Part II

Targeted Universalism

We in the developed world are like homeowners who inherited a house on a piece of land that is beautiful on the outside, but whose soil is unstable loam and rock, heaving and contracting over generations …

Not one of us was here when this house was built. Our immediate ancestors may have had nothing to do with it, but here we are, the current occupants of a property with stress cracks and bowed walls and fissures built into the foundation.

We are the heirs to whatever is right or wrong with it. We did not erect the uneven pillars or joists, but they are ours to deal with now.

Isabel Wilkerson, ***Caste***
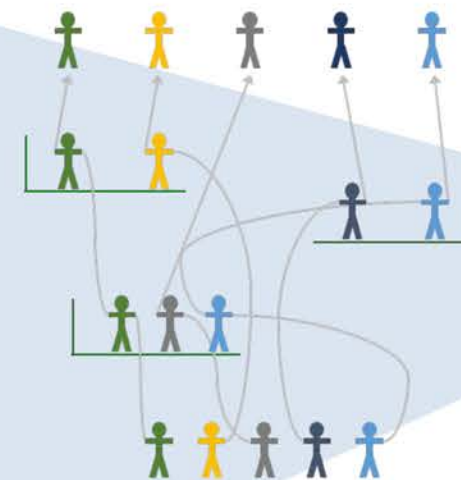
A Progression in How We Address Structural Inequality

Extreme Inequality

Equality

Equity

Targeted Universalism & Belonging (Equity 2.0)

What's the problem with just focusing on universal or just focusing on specific targets?

Disparities & equity can be a breaking framework

- ## Can cause or deepen breaking
  - Competition for resources, especially if exclusively focused on marginalized group, deepen cleavages that inhibit movement building and trigger backlash

- ## Can obscure meaningful change

Opinion: Ben Carson: Moving our focus from equality to equity won't defeat racism. It's another kind of racism.

OPINION | COMMENTARY
'Equity' Is a Mandate to Discriminate
The new buzzword tries to hide the aim of throwing out the American principle of equality under the law.
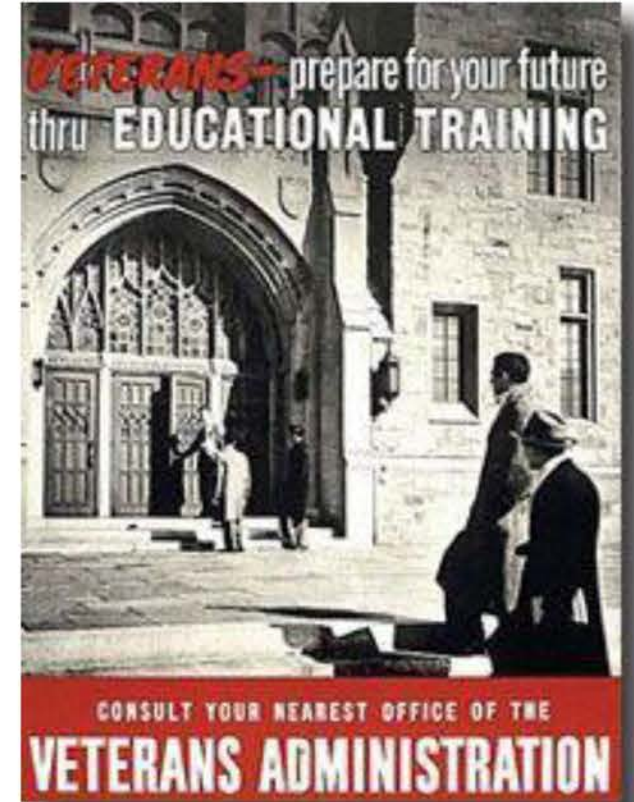
CULTURE

How Equity Will Destroy America

Equity and equal opportunity are fundamentally incompatible.

Headlines from the ongoing backlash against equity

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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.

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http://inside.sfuhs.org/dept/history/US_History_reader/Chapter13/raceandgibill.html

Universal Approaches

Political durability
- government 'not siding' with one group over another
  - minimum wage, universal health care

Criticism of unwarranted government spending
- 2013 Pres. Obama universal pre-K program, projected $12.3 billion each year

Exacerbate disparities and deepen inequality and injustice by pursuing a 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

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Targeted Universalism

This is an approach that supports the **needs of the particular(s)** while reminding us that we are all **part of the same social fabric.**

- How does T/U respond to the particular(s) suffering of groups?

- Does T/U 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.

Why Targeted Universalism?
People are differently situated

Not only are people situated differently with regard to institutions, people are situated differently with regard to 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.

