TRUTH, RACIAL HEALING

& TRANSFORMATION

Design Team
Recommendations

W.K. KELLOGG FOUNDATION®

December 2016
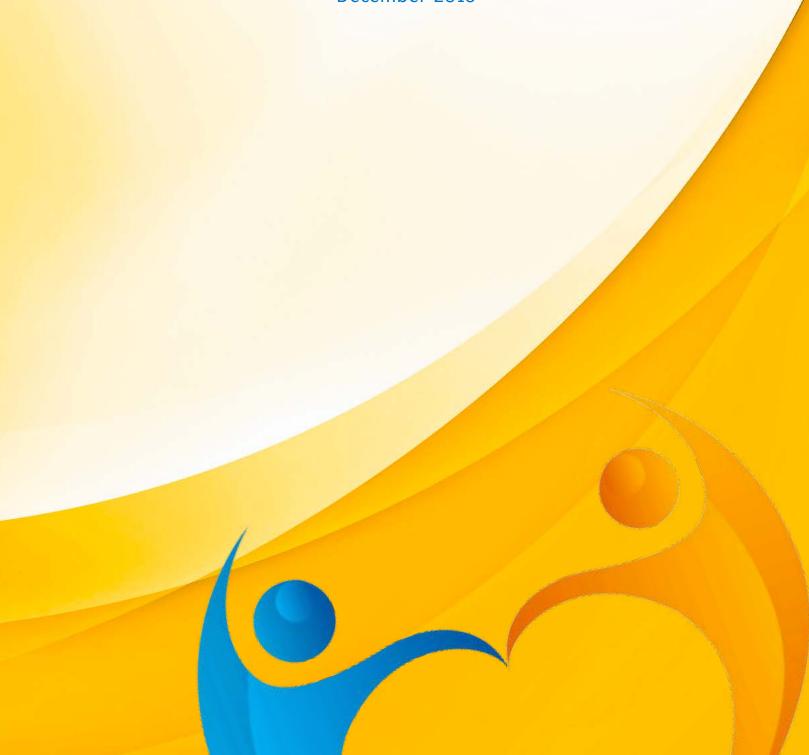
TRUTH, RACIAL HEALING & TRANSFORMATION DESIGN TEAM RECOMMENDATIONS

December 2016

Foreword

This collection of papers is the work of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation (WKKF) led Truth, Racial Healing & Transformation (TRHT) design teams. The papers summarize the collective work, thoughts, ideas and hopes expressed by representatives of 133 organizations and thought leaders. They are organized around the TRHT framework of narrative change, racial healing, separation, law and economy.

Gail C. Christopher

It is time to focus our energy, resources and discourse on uprooting and eliminating the false ideology of a hierarchy of human value to grow what we value most: our common humanity. It is time to overturn this belief and to address its legacy, together. This is the work of TRHT and the responsibility we all share.

The TRHT enterprise is an adaptation of the internationally recognized Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) models instrumental in resolving deeply rooted conflicts around the world. The TRC process is usually implemented by countries in leadership transition. Each process has varied, but typically involves public and private activities designed to uncover and deepen the understanding of tragedies and/or human rights violations. Prior TRC efforts have been initiated by litigation, by government mandate and by calls from activists. TRHT will adapt lessons learned from TRCs to create a timely and unprecedented process for communities in the United States. A very important and distinguishing characteristic of this adaptation of the globally recognized TRC processes is that it's multisectoral in nature and is being supported by the philanthropic community as opposed to being mandated through litigation or legislation. Unlike other Truth and Reconciliation efforts around the world, which stop at forgiveness and reconciling — or coming back together after conflict, we know that the work ahead of us requires transformation.

The first step in developing the TRHT enterprise was outreach to organizations representing different sectors. TRHT has more than 130 remarkably diverse organizational and individual partners. There are large organizations and small organizations from every sector of the country. Most organizations focus in one geographic location and some have affiliates in hundreds of communities across the country. They represent every identity group and every sector of society, from the business community to the academic community to the faith community and technology world. Many have racial justice and racial healing as their focus; others focus on issues of health and well-being, housing, education, jobs, the needs of children or women, or a host of other important matters. Together, they have the potential to reach more than 200 million people across the country.

One of the first steps we asked ourselves was how the belief in a hierarchy of human value became foundational in the United States and how it has been sustained. We knew that the national narrative was key to embedding and sustaining the belief — and so we were clear that we needed to work on narrative change. There's been an absence of acknowledgment of the harm that has and continues to come from the belief, resulting in the absence of a concerted effort to heal from it — and so we knew that we needed to do work on racial healing. We also saw that the belief has been embedded in our systems — in the ways communities are kept separate from one another, in the laws (the civil and criminal laws and policies that come from them) and in the economy. We set up five design teams to think about how to develop TRHT around these five areas: narrative change, racial healing, separation, the law and the economy.

Representatives of the partner organizations and individual partners worked collaboratively between June and November 2016 to co-design the TRHT approach. There were extremely busy people spread throughout the country working collaboratively, so we needed to develop a creative approach for interaction. Each team had at least one face-to-face meeting and continued to work through virtual meetings and through an online community. We recommend that those implementing TRHT in their community or organization use a similar process (though if possible, meeting more frequently face-to-face than we were able to in the design phase).

Unlike many approaches to social change that start from the problem, what's been missing has been a clear vision of a redesigned society that is no longer built on the premise of a hierarchy of human value. Each team discussed and wrestled with how to transform our country by answering the following questions:

- Question 1: What would the country look and feel like if we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value and the narratives that reinforce that belief?

- Question 2: Where are we now and how did we get here?

- Question 3: What are the key leverage points for transforming the narrative to jettison a belief in a hierarchy of human value?

- Question 4: Who must be involved in order to make the deep and lasting changes we need to make?

- Question 5: What are the key initial activities that need to happen in order to heal from and transform the narrative?

The reports and recommendations that follow reflect the collaborative work and process of the partner representatives. They do not reflect official policy or recommendations of the Kellogg Foundation or of any single organizational partner.

The recommendations are aspirational in nature and are a natural outgrowth of the visioning work. There have been and will continue to be many diverse and multiple efforts striving for equity and racial equity. We hope that this comprehensive TRHT framework provides scaffolding — a north star — to help bring all this together toward an ultimate vision for a transformed consciousness in this country that no longer reflects an absurd belief in a hierarchy of human value. We can't keep dealing only with the consequences of the belief; we have to address the belief itself.

This belief is more evident today than in more recent years. Not only are we dealing with the legacy of a belief in hierarchy of human value, we're dealing with it in a contemporary sense. It has morphed into a contemporary movement that has gained legitimacy in the eyes of many and has become part of our national discourse in ways that might have been unimaginable before.

I want to express deep appreciation for the demonstration of commitment, creativity and determination by all the participants in the design phase. We hope that it will inspire processes like this in communities and organizations — and leadership by individuals all over the country.

Gail C. Christopher

Dr. Gail C. Christopher
Senior Advisor and Vice President for TRHT
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Engagement in effective policy activities reflects the values, standards and practices embraced by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation.

The foundation supports the efforts of grantees to realign public and private systems to benefit the quality of community life and believes that addressing the ways policies shape, hamper or encourage social progress is integral to the work of our grantees. As a part of this support we educate grantees on how to engage in public policy efforts that comply with the rules and regulations that govern these activities.

While we encourage the exchange of information and ideas, sponsorship of events is not intended as an endorsement or criticism of any legislative proposal. Any statements made by participants at foundation sponsored events about pending or proposed legislation are the participants' views, not those of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation.

Narrative Change
Design Team Recommendations

The TRHT Narrative Change Design Team[1] was established to explore and recommend ways to change the dominant stories we see, hear and read — stories that currently reinforce the belief in a hierarchy of human value. The team used this definition of narrative: "the set of frames and stories that tell people what the correct big ideas are and tell us, on stories of race, what and who to believe in making racial assertions." We were working at the level of big ideas and how those big ideas get embedded in our society through the telling and repetition of stories.

Over the course of four months, the Narrative Change Design Team met once in-person and on several conference calls to discuss and wrestle with how to change the narrative in the U.S. and to answer the following questions:

- **Question 1:** What would the country look and feel like if we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value and the narratives that reinforce that belief?

- **Question 2:** Where are we now, and how did we get here?

- **Question 3:** What are the key leverage points for transforming the narrative to jettison a belief in a hierarchy of human value?

- **Question 4:** Who must be involved in order to make the deep and lasting changes we need to make?

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We also had a two-hour virtual meeting with a group of millennial leaders[2] who work and study in communications, and content creation, development and distribution to help inform our thinking.

We believe our responses help create the "tools" needed for TRHT to change the narrative and best represent the design team's vision of the narratives we need to see. Our plan set forth on the following pages includes an analysis of where we are now, as a country, in terms of the dominant narrative (it's production, distribution and vehicles), some key leverage points and actions that should be taken both at the national and local levels.

Question 1: What would the country look and feel like if we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value and the narratives that reinforce that belief?

To achieve "truth, racial healing & transformation," we need strong and accessible narratives that advance the values of fairness, compassion, inclusion and justice. We need narratives that not only effectively challenge racial hierarchies and discrimination based on white supremacy, but that also encourage new ways to coexist in multiracial communities as a nation. We envision stories being told that are complete and accurate in their portrayals of people of color, who have been overwhelmingly misrepresented, objectified and stereotyped in U.S. media and cultural institutions since before the nation's founding. As a result, the nation's history and identity have set and reinforced the ideology of white supremacy year after year for five centuries, often by making invisible the profound role racist systems have played in establishing the nation we now live in.

Changing such long-held ideas won't be easy, but those of us committed to a nation in which we tell complex truths rather than simple lies must take on this work. If we successfully pursue the following analysis and recommendations, we will create a culture populated with diverse positive images of ourselves and each other in our full humanity and potential in all media and cultural settings. Such settings would include literature, museum exhibits, parks, places of worship, schools, magazines, newspapers, music, art, theater, television shows, movies, radio programs, games and social media. The narrative will foster empathy and connections that allow us to see ourselves in each other and thereby help to eliminate the emotional separation between communities. Americans would overwhelmingly have a full, complex understanding of each other. The infrastructure needed to create and distribute new narratives will be strong, with people of color having plenty of access to the means of production and distribution. Financing for story making and storytelling will be widely available — not controlled by a select few. This would lead to a country living up to its creed, finally realizing its own ideal of freedom.

Question 2: Where are we now, and how did we get here?

Where we are now and how we got here are often the same. This is a chicken and egg question: what comes first — the idea in the culture or the media representation? In fact, it is both. Racist systems create racist narratives and culture, which in turn justify the perpetuation or expansion of racist systems.

All non-white groups have been derided or cut down to one-dimensional stereotypical imagery in films, television, literature and journalism. For black Americans, it is the image of the criminal, the idle black person on the street corner, the angry black woman, the sidekick to the white character, the absentee father or the gangster thug. For Latinos, it's the image of the Frito Bandito, the hot tamale, the gangster, wetback, drug trafficker (narcotraficante) or undocumented person. For Asian Americans, mainstream images are of the perpetual foreigner, the Dragon Lady, Kung Fu Fighters, geeks and prostitutes. For Native Americans, it is images of savages, drunks, people stuck in an 1800s frame while the rest of the world has moved on, being invisible or extinct — or mascots of sports teams with derogatory names and severed head caricatures. Media narratives of Arab and Middle Eastern Americans have been overwhelmingly negative since Hollywood's inception (Arabs as uncivilized, threatening and anti-American).

By contrast, white Americans are represented as heroes, self-made, courageous, successful and powerful. The long history of media stereotyping of Arab and Middle Eastern Americans (who are legally classified as white) is tied to U.S. foreign policy and capitalist/imperialist projects in Arab and Middle Eastern countries. U.S. foreign policy, military and economic intervention in many Asian and African countries, as well as in Central and South America, often feeds into (and sometimes creates) the stereotypes we see of Asian, African and Latino peoples in the media.

The systems that created white wealth and power are too rarely brought to our books and screens. The reason that black and brown people and other people of color are poor or incarcerated is obscured by personal responsibility narratives. The reason that white people are middle class are similarly obscured by heroic individual narratives.

➤ Racism and white supremacy are part of our national culture, and culture makers are just as vulnerable to their effects as anyone else. The makers of that media and culture are themselves cultural beings who are socialized in the same values as other citizens.

➤ White men overwhelmingly dominate the structures of media, knowledge and cultural productions. Among these systems, explicit and implicit biases abound. These biases predict who will get a job, which stories will be told and from whose perspective. The decision makers in the entertainment industry and news media are white males who promote from within — an "old boys club." There are few or no diverse gatekeepers. There is a concentration of power of white men among editorial decision makers who won't voluntarily give up power. Current stories about people of color are often told by white writers and white directors — from a white gaze. Hollywood tends to make films that are about diversion rather than reality, particularly during hard times — and doesn't see the possibility of making "diversion" films about communities of color because of biases combined with inertia.

➤ People of color have limited access to the means of production, including financing for projects and jobs in culture making. Educational discrimination leads to educational and financial barriers to entry for people of color. There's a lack of writers, producers and decision makers familiar with the experiences of people of color as well as limited incentives for black/Hispanic/Latino/Native American writers. There's a lack of mentors and role models of color in aspirational positions. There are few youth voices represented in traditional media. There's a lack of lucrative and scalable new, alternative business models to get new stories made.

➤ People of color have limited access to the means of consumption and distribution. There's a need for more broadband in poor communities. There are few, if any, movie theaters in poor communities.

➤ The making, sale and distribution of narratives (in many forms) is a profit-making enterprise and profit helps drive the narratives told.

➤ There is not a substantial pipeline for people of color to get into the fields to create accurate and complete narratives.

Question 3: What are the key leverage points for transforming this area to jettison a belief in a hierarchy of human value?

Critically important is examining and changing narratives around all areas of TRHT, including the intersection of racial healing, separation, the law and the economy. What are the current narratives? Are they complete? What needs to be done to change them?

We started by focusing on the stories that need to be told, and then describe additional leverage points we believe will support the transformative narratives being developed and shared.

Focus on the Stories That Need to be Told

Below are five kinds of stories we want to challenge or tell, and some criteria for narrative creation.

➤ **The founding stories of the U.S. (high priority)** — Much has been written out of the popular and mainstream narrative about how the country started, who belonged in the country at its founding, how American values started. Our national story begins with colonization, genocide and slavery, but these terrible acts are often downplayed or recast as an exercise of freedom, liberty and individual heroism. By contrast, the contributions of people of color to the wealth that became concentrated among white communities are largely invisible. It is critical to tell the real, complete stories.

➤ **Narratives of community and solutions and change (high priority)** — Current stories about social change often become reduced to a single hero — a single heroic leader. They misrepresent the process of making change. It is critical to create the real stories of organizing and change.

➤ **Visibility stories (high priority)** — It is critical that the nation sees true depictions of communities of color, not just as stereotypical entertainment fodder for white audiences but stories of our complex, multifaceted, nuanced lives and communities, including those of our successes. These stories must include people of color being at the center of their experiences.

➤ **Overcoming the monster** — It is critical that we change the "overcoming the monster" stories from ones in which people of color are represented as the monster, with the constant representation of Arab terrorists, black gangsters, Latino drug kings, etc. to one where the monster is racism and oppression. We need to show that the real monster is the hierarchy of human value, racism.

➤ **We saved ourselves stories in contrast with white savior stories** — even when people of color are sympathetically represented, it's often as victims who get saved by white saviors or as sidekicks to white saviors. It is critical that the nation sees the many stories of saving ourselves.

We need to develop stories that are:

➤ Capable of creating trans-currents — we want to be transnational and global, transcommunal, transgenerational. We want stories that help people learn about each other and that show we all have a stake in racial justice, healing and change.

➤ Designed to convey values in addition to being entertaining.

Focus on Financing

Determine and develop alternative modes of financing. There's an increasing understanding that development of stories is an important strategy, so alternative financing modes must be developed. We need to develop large pools of capital to finance the making and distribution of the stories that need to be told — from banks, public financing, philanthropy and other sources.

Digital could be a platform of choice. The music industry failed to see the macro-disruption in the way media and entertainment is being made and monetized. Digital media adds an opportunity for alternative financing because the barrier to entry is low and the distribution is far and wide — and into new segments of society.

Tap into people of color with wealth and power who are on our side. There are a lot of powerful people of color for whom this is a passion. Some are making statements that are resonating. Tap them and support them in the work they're doing and want to do.

Develop Networks of Champions

There is a cohort within the entertainment industry committed to diversifying. There are powerful celebrities who recognize and could champion the need for change. We need to be in the room to produce stories that are deep and true and fair/just about our lives and our communities — to produce narrative justice. There are few youth voices represented in traditional media. At the same time, the creativity and innovation of youth is a tremendous asset.

Connect with the champions. Connect with powerful people of color and those for whom this is a passion — who have amassed enough wealth and want a legacy. People like Beyoncé — people who are making statements, who are resonating with their customers. There's an opportunity to tap those with wealth and power who are on our side and support them in the work they're doing and want to do more of — as well as talent agencies, studios or through their own personal wealth.

Build Social Capital and Robust Pipelines
Provide clarity about how to become a storyteller. There's currently no clarity about the career pathways to become a storyteller. Explore avenues in addition to traditional university programs. In areas where films are being made outside of Hollywood, encourage studios to train and employ young people of color in crews and other low line jobs to encourage training.

We need programs to train young people from all communities to be involved in designing and re-shaping the narrative. Journalism schools and technology, theater, film and television university programs have a great opportunity to increase access for young people of color to come into the media industries.

Focus on Numbers. The shifting demographics in the country mean that the consumer base for media industries has started and will continue to shift. The "new majority" audience is at the forefront of pop culture — and are early adopters of social media and new technology. There are many artists eager to support change. There is a large, progressive and well-connected creative community. There is (slowly) growing awareness and consciousness — the truth is out there and cannot be unlearned — even when we ignore it. The storytelling is already being disrupted.

Explore Many Diverse Venues
Education, museums and cultural organizations. The current narrative is reinforced through school curricula, museum exhibits and cultural organizations. There is great potential to create narrative justice in the stories told through these vehicles.

Connect with untapped venues that are working toward similar goals. The National Park System is one example. The American Latino Theme Study was produced under the leadership of the Expert Latino Scholars Panel to diversify the narrative at our national park sites and to encourage the discovery of sites inclusive of Latino history. There is an abundance of excellent source material for engendering a more complete narrative inclusive of the diverse populations connected with a historical event. Still, the dissemination of projects and resources designed to bring about change or transformation is often overlooked. Granted there are powerful moneyed forces invested in preventing change, but we're in a position today to tap overlooked agents of change and add their strength, expertise and energy toward our goals. The question becomes how do we get the media to popularize and promote efforts that don't really line their pockets?

