Bridging to belonging: understanding power and creating connections

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The problem of “Othering” is the problem of the 21st century.
Othering is a generalized set of common processes that engender marginality and group-based inequality across any of the full range of human differences.
Cracked containers

When there’s a crack in the container—when the context in which we live is broken—everyone feels othered and our solutions need to be more radical.
Situated in anxiety and polarization

- Change in DEMOGRAPHIC Climate, Tech Globalism Economic Pandemic
- Increase in anxiety
- Leadership, Meta-Narrative, Structures, Organizing
- Connecting on similarities, common threads of identity
- Fear, anger, Othering
- Empathy, belonging, inclusion

Breaking, Bonding, Bridging
Narrow focus on equity is not sufficient to meet the challenge of othering.

Why?

It can support breaking
Breaking
Multiple identities can be mobilized as a threat

For what purpose?
And for whose interest?
soft breaking

&

hard breaking
Bridging
Bridging expands the circle of human concern and builds a larger, more inclusive “We”
Bridging is not “same-ing.”
Bridges contain multitudes

There are **short bridges** and **long bridges**. Some bridges require more effort to build and maintain. Others are a short distance.

As bell hooks reminds us, bridges are walked on.
Bridging happens not only between individuals, but between groups and institutions as well.
Bridging, Belonging & Racial Equity
TO CHANGE EVERYTHING IT TAKES EVERYONE
Transformational bridging requires shifting from *inclusion* to *belonging* without othering
Bridging & Belonging

Bridge — Listen, engage, organize, love.
Diversity & Belonging

A primary resource distributed in society.

Love
Power
Agency
Responsibility

What do we ultimately mean by power?

“Power without love is reckless and abusive, and love without power is sentimental and anemic. Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice, and justice at its best is power correcting everything that stands against love.”

What does this mean for the Packard Foundation?
Power & position

- Power is positional, structural, hierarchical and situational
- People are situated differently with regard to institutions and infrastructure.
- People are impacted by the relationships between institutions and systems...
- …but people also impact these relationships and can change the structure of the system.
Power matters

● Bridging work must consider power differentials and the structural conditions within which bridging happens.

● People can gain power through linking social networks and creating social capital.
  ○ Individuals can build relationships with institutions and individuals who have relative power to access resources.

● Power also shifts.

● For example: people of color may have more power than whites in certain settings. (e.g. an anti-racism convening)
Addressing power to foster belonging

- **Consider:**
  - Who has the most power in the room?
  - Who has the most space?
  - Who has the most authentic voice?
  - How is power being used?
  - What are each parties’ sacred symbols?
  - Whose perspectives shape both the “problem” and the “solution”?

- How can leaders reinforce marginalized voices and ideas?
- How can we bridge and link despite power differentials?
- How can the Packard Foundation practice goal creation in *belonging*?
Fostering belonging through internal and external efforts

**Internally**

- Address power imbalances in the organization
- Recognize the foundation’s role as a leader and consider how it can shape the public discourse around narratives of belonging
- Use your voice
- Fund bridging and bridgers

**Externally**

- Consider power imbalances with grantees - whose perspectives shape the problem and the solution?
- Grantmaking in ways that address structural inequities
- Fund bridging and bridgers
- Use your voice
Can we imagine new structures that honor our multiple fluid identities?
A story and practice of a larger belonging we
The goal is not just to remove barriers

The goal is to co-create new structures for thriving
Move beyond equity 1.0 and inclusion 1.0 to T/U and Belonging
Adopt Targeted/Universalism
The goal is not just to remove barriers

