Government Alliance on Race and Equity: Targeted Universalism and Belonging

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DATE:
September 13, 2019
INTRO: CONNECTING TU AND BELONGING
Belonging includes the power to co-create structures and systems.
**Equality:** Treating everyone the same.
- E.g.,: Giving three kids the same size stool to reach a countertop. Seems equal, but ignores that we are situated differently.

**Equity:** Giving everyone what they need to get to the same starting point.
- E.g.,: Giving three kids different sized stools to reach the countertop.
- But this doesn’t mean they will each be able to reach certain cupboards or make the same use of the space to cook dinner.

*The problem is not inherent within the communities themselves (as with height) but within the structures around them.*
Targeted Universalism: Equality, Equity, & Beyond
Targeted Universalism: Exclusion, Integration, Inclusion, Belonging

• **Bridges** different “groups of people” by strategies that benefit a more “diverse group” that is defined in disparities data

• **Aligns** goals and efforts to realize them

• Requires **co-creation** of goal, analysis, and strategy design
SECTION I: CANADA CULTURE ACCESS PASS
“Belonging in its truest sense, means understanding the nature of the connections between one another—the very nature of interconnectedness. It can never mean dominance or submission. To define belonging is to understand its laterality. It will always move horizontally and never vertically.”
“Citizenship” and Equal Rights

• Citizenship is linked to the rights of the individual and to membership in a community.

• Citizenship requires a guarantee of civil, political, and social rights so that everyone feels they are part of the society and can enjoy everything the society has to offer.

• If any of these rights are withheld, the individual feels excluded.
“From Acceptance to Inclusion”

• In Canada, immigrants are called “permanent residents”

• Immigrants in the U.S. are called “resident aliens.”

• Canada’s citizenship process moves from acceptance to inclusion.
“Ubuntu implies seeing another human being as yourself and treating them as you would treat yourself, with love and respect.’
Public education is how people learn to belong.

“We want people who will take their place in our society, but that means we must make sure there are no barriers to inclusion for people who come here.”
“What is the paradox of citizenship? It is that we are most fully human, most truly ourselves, most authentically individual, when we commit to the community. It is in the mirror of our community—the street, the neighborhood, the town, the country—that we find our best selves.”
Cultural Access Pass

On the day of your citizenship ceremony, the pass allows you and your family free access to about 14,000 cultural institutions.

While important, belonging is more than a shared culture, but a system of equal access to opportunity.
• Initiative for an app for 18 year olds—“new citizens”—to access "cultural institutions" in France.

• Cultural events include movies, concerts, and theater or books, musical instruments and DVDs.
Bridging Through Culture

- Culture Pass seeks to highlight local activities.

- A new way of thinking about the arts, foregrounding the local and particular rather than the official narratives of French cultural history.

- Bridging with what is happening locally.
Culture as Identity, Power, and Control

• Officials sees culture as a form of ‘soft power’, to draw marginalized young people “back into the mainstream” and away from “dangerous edges” leading to radicalism.

• “French culture is where French identity begins and, like fluent and correct use of the language is ultimately what makes you French.”
Culture as Exclusion

• French prime minister, Édouard Philippe: “If jihadis hate drawings, books, music and concerts, it is precisely because they know very well that they are an inexhaustible source of freedom and happiness.”

• Culture is used to separate “them” from “us” rather than foster belonging.
Structures limit and enhance opportunity

We can define opportunity through access to:

- **EDUCATION**
- **ECONOMIC**
- **TRANSPORTATION**
- **FOOD**
- **HOUSING**
- **JUSTICE**
- **HEALTHCARE**
- **COMMUNICATIONS**

This is an issue of membership and belonging.
SECTION II: TRUST IN GOVERNMENT
Figure 3
Trust in government over time

Figure 2

Trust in public institutions over time

Source: Confidence in Institutions, Gallup, 2018: https://news.gallup.com/poll/1597/confidence-institutions.aspx
Trust in Institutions

**TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS**

*Source: Gallup Organization*

![Graph showing the trend of trust in different institutions from 1973 to 2016. The legend indicates that red lines represent Congress, orange lines represent Public Education, and blue lines represent Media.*
Public trust in the federal government remains at historic low

% who say they trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time

Note: From 1976-2019 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.
Confidence in Institutions

• Americans’ average confidence in institutions has hit a historical low point.

• The military, small business, and the police still receive high confidence ratings from a majority of Americans.