Focus on Technology
The democratization of digital media provides access to the tools of storytelling. Technological advances have changed the access to information and changed who are the storytellers. It has also greatly reduced the cost of storytelling. **Social media greatly expands the reach of alternative storytellers.**

Focus on reaching cord cutters. Up to one-third of people in some regions are cord cutters who do not consume media from network or cable news stations. This provides an opportunity for alternative modes of storytelling and content creation.

Make investments in technology. Investments should go not only in more media, entertainment and content but in technologies themselves. Invest in people coming from behind that will disrupt the platforms — move the dialogue forward and rebuild, and disrupt the content and the platforms themselves.

Question 4: Who must be involved in order to make the deep and lasting changes we need to make?

We examined who should be at the table in order to transform the narrative. When thinking about creating lasting change, a number of key stakeholder groups were identified who should be included. Overall, those most affected (especially including young people and millennial leaders) need to be involved throughout the process, as do people from all communities — Native American, Native Hawaiian, Alaska Native, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Latino, African American and Arab American to ensure that the complete and complex narratives are told both nationally and locally.

Nationally, these include:

➤ Executives and those who have the power to decide and "green light" which stories are told and those who influence them (either formally or informally) in all forms of media — for example, those who own and determine editorial content of newspapers and magazines, TV news, journalism, publishing, television, movies, digital, gaming, virtual reality and social media — so that they will green light content that best represents all communities

➤ The president, CEO, chair of major television broadcast networks, cable networks, digital streaming platforms (such as Amazon, Netflix) and studios who create content (such as Sony)

➤ The president, CEO, chair of major film studios (such as Paramount, Universal, Warner Bros, Fox, Fox Searchlight, Disney, etc.) and those who head major production companies (such as Jerry Bruckheimer, Brian Grazer, Steve Spielberg, JJ Abrams, Oprah Winfrey, Justin Lin, Salma Hayek)

➤ Filmmakers and television creators (such as Shonda Rhimes, JJ Abrams, Vince Gilligan, Salma Hayek, Jenji Kohan, Jill Soloway)

➤ Heads of all the major studios & conglomerates and streaming services (such as Amazon, Netflix, Hulu)

➤ Heads of major publishing houses

➤ Young content creators of color in all media — and young people interested in learning the skills to work in the different fields related to storytelling

➤ Ethnic media managers and CEOs and associations of ethnic journalists, including the National Association of Black Journalists, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, the Asian American Journalists Association, the Native American Journalists Association and the National Arab American Journalists Association

➤ Tech leaders across the industry from Bill Gates and Mark Zuckerberg to local technology organizations, and any and all racially/ethnically diverse founders

➤ Publishers — including publishers of nonfiction and fiction who can help green light complete narratives

- ➤ Educational companies (such as publishers, Kahn Academy, etc) — both online and textbook. We have the opportunity to reshape the narratives that are taught through those that distribute that media
- ➤ Grassroots activists working on policy change — to make sure narrative work is tied to movement work
- ➤ Celebrities — especially white celebrities
- ➤ Ghetto Film School attendees/grads
- ➤ Museums and key Smithsonian institutions — NMAAHC, NMAI, Holocaust Museum
- ➤ International Coalition of Sites of Conscience who are doing the very work we are talking about
- ➤ Academics who are already looking at this issue of narrative change. For example, Ed Ball from Yale University has done powerful research on demystifying the role of white plantation owners in slavery, and Lauret Savoy from Mt. Holyoke who's done powerful work on rethinking how we imagine the land and its relationship to citizenship
- ➤ YouTubers — as many as we can get
- ➤ Philanthropy — to make sure that there is adequate funding to support and sustain the work

Locally, these include:

- ➤ School leaders — especially those who influence the content of school curricula at all levels — grade school, middle school, high school, colleges and universities; local teachers unions; other organizations who have been working to support changing the curricula such as Facing History and Ourselves, Calling All Colors, Education Task Force at the Leadership Conference for Civil and Human Rights and Teaching for Change
- ➤ Faith leaders who can advance narratives that jettison the belief in a hierarchy of human value at churches, mosques, synagogues, temples, etc.
- ➤ Leadership and role models in the community
- ➤ Students of all ages, especially those who are well represented on social media
- ➤ Owners, influencers and executives at local news media, television stations, newspapers and radio stations who can engage in changing the narrative
- ➤ Heads of film studios and productions in local areas (e.g., Louisiana, Ohio, Michigan) who can help train local young people of color to be in the crews of television and movie productions
- ➤ Grassroots activists working on policy change — to make sure narrative work is tied to movement work
- ➤ Local philanthropy — to make sure that there is adequate funding to support and sustain the work

Question 5: What are the key initial activities that need to happen in order to heal from and transform this area?

The narrative change design team came up with a number of initial national recommendations and some that we propose be implemented in communities:

National Recommendations

Shift power in the Entertainment, News and Digital Industries

➤ **Ask the media organizations to adopt the Rooney Rule.** In the NFL, the Rooney Rule is that for every open position that is a senior position — VP and above — all organizations commit that they would interview a person of color and a woman for any of those roles. If that were to happen in the news and entertainment media, you would see a change. There's no organization that would say 100 percent of the time that the women or people of color weren't qualified. Do a unified pitch and go to the networks and cable companies and ask them to sign up. If some of the largest networks and news organizations take part, others will follow. Then we would see change in the suites that make decisions. Make sure that diversity, equity and inclusion are at the forefront of the media in a sustainable way.

➤ **Determine and develop alternative modes of financing content.** Attention needs to be paid to developing large pools of capital to finance the making and distribution of true and complex stories. To do this, we need to develop funding from banks, public financing, philanthropy and other sources. Foundations are increasingly putting money into storytelling, including the Kellogg Foundation, William and Melinda Gates, Paul Allen, the Skoll Foundation and the Ford Foundation. People are investing in content because they believe stories are an important strategy. We need a way to connect funders with stories. Foundations, nonprofits, banks and corporations are looking to invest money for social impact (not just because their customers and stakeholders are people of color). We need to investigate alternative modes of financing and new sources of money to make the changes that are needed.

➤ **Engage tech companies so searches yield truthful information.** Identify where there might be other sources of propagated media and how do we engage tech companies? The tech companies could assist in changing the algorithms so that searches yield truthful information rather than popular information.

➤ **Campaign social media to widen the narratives they present.** Engage entities like Google and Facebook. Diverse staff are important for diverse narratives.

➤ **Analyze social media and movements and their impact.** Develop an understanding of the local to national movement within digital platforms.

➤ **Build resources around the language journalists use to describe communities of color.** Create style guides produced by various groups of people, raising questions about majority/minority and issue-based language (e.g., ex-felons instead of incarcerated or formerly incarcerated).

National and Local Recommendations

Determine the Narratives Being Told that Maintain the Hierarchy of Human Value

➤ **Analyze current narratives** being told locally in school curricula, news media, journalism, publishing, digital, social media, gaming, television, movies, music, cultural institutions, monuments and memorials and determine which maintain the hierarchy of human value.

➤ Develop accurate and alternative stories (see below).

➤ Campaign story propagators to ensure alternative stories are told.

Develop Accurate and Alternative Stories to Those Currently Being Told, including:

➤ **Challenge the founding stories of the United States.** Tell the full story, including the genocide and colonization of Native Americans and Native Alaskans, colonization of Hawai'i and Puerto Rico, enslavement of African Americans, internment of Japanese Americans, etc. Explore alternative modes of storytelling, including theater, virtual reality and augmented reality, traveling exhibits, multidimensional platforms and national/state/local holidays. Research where the founding myths are embedded and work to change that (e.g., school curricula, the questions new citizens must answer, etc.). Take actions to correct these stories on sites like Wikipedia.

➤ **Develop true stories that show the belief in a hierarchy of human value as the "monster story."** There are beginning to be stories developed about slavery, although they often end with "they were freed" and they do not address the ongoing effects of slavery and its manifestations. Make sure those continue and that stories are developed about all communities. Further develop stories that have surfaced during the 2016 election (e.g., implicit bias being used in the news). Develop stories about groups like the Dreamers, Black Codes, Jim Crow, torture methods used during slavery, the North's participation in (and wealth developed from) the slave trade and Black Lives Matter. Correct the revisionist histories. Develop stories with an asset, rather than a deficit, frame.

➤ **Develop "we saved ourselves" stories.** White savior stories still are very prevalent. Call them out in a way that shows power and privilege and develop stories about community resiliency.

➤ **Develop visibility stories.** Native Americans are completely absent from pop culture. It is critical to have stories that show the real lives of Native Americans — and critical to have stories that show the real lives of all communities of color. Development of more authentic stories showing the everyday lives of people of color and communities of color would have a large impact.

➤ **Develop social change stories.** The real way that change happens is currently absent from mainstream stories — which often show the work of single, individual and almost exclusively white heroes who make change. Narratives need to be developed that show organizing and movements — and show that everyone can contribute to making change.

Engage the Public Media Industry

➤ All public and community-based broadcast media outlets and assets should be accessed to collect and disseminate local and larger group narratives that represent authentic storytelling and stories that challenge the founding stories of the United States and to serve as training sites and pipelines for narrative journalism that focuses on and promotes narrative justice. Public TV stations (PBS) and public radio stations, including those affiliated with NPR, colleges and universities, tribal nations and other people of color communities should be engaged.

Determine Where Accurate Stories are Already Being Told and Amplify These Sources

➤ **Analyze where accurate stories are being shared** or are in the process of being uncovered and shared. This includes independent media and places like the National Park Service, museums and memorials and all forms of entertainment, i.e., television shows, films, music, radio shows and digital media.

Improve Training Programs and Pipelines for Journalists, Film, TV and Theater

➤ **Build local pipelines** that can move people of color into newsrooms and careers in the entertainment industry everywhere.

➤ **Work with journalism schools, schools of film, TV and theater and technology programs** to influence the whiteness of the news media, journalism, the entertainment industry and digital — and ensure that they have diverse faculty and diverse student bodies.

➤ **Invest at the high school** level through school newspapers — making sure high schools have newspaper programs and opportunities for people to produce journalism. Support high school debate teams, youth programs and community based programs that teach media literacy and give young people opportunities to express themselves in writing and orally.

➤ **Work with colleges and universities** to revive college radio stations to improve the pipeline for journalism.

➤ **Develop innovation labs and fellowships** to support emerging talent. Include people from tech, studios, diverse backgrounds and activists — bridging communities to think about how to tell our stories in innovative ways. Train people in media literacy. Develop labs on social media, brand building, social media engagement, screenwriting, directing, creative skills, gaming, technology, etc. Focus on traditional and new formats like digital.

➤ **Support and amplify existing programs focused on developing pipelines.** There already are programs at places like Sundance Institute and Firelight Media's Documentary Lab. Support and amplify these efforts.

Develop and Finance Autonomous Content Creation Organizations

➤ Invest in a combination of technology and engineers — and give people access to cameras, laptops and other tools to create content and platforms to make their content visible.

➤ Develop infrastructure by creating studios, networks and other establishments run by people of color to ensure that authentic stories are told.

Local Recommendations

Connect and Partner with Organizations to Amplify Accurate Narratives

➤ **Healthy narratives exist in every community.** Connect and partner with organizations and people already creating and sharing accurate narratives. Strengthen existing work in the community.

➤ **Develop a multi-layered approach** that may include exhibitions, speakers' bureau and connecting with colleges and universities.

Protect and Push the Press

➤ **Campaign local media to use style guides created by people of color and to report differently.** An example is that in Oakland, California, the Center for Media Justice ran a campaign on a local radio station pointing out how the community was covered in negative ways only.

➤ Campaign local media to cover beats inside inner city neighborhoods, asking them to tell not just "bad" news but nuanced pieces.

➤ Develop a media accountability campaign and a community focus on monitoring, pushing and protecting the media.

- ➤ Support local reporting, especially through independent, ethnic and hyper-local press.
- ➤ Determine and focus on the gatekeepers controlling the stories being told.
- ➤ Key resources can include the Center for Media Justice and Free Press.

TV/Film/Music
- ➤ Determine and focus on the gatekeepers controlling the stories being told.
- ➤ Make sure that students at HBCUs and other colleges/universities in your area that serve underserved/under-recognized communities have **access to training about film, TV and music.**
- ➤ **Create ongoing mentorship opportunities** to mentor and train young people of color to be content creators.
- ➤ **Use events in your area** (e.g., South by Southwest, Sundance, TV Fest, others) to champion the telling of accurate and full stories.

School Curricula
- ➤ **Review school curricula** and ensure that there's an acknowledgment of racism and that stories of individual and community resilience are included. Challenge the founding myths of the United States. Develop campaigns to change the textbooks and the way social studies and history are taught in the early years.
- ➤ **Give voice to young people** in the education system that allows them to influence the content they are learning and changing the narrative to reflect more of the truth — broadening the stories and history so what they're taught is more inclusive and better represents real history.
- ➤ **Ensure racial healing** as part of the truth-telling process in schools
- ➤ **Use existing resources** like Facing History and Ourselves and others to enhance school curricula.
- ➤ **Campaign school committees and school departments** to tell the full and accurate histories of our country.

Engage the Community in Changing the Narrative
- ➤ Design activities like **Wikipedia Edit-a-thons** to edit inaccurate information and engage the community.

Conclusion

Narrative change is a key lever for jettisoning the belief in a hierarchy of human value and is part of the work of all portions of the TRHT framework — racial healing as well as work on separation, the law and the economy. There is critical work to do at the national and local levels if we are to tell the full, complex, nuanced and accurate stories of our communities.

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Racial Healing and Relationship Building Design Team Recommendations

Question 1: What would the country look and feel like if we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value and the narratives that reinforce that belief?

How will the legacy and realities of a historic belief in racial hierarchy be addressed and mitigated in future settings that impact the lives of children and families? What will schools be like? What will churches be like? What will libraries be like? What will clinical settings be like?

Our vision of the future

We imagine an America where all people are seen through the lens of our common humanity and we see ourselves in one another. This new society is characterized by love, interconnectedness, mutual respect, accountability, empathy, honoring nature and care for the environment. In this society, healing and justice flow from authentic relationships.

Our children and grandchildren feel safe and secure in who they are and proud of their heritage and culture. They are able to look within themselves and to their communities to find their identity; they recognize and value the differences inherent in all of us, while celebrating the common threads that bind us all together.

Schools are well funded and recognize that all children have a sacred gift and purpose; they offer early education in the child's own language. Libraries and museums reflect the rich heritage and stories of every group, told from the perspective of each group. Memorials serve as a reminder of suffering but also the effort and strength that emerged from it. We no longer carry the pain, fear and shame of history, for we have discovered how to look at our past with courage and honesty. Places of worship celebrate diversity and work actively to cultivate equitable empowering life in their communities. Parks and public spaces are accessible to all. Our financial system focuses on supporting the health and welfare of communities. In responding to those who do us harm, our justice system reflects a focus on restorative rather than punitive justice. In jettisoning the belief in a hierarchy of human value based on race, we have also eliminated a hierarchy based on class, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation and ability. In achieving this vision, we have truly achieved transformation.

Question 2: Where are we now and how did we get here?

We live in a time of great transition and transformation that offers opportunities for growth, but at the same time is challenging and sometimes chaotic. While for some it is a time of moving ahead, for others it is a time of continued hurt, trauma and even rage from a colonized past that continues in the present. A time that seems to produce a backlash to changing demographics and shifting power dynamics as the white community's perception and dominance are challenged. Our history has often seen such spectacular advances followed by backlash.

Increasingly, people are acknowledging the reality of white privilege and advocating for systemic changes that are more equitable and just. It is an epic struggle for an expanded imagination but it is very difficult for those living in fear and separation. They need us and we need them, pointing to the realization that we effect each other's realities.

There also is a new level of intimacy with information shared instantly across neighborhoods and nations. But at the same time, isolation between populations still exists and at times seems to get worse. Our children have access to facts and information immediately and know so much more than we did at their age, but they are often missing a simpler time when neighborhoods were rooted in faith and family.

We have, as a nation, lived in a very masculine place, but as the feminine comes in we move from the "I" to the "we," which is a more collaborative approach and one that produces discomfort in some and outright fear in others.

We are also in a time of great healing and hope, of possibility and change. What we are reaching for is a new way of being. As life transitions there is the possibility of putting together again all the pieces of humanity.

Many came to this country fleeing their own pain and disconnectedness. They built on Doctrines of Discovery to justify colonization and domination. This individualistic focus did not allow the newcomers to see that there were generations of life here who carried their own history of sacredness. Oppression and focus on profit replaced reciprocity, generosity, sovereignty and humanity. The colonizers were so desperate to start something new that they discredited anything that was not born from them. Hurting people hurt other people. Unacknowledged and unhealed pain is passed on generationally. Those who have been wronged also continue to damage one another.

We got here by being afraid of each other (forgetting that we are part of each other), lack of relationship-building, lack of communications and empathy, and a culture of radical individualism and white supremacy with systems and structures to support the lie. We got here because the responsibility to bring forth full histories of all people in our country is not the norm. So we lost our sacred connectedness and common bond.

We believed and integrated as part of our current reality the stories people told us, the lie of human hierarchy, leaving many communities with unresolved pain and the inability to truly see each other, unsure how to listen to each other and unsure if we could truly heal our separation.

In spite of this, there were those who continued to pray, lived sacred values, and walked with integrity, knowing that there would be a time to uncover, recover and reclaim our humanity. That time is now. The children are watching and waiting, for they will live the reality of what we create.

Question 3: What are the key leverage points for transforming this area to jettison a belief in a hierarchy of human value? How do we become whole again?

We need strategies that enable people to listen and to be open to hearing about other people's stories, history, triumphs and pain. These include authentic and intentional conversations (including and honoring all ritual ceremonies) that build on interconnected values: safe and sacred spaces to take off our masks and rituals that acknowledge every person's humanity and invoke the presence of the divine. Indigenous methods have a four-step process that enable both parties to say, "I'm sorry, please forgive me, thank you, and I love you." We need to reclaim a language of acknowledgment and love that connects to

the past and resonates with people now. Our young people are seeking and striving for this wholeness. We must sit with them. We must raise healthy children instead of repairing broken men and women. We must do our own work of decolonization and healing to be our authentic selves. The most revolutionary thing we can do is to be honorable people. We need talking circles, safe dialogues where stories can be shared, pilgrimages where we can be immersed in the land and history, and an accountability process that is authentic, uncomfortable, yet necessary, and transformational. We need complete attention and positive regard.

What does being whole look like? Healing is not a linear process. It is a journey we undertake together, and what is required is a commitment to be on that journey even as we continue to heal ourselves and our communities. We can learn from neuroscience while being aware that science has often been used to perpetuate racial hierarchy. We should make use of the arts. We need a hearts and mind process: justice and healing are both important. Some of us are still warriors. If we elevate one above the other, we lose it. White people have to deal with the reality of their identity. We need to train white people to talk to white people. Guilt is the glue that holds racism together. It is not about blaming and shaming.