The goal is to co-create new structures for thriving
Generosity is Not Enough

Focus on outcomes rather than exclusively measuring inputs.
Thank you

Question? Thoughts?
Appendix
O&BI Bridging Examples
Across our communities, regions, states, we are witnessing increased anxiety, much of it related to an increase in a perceived “Other.” The 2016 election is a crystallized version of this, one with major consequences that we are witnessing unfold daily. Tapping into it can take us in two directions: towards breaking where we turn inward, only to what we know and who we know. This path leads ultimately to a politics of isolation. The other direction is bridging, where we turn outwardly to connect and explicitly work with other groups and seek ways to build common ground. This path ultimately takes us towards belonging and empathy.
Creating the Conditions for Belonging and Breathing in a Toxic Environment
@ Bioneers 2020 Conference
Appendix
Explainer Videos
Explainer Video Series: Bridging & Belonging

URL Link
Targeted Universalism: Creating strategies to belong
Explainer Video Series: The Circle of Human Concern

URL Link
Introducing a Case Study

Vision for Baltimore
Baltimore City Student Reading Scores

Reading scores of public school students in large cities:
- 2017 - average score of 213

Reading scores of 4th grade students in Baltimore City:
- 2017 - average score of 197
- 2015 - average score of 199
- 2009 - average score of 202

Percentage of students in Baltimore City who performed at or above the NAEP Proficient level:
- 2017 - 13%
- 2015 - 11%
- 2009 - 12%

Percentage of students in Baltimore City who performed at or above the NAEP Basic level:
- 2017 - 39%
- 2015 - 40%
- 2009 - 42%


*Significantly different (p < 0.5) from district’s results in 2017. Significance tests were performed using unrounded numbers. NOTE: Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding.
“Unchecked, childhood vision disorders can hinder kids' development, school performance, social interactions and self-esteem well into adulthood.”
Three years ago, Johns Hopkins University researchers in Baltimore asked a seemingly simple straightforward question:

Could the persistent gap in reading performance between poor students and wealthier ones be closed if they gave the poor students eyeglasses?
“Not everyone who’s failing in reading and math in Baltimore is failing because of poor vision, but that’s one relatively solvable part of the problem.

Wouldn’t you want to solve that one before wasting effort going in a different direction that may not be the problem?”
“...One third of students in Baltimore City public schools failed vision screening, with higher failure rates in grades not mandated to have vision screening in Maryland.

Approximately 75% of students examined required eyeglasses and only 3% were referred.

Of 51,593 students in 123 schools who were screened, 17,414 (33.8%) failed and were offered a school-based eye exam.”
How it Works

- Students who do not pass the screening are able to get eye exams in the mobile vision clinic, which comes right to schools.

- If students need glasses, they pick their frames in the mobile clinic.

- Glasses are then manufactured and delivered to students in their schools at no charge.
Vision for Baltimore

A project that serves “urban, low-income, K-8 students in Baltimore”

In this view, the dog-whistles that the program beneficiaries are black students.

Demographics of K-12 students in Baltimore School

- 75.7% African American
- 14.2% Latinx (Hispanic)
- 7.5% White (non-Hispanic)
- 0.8% Asian
- 0.2% American Indian
- 0.1% Pacific Islander

- 58% Low income
- 9.6% English learner
“...The failure to learn how to read among disadvantaged students is far higher than it is among other students. Only 21 percent of students qualifying for free or reduced lunch scored at or above "proficient" in reading compared to 52 percent of students who did not qualify for free lunch, according to a 2015 report of the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Among African-Americans, 18 percent scored at or above "proficient," as did 21 percent of Hispanics, compared to 46 percent of whites. …”

Disadvantaged children are less likely to see an eye care professional because their parents cannot afford a vision test or they don't know how to access free tests and glasses. Experience indicates that solving the eyeglasses problem in inner-city schools must be a continuing school effort, Collins said. …”

We are telling stories, we’re not telling data.
People are filling in the rest of the story.
Vision for Baltimore

Disparities framework for Baltimore School’s K-8 students

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Deficit framework
Disparities make people subconsciously shift to individual explanations

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Even more likely to shift to individual if those being discussed are marginalized or stigmatized groups.

Neglect or charity.

“urban, low-income, K-8 students in Baltimore” dog whistles race--Black students
Vision for Baltimore

A vision for all of our K-8 students.

Vision Baltimore was targeted to the structures and systems of public health that weren’t adequate and built new ones.