Potential criteria for group identification

- **Race**
  - e.g., poor Blacks and poor whites are not situated the same in the affordable housing context, because poor Blacks face additional discrimination
- **Ability status**
  - e.g., students of color with disabilities are situated differently than students of color without disabilities in the context of criminalization of school discipline
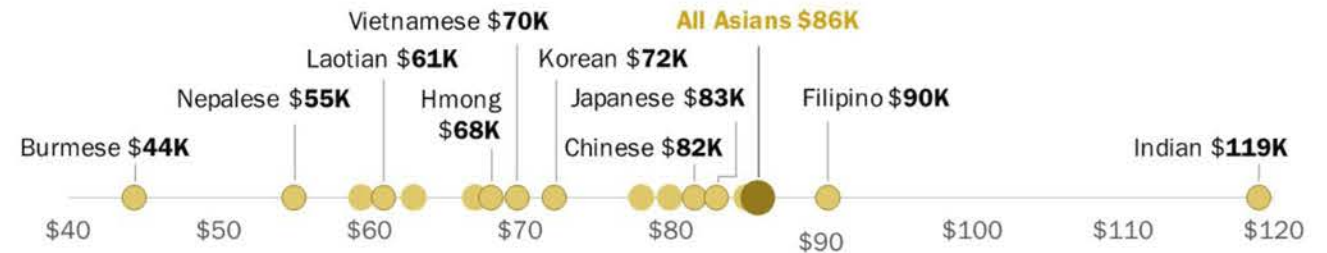- **Geography**
  - e.g., a middle-income person living in a poor neighborhood is situated differently than a middle-income person living in a middle-income neighborhood
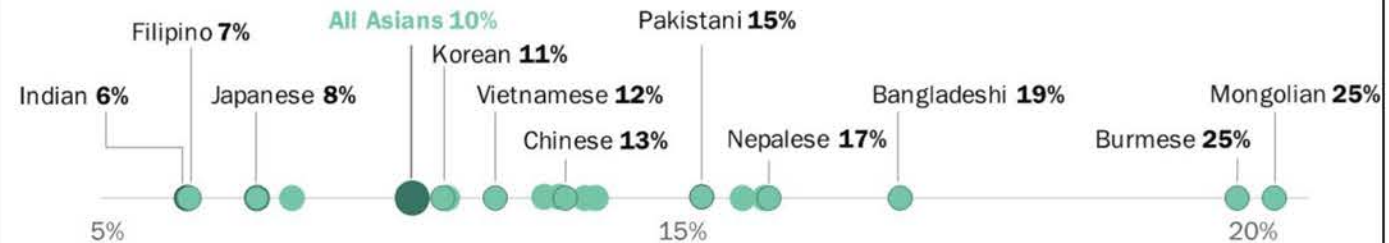- **And many other factors**

Median household income varies widely among Asian origin groups in the U.S. ...

Median annual household income, 2019, by origin group

Burmese $44K · Nepalese $55K · Laotian $61K · Hmong $68K · Vietnamese $70K · Korean $72K · Chinese $82K · Japanese $83K · All Asians $86K · Filipino $90K · Indian $119K

$40 $50 $60 $70 $80 $90 $100 $110 $120

... as does the share who live in poverty

% among Asian Americans who live in poverty, 2019, by origin group

Indian 6% · Filipino 7% · Japanese 8% · All Asians 10% · Korean 11% · Vietnamese 12% · Chinese 13% · Pakistani 15% · Nepalese 17% · Bangladeshi 19% · Burmese 25% · Mongolian 25%

5% 15% 20%

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COVID-19: A Universal Problem with Targeted Consequences

No one is immune to the coronavirus, but **some of us are more susceptible** to infection. And unless we have policies that take care of every one of us, we all remain in danger. …But the crisis is not a contest over who is most vulnerable. **To focus exclusively on the most at-risk groups and neglect everyone else misses the point.** Everyone is affected by the coronavirus, but in dramatically different ways.

In this case, the universal approach could be likened to Governor Cuomo's **"great equalizer" narrative that neglects the disparities in how different populations are experiencing the crisis in terms of susceptibility to infection and access to treatment.** Meanwhile a **targeted approach which focuses exclusively on at-risk groups falls short by neglecting people who are not as dramatically harmed as others, but who also need care.**

The response to this crisis must therefore take another approach in the form of <u>targeted universalism</u>. This approach **accounts for nuances of how different groups are being affected by the pandemic to create policy that targets each group based on their particular needs, while also remembering that we're all in this together.**

john a. powell , COVID is not the great equalizer, 16 April 2020, The Mercury News, here
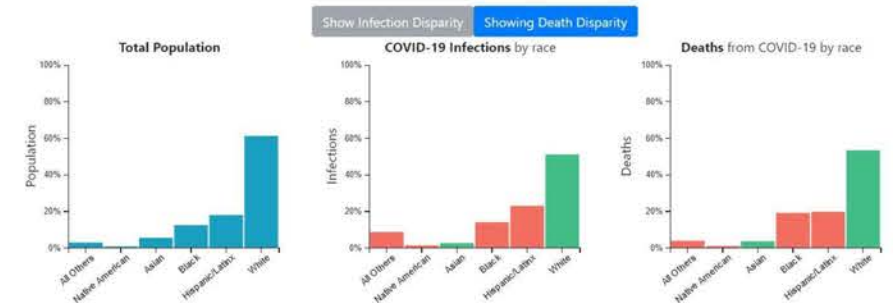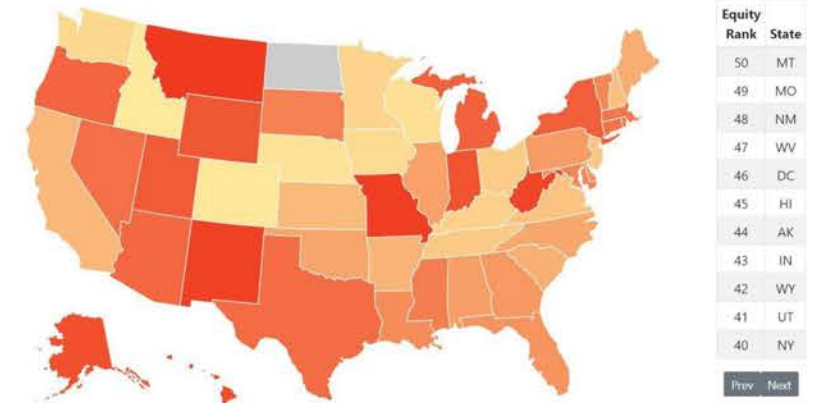
Targeted Universalism designs structures of belonging and tracking progress