We have to start by honoring, acknowledging and unraveling the history and the places that are hidden. We must uncover the truth, the root causes and recognize the impact on all of us. We also must change the structures that were put in place by racism and implicit bias. We also need to understand the difference between intent and impact. We can learn from the post-traumatic syndrome healing process. Sometimes the counter-narrative tells us to keep on doing the thing that is creating the problem; it can be seductive to stay stuck. Trauma is when we stay stuck in our pain or perceptions of an experience; healing is when we confront, move through and release our pain or reframe our perceptions. We need to be accountable to ourselves and to one another. We must learn how to sit with someone who is disconnected without criticizing or judging, but sit with their experiences and allow them to teach us too. Healing happens in relationships. This process will move us to the moral center in terms of our hearts and our relationships with one another.

Some areas where efforts at change may be best grown, nourished and amplified include:

➤ Colleges and universities, which have provided most of the intellectual basis for slavery, de jure segregation, medical experimentation, eugenics and other pseudo-sciences of racialized biology and psychology, criminology, the "Lost Cause" and other mythologies of false histories, and so forth, but now also host both intellectual and activist challenges to that narrative, including knowledge about trauma, resilience and recovery.

➤ Religious institutions that provided the moral basis for so much of the above, but that also have generated the moral arguments and activism, related to healing, the spiritual support to challenge those narratives as well.

➤ Our racialized landscapes of memory, history, memorials and parks, which tell incomplete and deceptive histories, but which are being challenged throughout the country and viewed as potentially powerful counters to these narratives, e.g. the Bryan Stevenson-led effort to memorialize lynchings in all communities where they occurred.

➤ Community-based organizations — in communities of color a lot of the progressive movement comes out of these organizations, including organizations focused on domestic violence, homelessness, men and boys of color, etc.

Question 4: Who must be involved in order to make the deep and lasting changes we need to make?

We have to believe that this is necessary and urgent and make a commitment to work collectively.

Everyone is needed. Everyone has a place and a role to play: the fire carriers, the wood choppers, the water bringers, the visionaries, the influencers, the entrepreneurs, the organizers, the activists, the implementers and the caretakers. It must be an intergenerational effort. Young people must be part of developing and spreading the vision; we are developing new torch bearers. We also need the wisdom of the elders.

There is no one answer, one way to do it. It must be place-centered, based on the history of each community, and the relationships of the people at the table. We must honor difference and see and hear each other across differences. We must be willing to go toward those with whom we disagree and find unexpected allies. To transform deeply embedded systems and structures we must work side by side with police and those involved in the criminal justice system, politicians and policy makers, as well as people in corporations and business. The demonstration of changed relationships among people who are different or opposed is more effective than any amount of exhortation or intellectual argument about change.

We must find ways to involve people who caused the pain and bring them back into relationships and wholeness without judgment. We need patience to recognize that everyone is at a different place in their learning.

Mothers have a key role to play because they are almost always thinking beyond themselves and their own needs. They are organizers, they pass on culture and language and values to their children. They show up; they bind up wounds and empower people to go on and make a way out of no way. We also need to focus on unifying families to break the cycles of disconnection, pain and abandonment.

We need a national visioning process and a willingness to create a new paradigm. The fear of loss is at the heart of resistance to change: loss of power, control, stature, identity and security. We need to scale up the telling of a new history, a public history narrative embedded in our educational system similar to efforts Germany has made to create public acknowledgments of the Holocaust.

We have to unlearn certain things. We all need to take responsibility and look in the mirror and ask, "What am I doing? What have I not done?" We need to take time to cleanse and heal ourselves so that we are not battling with toxicity.

We need to offer practices that are transformative and universal such as silent meditation, sitting in the circle, dance, music and pilgrimages. Give people the space to grieve and also to celebrate together. We can draw on people in our communities who are healers. We have to start at the healing space before we can get to structural change. People need to hear the stories, to understand the impact of implicit bias and to increase their awareness. This needs to become part of our DNA. We also need to understand how we have been colonized in the way we think about our food systems, our mental health systems and every area of life and all systems.

The process must include the churches and all the faith communities on a massive scale. Since most Americans claim a faith, if we don't talk in these terms, we will not talk to the deepest belief systems in the hearts of many people.

A powerful stakeholder is the Restorative Justice movement, especially restorative justice programs run by people of color and/or with deep cultural understanding. The Restorative Justice movement looks at whole persons, whole families and whole communities and which acknowledges that healing requires justice and vice versa.

Question 5: What are the key initial activities that need to happen in order to heal from and transform this area?

In launching any racial healing project, it is essential that those leading the effort in a community have fully understood and internalized the process. Racial healing requires more than cultural competency or skills in diversity training. There must be a high level of preparedness and sensitivity. Some people may have experience in working within their own racial/ethnic/cultural group but have no awareness of the dynamics in another group. We recommend co-facilitation as a basic operating principle. While recognizing that each person brings unique gifts to the process, teams implementing a racial healing process should spend time together to develop a sense of shared values, perspectives and basic approaches to the work. We recommend making available relevant articles, resources and lists of individuals who are experienced and skilled in healing work. More important than specific tools are the real and ongoing experiences of healing within and among those who are leading the process.

Each community knows best what its members need when approaching dialogue and racial healing work. We call on those communities to make sure to think about what type of support may be needed for each group involved, such as behavioral health counselors or social workers. This is not a requirement but rather a consideration in design, understanding that if we wait for perfect conditions and support systems, these dialogues might not happen. We recognize that dialogue is healthy in and of itself and that only sometimes will a group need extra support.

We should develop a set of "racial healing" criteria for cities that want to adopt the TRHT model and a suggested process for implementing it, drawing on the experience and expertise of other localities, organizations and teams. We need to identify teams of guides, trainers and motivators who have experience of operating in different environments. We should also develop a reflective evaluation process of ongoing insight and refocusing so that we can determine what is working and what needs to be modified. Specifically, we propose the following steps:

1. Validate the practice of racial healing and recognize those who are doing healing work in our communities, even if they don't call it that.

2. Model within the racial healing practitioner network the reality of healing by creating healing spaces for ourselves. Ensure that we pay attention to reflection and to self-care, and to relationships in our own homes and family life, as we try to heal our communities. Avoid a hierarchy of woundedness. Support each other.

3. Create a manifesto that states the underlying values and principles that undergird the movement. Make the case for why racial healing is important and articulate what success would look like. Brand the healing process and develop

a consistent language and communication that is understandable and accessible. Develop a communications campaign to lift up the work through theater, music, art, social media and sermons at houses of worship. Create a symbol or logo to represent racial healing.

4. Listen to our communities and consult with them; ask them what they need; seek their ideas and visions and reflect back what we have heard.

5. Recognize the healing that is already taking place. There are many people and organizations within our network and beyond who have developed racial healing practices, history walks and rituals, as well as dialogues, community trust building and community organizing. We should map and tap into these resources, learn from the learned lessons, amplify them and make connections. Recognize the different approaches to healing; there are many different ways.

6. Build a base of support. Include all sectors such as business and government. Increase outreach to faith communities. Discover allies and identify people who need to become allies and find ways to invite them to the table.

7. Train leaders to do the work. Grow the community of healers. Invest personally in young people, mentor and train them.

8. Focus on process as well as content and identify the characteristics of the process. Our work is centered on dialogue and connectedness. Recognize that the healing process is for everyone, both the oppressed and the oppressor. At times affinity groups (intra-group) might be helpful so that groups can do their own work. Create spaces and places for people to come together regularly with specific focus on building relationships.

9. Share documents and racial healing resources within our own "racial healing community" and support the creation of a tool kit for the movement as a priority.

10. Look for ways to connect racial healing to efforts for equitable public policy. Highlight the importance of connecting stories to data as a way to reach people emotionally as well as intellectually and to mobilize them for action in effecting needed structural change.

11. Develop an evaluation process.

To be clear, healing is not just human-to-human engagement. Implicit in this work is the understanding that corrective action to address wounded systems, institutions and peoples through narrative change, healthy and connected communities, legal justice and economic equity is the medicine that America needs.

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Separation
Design Team Recommendations

Question 1: What would the country look and feel like if we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value?

If we jettison a belief in the hierarchy of human value, we could begin to dismantle and transform the mix of laws, policies, structures, habits and biases that created and sustain the physical, social and psychological separation of people by racial categories and the subjugation of particular cultures, values and languages.

We envision an egalitarian, connected society in which social institutions, neighborhoods, civic lives, politics and recreational spaces reflect the diversity of a region and where people have real choices about where they live, work and attend school. This is a society, though, that aspires far beyond numerical diversity to true equity. We envision a society in which all people are enabled and encouraged to bring forth their full identities and seek opportunities wherever they are located, practice self-determination, make contributions and benefit from a sense of belonging that does not require assimilation to any dominant culture.

Question 2: Where are we now, and how did we get here?

Separation by racial category is a defining feature of our American landscape, our social institutions, public and private spaces and systems. At the root of this separation is a belief in the hierarchy of human value, or racism. From this root grew a tangle of laws, policies, preferences, procedures actions by government, by private institutions and by individuals that created, nurtured and exacerbated segregation in several forms and sectors of life. The severity and nature of segregation and its consequences vary by racial category and political status, just as the intensity of segregation and its consequences differ by region, community type and governmental and social context.

Segregation damages people and our society in at least two ways.

One, segregation separates people from those whose cultures, lived experiences and social and economic status differ from their own. This perpetuates stereotypes, prejudice and bias and it reinforces racial preferences that were formed in the context of segregation, separation or subjugation. This separation reduces opportunities for relationships that could mitigate the belief in the hierarchy of human value. It also reduces the capacity for empathy and the likelihood for co-creation of just, shared communities in our increasingly diverse nation.

Two, because systemic manifestations of separation and racial discrimination dispropor-tionately confer economic benefits to whites and disadvantage people of color, racial segregation tends to concentrate poverty and affluence. The crux of the problem here is not that people of color are cut off from white people. Indeed, for people of color who have been historically marginalized, close and culturally defined communities are often life-sustaining in that they provide foundations for healthy identity development, affirma-tion, social bonding and creation of vital institutions. That said, it is crucial to understand that over centuries, laws, policies, practices and beliefs cut off people of color and their communities from the resources, power, conditions and opportunities that contribute to

well-being and self-determination. Similarly, when racism motivated white people to cut off or limit Indian reservations, Alaska Native villages, or territories from the rights and resources to sustain an economy, maintain independent governance, or the essential infrastructure of society, or even have access to food and water, then that separation benefits and empowers white society and sustains concentrated poverty.

Segregation, then, is not only an outcome of a belief in a hierarchy of human value. Segregation also helps to calcify a belief in the hierarchy of human value by keeping us apart from each other and creating imbalances in resources and power. Understanding how segregation was created and how the experience of it differs among groups is vital in crafting remedies to it and mitigating its harms. That these histories are not well known, not typically taught in schools and thus not part of our shared history is part of the reason why segregation and its attendant harms can remain so entrenched in our society.

Question 3: What are the key leverage points for transforming this area to jettison a belief in a hierarchy of human value?

In American society, there exist several key leverage points for transforming racial separation and mitigating its harms. As discussed in our answer to Question 2, people created the laws, policies, norms and ideologies that created, nurtured and exacerbate racial separation. Thus people, working together, must and can repair the present day effects of those laws, policies, norms, ideologies and beliefs.

Our suggestions grow from a vision of a more connected, fairer, healthier and egalitarian society where everyone who lives in the United States can thrive and have real choices about what neighborhoods they reside, attend school, work and play.

Driven by racism, racial segregation has scarred our society, our psyches and given birth to vast inequalities in power, health, wealth and other important indicators of well-being. But it is also true that, when driven by love, a desire to access and have control over resources such as land and for economic self-sufficiency and self-determination, racially defined communities and institutions of color provide cultural sustenance and richness, foundations for healthy identity development and empowering relationships. Any healing and transformation process must make this distinction between racial segregation and its attendant inequalities, which are driven by racism, and the purposeful bonding and rich history of institution and community building among people of color in culturally defined spaces. It must also recognize political separation, such as maintaining the essential government to government relationships with American Indian and Alaska Native tribal areas and territorial governments are fundamentally different circumstances that need to be addressed. In these cases, ending racial discrimination while maintaining political separateness is the challenge.

Of all the many leverage points our team identified for remedying segregation and its harms, the first is the proven potential of humanity to heal from anger and fear and move toward empathy and connectedness. Generally, human beings long to be part of something bigger than themselves and to feel a sense of belonging. In spite of longstanding systemic injustice, there thrives, still, a sense of hope and a spirit of resiliency within so many historically marginalized communities of color. Meanwhile, many white people, particularly members of the generation now coming of age, demonstrate a tendency to reject the politics of fear, of self-definition in opposition to an "other."

We can harness this potential to support and sustain racially diverse settings and institutions, such as neighborhoods, schools and college campuses where they do exist, where demographics would make diversity possible and where people expressly desire racial diversity. The work of moving from mere diversity to equitable integration we describe in our vision provides an opportunity to again harness the potential of people to heal and transform themselves and their systems, so as to be a part of something bigger than themselves. Similarly, we can harness the resiliency and hope and potential to heal by investing, strengthening and healing people in culturally defined spaces and institutions. And in neighborhoods of color that have experienced negative effects from disinvestment, systemic racism and inadequate access to resources required for well-being.

A second leverage point is the very existence of our divided house, which cannot stand. This might seem, at first, to be more misfortune than opportunity. Indeed, the coded racial rhetoric, overt racism and xenophobia that characterized the 2016 election tore at whatever common fabric we might have shared. Overlaid on a racially segregated nation, the politics of racialized fear threatens to shred that fabric entirely. The rarity of shared space and institutions among people of different racial groups, coupled with extreme power imbalances between people in different racial categories, poisons our democracy, renders our ideal of equality hollow, and encourages dehumanized caricatures of "others." For the sake of our democracy and so we can be fulfilled, healthy human beings, we must build meaningful, stable relationships with each other that traverse racial categories. We must nurture racially diverse communities and institutions and institutionalize processes and provide guidance so they are deliberately anti-racist. In segregated communities of color, we must reverse historical policies of isolation and disinvestment, and ensure full economic and political participation of all residents. None of these activities are mutually exclusive. We need to stake a new tent where people can build meaning and find belonging. We must stake this tent out widely.

Third, several government initiatives can be leveraged for transforming racial separation so as to jettison a belief in the hierarchy of human value. We focus here on efforts that do or could potentially bring people together to co-create new systems and structures. Please note that these recommendations are being offered less than two weeks after the results of the 2016 election. It is unclear to what extent the new administration will retain these initiatives. No matter their fate at the federal level, it is useful to understand these efforts, as they reflect an enormous amount of work and thoughtful planning and engagement among practitioners, scholars and others. Some elements of these programs could be replicated and adjusted to respond to local conditions.

Specifically, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing[3] rule offers tremendous opportunity. This requires communities that receive federal money to examine their current policies, cite racial, economic or other imbalances, analyze the reasons for those gaps, and take steps to reverse segregated housing patterns and the disparities in access to resources that they create.

The U.S. Department of Transportation's Ladders of Opportunity[4] initiative acknowledges the "legacy of aligning and designing transportation projects that separated Americans along economic and...racial lines" and seeks to knit together communities that have been artificially segregated. This initiative includes efforts to more strongly enforce racial discrimination laws and to design better public engagement efforts related to transportation design.

The National Native Youth Network[5] is a White House-led effort in partnership with the National Congress of Native Americans, United National Indian Tribal Youth (UNITY), the Aspen Institute's Center for Native Youth and the U.S. Department of the Interior. This network is an important forum through which to convene American Indian and Alaska Native youth, educators and allies to advance culturally-appropriate curriculum and to identify and work to eradicate the manifestations of racism and bias that harm the 90 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native youth who attend public schools. Also the White House HBCU[6] Initiative increases the capacity of historically black colleges and universities to provide the highest quality education and increases opportunities for these institutions to benefit from federal programs. The product of slavery, Jim Crow laws, redlining, voter suppression — these African American institutions produce a high number of college graduates who then assume leadership and service roles and complete graduate and professional degrees.

At the state and local level, growing numbers of government officials and elected leaders are seeing the value of diverse, equitable schools and considering ways to incentivize true integration. Learning about the challenges and the rewards of these efforts will be useful for communities who engage in TRHT and wish to reduce racial segregation that separates people from one another and leads to an unequal access to educational opportunity. State and local districts have worked closely with the National Coalition on School Diversity and the Century Foundation, both of which offer accessible information and opportunities for learning and connection for community members, educators and others interested in creating, sustaining and improving racially and economically diverse public schools.

Meaningful public engagement to build more just, inclusive shared systems and institutions requires easily accessible, robust and reliable data, our fourth leverage point. Valid and accessible data about conditions and inequities within and between racially defined communities helps people identify assets and shared challenges. Also, discussions about inequities that are embedded in existing data-collection systems could also be a catalyst for illuminating discussions within communities. For example, in many datasets and statistical analyses, Native people, whose numbers may be relatively small in some regions, get excluded, and thus rendered invisible and left out of important public discussions and decisions that affect them. The U.S. Census Bureau acknowledges the undercount of African Americans and Hispanics[7] and the over count of whites, which carries implications for access to state and federal resources. It also has implications for electoral districts at all levels of government. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights recently completed a year long examination of census data and have issued recommendations for how the census should be changed to accurately count and define diverse groups in the United States.

Even with more just and accurate data systems, numerical portraits, while necessary, are not alone sufficient for engendering meaningful and constructive conversations that lead to change. This is because, in the context of racism, the cause of inequities evident in data are vulnerable to misdiagnosis. Specifically, people of color who live in communities of concentrated poverty are vulnerable to being blamed for conditions that have been centuries in the making. Related to this misdiagnosis, racial segregation is often viewed as a manifestation of "preferences." However, as we know, a vast, interconnected series of government and private decisions shaped our racial landscape within the United States. And to the extent that "private" preferences play a role in producing and exacerbating segregation, it is important to understand that those preferences were themselves, not "natural" but shaped in the context of segregation and racism.

Thus, education, broadly defined, is the vital fifth leverage point. This includes education within an enhanced K-12 curriculum, on college campuses, within families and in community-based organizations, such as after-school programs, sports teams and camps and, via social media campaigns and other forms of media, including films and television.

Developing and spreading shared knowledge about segregation's racist roots and the inequalities it has spawned is an important story about our nation that helps explain current gaps in health, education, political power, social mobility and wealth. It is also a story that is not well known. Making the links from racism to segregation to inequality helps people see their environment in new ways and to question what is "natural." Education in various forms can also illuminate patterns and links from the past to the present. For example, consider our history of settler colonialism that displaced indigenous peoples, usurped their power and denied indigenous people access to resources that promote well-being. One can see parallels in the motivations and trauma incurred among members of communities of color where gentrification and displacement is occurring. These two traumas obviously differ in large and important ways, but having people come to see the commonalities in one another's stories and circumstances can help forge connections across racial categories. Without this shared knowledge that links the past to the present, there may be a tendency to view racial separation as benign and inevitable. Well-coordinated educational and information campaigns, along with popular culture, can help to shift norms so, for example, living in a white community of concentrated affluence no longer possesses status, but becomes less desirable than living in a racially diverse community.