- Public-private partnership (Warby Parker, Public Health Department periodic review, prescription process)
- Trust building aspect of program execution/design
- New priorities of measuring outcomes of efforts at vision health in schools

Universal goal: Public health departments & state departments of education should help all children obtain the tools they need to read.

Universal goal: Students in Maryland should read at national proficiency level. Or Students in BS should read at national proficiency level or state proficiency level.
Appendix: Other communications examples
Case Study
Communications: Bridging
My Brother’s Keeper (MBK)

“Address persistent opportunity gaps facing boys and young men of color and to ensure all youth can reach their full potential.”

“Focuses on building safe and supportive communities for boys and young men of color when they feel valued and have clear pathways to opportunity.”
My Brother’s Keeper (MBK)

“That’s what ‘My Brother’s Keeper’ is all about. Helping more of our young people stay on track. Providing the support they need to think more broadly about their future. Building on what works – when it works, in those critical life-changing moments.”

- President Barack Obama, February 27, 2014

https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/my-brothers-keeper#section-about-my-brothers-keeper
“Re-align this important initiative to reflect the values of inclusion, equal opportunity and shared fate that have propelled our historic struggle for racial justice forward.”

“We are profoundly troubled about the exclusion of women and girls of color from this critical undertaking.”

“The need to acknowledge the crisis facing boys should not come at the expense of addressing the stunted opportunities for girls.”

“We simply cannot agree that effects of these conditions on women and girls should pale to the point of invisibility…”

“our nation will be most successful when all of its young people are successful”

“...grow up in poverty, drop out of school, have trouble finding meaningful work, or get involved in the criminal justice system”

“we lose the contribution of their talents and abilities in our communities”

“Help ensure that no young person is left behind and that all have the tools to achieve.”

“develop locally driven, comprehensive cradle-to-college-and-career strategies aimed at improving life outcomes.”

“On indicators ranging from educational attainment to economic security to health and well-being, women and girls of color have made tremendous progress.”

“Yet, these achievements may obscure the very real challenges and disparities that persist for women and girls of color.”

“Women of color ‘struggle every day with biases that perpetuate oppressive standards for how they’re supposed to look and how they’re supposed to act. Too often, they’re either left under the hard light of scrutiny, or cloaked in a kind of invisibility.”

“When addressing the challenges women and girls of color face – challenges that often lie at the intersection of race and gender – we often fail to fully acknowledge, and account for, this complexity. …”
“…The federal government, in using its resources, including its moral authority, has an obligation to all of its members, not just to some.”

Should we remain concerned about groups that are still not being targeted or well served, such as women and girls of color? The simple answer is yes.

“we need to better understand how different groups are situated and embrace a plan to support all groups.”

“Those who would seriously argue against focusing on groups that are situated differently would have to reject not only focusing on boys and men of color but all groups.”

“If we focus on the systems and structures that negatively affect boys and men of color, it will also benefit girls and women, as well as other low-income groups of color.”

**Gender exclusivity** isn’t new, but it hasn’t been so starkly articulated as public policy in generations. It arises from the common belief that black men are exceptionally endangered by racism, occupying the bottom of every metric…”

“...like their male counterparts, black and Hispanic girls are at or near the bottom level…”

“...disparities among girls of different races are sometimes even greater than among boys…”

What needs to be fixed are not boys per se, **but the conditions in which marginalized communities of color must live**…”
MBK: Data & Doing What Works

- Critical indicators of life outcomes for boys & young men of color and their peers.
- Federal Statistical Agencies to make the data and statistics available at a national level.
- Create new tools and resources that allow local communities to use local data.
- Understanding and developing strategies to improve youth outcomes.
- How existing research & evaluations are used by decision-makers and practitioners.
A Covid-19 Relief Fund Was Only for Black Residents. Then Came the Lawsuits.

