforcing inequity and exclusion.
- Consider ways you may be playing out and protecting your White privilege.
- Work extremely hard to avoid defensiveness when your own privilege or blind spots are brought to your attention.

Accept that you have a lot to learn about racism and your own role perpetuating it

- Commit yourself to reading about and discussing Whiteness, race, and privilege.
- Lean into your own discomfort and explore what emotions come up for you, such as guilt, defensiveness, anger, and shame.
- Embrace rather than avoid opportunities to discuss race and racism.
- Listen and ask questions, more than talk, in conversations with people of color about race.
- Do not assume that it is the job of people of color to educate you about racism. While some people of color are open to support White people, it places an undue burden on people of color.
- Accept that this learning mode must become a lifelong practice. Participate in workshops and trainings by professional organizations focused on anti-racism such as <u>Race Forward</u>, <u>Undoing Racism</u>, <u>Crossroads</u> and the <u>Racial Equity Institute</u>.

Commit to your role as an ally for racial equity

- Read *White Fragility* especially the tips in Chapter 12.
- Become skilled at taking effective action when you observe an overt or implicit racist action.
- Use your role in your professional and personal networks to encourage other White people to reflect on White privilege, amplify voices of color, and support leadership by people of color.
- Leverage your dollars towards racial justice work.
- Stay humble, knowing that this journey is long and there are infinite possibilities for continued growth and change.

Specific actions for HOPE SF stakeholders who are people of color:

Strive to overcome a sense of hopelessness and cynicism

- Given the realities of historical and enduring racism, it is natural to become burned out and give up hope of any meaningful change.
- Achieving racial equity will require that people of color continue to expect and demand that an equitable San Francisco is possible, and indeed, essential.
- Find allies who can motivate and inspire you to stay the course.
- Continue to inform yourself about the sacrifices of those who have come before, to motivate yourself for the ongoing struggle.

Help create a brave space for difficult but constructive conversations

- HOPE SF seeks a shared, collaborative path to creating thriving, equitable communities this will require that people of color find ways to stay in constructive, honest dialog and collaboration with White people, even if painful.
- Many people of color, understandably, hold deep distrust of White people and can quickly become frustrated and angry when White people are skeptical or defensive when confronted about race and racism.
- The burden is ultimately on White people to have the awareness, courage, humility and determination to be open to difficult and honest conversation. People of color can support this process by drawing on their own empathy and openness to hearing the experience and perspectives of others. Ultimately this relational work is about forging trusted collaboration to influence systemic change, not necessarily about personal friendships.

Recognize and counteract your own internalized racism

- It is impossible to live in America and not have internalized, to some degree, the centuries-old narrative that White people are superior to people of color. This often operates at a subconscious level. Take the <u>Harvard implicit bias test</u> if you question this reality.
- Acknowledge your own internalized racism and commit to strengthening your own <u>antiracist</u> thinking and action. Be attentive your own healing and self-care in the midst of ongoing racial trauma and micro-aggressions.

Recognize and counteract "secondary marginalization"

- People of color can often, consciously or unconsciously, use their own privilege and influence to marginalize subgroups within their own community, including women, youth, members of the LGBTQ community, other communities of color. This has been called secondary marginalization.
- Examine your own biases against other minority groups or against subgroups within your communities of color. Commit to practicing and modeling the personal growth and openness that you would like to see White people practice.

Closing Call to Action

We believe that each of us must examine and acknowledge our own individual, organizational, and systemic roles in reinforcing racism. The work starts with each of us, and moves onto other spheres of influence in our lives – family, peers, co-workers, organizational priorities and policies. We must identify and shift actions that reinforce stigma, exclusion and marginalization. And we must focus on racial healing: displaying empathy to the racial trauma experienced by others and focusing on our common destiny as members of the Bay Area community.

In this way, the actions and achievements of The Partnership for HOPE SF and its many collaborators will demonstrate that progress towards racial equity and reparations is truly possible with the right vision, intentionality and political and institutional will.¹⁰ Whether in your personal, professional or institutional roles, below are immediate and overlapping pathways available at multiple levels through The Partnership for HOPE SF that can commence the undoing of racism and advance the reconciliation we seek:

- <u>Individual</u>. Begin or continue your own personal anti-racist learning journey by utilizing, studying, and engaging in individual practices and trainings designed to raise consciousness and dismantle racism. Publicly share that journey with others through The Partnership for HOPE SF;
- <u>Organizational</u>. Commit your organization to the principles and practices suggested in this Guide by transparently examining internal policies and practices. Invest in on-going external support and training to ensure the sustainability of an anti-racist infrastructure, openly identifying gaps with The Partnership for HOPE SF; and
- <u>Systematic Collective Impact</u>. For institutional stakeholders, explicitly pledge resources and change policies through The Partnership for HOPE SF that allow for simultaneous internal organizational, external community-facing, and cross-sector partnership projects to undo racism at a more systematic scale.

¹⁰ Please direct any questions and suggestions about this Guide and the broader work related to Racial Equity and Reparations to Mark Joseph at <u>mark.joseph@case.edu</u> or Ellie Rossiter at <u>erossiter@sff.org</u>.