Just as important as finding common threads in narratives of oppression, persecution and contemporary challenges so, too, is telling and spreading stories about people who have worked together across racial categories to build shared, equitable, multiracial communities and to repair harm. Similarly, narratives in which American Indian and Alaska Native people have, in the context of sovereignty and cultural integrity, practiced self-determination and connected to opportunities in a white-dominated society, are equally important to advance. These narratives provide aspirational visions that demonstrate possibility and could inspire future action.

We think of education not merely as lesson plans and workshops, but events and programs that intentionally bring people from different racial groups and racially defined communities together to learn these stories in each other's presence and from each other. This is education that enables relationship building and is purposefully designed to inspire action.

Finally, we identified particular types of places where demographics, our sixth leverage point, offer favorable conditions for healing and transformation or where healing and transformation processes are particularly urgent. These include the following:

➤ Suburbs within metropolitan areas that have or are in the process of becoming racially diverse.

➤ Rural areas where immigrants have migrated for jobs in the last two decades.

➤ Tribal areas that have been checkerboarded by white settlement under assimilationist government policies, reservation border towns and schools and Alaska Native lands now occupied by non-Natives.

➤ Predominantly white areas of refugee resettlement.

➤ Racially diverse schools and school districts and schools that are intentionally diverse by design.

- ➤ Communities of color in urban areas that are experiencing gentrification and/or displacement.
- ➤ Regions in which sovereign municipalities, or distinct school districts that are racially defined spaces, come together for purposes of relationship building and planning.

Question 4: Who must be involved in order to make the deep and lasting changes we need to make?

After determining our six key points of leverage in the context of racial separation, we cast our net widely to identify people and organizations to assist in the TRHT enterprise. In this process of identification, we learned the necessity of engaging experts in relationship building, cultural change-making, and advocates and people with deep subject matter knowledge and demonstrated intellectual leadership in particular areas such as fair housing, racial equity in schools and the economy.

We need assistance and support from this wide array of people and organizations because we are attempting to design and implement a healing and transformation process in a complex, changing society that is separated along racial lines. This is both a physical separation and a psychological separation overlaid on vast power imbalances and inequities in educational attainment and economic and educational opportunities. These conditions make a healing and transformation process exceedingly challenging because misinformation, stereotypes and false stories metastasize when people from different racial categories are not in relationship with one another. Resentment and anger build when all people aren't afforded equal access to the resources and opportunities that allow them to thrive and experience a sense of belonging. To put it simply, we need all the help we can get. As we move forward, we must respect that a particular process that works for one group may not work for all groups and that not everyone will desire the same outcome from a process of transformation. This is another reason that we need involvement from as wide a variety of people and organizations as possible.

To review, our first leverage point is the demonstrated human potential for healing and transformation. Somewhat related to this is our second leverage point, an unsustainable stark racial and political divide in our nation. We see this unfortunate state as a leverage point because it illuminates urgency, lays out a high stake (our democracy) and compels action. This is a leverage point because it gives people a reason to break down the walls between racial groups that segregation has helped to create and then inspires them to work together toward something better. This type of division, too, is reflected in congressional inaction on so many important challenges that affect people's daily lives.

To help us harness the power of these first two realities, we must engage faith and spiritual leaders from across our nation and, to the extent possible, the world, from all backgrounds and belief systems. After coming together with a common goal, they will be well positioned, to, in the words of one of our team members, "inspire a revolution of values." This would include, but is not limited to, leaders in the AME Church, United Methodist Church, United Church of Christ, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Catholic, Indigenous elders, Jewish and Muslim faiths. The numerous faith based organizations that work to bring people together around issues of peace, racial justice and healing include Grace in Action, PICO, Presbyterian USA, Beloved Community Center (NC), National Moral Revival, the Moral Monday movement in North Carolina, the Tri Faith Community (NE) and Isaiah (MN). The Pluralism Project at Harvard University has long provided thought leadership and produced and translated knowledge that may be helpful in this endeavor.

Not everyone is religious, of course, and thus, we identified secular organizations that might make for excellent "neutral" ground in talking and healing among people and bringing people together who are currently separated by constructed racial lines. This includes the Boys and Girls Clubs of America and human rights commissions on the local and state levels. The shared spaces provided by public parks and recreational sites and public libraries also provide organic neutral settings for healing conversations and for building action plans across racial lines. Local community foundations, with knowledge of particular regions, cities or states, often enjoy great respect within communities and thus have tremendous demonstrated potential as leaders in transformation efforts that bring together people now separated by racialized borders. The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society provides excellent knowledge and leadership on issues related to relationship building and empathy building across constructed lines of race.

As immigrants and their families began settling with more frequency in suburbs, rural areas and other predominantly white communities, xenophobia and racism often manifests itself through laws and private actions that create unwelcome atmospheres. To reduce conflict and create the potential for cross-racial relationship building, the national group Welcoming America, and their affiliates, engenders community building and campaigns that welcome immigrants and fight against xenophobia in a variety of places across the nation. Welcoming Michigan is a particularly well-developed and sophisticated affiliate working with tremendously diverse immigrant communities and U.S.-born communities.

Labor, work and economics provides another point of contact for people from different and otherwise segregated racial groups to come together around common concerns such as workplace safety, job availability and fair wages. Unions, including the AFL-CIO and organizations such as The Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA) are important organizations to involve in such efforts. Similarly, organizations such as Partnership for Working Families and people involved in important campaigns with potential for multiracial coalitions have demonstrated skill and success by bringing people together for a common mission. This includes organizations working on community workforce agreements (CWA's), and those involved with the Raise Up for $15 campaign and the Restaurant Opportunity Center (ROC).

We see young people as a vital part of this work. Our younger generation generally has more comfort with diversity and expresses desire for racial justice and movements for racial justice. Providing young people from all racial backgrounds the opportunity to lead conversations on how to jettison a belief in the hierarchy of human value may be a promising strategy in community-based conversations. For this reason, universities, colleges, community colleges, diverse high schools and diverse K-12 communities of parents, teachers and young people are all important organizations and constituencies to involve in this process.

Our third leverage point is government. Several specific initiatives, named in the previous section of our report, provide potential for aiding and supporting a transformational enterprise, because they create opportunities for otherwise separated people to come together and co-create systems and institutions that are deliberately anti-racist. We have named the specific initiatives in which we see hope, but it is also important in this process to involve organizations that work to make government accountable and to keep issues related to racial justice on government agendas. Because government at all levels tends to be divided into departments such as Housing and Urban Development, Education, Transportation and so forth, advocacy groups and practitioner coalitions are often similarly organized.

To list all the advocates, thought leaders and practitioners who could assist with government-related work in various sectors would consume too much space. However, it is vital that a healing and transformation exercise that seeks to transcend racial separation be multisector in nature, including advocates concerned with all areas of life that demonstrate potential for cross-racial community building and action.

For example, in education, this would include such organizations as the National Coalition on School Diversity, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Voices for Children (NM) and others. Organizations such as the Kirwan Institute and the Furman Center at NYU provide thought leadership and produce accessible knowledge.

In housing, this would include organizations as the National Indian Housing Association and the Inclusive Communities Project (TX) and Resident Services in Affordable Housing as advocates and the Poverty and Race Research Action Council and others as thought leaders and producers of knowledge.

In health, this would include such organizations and initiatives, such as the Living Cities Inc. Project, the Michigan-based Fair Food Project, the Native Wellness Institute as advocates and practitioners and the Center for the Developing Child at Harvard University and the National Collaborative for Health Equity as subject matter experts and knowledge producers.

In the economy, Native American Chambers of Commerce and ethnic-based community credit unions such as the Latino Community Credit Unions in North Carolina are important types of organizations to engage, as they have well-established communities of support and enjoy wide respect. The Economic Policy Institute has long been a source of accessible and well-framed knowledge generation.

Several groups, such as the Economic Policy Institute, Policy Link, Building One America and Poverty and Race Research Council and the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society provide leadership, produce important knowledge and conduct advocacy on all of these issue areas.

Our fourth leverage point is data that is framed and contextualized so as to demonstrate racism's contribution to inequality and the collective benefits of racial equity. In healing and transformation processes, a presentation of data can illuminate inequities and also be a catalyst for deeper discussions about racial categories themselves, methods of counting people and how groups with relatively small numbers have historically been excluded from important conversations and decisions. Good sources for data include Diversity Data Kids and Diversity Data, which includes measures of segregation, the NYU Furman Center for Real Estate and Urban Policy and the National Equity Atlas project, which models the widely felt benefits of racial equity. The Economic Policy Institute provides accessible knowledge on the ways in which segregation has led to inequality in many sectors of life including policing, education and health. The National Congress of American Indians Policy Research Center provides guidance on disaggregation of data on a wide variety of Native issues.

Our fifth leverage point is education, broadly defined. It is important to stress here that education as we see it does encompass the kinds of settings that typically come to mind upon hearing the word, "education." This includes traditional K-12 schools, both public and private, and post-secondary educational settings such as colleges and universities.

But we think it crucial to include organizations and settings that may be less bureaucratic and rule-oriented, such as after-school programs, camps and sports teams and recreational centers where young people come together. Community-based centers for adult education, where people of all ages take classes and take part in cooperative activities, could also be helpful partners. But education, as defined here, also includes public information campaigns, journalism and popular culture that helps open minds and offers non-white perspectives and role modeling. Any effort that educates the public and that inspires curiosity and openness to difference fits under our "education, broadly defined" umbrella.

Team members offered several potential frames and methods to enhance learning and relationship building. This includes the well-established work around "implicit bias" and de-biasing. Also, members named "decolonization," which centers indigenous people and knowledge-gaining methods. Also, members named ethnic studies, in which history is viewed from the perspective of marginalized people while emphasizing contributions and resistance.

Naming all the potential collaborators generated by our team would take up too much space. However, providing some examples may make our recommendations more concrete and useful.

In traditional educational settings, these include professional associations for teachers, principals and school superintendents, such as the Indian Head Start Directors Association and the National Indian School Board Association and the National School Board Association. Some nonprofit organizations working in the areas of diversifying and improving curriculum include Teaching Tolerance, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, We Need Diverse Books, and Talk to Kids about Race, a curriculum program for preschool age children and their families. Afterschool and recreational programs include the Boys and Girls Clubs and the work of the Michigan-based Lakeshore Ethnic Diversity Alliance (MI) including its program, Calling All Colors, which brings together young people from a variety of racial backgrounds and community types and the Maine/Syracuse, New York programs of the Seeds of Peace International Camp.

Our colleagues from the Narrative Change team are identifying important organizations to assist in the TRHT enterprise. Our team sees public information campaigns, celebrity engagement and popular culture as important forms of education as well. These forums hold potential power for communicating the truth about how racism-driven racial separation came into being and how it is sustained now. Similarly, by engaging organizations with expertise in messaging and others with influence over the content of popular culture, these stories can be moved into spheres with wide audiences.

Stories, films and television shows that don't just display diversity, but that contain a narrative of multiracial community building and collaboration are vital. Such stories should confront the challenges and necessary negotiations honestly, without sugarcoating or glossing over the hard work involved in racial healing and transformation. Systemic racism is often a difficult condition to describe and thus, documentaries, graphic design, radio and other creative forms, will help spread knowledge in new ways and reach people who weren't exposed to these analyses in their formal educations. (Race: The Power of an Illusion is an excellent example, as is the Kirwan Institute-produced film, Free to Ride).

To assist with this, organizations such as the Opportunity Agenda provide important skills in messaging. Race Forward can assist with penetrating popular culture and individual filmmakers and progressive film producers, such as California Newsreel and Brave New Films, along with visual artists and radio shows such as This American Life and storytelling venues such as The Moth, could also be engaged. The philanthropic organization Unbound Philanthropy report #PopJustice might be a helpful guide in this endeavor.

Developing messages and spreading knowledge through a wide variety of channels should be viewed as valid forms of education. The presence of these messages, of accessible information and framing in popular culture, echoes the TRHT messages and helps fuel the movement along. The fact of racial separation makes it ever more vital to transmit these narratives and information through as many channels and venues as possible because people of different racial groups tend not to have opportunities to learn from each other. When people from different racial categories do come together, having examples and narratives in our culture to help explain systemic racism, the creation of segregation and the challenges and potential of racial healing also helps reduce the burden on people of color to be the teachers and storytellers about racial oppression and systemic racism.

Our sixth and final leverage point is demographic change, which has helped create some diverse settings and institutions where racism-driven separation is challenged. In some places demographic change has been a catalyst for changing systems and for starting efforts to upend norms of racism.

Unlike our other leverage points, this one doesn't lead us to list specific groups and individuals, as all of the above-named could assist with efforts to build relationships and design processes for healing in diverse places. However, we worked to identify particular types of communities and institutions where healing and transformation is particularly urgent or where demographics and diverse constituencies could create excellent models for healing and transformation among people from all racial categories.

This includes K-12 schools/school communities that are deliberately diverse, such as the interdistrict magnet schools in Hartford, Connecticut, and the Morris Jeff Community School, a charter school in New Orleans. Many suburbs that have changed demographic composition in the last two decades, offer both challenging and promising conditions for racial healing and transformation. We know that urban areas such as Boston, Washington, D.C., parts of New York City and San Francisco are experiencing gentrification and displacement as white middle class residents move in, housing costs rise and people of color are pushed out. Also, newer centers of immigration or refugee resettlement would benefit from healing and transformation processes, particularly in light of the xenophobia manifest more recently.

Question 5: What are the key initial activities that need to happen in order to heal from and transform this area?

Answering these questions requires that we are constantly aware of the context of racism-driven racial separation that characterizes our nation and the challenges that presents to a healing and transformation process. People who've been placed in different racial categories tend to not live in the same neighborhoods or attend the same schools. We were also mindful of the fact that in order for this process to work, differently situated groups — African American, Alaskan Native, AAPI, Immigrant/Refugee, Latino, Multiracial, Native American, white — must feel a sense of belonging and enjoy equal status in the healing and

transformation process. As we sought to answer this question, we did so by keeping in mind that individuals' and groups' goals, aspirations and notions of what "transformation" looks like will likely vary. In other words, there will be no one solution and this should be acknowledged at the outset. Team members felt that, ideally, people within selected TRHT communities who are engaged in the healing and transformation process should determine what kinds of activities will happen. Our suggestions, thus, are merely that. They grow from on the ground experience, reflection and study, not from a desire to determine what "should" happen in any community.

We start by offering some concrete activities suggested by team members. We then offer an overview of some common themes that emerged in our team discussion on Question 5 and in follow-up comments.

Storytelling — Encourage individuals to tell their stories in a variety of ways and mediums — film, photographs, a presentation, an interview with a fellow community member. This may reduce stereotyping and build respect and understanding among people. This understanding between people may also help to establish equal status in the conversations and group activities.

Small-scale conversations — Many Kellogg Foundation-supported groups are engaged in healing processes through conversations and dialogues. Examples of resources that can inform this work include Lakeshore Ethnic Diversity Alliance[8] in Michigan, Detroit Equity Lab[9] and Within Our Lifetime[10]. For young people, the Southern Poverty Law Center's Perspectives for a Diverse America, offers strong resources. As for youth, guided activities that bring young people together across segregating school district borders to address the causes and harms and also the remedies to segregation could be extremely constructive. An excellent example is Looking In Theater[11], based in Connecticut.

Large, public, well-advertised boundary-crossing events — The fact of racial separation in schools and housing necessitates a regional design that purposefully reaches beyond established communities and advertises itself as such. The idea of stepping across boundaries toward something "bigger" into a community full of people committed to doing the same thing, is a potentially powerful draw. Small conversation groups are likely vital, but too, so are larger summits and "town halls" and social events so that people can understand themselves as being part of something bigger, part of a movement. "Big-tent" types of events may help attract people who ordinarily might not volunteer to be a part of a conversation-based racial healing process.

Incorporate history — Team members have positive experience in working with professional historians and incorporating their findings and understandings into public conversations situated in the present day. Providing historical context highlights the policies, practices and belief systems that created racial segregation and concentrated poverty, demonstrates that the conditions are driven, in large part, by racism and economic goals. This creates shared context and grounding for later conversations. It also reduces the burden often placed upon people of color to "teach" white people in these settings. Inclusion of history also makes up for the lack of education about racism and racial history in the public schools and textbooks. For example, the history of Native people, including mistreatment and resilience, and the factors that led to sovereignty is largely not well known, even among formally educated people.

Campaigns — The healing and transformation process should be well-advertised, a topic of public conversations, billboards, Twitter, other social media public service announcements, etc. And the nature of the enterprise — bringing people from varying racial groups together — should be publicly emphasized. This helps create a movement for people to mobilize around. Like the large public events, efforts like this may draw in people who otherwise would not sign up for a racial healing experience. This public campaign might include city council's or state legislatures declaring "human equality day" for example, to draw awareness to the TRHT process and goals. The Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH) process (see previous answers from this group) offers an example of a federal initiative that could be supported by a TRHT process and be advertised so as to raise community awareness and increase involvement.

Action Plans — Following relationship building, the development of action plans to address challenges identified by community members as part of their TRHT work together will is a promising activity that could produce tangible benefits. Relationship-building is likely the crucial first step and needs to be ongoing, especially among people long separated by racism. But informing members early on about the eventual action plan work may help to hold "action-oriented" people in the group. It is important for some people to understand and see where they are going before they can commit to a process. Data that is contextualized (historical and re: causes of inequality) is crucial in this process, as discussed in our previous answers. Data allows for people within communities to identify challenges and the potential for transformation.

Mentorship — Groups building action plans would benefit from mentors from outside the community who provide technical assistance and support through an implementation process.