Oregon earmarked $62 million to explicitly benefit Black individuals and business owners. Now some of the money is in limbo after lawsuits alleging racial discrimination.
This project can be considered alongside the previous project—the Oregon Cares Project. The project is exclusively serving what they describe as the “Black community.”
About the Small Business Relief Fund

Applications were open Monday, September 14 at 9 am through Friday, September 25 at 5 pm

On July 22, Portland City Council approved a plan to distribute $114 million in federal CARES Act (Coronavirus Aid, Relief and Economic Security) relief to the community.

City Council allocated $15 million to Prosper Portland to distribute to small business via the Small Business Relief Fund and block grants to community nonprofits.

Up to $12 million will be disbursed as grants of up to $25K through selected Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) partners. All have existing grant infrastructure in place and have extensive experience working with local small businesses. An additional $3 million will be allocated as block grants to community partners that can reach culturally specific populations to provide access to these funds. All those organizations will receive an administrative fee to support their capacity to deliver this work.

Distribution is guided by the city’s Equity Toolkit and the knowledge that Black people, Indigenous people and all people of color have experienced the greatest impacts from the pandemic and need the most support. These funds will serve applicants across multiple demographic categories; all small businesses that meet the eligibility requirements will be considered.
Frequently Asked Questions

What is a family-owned business?

Why do I have to fill out a new form when I’ve already applied to previous grant, loan and/or utility credit programs?

Why are you prioritizing people of color?

Due to a history of discriminatory legislation and social practices, communities of color have been disadvantaged for hundreds of years in their ability to build wealth and a network of resources to fall back on. These funds will serve applicants across multiple demographic categories; we are simply noting this priority as an important consideration. All small businesses that meet the eligibility requirements will be considered for access to these funds.
Frequently Asked Questions

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Is the application available in other languages?

Yes. The application is available in English, Spanish, Vietnamese, Russian and simplified Chinese.

https://prosperportland.us/portfolio-items/portland-small-business-relief-fund/
Grant Data

$11,080,000 in Grants

$2,769,993 in Block Grants

Grantee Map

Top Industries

- Restaurants / Bars
  - $3.4M, 257 grants

- Childcare
  - $1.9M, 172 grants

- Personal Services
  - $1.1M, 107 grants

PORTLAND SMALL BUSINESS RELIEF FUND

https://prosperportland.us/portfolio-items/portland-small-business-relief-fund/
Demographics

- **Latino/a/x**
  - $3.0M
  - 303 grants
  - 22%

- **Black or African American**
  - $3.4M;
  - 332 grants; 25%

- **White**
  - $1.5M;
  - 161 grants; 11%

- **Asian**
  - $3.7M
  - 348 grants; 27%

- **Native American / Indigenous**
  - $655K; 69 grants; 5%

- **Middle Eastern / North African**
  - 5%; $747K; 61 grants

- **Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander**
  - 2%; $265K; 28 grants

- **Self-described, Choose not to identify, N/A and Unknown:**
  - 3%; $498K; 49 grants

PORTLAND SMALL BUSINESS RELIEF FUND

https://prosperportland.us/portfolio-items/portland-small-business-relief-fund/
Gender Identity

Woman
$7.8M
776 grants
57%

Man
$5.2M;
506 grants; 38%

Self-described 3%; $439K; 37 grants
Choose not to identify, N/A: 1%; $202K; 19 grants
Non-binary 1%; $125K; 9 grants
Two Spirit <1%; $40K; 4 grants

PORTLAND SMALL BUSINESS RELIEF FUND

https://prosperportland.us/portfolio-items/portland-small-business-relief-fund/
Targeted Approaches

• Targeted policies are those that extend benefits or protections to a targeted group, and not to individuals outside of that group.