• Congress, the media, and the criminal justice system—all entities facing significant scrutiny in the news or across social media in recent years—receive much higher negative than positive confidence ratings.
Low Trust = Low Voter Turnout

- 2016 presidential elections: 92 million eligible Americans did not vote.

- 2014 midterm elections: 143 million eligible Americans did not vote, marking the lowest voter participation in 72 years.

- Barriers to Voting.
  - 6 million American citizens are barred from voting because of ex-offender disenfranchisement laws.
  - Voter suppression tools.

- Alienation from government
  - According to a 2016 survey, 57 percent of Americans agreed that “politics and elections are controlled by people with money and by big corporations so it doesn’t matter if they vote.”
  - A 2018 study by Harvard University found that only 36 percent of young respondents disagreed with the statement, “Political involvement rarely has any tangible results.”
**FIGURE 1**

*Participation gaps in the 2016 elections along racial/ethnic differences*

- **African American**: 59%
- **Asian**: 49%
- **Latino**: 48%
- **White**: 63%

There was a 5 to 14 percent gap in voter participation for American Indians and Native Alaskans relative to other racial and ethnic groups.

**Participation by education**

- **Attended but did not graduate high school**: 35%
- **With college degree**: 74%

Americans with higher educational attainment consistently participate at much higher rates than Americans who are less educated.

**Participation by income**

- **Making more than $50,000**: 74%
- **Making less than $50,000**: 52%

People who were unemployed were also less likely to participate than those with jobs.
Low Trust Could Lead to Low Census Response

The 2020 Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Study (CBAMS) revealed five barriers that might prevent people from participating in the census:

- **Privacy.** ¼ of respondents were concerned about the confidentiality of answers, racial and ethnic minorities were significantly more concerned.

- **Repercussions.** ¼ of respondents were concerned their answers would be used against them. Asians, householders not proficient in English, and those born outside of the U.S. were the most concerned.

- **Distrust.** Distrust in government was high for everyone, with the highest levels of distrust among small-sample races, Whites, Blacks, people born in the United States, and people who are proficient in English.

- **Efficacy.** Many did not feel it matters whether they are personally counted.

- **Lack of Personal Benefit.** More people predicted that answering the census could bring benefits to their community than to them personally.
“Trust is a reflection of a sense of belonging and community, of social capital and interpersonal trust”

2006: Latinos protested the Sensenbrenner bill criminalizing undocumented immigrants. Marches drew 3.5 to 5 million people.

2006 Latino National Survey (LNS) respondents were more trusting of the government when compared to the general population.

Feelings of shared identity may immunize Latinos against effects of acculturation by providing belonging with the Latino community.
**Figure 1.** White, Black, and Latino Trust in Government, 2000–2012

![Graph showing trust in government over time for White, Black, and Latino populations.]

**Source:** Author’s compilation based on ANES 2010, ANES 2012, Pew Research Center 2015.

**Note:** Data points indicate the percentage of respondents saying that they trust the government always or most of the time.
Trust is responsive to political climate and signals of belonging

- Black and Latino trust are moving together.

- White trust follows a different trajectory.

- Changes in the political climate affect trust:
  - election of the first black President
  - attentiveness to Black and Latino voters by both parties
High enforcement signals othering and fosters distrust in government

- Latinos **signaled** by the local government that they do not belong, through increased enforcement of Secure Communities, are more cynical;

- **Low enforcement** signals to foreign-born Latinos that they are more welcome, increasing trust.
Political power signals belonging and fosters trust in government

• 2012: Depiction of Latinos as **deciders**, as **American voters**, combined with outreach sent a **message of belonging**.

• When signaled by elites and media that they were **welcome** and **important**, Latino immigrants were more trusting of the government despite the continued inability of Congress to pass comprehensive immigration reform and highest levels of deportation under Obama.
Longer presence, less trust

- The most politically trustful Latinos are those who have most recently arrived, and the longer they stay, this trust declines.

- A much larger percentage of fourth-generation Latinos are distrustful when compared to earlier generations.
More politically trusting Latinos supported government assistance in providing help to the uninsured and offering school vouchers and tax credits.

Belonging and political trust is a significant predictor of Latinos’ policy views, especially where their group can benefit.
Rural Latinos

- Perceptions that leaders are concerned about Latinos, and positive views of the nation’s economic situation, led to higher trust among rural Latinos.