Several common themes emerged in our conversation about activities. These include the following:

Decolonization — One recurring theme in the Separation Design Team's dialogue was how to deal with a challenging conundrum: how to reconcile the difference between the separation circumstances of American Indians, Alaska Natives, and the U.S. territories versus those of other communities of color. While all of these groups experience the false hierarchy of human value as racism, those who are separate by virtue of constitutional law or treaties have also experienced it as colonization: the wrongful taking of land, resources, self-governance, cultural integrity and even children, as well as the denigration of indigenous ways of knowing and worldviews. For colonized groups, separation is essential for continued survival as a distinct population but at the same time can be set up for structural racism and social disparities when racism flourishes. Decolonization is the act of undoing the domination of one nation by another. Members of the design team recognize the unique issues of tribal nations and territories versus other communities of color and acknowledge that colonization was based on the false hierarchy of human value and helped solidify racism by relegating indigenous populations to sub-human status. Forced assimilation, economic exploitation and cultural genocide were the hallmarks of federal policy toward tribes and territories, and the legacy of these policies remains manifested in continuing racism. The design team acknowledges that:
➤ TRHT is fundamentally committed to the protection of treaty rights, tribal sovereignty, tribal self-governance and cultural and familial integrity of tribes and territories

➤ Decolonization is a viable TRHT strategy to achieve equitable access to rights, resources, services and supports to reduce and eliminate social disparities of indigenous nations and peoples

➤ Tribal and territorial populations have constitutionally protected rights to remain separate, and they also have the right to freedom from racism and the blatant attacks on their humanity, sovereignty and children

Equal Status & Power — Groups are situated differently and afforded different status in the larger society. Building awareness and shared understanding about this will enhance the process and all facilitators and mentors need to be mindful of this reality. Be aware that racial separation has helped fuel prejudice and misunderstanding and thus, undoing this harm in the context of segregation may take more time than in more diverse areas.

Inclusion & Outreach — It is important to conduct a thorough environmental scan in all communities before entry and to build upon work already done so as not to alienate community members or reinvent the wheel. There is a risk of getting only the "choir" to the table, so purposeful inclusion and outreach to unlikely allies and people who ordinarily would not be engaged in a racial healing process is vital for it to be "owned" by everyone and result in action with collective benefit. We must also be aware of "participation fatigue" in which the same people are asked over and over again to be a part of dialogues that have not produced tangible results.

Intergenerational — Young people must be involved in this process from elementary school age through young adulthood, as should people from all generations. A campaign and communications strategy must thus incorporate a variety of styles and messages that appeal to all generations. Youth are a particularly promising group, as surveys show their desire for diversity and support for human rights and social movements to end racism. However, given the high levels of school segregation, we aren't able to harness that power easily, which again, underscores the need for purposeful outreach across established "communities" so as to grow larger circles of human concern.

Self determination — Community members need to decide themselves what they will be doing and how to best do it given local politics and circumstances and history. It is important to ensure that an inclusive geographic and diverse stakeholder definition is used to define what constitutes the "community." In other words, one small white neighborhood might be considered "a community" precisely because of the laws and policies and beliefs that engendered and sustained segregation. If one of the purposes of TRHT is to have honest conversations about race and our interdependence, it is crucial that the very concept of a community be expanded to include people beyond one's neighborhood. While self-determination is important, we should ensure that local partners benefit from ideas, experiences from people with experience in other places or have observed or participated in similar processes elsewhere.

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Law Design Team Recommendations

Introduction

In declaring independence from England, our nation's founders proclaimed that "…all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Crafting our foundational governing document following the Revolutionary War, these founders enshrined this proclamation in the Preamble of the Constitution, declaring that this document was created "in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity…"

Unfortunately, the "certain unalienable Rights" and "the Blessings of Liberty" were not meant for those whose basic humanity had long been denied by the founders. They were not meant for Native Americans, whose property was stolen, whose people were massacred and whose culture was repressed long before independence from England was contemplated. Nor were they meant for African Americans, whose labor was stolen and whose freedom was denied from the earliest days of the colonies. Nor were they meant for certain immigrant populations who were deemed as insufficiently worthy of enjoying basic human rights unless they shed their culture and "melted into" the dominant culture.

Thus was embedded in our nation's legal system the widespread belief in a racial and ethnic hierarchy of human value that presumes white superiority over all others in society. This hierarchy has ranked people as either superior or inferior based upon cultural practices or perceived superficial physical characteristics such as skin color or facial features. It has persisted to this day and continues to have countless destructive manifestations in virtually every institution of our society. It lurks silently and unacknowledged in laws, institutions and policies, and it refuses to acknowledge the talents and contributions of significant portions of our population. It weakens and devalues the internal unity and contradicts the democratic principles written into the founding documents of our nation. And it severely impacts our nation's resources through the maintenance of complex and multiple inter-connected systems of justice, education, housing, health, employment and other systems that subordinate significant portions of the population. Research supported by the Kellogg Foundation indicates that the resultant inequalities may cost the nation as much as $2 trillion annually in lost productivity and purchasing power.

As the foundational edifice for all of our institutions, the legal system has preserved and perpetuated this hierarchy of human value. As Dr. Gail Christopher of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation puts it, "You couldn't keep people down without making it illegal for them to be up."

The TRHT enterprise envisions a future in which we embrace our common humanity, examine how our past has shaped the current realities of persistent racism and chart a course toward a society in which we see ourselves in one another. The legal system stands at the epicenter of this enterprise.

Question 1: What is our vision?

Through TRHT, we envision a new legal system, one in which we cherish our common humanity, respect the dignity of every individual and see ourselves in one another, while at the same time protecting and celebrating our diverse cultural traditions and world views. We are cognizant that achieving this vision may require a wholesale dismantling and restructuring of our existing legal system, but we are committed to the journey. This new legal system would be centered on four broad principles:

➤ We would recognize the historical significance our system of law has played in perpetuating the hierarchy of human value.

➤ We would embrace and protect a system of law that reflects our common humanity, the dignity of all people, and our commitment to the civil and human rights of all.

➤ We would seek to redress the inequities in our legal system that have been created by the belief in a hierarchy of human value.

➤ We would cherish the value of full civic participation in our nation and in our communities.

Within the context of these four broad principles, our legal system would have the following qualities:

We would recognize the historical significance our system of law has played in perpetuating the hierarchy of human value.

➤ We would acknowledge the role the legal system has played in embedding the belief in a racial hierarchy in all of the institutions of our society; creating segregated living spaces with high rates of poverty; undermining the treaty rights, self-determination, and lifeways of indigenous peoples; enforcing and sustaining inequitable systems, including through violence.

➤ There would be a clear realization of the role that both explicit and implicit racial bias have played and continue to play in the operation of our legal system in both criminal and civil proceedings.

➤ There would be an understanding that, while bias in the legal system has especially hurt people of color, it has, in fact, hurt all people by weakening our society and diminishing our stability and our productivity.

We would embrace and protect a system of law that reflects our common humanity, the dignity of all people, and our commitment to the civil and human rights of all.

➤ Our laws, policies and voting patterns would be based on a deep belief in our common humanity and in our right to both protection and dignity.

➤ There would exist a mutually respectful partnership between the community and the law enforcement system; the law enforcement system would reflect both the composition and the values of the community it serves and would be accountable to the community; and community residents would see themselves as active partners in the system.

➤ There would be a clear recognition of and adherence to the nation to nation relationship between the U.S. government and tribal governments.

➤ There would be broad support for and vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and policies designed to prevent and/or remediate the effects of discrimination. Among the discriminatory laws and policies that would be addressed are racially predatory fines and excessive bail that are among the many ways the law enforcement system disproportionately impacts people of color.

➤ There would be clear distinctions made between criminal behavior that is detrimental to the community and its residents and victimless behavior that reflects the survival needs of people or mental and public health problems. This would ideally lead to a smaller legal system through the elimination of laws that criminalize behavior in the latter category and to a redirection of law enforcement priorities to focus on behavior that is truly criminal in nature. We would view the legal system as a criminal justice, rehabilitation and redemption system rather than a criminal punishment system, and its policies and practices would reflect this view, including the full societal reintegration of formerly incarcerated people upon their release from correctional facilities (including juvenile, jail and prison).

➤ High quality legal representation would be considered as a right of all people in both the criminal and civil justice systems and would be made available to everyone, and financial and other barriers to self-representation and professional assistance when appropriate to address minor civil matters would be eliminated.

➤ All law enforcement systems would have mechanisms in place to track and evaluate police actions, fairly consider complaints, independently monitor disciplinary practices, audit performance and facilitate citizen review of laws, enforcement and sentencing practices. Disreputable or unethical legal professionals would be held strictly accountable.

➤ The authority of tribal courts and justice systems to address civil and criminal matters arising on tribal lands or involving tribal members according to their own traditions and customs would be recognized and respected.

➤ Civil disputes in the legal system, such as contracts, real property, employment, and lending, would be dealt with in a context that fully recognizes the embedded racial disparities in institutions, markets and patterns of housing and development. Decisions on anti-discrimination cases would readily embrace evidence of statistical disparities and skeptically consider pre-textual defenses of non-discrimination. Broad remedies to penetrate the root of the problem would be awarded and enforced to overcome racial segregation in homes, businesses and access to public facilities. Limitations upon federally funded legal aid organizations (class actions, voting rights cases, etc.) would be lifted to enable those who already serve people in poverty to have the same tools and remedies that are available to all other citizens who seek redress in court. Finally, for those who cannot afford a lawyer in a civil case brought by a unit of government, the court would appoint a civil attorney to represent the defendant.

We would seek to redress the inequities in our legal system that have been created by the belief in a hierarchy of human value.

➤ We would recognize, acknowledge and document the advantages that significant portions of the population have enjoyed in a legal system that applies — or does not apply — "justice" based on the belief in a hierarchy of human value.

➤ We would establish a system of redistributive justice to account for the unearned advantages of the dominant group and the undeserved disadvantages of the targets of bias.

We would cherish the value of full civic participation in our nation and in our communities.

➤ The fundamental and unfettered right to vote and participate fully in the political system would be recognized and enforced for all adults.

➤ All governmental bodies would be fully representative of the population, fully expansive, inclusive and transparent in all of their activities, and fully accessible to all.

➤ The laws, policies and practices relating to all institutions of our society would originate through inclusive civic discourse and be based on a set of shared core values that reflect our ability to see ourselves in one another. Teaching these core values would be a fundamental goal of our education system.

These qualities would be reflected in every state and locality, as well as at the federal level.

Question 2: Where are we now, and how did we get here?

Current Realities

Unfortunately, we remain far from this vision. One illustration of how the racial hierarchy embedded in our legal system affects virtually every institution of our society has been the inability to effectively address discriminatory and illegal practices in housing. This has confined most of us to racially segregated neighborhoods and disproportionate numbers of families of color to neighborhoods of concentrated poverty. Conditions in these neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, such as more limited resources for schools, inadequate access to quality health care and disproportionately hazardous environmental circumstances, result in inadequate and under-funded schools and poorer health outcomes. This leads, in turn, to less opportunity for good jobs, a situation exacerbated by persistent discrimination, both conscious and unconscious, in employment practices.

Complicating this situation is a criminal justice system that:

➤ Racially profiles people based on skin color

➤ Values punishment over rehabilitation and property over people

➤ Is infused at virtually every level with implicit bias and negative racial stereotypes

➤ Privileges people based on skin color and economic status

➤ Disproportionately arrests and incarcerates young men of color and disproportionately perpetrates violence against Native Americans

➤ Seeks to use its powers, whether consciously or unconsciously, to exert social control over people of color

For example, white people and people of color have similar rates of illegal drug use, but people of color are incarcerated at far higher rates than whites for such crimes. Racial profiling is so prolific that "DWB," which stands for "driving while black," has become part of our language. And the racial coding embedded in the constitution persists today in our rhetoric, especially in our political rhetoric, as illustrated by the wide use of the term "law and order," which has become racial coding for stifling protests and for today's method of social control of people of color.

One of the most visible realities of how deeply embedded racial hierarchy is in the legal system is the killing of unarmed black men and women by law enforcement officials, the lack of punishment of most perpetrators of these killings, and the lack of empathy expressed by law enforcement officials for the families of those killed. Such killings are not new, but rather a continuation of practices throughout our history, including the thousands

of lynchings during the era of Jim Crow. However, video recordings of the police shootings of Walter Scott, Laquan McDonald, Tamir Rice, and countless other unarmed black men and children, along with the deaths in police custody of young black people like Freddie Gray and Sandra Bland, have raised awareness among much of our population that having dark skin remains a significant barrier to equal treatment under the law, robbing communities and families of color of income stability and positive role models.

Furthermore, policies that eliminate the social safety net for those previously incarcerated bring us full circle in the seemingly endless cycle of poverty for many. In addition, persistent voter suppression activities more than 50 years after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 make it more difficult for citizens of color to vote. This can skew election results, and therefore, diminishes our ability to hold government accountable and to seek a redress of grievances.

How We Got Here
History is littered with examples of how the tainted legal system bled into not only criminal justice and policing, but also into civil law, governance, public policy and our national culture.

In the colonial period, Native Americans were methodically forced from their ancestral lands in the East, often with significant violence and loss of life, to land west of the Mississippi River — a practice that was formally codified in 1830 when President Andrew Jackson signed into law the Indian Removal Act and then supported their forced removal, in defiance of a U.S. Supreme Court ruling.

In 1790, the U.S. Congress limited naturalization to white persons only, establishing a racial criterion for citizenship that was applied until 1952. This is but one example recounted by Ian Haney Lopez in "White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race" of how the law has utilized racial hierarchy throughout our history[12].

After the Civil War and emancipation from slavery, Jim Crow laws were established throughout the South that enforced racial segregation, accepted practices such as lynching as a legitimate form of social control, and resulted in unequal access to public services such as education. For decades, scattered throughout the country were thousands of "Sundown Towns" — cities, towns, and even neighborhoods within whose boundaries white residents declared that black people and people of other races were not allowed after dark. The discriminatory restrictions were enforced by threats, violence and local ordinances.

In the New Deal era of the 1930s, during World War II, and in the post-World War II era of the late 1940s, the racial hierarchy was clearly visible. Legislation establishing the Social Security system specifically excluded agricultural workers and domestic workers from eligibility because those were the two sectors in which most African Americans, particularly in the South, were employed. At the same time we tolerated inhumane and illegal working conditions under which migrant farm workers were forced to toil, disproportionately affecting Mexican immigrants and others. During World War II, the fear that swept the nation resulted in the incarceration in internment camps of more than 100,000 Japanese Americans. Federal underwriting policy specifically promoted and incentivized racially-segregated neighborhoods and denied mortgage loans to the vast majority of African American families seeking to purchase homes in the suburbs, particularly during the housing boom and suburbanization of the country after World War II. The GI Bill was structured to be administered by the states in order to ensure maintenance of the racial hierarchy in the South.

And today, there is the racialization of the immigration debate, as Congress and the country remain deeply divided over how to reform immigration policy.

The U.S. Supreme Court has swayed inconsistently through the decades, by turns supporting and obstructing efforts to achieve racial equity. In the landmark Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857), the court decreed that an enslaved person was his/her master's property and that African Americans were not citizens. In Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), the court upheld the constitutionality of "separate but equal." In the 1920s the Supreme Court used alleged science when convenient and eschewed science when convenient in order to deny citizenship to people of Japanese and East Asian ancestry.

The landmark decision that opened the way to school desegregation, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954), was followed the next year by a Supreme Court ruling that said that the Brown decision should be enforced with "all deliberate speed," enabling a vague interpretation of the timeline for implementation. Throughout the country today, school segregation persists and funding remains unequal, with those schools serving predominantly black, Latino, Asian American and Native American children usually drawing fewer resources.

In 2013, the Supreme Court dealt a severe blow to civic participation by people of color with a ruling that struck down key portions of the Voting Rights Act. In "Give Us the Ballot," Ari Berman describes the strong opposition to the Voting Rights Act that has grown since its enactment in 1965. "The revolution of 1965 spawned an equally committed group of counterrevolutionaries," he writes, noting that these forces have controlled a majority on the Supreme Court in recent years. (See accompanying list of consequential U.S. Supreme Court decisions regarding the racial hierarchy.)

At times, responding to the demands for change, the nation has shown the will and courage to address racism.

In the 1960s, the civil rights movement led to the enactment of a series of laws banning public discrimination, guaranteeing the right to vote, and establishing fair housing policies and practices, while also leading to Supreme Court decisions that sought to enshrine the concept of equality under the law into our legal system.

In 1970 President Nixon issued a special message to Congress acknowledging that "from the time of their first contact with European settlers, the American Indians have been oppressed and brutalized, deprived of their ancestral lands and denied the opportunity to control their own destiny," declaring a new federal policy of respect for tribal self-determination.

In 1988 President Reagan issued a formal apology and signed the Civil Liberties Act, a measure that provided compensation to approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans, or their family members, who had been incarcerated in internment camps during World War II.

During the first decade of this century, the state legislature of Virginia apologized for the closing of the Prince Edward County public schools from 1959 to 1964 due to a policy of "Massive Resistance" to school desegregation. Philadelphia, Mississippi apologized for the murder, aided and abetted by law enforcement officials, of three civil rights workers in 1964.

Last year, city officials in Goshen, Indiana, sought to heal the wounds of the past by issuing an apology and asserting that the city no longer supports the transgressions that had made Goshen infamous as a "Sundown Town." In recent years, a growing number of cities and towns have begun observing Indigenous People's Day instead of Columbus Day.

In 2013 Congress passed legislation that reaffirmed the criminal jurisdiction of tribal courts over all individuals who commit certain crimes on tribal lands, regardless of their race.

In August 2016, the U.S. Department of Justice announced plans to phase out the use of private prisons, concluding they are less safe and less successful at rehabilitating prisoners. This policy change will eliminate an incentive to incarcerate people in order to sustain or increase profit.

Notwithstanding such positive developments, however, the nation continues to reflect the legacy of our checkered history in its treatment of non-dominant groups. And it still has not fully addressed the root cause of the racism ravaging communities of color: the widespread belief, both conscious and unconscious, in a racial hierarchy of human value. It is essential to address and overcome this belief in the legal system if we expect to truly heal the wounds of the past and make enduring progress in transforming all of the institutions of our society.

Achieving the Transformation of Our Legal System
To proceed on our journey to a society in which we cherish our common humanity and see ourselves in one another, we must:
➤ Pinpoint the key leverage points for change in the legal system.

➤ Identify the key stakeholders and others who need to be involved in the process of change.

➤ Establish recommendations for resolutely and rapidly moving forward toward our goal.

Question 3: What are the key leverage points?
Understanding the key leverage, or intervention, points is essential to transforming our legal system. Where is the power and how is it exercised? What institutions of our society must be engaged in order to transform our legal system? What are the key priority interventions that can launch us on the journey to truly transformational and enduring change and serve as the foundation for additional changes that will reflect an embrace of our shifting demographics?

There are many ways to approach this, but there appear to be at least six key leverage points that can result in the transformation of the legal system:
➤ Our professional schools are key to the process of transformation. Not only our law schools, but our medical schools, social work schools and others must play a key role by incorporating into their curricula the need to jettison the belief in a hierarchy of human value.

➤ Similarly, our public school systems must incorporate into their curricula an understanding and awareness of the persistence of the racial hierarchy and its manifestations in our society.

➤ All aspects of the law enforcement system — judges, police officers, prosecutors, attorneys, probation officers, prison officials — must learn to be, and must seek to be, change agents in the process of transformation.

- ➤ The United States Constitution, as well as all state constitutions, must be examined in order to change provisions that enable the persistence of the hierarchy of human value.