• Examples:
  • Social Security Old Age Benefits
  • SNAP
  • Affirmative Action
  • Veterans Benefits (The GI Bill)
  • Medicare/Medicaid

• Targeted policies may be less expensive (consider Medicare for all v. public option), but by targeting a particular group, these approaches are often viewed as unfairly helping one group over another, seeding hostility and resentment.
Universal Strategies

Summary

Politically durable due to discursive power of government ‘not siding’ with one group over another.
  • provides equal benefit regardless of group membership
  • minimum wage, universal health care

“Unnecessary” government spending because of costs
  • UBI provides payment to billionaire and struggling workers
  • 2013 Pres. Obama universal pre-K program, projected $12.3 billion each year

Exacerbate disparities and deepen inequality and injustice; normative target
  • Massachusetts’ 2006 statewide universal health care law
  • 95% of residents obtained health care insurance (84% national average)
  • Health care insurance provision did not translate into access to health care
Targeted Universalism is a third way

- What is targeted Universalism?
- This is an approach that supports the needs of the particular while reminding us that we are all part of the same social fabric.
  - How does TU respond to the particular urgent suffering of some groups?
  - Does TU diminish the role of particular groups?
- Targeted universalism rejects a blanket universal which is likely to be indifferent to the reality that different groups are situated differently relative to the institutions and resources of society.
- It also rejects the claim of formal equality that would treat all people the same as a way of denying difference.
Equity in practice

“Equity work” can create breaking frameworks.

Breaking frameworks do not foster urgent structural changes.

Breaking frameworks foster relationships that impede those changes.
Equity vs. Targeted Universalism

- **Inclusion** is when space is made within an exclusionary institution for members of the excluded group. Equitable inclusion occurs when there is a conscious effort to make sure that inclusion is done on an equitable basis.

- But **belonging** occurs when the members of the group are made to feel as if they belong to the institution, and that members of those groups have a stake or say in the construction or reconstruction of that institution.

<table>
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<th>Equity</th>
<th>Targeted Universalism</th>
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| Disparities focus  
Eradication of inequalities  
Moves beyond aspiration of equality  
Emphasis on individual bias | Explicit universal goal is focus  
Attends to situatedness of many different identities and groups  
Liftings up aspirations of everyone  
Focus on outcomes  
Emphasis on targeting structures, not individuals |
Targeted universalism can be measurable and immediately practicable

- 5 Steps:
  1. Establish a universal goal based upon a broadly shared recognition of a societal problem and collective aspirations. Co-create
  2. Assess the general population performance relative to the universal goal.
  3. Identify groups & places that are performing differently with respect to the goal and the overall population. Groups should be disaggregated.
  4. Assess and understand the structures that support or impede each group or community from achieving the universal goal.
  5. Affirmatively adopt intervention to get to universal. Evaluate
  6. Develop and implement targeted strategies for each group to reach the universal goal.
  7. Tell and T/U story
Targeted Universalism

- Targeted Universalism requires a diversity of implementation strategies rather than a one-size-fits-all solution. This requires a different kind of policymaking than the typical legislative victory. It requires monitoring and evaluation to ensure success.

- Although the targeted universalism framework supports a wide range of policy interventions, the process for deriving implementation strategies unlocks the potential for transformative change.

- By emphasizing the universal goal as a way of justifying a diversity of implementation strategies, transformative change possibilities can be envisioned, pursued, and aligned.
Targeted Universalism

- Targeted universalism directs attention to different experiences of different people.
- Structures are targeted—not individuals or individual groups.
A technically correct strategy is necessary, but not sufficient to create belonging.

- The *way we work* for a change is important
- The *way we talk* about a change is important

“Doing” targeted universalism is one way we can *create new narratives*.

- TU is not best used as a way to garner support for traditional strategies that are designed to serve a specific group of individuals
- Even if guardrails limit the capacity to substantially reorient or redesign a project, the method and style of running that project can shift its nature from one of breaking to bridging.
- “We are focusing right now on directing these resources to this specific group of people. But we’re making changes that are on the pathway of taking on this shared challenge.”
Stories are powerful and reflect structures that shape society.

Who is in our stories?
Who is left out of our stories?
Who is represented in the stories?

Can we tell stories so that everyone can read themselves into the story?

We need new stories that come from new projects and implementing them in new ways.
T/U Primer

https://belonging.berkeley.edu/targeted-universalism