The **universal goal sets an aspiration** from which "everyone" stands to benefit

The **strategies in T/U are targeted**–not universal–and they are targeted to structures.

T/U is fixated on structures (**situatedness**) & **outcomes** (impacts of structural changes).

We are all positioned within some of the sames institution, systems, and structures. (For example, think of the institution of family, educational and employment systems, health systems, and institutions of government.)

Yet we **experience structures and systems in profoundly different ways** based on a variety of factors. We are situated differently and this experience **centers T/U structural analysis & defining the problem**.
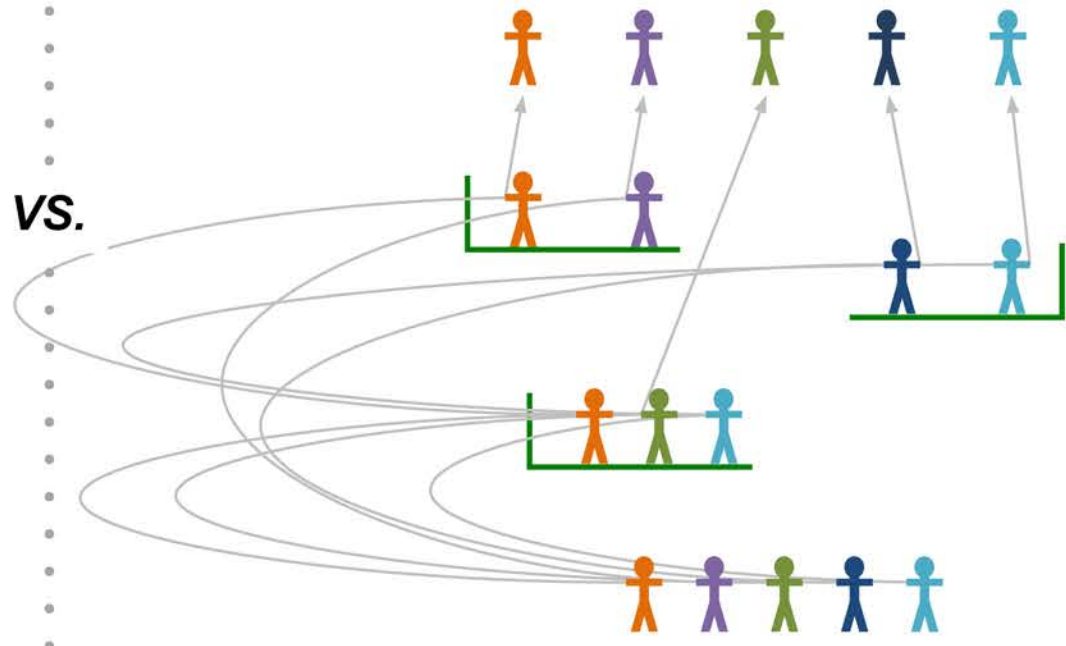
Power   Agency

Belonging

Responsibility

The Framework in a Nutshell

Structural inequity produces consistently different outcomes for different communities
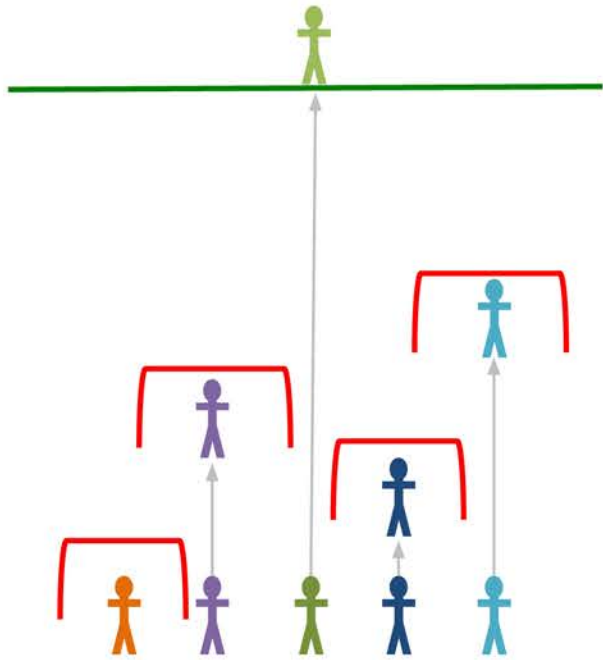
vs.