- ➤ Those who have been disadvantaged by the legal system must be part of bringing about the necessary changes.

- ➤ Public opinion must be altered to reflect a belief in our common humanity.

Question 4: Who are the key stakeholders?

Of course, having the key stakeholders at the table and engaged in the process is crucial to the process. Who are the people with the power to achieve change? Who are the people who will benefit most from the changes? And who sufficiently understands the system, from the people with power to the people who are most oppressed by the system, in a way that will yield the key recommendations for action to bring about change?

The stakeholders should be diverse, and the process should fully engage those who will be most affected by the changes. Thus, the faculty of both professional schools and public schools, the various elements of the law enforcement system, public officials and policy-makers at all levels of government, community leaders and those who have been targets of the law enforcement system all must play a significant role if the change is to be meaningful and enduring — truly transformational.

We would recommend engaging with the following kinds of stakeholders:
- ➤ People affected by the legal system — people who were formerly or are currently incarcerated, denied access to voting

- ➤ American Bar Association and its sections

- ➤ Attorney's associations

- ➤ National Legal Aid and Defense Association

- ➤ Police officers' associations

- ➤ National and local civil and legal rights organizations (e.g., National Congress of American Indians, Advancement Project, NAACP, National Urban League, Asian Americans Advancing Justice, Transformative Justice Coalition, Southern Poverty Law Center, National Council of La Raza, Sentencing Project, Equal Justice Institute, Equal Justice USA, etc.)

- ➤ Legal structures in states and communities

- ➤ Associations of judges in states and communities

- ➤ Restorative justice practitioners and organizations

Question 5: What are the recommended actions?

Key initial actions that will bring the most meaningful changes may vary from place to place, depending on the local circumstances. What may be important and meaningful in Detroit, may be quite different from what may be important and meaningful in Baltimore, or Los Angeles, or Albuquerque, or New Orleans, or Alaska, or on tribal lands. But within this context, here are five priority categories of actions that can transform our communities and our nation:

- ➤ Develop and implement curricula in professional schools designed to help students understand how the hierarchy of human value manifests itself in their professional areas and how to jettison this hierarchy and replace it with a belief in our common humanity.

- ➤ Create accountability mechanisms for federal, state, and local jurisdictions, including for the wholesale review of state criminal and civil codes, and develop and implement a racial impact analysis as a key part of the legislative process at every level of government.

- ➤ Design and promote public forums to enable people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds to share experiences within the legal system, with the goal of creating a new narrative.

- ➤ Proactively undertake a Civil Rights Law Transformation Project, including the development of a new People's Constitution or other official document (ex-charter, compact) that reflects a society devoid of a hierarchy of human value.

- ➤ Ensure compliance with international human rights accords.

While each community and each institution must act in ways that reflect the unique circumstances of each, the following are suggestions for actions that may help to achieve the needed transformation in our legal system:

- ➤ Develop and implement curricula in professional schools designed to help students understand how the hierarchy of human value manifests itself in their professional areas and how to jettison this hierarchy and replace it with a belief in our common humanity.

- ➤ Map how professions are certified — what entities perform and enforce certifications, how they do this, what is the source of their authority, how they are held accountable, where there are existing gaps, etc.

- ➤ Convene stakeholders to determine what skills and understandings are essential for racial healing and transformation in each of the professions, what we want professional training to include, how we want to teach it, etc.

- ➤ Identify existing resources and gaps in professional education and training and implement a program to train the teachers and to create a pool of facilitators for in-service training.

- ➤ Develop and implement an assessment plan that holds professional schools accountable.

- ➤ Assess lessons learned from recent consent decrees (e.g., Ferguson).

- ➤ Create incentives for communities and institutions to utilize in employing and holding people accountable in positions that require professional education and training.

Create accountability mechanisms for federal, state, and local jurisdictions, including for the wholesale review of state criminal and civil codes, and develop and implement a racial impact analysis as a key part of the legislative process at every level of government.

- ➤ Review models of other efforts to accomplish this and what lessons can be learned from these efforts.

- ➤ Determine specifically what is to be reviewed and measured, how it is to be measured, and who will measure it, and then develop a score card for implementing a system of assessment.

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➤ Determine what data is needed, including historical data, and how to access such data, including engaging local scholars and research institutions in developing such data, if necessary.

➤ Establish a structure for implementing the system and engaging the appropriate communities and stakeholders in the process.

➤ Create an annual expansive and inclusive community process for identifying barriers to racial justice and racial healing that includes an independent and adequately funded accountability mechanism.

➤ Create a follow-up system to ensure transparency, to monitor the assessment process, and to advocate for and implement changes to problems identified through the accountability mechanisms.

Design and promote public forums to enable people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds to share experiences within the legal system with the goal of creating a new narrative.

➤ Clearly articulate the purpose of particular convenings.

➤ Identify key stakeholders and secure their buy in.

➤ Do the logistical planning — location, transportation, timing, childcare, interpreters, medias, safe space and support, physical space design, frequency of meetings, dissemination of outcomes and follow up, group size.

➤ Ensure that there are support people in the room when participants share stories.

➤ Utilize experienced facilitators or moderators, whether internal or external.

Proactively undertake a Civil Rights Law Transformation Project, including the development of a new People's Constitution or other official document (ex-charter, compact) that reflects a society devoid of a hierarchy of human value.

➤ Address the following questions:

• What are the fundamental rights and values that tie the people of a nation together?

• What would be the guiding principles on equity and fairness in government and in society?

• In this context what are the short-comings of existing documents?

• What is the most appropriate type of document (ex-compact, charter, constitution) for bringing about the desired changes and on whose authority can this be accomplished?

• What is the best way for meaningfully engaging the broad community in the process?

• From where will the resources come to accomplish this?

➤ Convene anchoring legal institutions (law schools, Howard, Harvard, Legal Defense Fund) and the public to engage in this process.

➤ Insert this concept into agendas of major meetings of anchor legal organizations so they can react to it, own what they like, and recommend changes to portions they don't like.

➤ In determining legislative strategies, focus on electoral objectives and on civil rights policies. This would include supporting challenges to voter suppression efforts and giving priority to ensuring that governmental bodies are fully representative of the communities they serve.

➤ Identify a national institution that may be able to promote the process.

Ensure compliance with international human rights accords.

➤ Educate stakeholders through congressional hearings, city council resolutions/hearings on adopting human rights laws and recommendations, webinars, and the media.

➤ Have prominent and credible people like U.S. Supreme Court Justices Ruth Bader Ginsberg and Anthony Kennedy convene a presidential summit that includes different stakeholders representative of all identity groups and immigrant rights groups to examine the intersections with race, gender, gender identity.

➤ Engage stakeholders in international human rights reviews.

➤ Use international human rights days to create greater awareness (women's rights day, March 21, second year of the international decade for people of African descent).

Conclusion

The information provided here is not meant to be exhaustive. Rather, it represents an attempt to share a vision of what our legal system would be like/look like/feel like if we can jettison the belief in a hierarchy of human value based on cultural practices or perceived superficial physical characteristics such as skin color or facial features. And it seeks to chart a course for communities and institutions as they seek to achieve this vision over time. We hope it will serve a valuable purpose as we journey toward a society in which we embrace our common humanity and learn to see ourselves in each other.

Appendix A: Input from Phil Goff and Kimberly Burke

We need a better and more narrowly focused model of policing. We need to support vulnerable communities and law enforcement by reducing the scope of the issues addressed by police to the ones in which officers can get rigorous training. That would preclude issues of social work, child protective services and mental health crises. We need a model of policing that is sufficiently buttressed by public resources aimed at addressing issues of homelessness, mental health, unemployment and immigration, among other public wellness concerns. Recall that this is also the chief complaint of law enforcement. They are continually asked to do things in service of public wellness for which they have neither sufficient training nor resources.

Only when we reimagine public safety can we also reimagine policing. There are models for this in other countries. Similarly, we need to approach this from an economic standpoint because there is a municipal budget issue central to all of this. Investing in municipal jobs and job trainings is a more worthwhile endeavor than expanding our police forces. There are two important components to making structural changes that jettison the belief in a hierarchy of human value: a reimagining of policing and a cost -benefit analysis of doing so.

Another element we need to consider is the idea that what we measure is a roadmap to our values. The questions that we are capable of answering are the questions that lie at the center of our heart. As a nation, we have not been good at putting black lives at that center. What that means is we need to articulate a set of questions that are central to police accountability and make sure that all municipalities are in position to answer those questions. Some of those will be policy-related and some will be data-specific. The Center for Policing Equity National Justice Database Project released a report that provides insight into which questions deserve priority. We have developed a dashboard with core questions that respond to certain analyses and outline whether a department has the data needed to answer those questions. (Report linked here: http://policingequity.org/research/science-policing-equity-measuring-fairness-austin-police-department/) The justice database report also has a data analytics component that will serve as a roadmap for departments to understand the current state of race and policing conflicts and provide direction for solutions.

Appendix B: Supreme Court Decisions That Have Sustained the Racial Hierarchy

The following cases, while not an exhaustive list, have been critical in sustaining structural racism and the racial hierarchy:

1857: In Dred Scott v. Sanford, Dred Scott, a slave in Missouri, sued for his freedom on the grounds that he had lived for a time in a "free" territory. The court ruled against him, saying that under the U.S. Constitution, he was his master's property.

1883: In a series of cases known as the Civil Rights Cases, the Supreme Court held that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was not constitutional under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The court established the state-action doctrine, thereby allowing segregation and discrimination by private actors.

1896: In Plessy v. Ferguson, the court upheld a Louisiana law requiring restaurants, hotels, hospitals and other public places to serve African Americans in separate, but ostensibly equal, accommodations. In establishing the "separate but equal" doctrine, the court said that segregation is "universally recognized as within the competency of states in the exercise of their police powers." In the sole dissent, Justice John Marshall Harlan, a former slave owner, said the ruling would "stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal, upon the admitted rights of colored citizens."

1923: In U.S. v. Thind Bhagat Singh, Thind petitioned the court for naturalized citizenship under the Naturalization Act of 1906, which allowed only "free white persons" and "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent" to become United States citizens by naturalization. He claimed that his people, the Aryans, were the conquerors of the indigenous people of India and that he was therefore Caucasian under the scientific definition of the term. The court declared that since authorities on the subject of race were in disagreement over which people were included in the scientific definition of the Caucasian race, it would rely on the common understanding of race rather than the scientific understanding of race and rejected the petition on that basis.

1944: In Korematsu v. U.S., the Supreme Court held that the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII was constitutional. This case is the first time the court invoked the concept of strict scrutiny in regard to racial discrimination, requiring a showing that the racial classification is narrowly tailored, in the least restrictive means to further a "compelling government interest."

1973: In San Antonio v. Rodriguez, the court upheld the school financing plan, based on local property taxes, of the San Antonio School district, which resulted in disparities in the quality of education. The court declared that education is not a fundamental right and that wealth-based discrimination in the context of education did not violate the equal protection.

1974: In Milliken v. Bradley, a case involving the Detroit metropolitan area, the court effectively halted school busing at a city's borders. The court's 5-4 decision blocked Detroit's city-suburb desegregation plan that would have involved busing across school district boundaries. Ignoring evidence of state governments' past and continuing involvement in housing and school segregation, the court said that "local control" was an important tradition in education. The decision allowed for proof of "inter-district violations," while placing heavy burdens on plaintiffs in future cases.

1977: In Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp., the Supreme Court upheld the denial of a zoning permit for construction of multi-family housing, which had the practical effect of excluding property owners of color. The court did not apply strict scrutiny, as is required of an explicit racial classification. Further, the court required proof of intentional discrimination, and did not allow a disparate impact claim, to establish a Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection violation.

1978: In Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, the Supreme Court ruled that the medical school's special admission program setting aside a fixed number of seats for minorities violated Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. At the same time, however, in an opinion written by Justice Lewis Powell, it ruled that race could lawfully be considered as one of several factors in making admissions decisions. In his opinion, Justice Powell noted

that lawful affirmative action programs may be based on reasons other than redressing past discrimination — in particular, a university's educational interest in attaining a diverse student body could justify appropriate affirmative action programs.

1989: The court's ruling in City of Richmond v. Croson invalidated Richmond, Virginia's, local ordinance establishing a minority business set-aside program. The court, for the first time, adopted the strict scrutiny standard of review in assessing affirmative action programs, demanding that such programs be supported by a "compelling government interest" and narrowly tailored to ensure the program fits that interest. While not rejecting all governmental race-conscious remedies, the court set a very high standard for their continued use by state and local governments.

1993: In Shaw v. Reno, the Supreme Court called into question legislative redistricting plans that create districts likely to elect a member of a minority group. The sharply divided court ruled 5-4 that North Carolina's 12th Congressional District, which gave the state its first African American member of Congress since Reconstruction, was so "bizarrely shaped" that it could violate the rights of white voters. Such "bizarre" districts, the majority suggested, could trigger strict scrutiny even though white voters could demonstrate no specific harm to themselves. In other words, an individual white voter could challenge a redistricting decision by simply alleging that race was a decision making factor in drawing district lines — even absent evidence that the white plaintiffs' ability to participate had been impaired or that their votes had been diluted.

1995: In Adarand Constructors v. Pena, the Supreme Court extended Croson to hold that strict scrutiny also applies to federal affirmative action programs. Again, however, the court refused to reject properly-designed affirmative action. As Justice Sandra Day O'Connor emphasized: "The unhappy persistence of both the practice and the lingering effects of racial discrimination against minorities in this country is an unfortunate reality and government is not disqualified from acting in response to it."

2002: In Hoffman Plastic Compounds, Inc. v. National Labor Relations Board, the Supreme Court ruled that federal immigration policies prohibit the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) from awarding undocumented workers back pay under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), thereby creating an incentive for employers to hire and abuse undocumented immigrants and discouraging those workers from engaging in union organizing for fear of being fired without the ability to be rehired or to win back pay for lost wages.

2013: In a 5-4 decision authored by Chief Justice John Roberts, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional a key provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that determines which jurisdictions have to preclear any voting changes with the federal government. The decision in Shelby County v. Holder effectively ended the use of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act which requires pre-clearance by the U.S. Justice Department of any changes to voting rules in covered states and jurisdictions.

Appendix C: Supreme Court Decisions That Have Challenged the Racial Hierarchy

The following cases, while not an exhaustive list, have challenged structural racism and the racial hierarchy:

1886: In Yick Wo v. Hopkins, the court ruled for the first time that a facially neutral law applied in a racially discriminatory manner violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

1923: In an important precedent for what would become the Latino civil rights movement, the court struck down a state ban on foreign language instruction in private schools in Meyer v. Nebraska. The law had prohibited all pre-eighth grade foreign language instruction, but the court said such a ban violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

1932: In Powell v. Alabama, the Supreme Court overturned the convictions of the "Scottsboro boys," and set a precedent that the right to counsel is required for death penalty cases under the Fourteenth Amendment's Due Process clause, whether in federal or state courts.

1954: In Brown v. Board of Education, Chief Justice Earl Warren, reading his first major opinion from the bench, said: "We conclude, unanimously, that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

1954: In Hernandez v. Texas, the Supreme Court held that equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment extends beyond a "two-class theory" of differences between black and white individuals, but includes protections for any individual who is a member of a group singled out for discriminatory treatment, regardless of national origin or descent.

1958: The Supreme Court upheld the rule of law in Cooper v. Aaron, stating that official resistance and community violence could not justify delays in implementing desegregation efforts.

1964: The Supreme Court upheld the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as a valid exercise of Congressional power under the Commerce Clause in Heart of Atlanta Motel Inc. v. U.S. and Katzenbach v. McClung, thereby prohibiting private discrimination in public accommodations, such as motels and restaurants.

1967: In Loving v. Virginia, the court struck down state laws which prohibited inter-racial marriage and held that marriage was a fundamental right.

1971: In Griggs v. Duke Power Co., the Supreme Court ruled that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits not only intentional job discrimination, but also employer practices that have a discriminatory effect on minorities and women. The court held that tests and other employment practices that disproportionately screened out African American applicants for jobs at the Duke Power Company were prohibited when the tests were not shown to be job-related.

1986: In Batson v. Kentucky, the court held that a prosecutor's use of a peremptory challenge to dismiss a juror, based solely on the juror's race, is a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

2003: On June 23, 2003, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the use of equal opportunity policies in Gratz v. Bollinger and Grutter v. Bollinger. Prior to the decision, several organizations and individuals filed friend-of-the-court briefs in support of equal opportunity. Since the decision, many reports assessing equal opportunity in higher education have been published.

2013: In Arizona v. Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, the court invalidated an Arizona law which required the rejection of voter registration applications not accompanied by proof of citizenship.

2015: In Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. The Inclusive Communities Project, Inc., the court held that disparate impact claims are available under the Fair Housing Act. This allows plaintiffs to challenge housing laws and practices that have a discriminatory effect, even if there is no such intent.

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Economy Design Team Recommendations

The TRHT Economy Design Team, comprised of experts in the field across the spectrum, was intended to address structured inequality and barriers to opportunity, including in employment, wealth-creation, immigration, education and human development. The team met several times over the course of several months, on conference calls and once in person, to discuss and wrestle with how to address these issues.

➤ What would the American economy look like if we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value?

➤ Where are we now, and how did we get here?

➤ What are the key leverage points for transforming this area to jettison a belief in a hierarchy of human value?

➤ Who must be involved in order to make the deep and lasting changes we need to make?

➤ What are the key initial activities that need to happen in order to heal from and transform this area?

Call to Action

The end goal is to generate answers to these five questions that best represent the Economy Design team's responses, as it relates to the U.S. economy we aspire to see. We were challenged to get at the heart of what the most critical and currently misrepresented/ disproportionate aspects of our economy would look like if racism and other similar forms of discriminatory beliefs and systems did not exist.

We encouraged the team to be all encompassing in their understanding of the economy. Imagine what the implications would be for savings and wealth creation. What would the tax structure in this country look like? What would the economic impact of immigration/ migration be for our economy and for those who migrate/immigrate into the U.S.? How would a social safety net look that acknowledged and redressed centuries of upholding and institutionalizing the belief? What types of infrastructures/policies would be in place to support the sustained socio-economic growth of working people, regardless of sector or industry they operate in?

Response

In understanding the role racism and varying forms of discrimination have played throughout U.S. history and in our economy today, our team identified patterns and trends that help align varying individual interests. In aligning our collective interests, we were able to develop an economic vision for TRHT. In accomplishing this we were able to generate priority leverage points needed to advance our vision, identify key stakeholders who would be strategic partners to TRHT and build an initial implementation blueprint to move on-the-ground efforts. With additional discussions and insights planned during the 2016 TRHT Summit, the following responses will create a 5 to 10 year action plan for the economic aspects of the enterprise.

Question 1: What would the American economy look like if we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value?