- Socioeconomic status affected trust negatively, while those who were more politically engaged were more trusting.
SECTION III: Corporations interested in equity “over/along with” shareholder value
“…What will distinguish the most profitable companies from the rest in the coming year won’t be whether they offer foosball or free food. It will be whether leaders foster a workplace culture where employees feel a sense of belonging, like their jobs and trust their managers to help them move on to a better one. …”
“[B]e radically open-minded and radically transparent. … Understand the great brain battles ...[f]ind out what you and others are like.”
The capitalist system is under siege. In recent years business increasingly has been viewed as a major cause of social, environmental, and economic problems. Companies are widely perceived to be prospering at the expense of the broader community. ...”
Belonging at Starbucks
Belonging at Starbucks

- Starbucks, trying to put to rest an outcry over the arrest of two black men at one of its stores, is closing more than 8,000 stores for an afternoon of anti-bias training...

- After the arrests in Philadelphia last month, the coffee chain’s leaders apologized, but also reached out to activists and experts in bias training to put together a curriculum for its 175,000 workers....

- The Perception Institute, a consortium of researchers consulting with Starbucks, defines implicit bias as attitudes — positive or negative — or stereotypes someone has toward a person or group without being conscious of it. A common example, according to some of its studies, is a tendency for white people to unknowingly associate black people with criminal behavior.
Companies can and should advance racial equity while growing business.
Effects of belonging in the workplace

- Increased productivity
- Improved creativity
- Increased profits
- Improved employee engagement
- Reduced employee turnover
- Improved company reputation
- Wider range of skills
- Improves cultural insights
Building belonging in the workplace

• Understand challenges for some employees who feel isolated, **listen** more than finding immediate remedies

• Create institutional practices that enable these employees to **define the structural problems** and to **define remedies**

• Have all leaders change practices and participate in process—from executives to senior and junior management—**the process must build trust**

• Design strategies that enable **employee monitoring, enforcement**, and objections **without fear of reprisal**
Companies can advance racial equity and create business growth

Offer products and services that effectively meet the distinctive needs of markets of color.

- **Genuinely understand the needs of markets** that correspond to national demographic trends

- **Locate root causes of problems** that corporate service or product is designed to address
  - Kaiser Permanente teamed up with car-sharing service to bring diabetes management patients to their appointments. The problem was structural, not individual.

Companies can advance racial equity and create business growth

Offer products and services that effectively meet the distinctive needs of markets of color.

- Design and redesign products and services to meet unique needs to address inequities
  - ShopRite operator Brown’s Super Stores found a profitable market expansion by establishing grocery stores to lower-income people of color in Philadelphia food deserts and stores also provided complementary services, including health clinics

Companies can advance racial equity and create business growth

Companies should work to reverse effects of structural racism by strengthening the external business context

- **Address public policy failures**
  - Prudential’s research with UnidosUS found state regulations discourage small businesses from offering retirement savings plans to employees. Prudential used its lobbying arm to expand retirement savings to employees of small businesses.

Companies can advance racial equity and create business growth

Companies should work to reverse effects of structural racism by strengthening the external business context

- **Rebuild trust with Black and Latinx communities** who have experienced a history of modern-day discrimination—in particular banks and health care institutions
  - AirBnB hosts were found to more likely reject Black guests than White guests. AirBnB has hosts affirmatively agree to uphold equal treatment regardless of race, gender identity, and national origin

Companies can advance racial equity and create business growth. Companies must also ensure that internal conditions support this work.

- **Strong diversity and inclusion practices**
  - Starbucks enlisted advice and counsel of experts for implicit bias curriculum.
  - All core business units need diverse employees who understand equity and cultural humility, employees should feel comfortable raising concerns—product development, marketing, sales teams.

Companies can advance racial equity and create business growth

Companies must also ensure that internal conditions support this work

- Leadership support, structure, and accountability to embed racial equity in the business
  - AirBnB found too many instances of people being discriminated against on the platform. They created a permanent, full time product team to advance belonging and inclusion to root out bias

Companies can advance racial equity and create business growth

Companies must also ensure that internal conditions support this work

- Establish mutually beneficial partnerships with organizations led by people of color
  - Cigna health insurance collaborated with local health care system to promote breast cancer screenings to customers living in neighborhoods with limited access to screening facilities
- Part of the effort that eliminated breast cancer screening rate gap for Black patients