Targeted universalism responds with universal goals and targeted solutions

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The goal is not just to remove barriers

The goal is to co-create new structures for thriving

Targeted Universalism Steps

1. **Co-create a universal goal** based upon a broadly shared recognition of a societal problem and collective aspirations.
2. Assess the general population **performance relative to the universal goal**.
3. **Identify groups performing differently** with respect to the goal and the overall population. Groups should be disaggregated.
   ○ T/U does not presuppose how groups are defined, it rejects an essentialism that fixes a group in terms of situatedness, stratification and marginality, but also in terms of identity, which we regard as dynamic rather than static.
4. **Assess and understand the structures** that support or impede each group or community from achieving the universal goal.
   ○ Much of what we think of as a difference between groups and identity is a difference between situatedness in structures.
5. **Develop and implement targeted strategies** for each group to reach the universal goal.
6. Decide how the T/U strategy or platform is going to be **described and discussed** by people involved with implementation, support, assessment, and being ambassadors for targeted strategies.

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Step 1: Co-create a Universal Goal

- When working any specific issue, there is **usually an implicit equity goal.**

- To make the T/U framework applicable, **it's important to make the goal explicit.**

- If something is a problem, then it's usually because it diverges from our aspirations.

- **The heart of this step is to establish a universal goal in relation to the societal problem, when possible the goal should be co-created.**

Step 2: Assess the general population performance relative to the universal goal

- Identify the **difference between the universal goal and overall   performance.**
- Understand **how well the overall population fares** relative to the universal goal.

- General performance measure **does not become the baseline** for a T/U framework.
- Assessment of general population **provides a context to understand the problem**.
- Forms the **foundation for the development of targeted strategies**.

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Step 3: Identify groups that are performing differently with respect to the goal and the overall population

- Conduct a more **granular assessment of how various subgroups perform relative to the goal.**

- Disaggregating **might say more about the structure** and how opportunity is distributed than the nature of the group.

- If we disaggregating data further we can **begin to see that groups have different needs to   reaching the universal goal.**

- Not to identify disparities between subgroups, but to **identify distance from the universal goal.**

- Geography matters, particular **places may also be identified as constituent groups** by themselves in terms of the universal goal.

Step 4: Assess & Pro-actively design strategies that move groups each group to the universal not just what impede.

- We must **understand the structure that shape the outcomes for each group.**

- **Investigation of the problem and the circumstances** that confront each group or impede achievement.

- This analysis **directly shapes and informs the strategies** that will emerge in the final step.

- Assess **lack of supports** that might also form an impediment to the universal goal.

- Use a **mixed-methods analysis** including quantitative demographics and qualitative sources.

Step 5: Design and implement targeted strategies for each group to reach the universal goal.

- Create and implement specific strategies that **build new structures of belonging** and/or avoid existing structural barriers

- Be aware that **different implementation strategies may be required** for different groups and/or institutions or systems you are targeting.
  - Different groups need different support. Some groups also need more help because groups are situated differently with respect to the goal.

- Implementation strategies derived in this step of the targeted universalism framework are **outcome oriented or evaluated for success.**

Step 6: Targeted Universalism as a communication strategy

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**.

- T/U 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."

The Federal Strategic Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness

Biden Administration Calls for 25% Cut in Homelessness by 2025

The Biden administration's new strategic plan to address homelessness includes a focus on equity and a promise to help cities build more housing.

As the strategies outlined in this plan are implemented, USICH will work with a broad range of stakeholders to adopt a "targeted universalism"[35] framework that promotes a universal reduction goal with targeted and tailored solutions based on the structures, cultures, and geographies of certain groups to help them overcome unique barriers. USICH recognizes that tailored solutions are needed for specific populations and geographic areas and that individuals and families experiencing multiple barriers often require special consideration and resources. USICH also recognizes that the federal government will need to rely on those most impacted by the policies and strategies promoted in this plan to design the tailored actions and guidance.

Evaluate using agreed metrics

Example	Targeted Universalism Description
CUNY Score	Strengths and limitations of comparing dominants groups and disparities focused on closing gaps.
King County Determinants of Equity	Similarities and differences between theory of change and T/U alongside determinants of equity.
Prosper Portland	Measurements and monitoring equity indicators overtime as it relates to outcomes-oriented approach in T/U.
County of San Diego: Housing	Structural and systems change in the use of equity indicators to improve strategies within a T/U framework.
GARE Getting to Results	Community participation in defining disaggregated outcomes as a measurement of outcome-based equity.
Seattle's Pedestrian Master Plan	Importance of structural changes in the use of geography and place-based data to create and prioritize a set of strategies within T/U.

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How should we think about measuring belonging?