Vision

Our vision is for an economy that eliminates all traces of the racial and ethnic discrimination that pervades jobs, housing, education, health care, credit, government services and other aspects of the economy at the national, regional and local levels. We envision a thriving economy in which our diverse people and communities have equal and fair access to resources and opportunities and are positioned to influence systems and policies that impact their individual lives and communities.

If we jettisoned the belief in a hierarchy of human value, we could create economic democracy, where every person, family and community of all racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds can individually and collectively participate and thrive in the U.S. economy.

The belief in a racial hierarchy of human value has been used to justify the capture of resources and opportunities. People of color in the United States have for centuries been denied equal access to resources and opportunities not by default, but by human design: from the cruel and unjust treatment of thousands of Native Americans who were forcibly displaced, to slavery, which perpetuated African Americans as personal property and as exploited laborers with no democratic rights, to the effects of systems and policies developed since then. The U.S. economy has been built on a foundation that is structurally unequal and imposes systemic barriers to economic opportunities for many communities of color throughout the nation. This discrimination has been based partly on, and has caused, the belief that the victims, based on their race and ethnicity, are of lesser value than other human beings. Populations segregated by race, ethnicity and culture disproportionately bear the burden of unhealthy communities from economies whose waste and non-sustainable use creates toxicity and environments damaged for future generations' lives, well-being and happiness.

Question 2: Where are we now, and how did we get here?

Background

In this two-part question, the Economy Design Team thought about the role of racism in our current economic reality while also carefully examining the historical context. Based on our knowledge, we asked: "What are the crucial economic challenges that we need to confront to achieve an economic democracy?"; "What is the history that created the racial and ethnic inequities behind these challenges?"; "What evidence exists to explain the existence and development of unequal access to opportunity in today's economy?"

The effects of the belief in a racial hierarchy can be found in all aspects of the economy and throughout our history. However, to generate an action plan that can produce a significant change in the next 5 to 10 years, it is necessary to focus on specific areas of the economy which can be changed in 5 to 10 years and which can have substantive impact on racial hierarchy and its structural manifestations.

There are many longstanding economic issues facing people of color today. The Economy Design Team discussed a large number of issues, but there appeared to be some recurring concerns about infrastructure investments, demographic change and the conditions for low-wage workers that emerged from our small group discussions, which were divided into four regions. The issues discussed in each group were extensive. The West Region small

group raised the issue of the lack of investment in infrastructure and voiced their concern about water rights — a potential infrastructure issue. They also talked about demographic change caused by migration and population growth. The Central Southern Region group talked about demographic change and the lack of transportation — an infrastructure concern. The South Atlantic Region group talked about the area's dependency on low-wage labor by people of color. They also discussed the need for public investments in transportation, health, education and other areas, and the issue of immigration reform. The Midwest group raised the issue of the need for comprehensive support for low-income people. They also talked about the issue of the migration of businesses and people away from the area.

These recurring themes — infrastructure investments, demographic change through the issue of immigration reform, and improving the conditions for low-wage workers — are three possible economic areas where groups can work locally and nationally and have a substantive impact uprooting the belief in a racial hierarchy in the next 5 to 10 years. Below are some initial thoughts to frame action plans in these three areas.

Infrastructure Investments

Addressing the historic racial inequities in infrastructure investments can provide the conditions for significant economic growth in communities of color. It can also provide a large number of jobs to address the high rate of unemployment in many communities of color. It is possible that the next presidential administration may propose significant infrastructure investments made by the federal government. There are also opportunities at the state and local levels, since state and local governments own most of the nation's infrastructure. It may be possible for advocates to influence infrastructure investment policy so that it addresses the harms and lack of opportunity created by past policies influenced by the belief in racial hierarchy.

The tragedy of the Flint, Michigan, lead and water crisis is merely symptomatic of broader inequities in infrastructure investments shaped by past overt and subtle beliefs in racial hierarchies, along with current implicit institutional and structural biases that shape inequities throughout communities of color. The New York Times[14] reports that high rates of lead exposure, for example, can also be found in Cleveland, Ohio, in East Chicago, Indiana and in poor neighborhoods in scores of other cities. These neighborhoods are not simply poor, they are disproportionately African American. In the same New York Times article, it is reported that black children are nearly three times as likely as white children to have elevated blood lead levels. High levels of lead exposure cause significant irreparable harm to children's social and economic potential.

American Indians and Alaska Natives are overrepresented among the Americans suffering from "water poverty" — the lack of access to running water and basic plumbing amenities. Water poverty increases the likelihood that communities will turn to toxic sources to try to meet their water needs.

The harm by racially biased infrastructure-investment decisions is not limited to water infrastructure. Communities of color are more likely to be exposed to a host of negatives including air pollution, hazardous waste and poor school facilities. The aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans and Mississippi foreshadows the fact that communities of color currently face the most potential harm from the effects of climate change. Furthermore, the lack of access to essential infrastructure resources including transportation, health care facilities and modern schools and educational technology further limit the economic potential of communities of color.

Smart infrastructure investments, free of the influence of a belief in racial hierarchy, cannot only undo the harms of past racially biased decisions; they can be a tremendous economic boon to communities of color. High quality infrastructure increases economic productivity. It can improve health outcomes, and it can improve educational outcomes. To address our entire infrastructure needs, millions of jobs will need to be created. These jobs can be targeted to address the high levels of unemployment in many communities of color. Substantial infrastructure investments targeted to communities of color can dramatically transform the economic conditions in these communities.

Immigration Reform

Immigrants have positively contributed to America's economic development. However, throughout America's history, it has not been uncommon for immigrants to be demonized. For example, the United States enacted anti-Asian and anti-Southern and anti-Eastern European immigration policies in the early 20th century, giving an overt preference for Northern and Western Europeans. Today, immigrants are predominantly people of color, and once again there are controversies over immigration. Comprehensive immigration reform will allow us to better manage the inflow of immigrants, provide unauthorized immigrants a pathway to citizenship and better economically integrate the nation's immigrants.

Given the strength of anti-immigrant sentiment today, there may be significant obstacles to positive immigration reform in the next 5 to 10 years. But providing a path to legal status to the millions of unauthorized workers in the country has the potential to significantly improve their economic situation, in addition to current U.S. and foreign-born workers. Researchers have found that immigrant workers, and particularly those who are unauthorized, are heavily exploited in the low-wage labor market. Immigrants with legal status can better protect their rights and better participate in American economic life. They can more easily pursue higher education and access financial services, and they can secure higher paying jobs.

Research from the Center for American Progress on the beneficiaries of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy provides additional support to the idea that comprehensive immigration reform will improve the economic condition of unauthorized immigrants and the nation. DACA[15] provides temporary relief from deportation and work authorization for immigrants brought into the country illegally when they were children. After receiving DACA, a majority of the study respondents were able to obtain a better paying job. Nearly half obtained work that better fit their education and training and had better working conditions. The DACA beneficiaries also started businesses at a rate twice the overall U.S. rate. While DACA has so far benefited about 700,000 individuals, comprehensive immigration reform has the potential to improve the economic circumstances of 11 million people.

Researchers find that the second and third generations tend to be even more economically successful than the first generation. If we better control the inflow of immigrants as part of a comprehensive immigration reform policy, we also limit any negative effects of new immigrants on the economic opportunities of current workers both U.S.- and foreign-born. A comprehensive-immigration-reform movement has the potential to significantly improve the lives of immigrants, their families and the nation.

Improving the Conditions for Low-Wage Workers

In recent years, there has been a growing movement to increase the wages and benefits of low-wage workers. Historically people of color have been overrepresented in the lowest paying jobs because of the belief in a racial hierarchy. African Americans have been subject to racial slavery based on a denial of their humanity. After the period of slavery, African Americans continued to be exploited as sharecroppers and through a system of the re-enslavement of black convict labor. For much of U.S. history, Americans have turned to Mexico as a source of cheap labor during periods of labor shortages, and then turned against Mexican immigrants when the labor market weakens. Because agricultural harvesting work is hard, physical work with low wages, today America's racial hierarchy has led to an overrepresentation of Latinos in these occupations.

People of color, including African American, Latino, Asian and Native American, continue to be overrepresented in "bad jobs" — jobs with low wages and few benefits. Latinos and blacks are much more likely than whites to be earning poverty-level wages that cannot support a family. Even after taking into account education, experience and other demographic characteristics, whites earn more than Latinos and blacks. Low wages are a significant factor for the high rates of poverty found in communities of color. There currently are campaigns to push for higher wages and more benefits like paid sick days and paid parental leave for low-wage workers. If these movements are effective, it can lead to a significant improvement in the lives of low-wage workers.

Key components of "good jobs" are access to health insurance and retirement accounts, and people of color are less likely to have them. While there are serious weaknesses in the Affordable Care Act (ACA) and in MyRA — a Roth IRA that invests in a new United States Treasury retirement savings bond — these policies are steps in the right direction to provide access to health insurance and access to a retirement savings vehicle for low-income workers. The ACA has already led to significant reductions in the racial and ethnic disparities in health insurance coverage. In the coming years, there might be an opportunity to expand Medicaid into all states and to make the subsidies on the health exchanges more generous. These changes would increase the number of people of color with health insurance. Alternatively, we might see a renewed push for a single-payer option, which is likely to serve people of color better.

Another approach to improving the conditions for low-wage workers is to call for an "Economic Bill of Rights," as proposed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944, which addressed many of the same key economic challenges faced by low-wage workers today.

Question 3: What are the key leverage points for transforming this area to jettison a belief in a hierarchy of human value?

The intent of this question is to identify those critical leverage points that need to move with respect to our economy in order to achieve our economic vision. Like poverty and hunger, the issue of racism is a complex problem that will require more than a linear solution to resolve it in its entirety. Leverage points here refer to places to intervene in a system. Understanding that we cannot do it all, we will need to narrow our focus to a few critical points for where we can have the greatest impact in the economy-given our limited resources. Many experts argue that for decades we have been experiencing rapid social, economic and technological changes that are having far-reaching impact on businesses, societies, cultures, economies, and most importantly, working people and families. The

nation has witnessed an evolving U.S. economic system that has primarily favored a few and disproportionately impacted the majority, often low-wage workers, women, immigrants and communities of color. In responding to this question, we prioritized short-term levers we can move to open up space for a broader set of levers in the future.

A belief in a hierarchy of human value has shaped the rules of our economy from the beginning. As a result, we have an entire system of laws, policies, regulations and practices that explicitly and implicitly exclude people of color from fully participating in our economy and leading safe, healthy and economically secure lives. The presence of structural racialization is evidenced by consistent differences in outcomes, whether you are looking at educational attainment, family wealth, job opportunities or life span that correlates with the race of the community.

Many organizations focus on single issues, but we know that issues are multidimensional; therefore, we need to use multidimensional thinking to consider and strategize about differential outcomes. Given this, the Economy Design Team approached this question with systems thinking, which is a way of understanding how institutions that affect opportunity are arranged and to what result.

We need to ask ourselves how issues and problems are interconnected and what the strategic interventions are that create opportunities for transformative change in our economy over the next 5 to 10 years. We have also recognized that these key leverage points will not only address the economic challenges faced by people of color, but they are also essential in addressing growing economic hardships for all Americans, including low-income white communities. In order to transform our economy, we must weave together the interests of all low-income and working class communities in the nation.

Key Leverage Points

As a team, we spent some time identifying potential key leverage points, described below, that we believe can transform the economy by jettisoning a belief in a hierarchy of human value. For some of the leverage points, the design team noted those that can be achieved in the short term (3 to 5 years) and those that can be achieved long-term (5 to 10 years). This may help organizations prioritize which leverage points they want to pursue at the local levels.

Shorter-term Opportunities:

I. Infrastructure Investments

Smart infrastructure investments, free of the influence of a belief in racial hierarchy, can not only undo the harms of past racially biased decisions; they can be a tremendous economic boon to communities of color. Many communities need better roads, bridge repairs, street lighting, safer water sources, new waste treatment methods, revitalization of downtown areas and low-cost, efficient transportation systems, among other improvements. High quality infrastructure increases economic productivity. It can improve health outcomes, and it can improve educational outcomes.

To address our entire infrastructure needs, we would need to create millions of jobs. These jobs can be targeted to address the high levels of unemployment in many communities of color. Substantial infrastructure investments targeted to communities of color can dramatically transform the economic conditions in those communities.

We have an opportunity to advance infrastructure investments in ways that can help us transition to a clean energy economy that can help grow community wealth. We can also ensure that this transformation to a clean energy economy does not duplicate the racial inequities we see today with many poor communities of color experiencing the negative impacts of climate degradation.

II. Economic Development: Fund public services and goods through private markets

When an economic development opportunity arises within a community, the public (community organizations and/or the local government) should do more to tie private development to the local public needs. For example, a portion of tax increment financing (TIF) dollars for a "downtown" development should go toward the development of a blighted neighborhood. This would be essentially a directed tax on the TIF, and it would make sure that the benefits of the downtown development aren't restricted to downtown. Or if a city wants to redevelop its downtown, they should come up with a plan based on community needs, and then ask the private sector if they want to join in and help to finance the redevelopment. Right now, we let the private sector design the plans and hope that the public benefits, rather than letting the public sector design the plans, and then have the private sector join in to see what benefits it can get.

III. A Plan for Creating Jobs in High-Unemployment Areas

For decades, the African American and American Indian unemployment rate has been about twice the white rate. The Hispanic rate has been about 1.5 times the white rate. The existence of these opportunity gaps in unemployment, decade after decade, should be recognized as a crisis as serious as periodic deep national recessions. Recent history has shown that the normal workings of the U.S. economy and the modest amelioration efforts that have been tried have failed to provide sufficient jobs for people of color. Increases in educational achievement and the increasing suburbanization of people of color have also failed to spur change. If a bold new approach to the problem is not taken, it is likely that people of color will continue to be blocked from participating fully in our economy into the foreseeable future.

Given the intractability of high joblessness for many communities of color, the federal government should support targeted job creation for communities experiencing persistent high unemployment. Job creation should be targeted to communities of 25,000 people or more in counties and metropolitan areas that have experienced unemployment of more than 6 percent every year in the previous 10 years. Eligible individuals must have resided in an eligible community for a prolonged period and have been unemployed or out of the labor market for at least six months. The program could be phased out in communities over a five-year period after the annual unemployment rate fell below 6 percent.

The federal government should support three separate programs for increasing employment in these high-unemployment areas: direct public sector employment, job training with job placement and wage subsidies for employers who hire unemployed workers. Together these policies should significantly increase employment rates in communities with persistently high unemployment.

➤ Direct public sector employment. The federal government should provide funds to local governments for job creation aimed at improving the quality of life in the community.

➤ Job training and job placement. For-profit and nonprofit organizations should be eligible for funds for training residents of targeted communities in skills that are in high demand in the local economy and placing them in jobs.

➤ Wage subsidies. Private sector employers who hire residents from targeted communities in new jobs should receive a wage subsidy of 75 percent of the hourly minimum wage for each full-time worker receiving benefits hired and 33 percent of the hourly minimum wage for each part-time worker or full-time worker not receiving benefits hired. Employers located within the targeted community should receive an additional subsidy that is 10 percentage points higher.

IV. Separate Public Investments From Where You Live
As long as public investments are tied to where people live, the structural racialization that limits opportunities for low-income and poor communities will be perpetuated.

Potential strategies include:
➤ Disconnecting public education funding from property taxes — public education is a very clear example in most communities of how linking education to property taxes can result in poorer quality schools in low-income neighborhoods, simply because the tax base is less than in wealthier communities.

➤ Providing funding for public transportation in communities that lack the local tax base to do so. Lack of affordable transportation interferes with low-income families' access to workplaces, the ability to obtain health care and shopping for essentials efficiently.

V. Engagement and Transformation of the 1 Percent
In addition to finding ways to improve the conditions for people at the bottom of the economy, we need to consider ways to disrupt the extreme concentration of wealth at the top. This approach is rooted in a real understanding that the 1 percent holds the real power to shape our economy today, and develop strategies that challenge and influence those individuals and corporations.

There are an array of potential strategies, including:
➤ Bargaining (or negotiating) with the 1 percent. This is an approach that helps us understand who has real power in shaping our economy today, and develop strategies that challenge and influence those individuals and corporations to negotiate with communities across the country. We can identify the key people and corporations that have power and map how that power impacts all of our lives — in our neighborhoods, schools and at work. Using that map, we can develop local, regional and national approaches that hold these individuals and corporations accountable to the laws, policies, regulations and practices they advocate for and/or utilize that perpetuate a belief in a hierarchy of human value. We can challenge and expose every level of the corporate hierarchy, from the billionaires at the top, to the corporations they dominate, the supply chain of jobs they control and the communities they impact. Ultimately we must make sure we are negotiating with the people who have the real power to transform our economy. There are numerous municipal level examples already in motion. (3 to 5 years)

➤ Working with people in the 1 percent to promote shared prosperity and fair taxation. We can engage networks that bring together business leaders, high-income individuals and partners that want an economy that works for everyone. (3 to 5years)

➤ Demanding stricter regulations and oversight of the financial sector. The main issues raised by Occupy Wall Street were social and economic inequality due to greed, corruption and the perceived undue influence of corporations on government — particularly from the financial services sector. Demanding stricter regulations and oversight of the financial sector can right-size the industry, stop the predation of communities of color in consumer finances and ultimately transform this sector of the economy. (5 to 10 years)

VI. 21st Century Labor Laws, New Social Safety Net and Improving Low-Wage Work
Many of the New Deal policies of the 20th century that created our current labor laws and the foundations of our social safety net were based on an industrial economy that are proving to be outdated today, as we transition to a more service-based economy. Although these policies helped workers make great progress on some fronts, like restricting child labor, establishing the right to organize and collectively bargain and the creation of Social Security, some of the policies perpetuated a hierarchy of human value. For example, the exclusions of agricultural workers and domestic workers from most labor-protective laws disproportionately affected African American workers when the laws were passed in the 1930s and continue to discriminate against people of color today. In addition, employers have developed methods over the years to evade legal protections and enforcement of collective bargaining rights and other labor protections has been inadequate. This is one factor that has led to weakened bargaining power of many workers at the lower end of the wage scale.

The rise of "contingent labor" arrangements has operated to the detriment of many workers. Many businesses have inserted labor contractors, staffing agencies and other labor intermediaries between them and the workers who make their businesses profitable. These intermediaries, commonly found in agriculture, building services, among other sectors — are often used to shift responsibility onto an entity that will not and cannot comply with employment laws or act responsibly.

Today, there are growing numbers of people working in low wage jobs in the service economy. In 2009, low-wage workers made up 24 percent of the U.S. workforce, and low-wage work continues to grow. Analysts estimate that, by 2020, 48 percent of the jobs will be low-wage. Despite working long hours often at multiple jobs, many low-wage workers cannot make enough to provide for their families' basic needs such as paying rent, buying food and providing transportation to work and school.

There are many strategic interventions that can be made to update our current labor laws, create a new social safety net for the 21st century, and improve the quality of low wage jobs.

Strategies might include:
➤ Changes to update current federal labor laws: (5 to 10 years)
  • Reform the federal labor laws to restore meaningful opportunities for workers to organize unions free from undue restriction on their ability to charge membership fees to adequately fund their operations; repeal the states' authority to pass so-called "right to work" laws. Address historical exclusions of workers based on racial hierarchy in the Fair Labor Standards Act and the National Labor Relations Act — domestic workers and farmworkers. These current exclusions are a legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation.

- Right to strike — reverse laws that prevent large swaths of workers from exercising their right to strike. These laws disproportionately impact workers of color given the industries that have embraced this.
- Legislation that would make it easier for people to join together in unions to negotiate with their employers over wages and working conditions free from retaliation and obstruction (i.e., Wage Act or Employee Free Choice Act).
- Hold businesses accountable as "employers" of their workers, including by applying joint employer responsibility on businesses and their labor contractors.

➤ Raising Wages (3 to 5 years)

- Strategies to raise wages through policies and/or negotiations with employers. There are many efforts underway in cities, counties and states.
- Elimination of the Tipped Minimum Wage. The idea of the tipped wage is rooted in the legacy of slavery, given that when this policy was introduced, restaurant workers were black workers. Restaurant owners were the main advocates of sub-minimum wages. State and federal policy can be introduced to eliminate tipped and other forms of sub-minimum wages.

➤ Economic Bill of Rights — much like what FDR had introduced in the 1930s. (5 to 10 years)

➤ Social Safety Net and Improving Low-Wage Jobs — It is critical to protect the existing safety net and to build on, and extend, the current one.

- Scheduling and just hours that can benefit workers across the economy. (3 to 5 years)
- Paid Family Leave — benefits workers across the economy (3 to 5 years)
- Child Care and Elder Care — benefits families across the economy and improves the quality of care jobs, which have historically been low-wage jobs held by women of color. (3 to 5 years)
- Creating a guaranteed basic income. (5 to 10 years)

Long Term Opportunities

VII. Redress Harm and Financial Inequity

We should redress the harm and financial inequity from centuries of exclusion, appropriation and discrimination against communities of color.

VIII. Establishment of Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWF)

A sovereign wealth fund consists of pools of money derived from a country's reserves, set aside for investment purposes to benefit the country's economy and citizens. The funding for a SWF comes from central bank reserves that accumulate as a result of budget and trade surpluses and from revenue generated from the exports of natural resources. Some countries have created these funds to diversify revenue streams.

Alaska's permanent fund is a working example, where every Alaskan resident gets money every year, which is a dividend of the oil profits they get as a state. The wealth fund is the mechanism by which natural assets can be valued as shared assets and some of the riches from those natural assets can be shared among the population. This is very similar to "per caps" that every enrolled member of a tribe receives as a part of profits from casinos.

IX. Invest in Education, from Birth to College

Our nation lags behind all other advanced countries in not making paid family leave and high-quality early childhood education and affordable child care part of our social contract. Also, our current higher education system further solidifies racial and class privilege as dwindling state investments have made going into debt a necessity for obtaining a college degree. The bookends of care and education — those made from 0-3 and those in post-secondary — are key to achieving racial equity in our society. Equitable investment in the next generation begins at birth. Every child deserves an equal opportunity for the best possible education. We must all work to expand the availability of high-quality early childhood education for all children, regardless of race, income or ZIP code.

The recently enacted Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) connects early childhood education systems to K-12 and has critical implications for children, families and communities. ESSA is a win for equity in education, but we must stay focused to ensure that all components of the legislation are developed with a racial equity lens to have the greatest impact on those children who need it most.

Today, people of color are less likely than white workers to have access to paid parental leave or even to qualify for unpaid job-protected leave under the Family and Medical Leave Act. As a result, women of color tend to take shorter maternity leaves, with negative economic and health consequences. A comprehensive system of paid family leave would benefit working parents, children and society more broadly. Universal access to paid leave can decrease racial health disparities by improving the mental health of mothers and of children, as breastfeeding is established and babies receive more regular medical check-ups and immunizations. Because women of color are disproportionately likely to quit or lose their jobs following the birth of a baby, the positive impact of paid leave on workforce participation and wages can also help to address economic disparities by race.

As parents seek to return to work, high-quality early childhood education and child care lay a foundation for children to grow and flourish. Yet, the high cost of child care and lack of access to quality programs harms both children and working parents. Children of color are disproportionately more likely to be in low-quality child care settings. Universal access to high-quality, affordable child care must also include decent pay; workplace rights, professional development and training and advancement opportunities for child care workers, who are often women of color[16]. When the society-wide challenge of child care is treated as an individual problem for families to solve on their own, existing racial disparities in employment, income and child well-being are reinforced and spread, yet universal child care and paid family leave have the potential to disrupt these dynamics with equitable investments in our children from the very beginning.

Finally, our nation's system of state public colleges and universities, long a pillar of upward mobility and economic opportunity, has suffered from decades-long disinvestment, resulting in rising tuition and mounting debt — a burden disproportionately carried by African American students. More than half (54 percent) of young black households ages 25-40 have student debt, yet just 34 percent of young black Americans have a post-secondary degree[17]. Returning the United States to a system in which a student can afford college with a part-time job and without taking out debt is critical to repairing our nation's primary lever of economic opportunity.

X. Comprehensive Immigration Reform

Immigrants have positively contributed to America's economic development. Today, immigrants are predominantly people of color. Congress should enact comprehensive immigration reform, which will allow us to better manage the inflow of immigrants, provide unauthorized immigrants a pathway to citizenship and better economically integrate the nation's immigrants.

Providing a path to legal status to the millions of unauthorized workers in the country has the potential to significantly improve their economic situation and the country's. Researchers have found that immigrant workers, and particularly those who are unauthorized, are heavily exploited in the low-wage labor market. Immigrants with legal status can better protect their rights and better participate in American economic life. They can more easily pursue higher education and access financial services, and they can secure higher paying jobs.

If we better control the inflow of immigrants as part of a comprehensive immigration reform policy, we also limit any negative effects of new immigrants on the economic opportunities of current U.S. workers, both U.S. and foreign-born. Future immigration policy should recognize that this is a nation of immigrants who have earned, and were granted, the opportunity to become complete citizens, including exercising the right to vote and other rights of citizens. The future of immigration policy should not be based on large-scale "guest worker" programs. Future immigrants should not be forced into a temporary work visa or "guest worker' status that deprives them of economic and democratic freedoms.

Question 4: Who must be involved in order to make the deep and lasting changes we need to make?

The purpose of this question is to provide a recommendation on who should be at the table in helping to advance the economic piece of this effort. It is worth noting that responses to this question have been influenced by our answer(s) to Question 3, taking into account that key people are needed nationally and locally in places to move key levers. Our responses are also affected by our view of the target audience(s) and the major stakeholders. Essentially, we identified the handful of crucial actors who need to be engaged directly with, indirectly involved and/or consulted with for this to be successful and impactful. Ideally, we want the impact of TRHT economy-focused efforts to reach the majority.

This small universe of critical actors can be from the national, state and/or local levels — public and/or private sectors, policymakers and thought leaders, impacted groups, or for-profit and non-profit sectors. We intentionally made sure that there was a proper/adequate representation, particularly of people of color (leaders, activists and advocates alike) who are experts in their own right and/or people of color-led organizations and institutions. Finally, we considered the implementation timeframe and considered if we needed to limit the number of groups that should engage.

The Economy Design Team came up with a list of the types of people and institutions that need to be involved in order to make lasting changes. We agreed that depending on the key leverage points activated, this list could be further sharpened. But, all of these entities should be considered either as partners or as key actors to influence in advancing our strategies, or both.

People who are part of the 1 percent:

Types of people or groups	Which leverage points they can help advance
New economy entrepreneurs	Engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; 21st century labor laws and new social contract
Old economy entrepreneurs	Engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; 21st century labor laws and new social contract; infrastructure investments; invest in education
Corporate leaders	Engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; 21st century labor laws and new social contract; infrastructure investments; invest in education; comprehensive immigration reform; redress harm and financial inequities; fund public services through private markets
Families in the 1 percent wealth category (i.e., Buffet, Gates, Soros, Walton)	Engagement and transformation of the 1 percent
New Black wealth	Engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; separate public investments from where you live
Entrepreneurs of color	Engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; 21st century labor laws and new social contract

Grassroots voices/voices of those most negatively impacted:

Types of people or groups	Which leverage points they can help advance
Low-income people and organizations representing low-income communities	21st century labor laws and improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent.
Young people and organizations representing young people	Engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; 21st century labor laws and new social contract; infrastructure investments; invest in education; comprehensive immigration reform
Working men and women	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; comprehensive immigration reform
Unions and other organizations representing working women and men	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; comprehensive immigration reform; fund public services through private markets
Community-based organizations representing working families	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; comprehensive immigration reform; fund public services through private markets; sovereign wealth fund
Previously incarcerated/returning citizens	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs

Civil rights and social justice organizations	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; comprehensive immigration reform; fund public services through private markets; sovereign wealth fund; redress harm and financial inequities
National grassroots networks	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; comprehensive immigration reform; fund public services through private markets; redress harm and financial inequities
Civic organizations — parent-teacher organizations	Invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; fund public services through private markets
Native American Tribal Communities	Sovereign wealth fund; redress harm and financial inequities; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; 21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs

People who can shape the culture and narrative:

Types of people or groups	Which leverage points they can help advance
Entertainers	all
Athletes	all
Academy	all
Political leaders	all
Media	all
The Arts	all
Hollywood	all

Institutional Partners:

Types of people or groups	Which leverage points they can help advance
Philanthropy	all
Local anchor institution leadership	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; fund public services through private markets; sovereign wealth fund
Think tanks or policy networks	all
Faith-based institutions	all
Give Black	all
Board and trustee engagement in institutions	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; fund public services through private markets; sovereign wealth fund
Sovereign wealth funds	Sovereign wealth fund

Policymakers:

Types of people or groups	Which leverage points they can help advance
Local governments	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; fund public services through private markets; sovereign wealth fund; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent;

State and local policymakers	21st century labor laws and Improve low-wage jobs; invest in education — birth to college; separate public investments from where you live; infrastructure investments; fund public services through private markets; sovereign wealth fund; engagement and transformation of the 1 percent; redress harm and financial inequities
Federal policymakers	all

Other actors shaping our economy- in positions of power:

- China
- International Monetary Fund
- Federal Reserve Board
- Census
- Wall Street Banks
- Private Equity Firms

Question 5: What are the key initial activities that need to happen in order to heal from and transform this area?

Up to this point, we have worked to answer the "who," "what," "why" and "where." Now we have to deliberate on the "how." How to turn the vision we have generated into a reality. This is an opportunity to present a proposed blueprint for moving forward in this arena. We identified priority areas within which we propose a set of initial activities that naturally flow from these priority areas and that would make the largest changes in the lever areas discussed.

The Economy Design Team identified three areas of activities necessary to successfully advance TRHT's work specific to the economy: shared learning, community dialogues and action. There was consensus on the importance of obtaining information through research and analysis and building and strengthening relationships through strategic discussions in local communities. The group also emphasized the urgency of accomplishing the necessary steps to take substantive action.

Shared Learning

Communities engaging in the TRHT enterprise should utilize these critical elements of this process of learning and include elevating:

➤ The history of racial discrimination in the economy and its current effects, including regarding low-wage workers, housing patterns, access to credit, lack of access to capital, investment in infrastructure, educational opportunities, disempowerment of voters, immigration policy, etc.

➤ The narratives of the individual people and communities of the dominant economic groups and narratives of the individual people and communities harmed by racial hierarchy.

➤ Quantitative analysis that offers data regarding poverty, educational systems, jobs, voting, access to credit and capital, entrepreneurship, wealth-building strategies and other aspects of the local and national economies that reveal objective reality.

➤ Qualitative analysis that showcases the factors that led to successful campaigns for social change and beneficial disruption of cultural norms, nationally and in local communities, and what success looked like, including in non-economic campaigns (e.g., seat belt laws, tobacco cessation) and economic campaigns (e.g., minimum wage increases, labor union organizing, school bond increases, corporate responsibility regarding food safety, state-paid health insurance for undocumented immigrant children and LGBTQ freedom to marry).

➤ How communities have developed long-term relationships that have led to shared visions of the community/society and have built power to achieve social change, including behavioral change and institutional change.

➤ Pressing issues or particular focuses that the local group decides should be emphasized in the local community, which may vary geographically (e.g., access to safe drinking water in Flint, Michigan; pesticide spraying of homes and schools in agricultural areas near Fresno, California; decrepit schools; lack of public transportation for low-income people to get to jobs, shop, etc.)

➤ Factors contributing to progress (and lack thereof) of TRHT in individual communities as the TRHT process develops.

Community-Based Dialogues

The discussions in local communities about racial hierarchy and its eradication should include diverse individuals and constituencies. Achieving the initiative's goals will require advance decisions on which individuals and organizations and institutions (public and private), including government agencies, are needed in the discussions. Relationships should be developed with constituencies that are not traditional allies. It could be important to include representatives of large corporations, for example. Attendees should be asked for commitments to be ambassadors and advance the process and its outcomes in their communities, companies, congregations, organizations, families, etc.

The discussions should ask how national and local economies can be made to work for everyone. There must be recognition of the need for public investments — at local, statewide and national levels — in infrastructure and in human and social capital. The discussions should welcome "difficult conversations" on broad and narrow levels. Calling for the redistribution of wealth or economic democracy, for example, may be a basic goal of many participants seeking to eradicate the vestiges of slavery and the effects of more recent racism, but is likely to be very controversial for some participants. Raising concerns about the impact of racial hierarchy on local schools in the particular geographic area may be uncomfortable. While there may be differences in opinion, it is important to seek collective clarity and understanding to help maximize bridge-building and lead to decision-making that effectively addresses racial hierarchy.

Suggestions for High Priority Actions Initially

The initiative should take action promptly, and not engage in lengthy discussions at the expense of action. Community-based groups most often have good working knowledge of what needs to be undertaken to advance work in an effective way within their communities. To that end, community-based groups should take the lead in determining the substantive actions and goals that they believe will lead to eradication of a belief in racial hierarchy and its effects. They may choose to focus on actions in their communities but they may also wish to advance solutions at the national level.

The Economy Design Team highlighted several topic areas that they believe should be considered for initial activities due to the importance of the issues they address and their solutions and other factors. These include:

➤ Improving access to good jobs that offer better wages, benefits and workplace policies, while also helping working people build power. There are numerous strategies currently in play that could be elevated/modeled at a larger scale. These include worker organizing and collective bargaining strategies, consumer campaigns, engaging with corporations to promote good corporate practices, advocacy for favorable government policies (regarding a living wage, working conditions, retirement plans, etc.), funding for employment and training programs, improved enforcement of labor rights, and public investments that create jobs.

➤ Addressing persistent poverty in local communities, which is a complex problem that must be addressed in many ways after extensive analysis and discussions.

➤ Investing in infrastructure to build communities that enable people to thrive, regardless of their race or ethnicity, including by improving transportation, creating jobs, opening up business opportunities, improving the visual appeal of towns and cities, enhancing access to healthy food and improving public spaces.

➤ Reducing legal and structural obstacles to voting and educating the electorate regarding their ability to exercise power through voting by selecting candidates and influencing public policy.

➤ Improving educational opportunities and the quality of education at all levels, from pre-kindergarten to high schools, community colleges and other higher education, and ongoing education and training, including financial literacy and other subjects to help break cycles of poverty within communities of color.

➤ Expanding access to capital and support for entrepreneurship within communities of color as a wealth-building strategy.

➤ Policy advocacy to address regressive tax provisions and other mechanisms that have the effect of exacerbating racial inequities, like tax breaks that reward inherited wealth, and support tax policies that generate revenue for activities to address racial inequity.

Conclusion

A belief in a hierarchy of human value has always shaped the rules of the U.S. economy. As a result, we have an entire system of laws, policies, regulations and practices that explicitly and implicitly exclude people of color from fully participating in our economy and leading safe, healthy and economically secure lives. If we jettisoned the belief in an hierarchy of human value, we could create economic democracy, where every person, family and community of all racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds can individually and collectively participate and thrive in the U.S. economy.

The Economy Design Team discussed a large number of issues, but there appeared to be some recurring concerns about infrastructure investments, demographic change and the conditions for low-wage workers, which are three possible economic areas where groups can work locally and nationally and have a substantive impact uprooting the belief in a racial hierarchy in the next 5 to 10 years.

In examining where we are now and how we got here as a nation, we recognized that the effects of the belief in a racial hierarchy can be found in all aspects of the economy and throughout our history. Given these factors, the Economy Design Team approached this question with systems thinking — understanding how institutions that affect opportunity are arranged, and to what result.

We identified 10 key leverage points that present opportunities for transformative change in our economy over the next 10-20 years. These leverage points include: disruption of the 1 percent, separating public investment from where you live, economic development through which you can fund public services and goods through private markets, a plan for creating jobs in high-unemployment areas, infrastructure investments, updating our labor laws and social safety net to improve the working conditions for workers in low wage jobs, redressing harm and financial inequity, establishment of sovereign wealth funds, comprehensive immigration reform and investments in education from birth to college.

The Economy Design Team identified a handful of crucial actors who need to be engaged directly with, indirectly involved, and/or consulted with for this to be successful and impactful. These actors include people who are part of the 1 percent, grassroots voices and the voices of those directly impacted, people who can shape culture and narrative, institutional partners, policymakers, and a few critical actors who have the positional power to shape our economy.

The Economy Design Team identified three areas of activities necessary to successfully advance TRHT's work specific to the economy: shared learning, community dialogues and action. There was consensus on the importance of obtaining information through research and analysis and building and strengthening relationships through strategic discussions in local communities. The group also emphasized the urgency of accomplishing the necessary steps to take substantive action.

The initiative should take action promptly, and not engage in lengthy discussions at the expense of action. Community-based groups most often have good working knowledge of what needs to be undertaken to advance work in an effective way within their communities. To that end, community-based groups should take the lead in determining the substantive actions and goals that they believe will lead to eradication of a belief in racial hierarchy and its effects. The Economy Design Team highlighted several topic areas that we believe should be considered for initial activities due to the importance of the issues they address and their solutions and other factors.
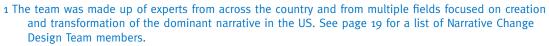
We are grateful to the many individuals who served on the Economy Design Team for offering excellent ideas, sharing their expertise and knowledge, and for their belief that we can jettison the belief in a hierarchy of human value to create economic democracy.

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1 The team was made up of experts from across the country and from multiple fields focused on creation and transformation of the dominant narrative in the US. See page 19 for a list of Narrative Change Design Team members.

2 See page 20 for a list of millennial leaders who provided input.

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