- Most of the available surveys and questionnaires are mostly or entirely focused on *individuals'* subjective viewpoints
  - However, each individual can only see part of the broader picture of how our communities and society is organized (e.g., the real institutionalized barriers to belonging of which individuals may or may not be aware)
  - Individual viewpoints might be mismatched relative to their real opportunities and privileges (or lack thereof)
- What we need is a two-pronged approach: **individual** (more subjective) and **structural** (less subjective)
  - The subjective sense of belonging is still key to full belonging, but should take different *contexts* into account
  - The structural element has to take into account the material circumstances of different subgroups in the broader community (e.g., the OBI Inclusiveness Index)

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Example questions for assessing individual sense of belonging

- *Do I feel connected to this place?*
- *Do I feel connected to the people here?*
- *Do I feel seen?*
- *Do I feel valued?*
- *Do I have a voice in determining how the community operates (i.e., co-creation)?*

1. I feel emotionally connected to my company or organization.
2. My co-workers welcome and include me in activities.
3. I feel <u>unable</u> to influence collective decisions at my company or organization.
4. I feel <u>unable</u> to be my whole and authentic self with my coworkers.
5. My co-workers value me and my contributions.
6. My relationships with my co-workers are as satisfying as I want them to be.
7. I feel like an "insider" who understands how my company works.
8. I am comfortable expressing my opinions with my co-workers.
9. I feel like I am treated as "<u>less than</u>" other employees at my workplace.
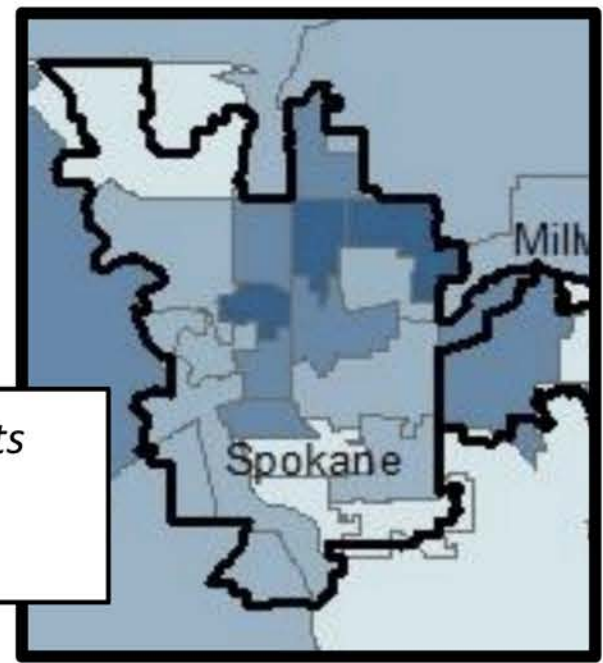10. When I'm with my co-workers, I feel like I truly belong.

the Over Zero Belonging Barometer—workplace version

Sense of belonging in Spokane County
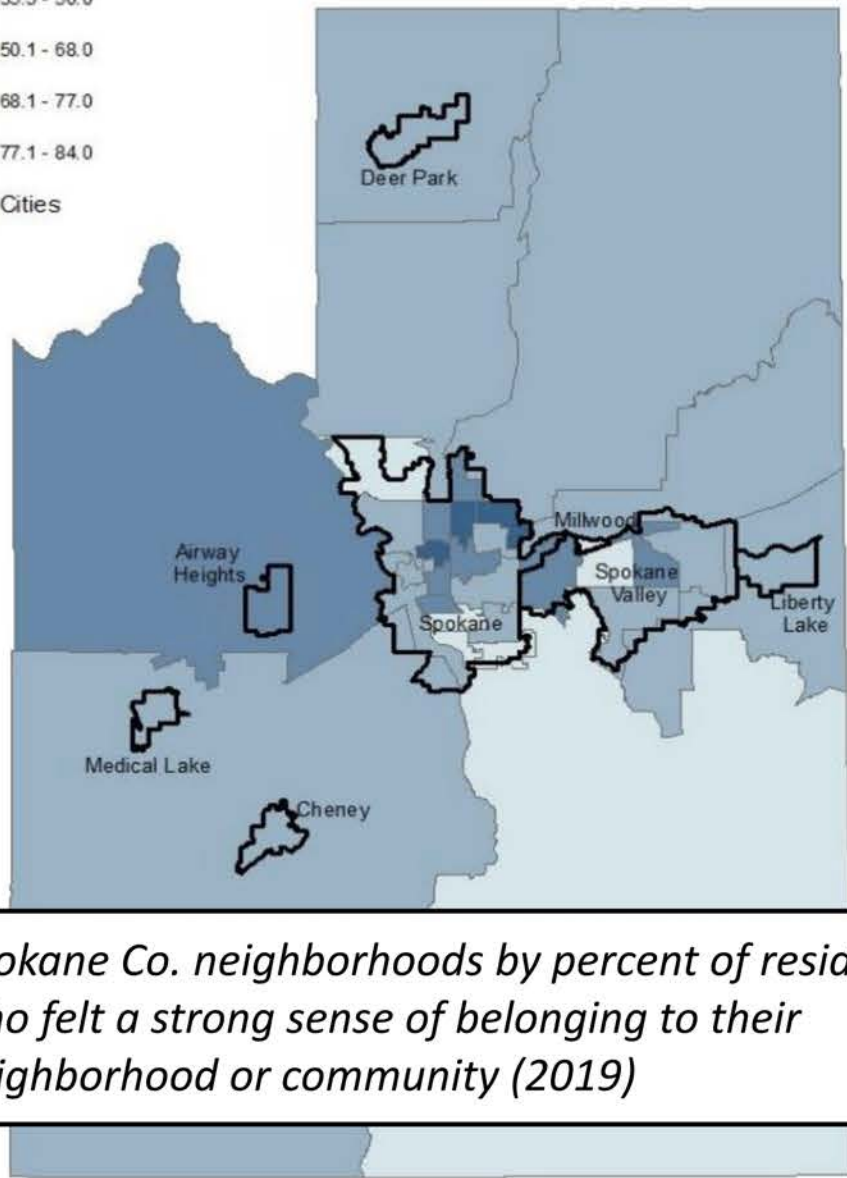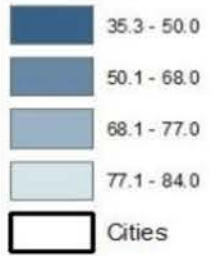
Spokane Co. neighborhoods by percent of residents who felt a strong sense of belonging to their neighborhood or community (2019)

Some indicators used to assess social capital in the Spokane Regional Health District's **Quality of Life Survey** are related to a sense of belonging, including an item which explicitly addresses it

Washington Ranks 8th on OBI Inclusiveness Index

INCLUSIVENESS INDEX RANK/STATE/INDEX		RACE RANK/INDEX	GENDER RANK/INDEX	LGBTQ+ RANK/INDEX	RELIGION RANK/INDEX	DISABILITY RANK/INDEX	GENERAL POPULATION RANK/INDEX
8 Washington	57.25	6th	15th	14th	40th	19th	17th

Top 20 States

1. Hawaii
2. Nevada
3. Maryland
4. Vermont
5. Rhode Island

6. New Hampshire
7. Utah
8. **Washington**
9. Colorado
10. Virginia

11. California
12. Oregon
13. Minnesota
14. Illinois
15. Delaware

16. North Dakota
17. New York
18. Nebraska
19. Montana
20. New Mexico

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Washington

Inclusiveness Category: High | **Population 2022:** 7,738,692

35.7%
People of Color

49.6%
Gender

4.5%
LGBTQ+

NA
Religon

13.1%
Disability

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Inclusiveness Index: Washington

Race

State Legislators ⓘ   0.0   322.7

Income Ratio ⓘ   45.39   74.15

Incarceration by race ⓘ   0.62   3.73

Gender

Incarceration rate ⓘ   6   281

State Legislators ⓘ   13.4   58.7

Income Ratio ⓘ   56.99   81.23

Labor Force Participation ⓘ   46.1   62.9

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Inclusiveness Index: Washington

LGBTQ+

Hate Crime Rate ⓘ

0.0000   2.6425

State Legislators ⓘ

0.0   8.0

Equality Index ⓘ

45.7   97.2

Religion

US Representatives ⓘ

0.0   50.0

Anti-Sharia Bills ⓘ

0.0   3.0
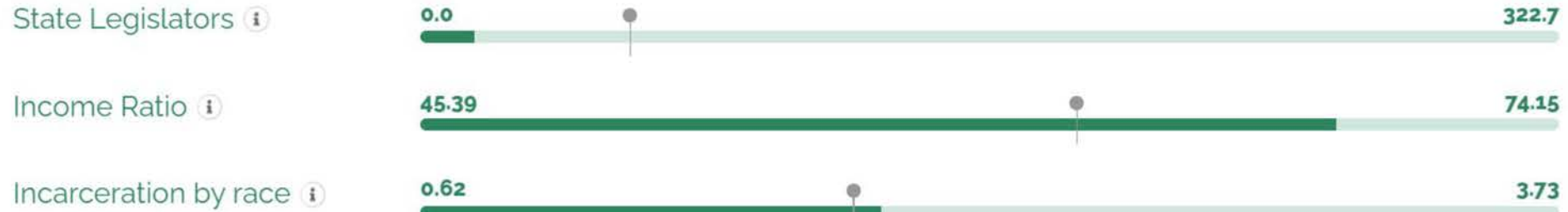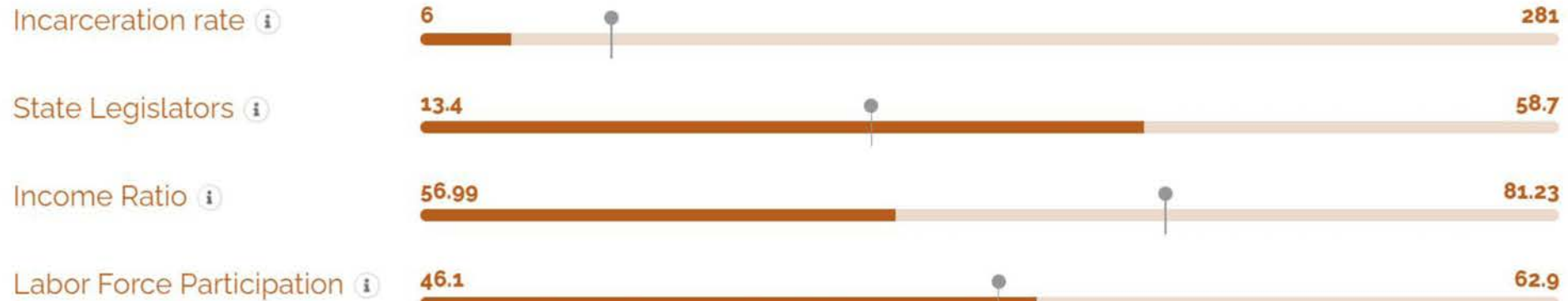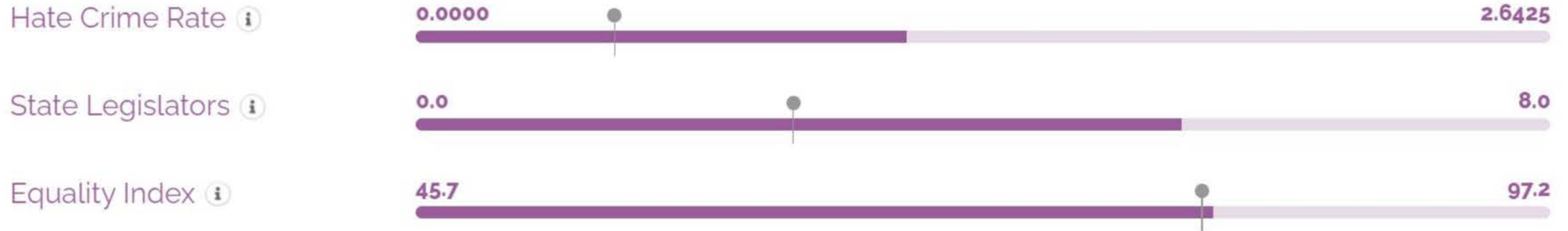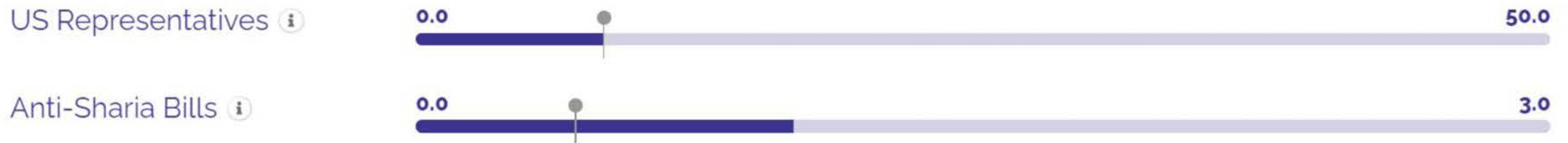
Inclusiveness Index: Washington

Disability

Income Ratio ⓘ

50.31   84.10

Labor Force Participation ⓘ

75.3   93.3

General Population

Hate Crime Rate ⓘ

0.45   15.37

GINI Coefficient ⓘ

0.4230   0.5149

Incarceration rate ⓘ

275   1,094

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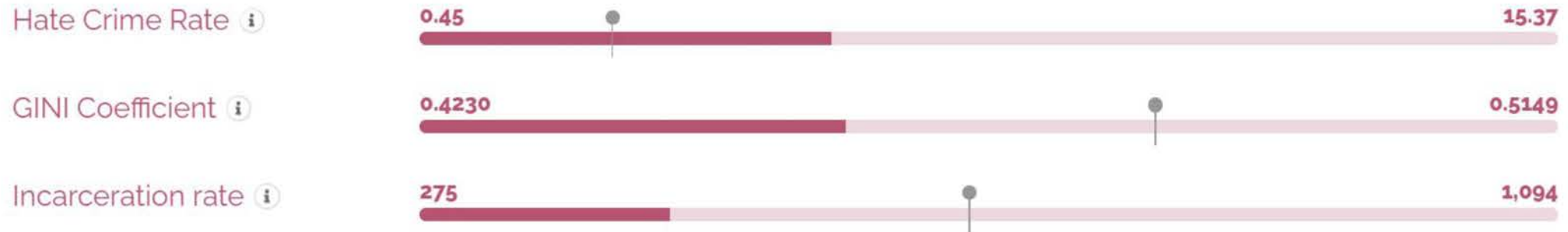
Measuring Segregation & Inclusion in Spokane

## Racial inclusion index for 113 large cities

using American Community Survey [ACS] 2019 one-year estimates

CITY	STATE	POPULATION	POVERTY RATIO	EDUCATION RATIO	HOME-OWNERSHIP RATIO	SEGREGATION RANK	RACIAL INCLUSION RANK
Port St. Lucie	FL	189,396	0.78	1.15	0.95	113	1
Fremont	CA	235,740	0.36	1.53	1.01	34	2
Spokane	WA	217,353	1.01	0.72	0.74	110	3

(from Samir Gambhir & Marina Blum, Analyzing Belonging in Our Communities: Racial Inclusion and Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic, Othering & Belonging Institute [2022])

- **Poverty ratio** between non-Hispanic whites to communities of color in terms of poverty status
- **Education ratio** between non-Hispanic whites to communities of color in having attained at least an associate's degree

- **Homeownership ratio** between non-Hispanic whites to communities of color in owning a home
- **Segregation rank** of racial residential segregation in large cities using OBI's "Divergence Index" and "Entropy Score"

Racial Residential Segregation in Spokane
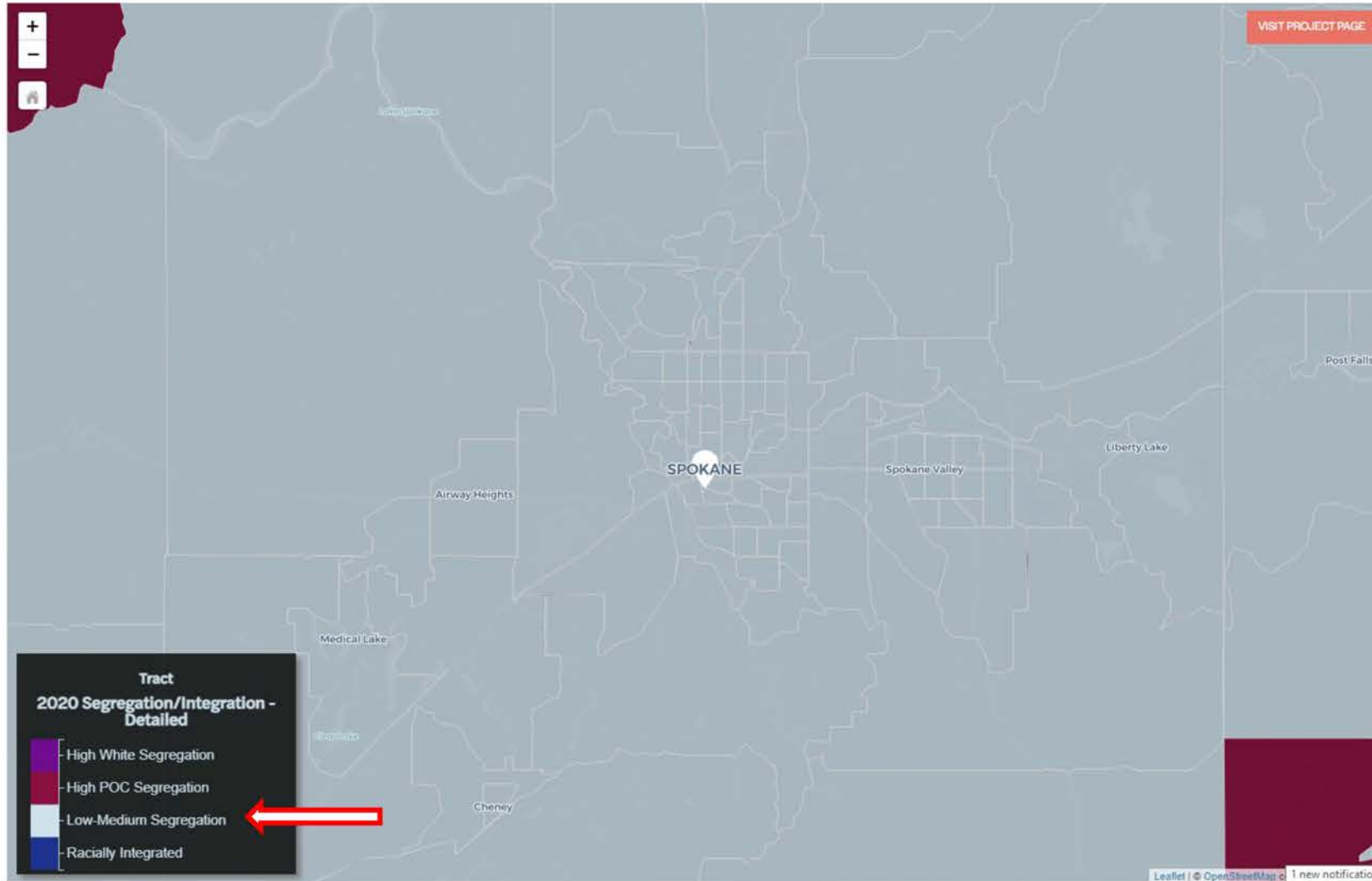
- Among large U.S. cities, <u>Spokane was one of the least segregated in 2020</u> (118th of 119).
- The Spokane area was 101st in the U.S. in <u>comparing</u> <u>segregation between 1990 and 2019</u>.
  - *this means that segregation increased but to a lesser extent than 100 other metro areas (among the 209 metro areas with at least 200,000 people)*
  - *(metro areas ranked 170 and upward saw decreases in segregation)*

End of phase 2 presentation

Transition to: Ashley and Group Discussion

Part II discussion prompts

What is something shared about Targeted Universalism that you found interesting?

Are you working on or connected to projects that seem similiar to Targeted Universalism?
If so, would you share the example?

What belonging measurement are you most interested in?
What would you like to learn more about?

Questions?