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

Equality

Equity

Extreme Inequality

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

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Headlines from the ongoing backlash against equity
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 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
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**
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 targeted universalism. 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 same 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.
The Framework in a Nutshell

**Structural inequity** produces consistently different outcomes for different communities

**Targeted universalism** responds with universal goals and targeted solutions
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.
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.
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” 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Targeted Universalism Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CUNY Score</td>
<td>Strengths and limitations of comparing dominant groups and disparities focused on closing gaps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King County Determinants of Equity</td>
<td>Similarities and differences between theory of change and T/U alongside determinants of equity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosper Portland</td>
<td>Measurements and monitoring equity indicators overtime as it relates to outcomes-oriented approach in T/U.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County of San Diego: Housing</td>
<td>Structural and systems change in the use of equity indicators to improve strategies within a T/U framework.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GARE Getting to Results</td>
<td>Community participation in defining disaggregated outcomes as a measurement of outcome-based equity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle’s Pedestrian Master Plan</td>
<td>Importance of structural changes in the use of geography and place-based data to create and prioritize a set of strategies within T/U.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)
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)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel emotionally connected to my company or organization.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My co-workers welcome and include me in activities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel unable to influence collective decisions at my company or organization.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel unable to be my whole and authentic self with my coworkers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My co-workers value me and my contributions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My relationships with my co-workers are as satisfying as I want them to be.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel like an “insider” who understands how my company works.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am comfortable expressing my opinions with my co-workers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel like I am treated as “less than” other employees at my workplace.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I’m with my co-workers, I feel like I truly belong.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*the Over Zero Belonging Barometer—workplace version*
Sense of belonging in Spokane County

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.

Spokane Co. neighborhoods by percent of residents who felt a strong sense of belonging to their neighborhood or community (2019)
Washington Ranks 8th on OBI Inclusiveness Index

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


- People of Color: 35.7%
- Gender: 49.6%
- LGBTQ+: 4.5%
- Religion: NA
- Disability: 13.1%
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
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
  - Washington: 50.31
  - General Population: 84.10

- Labor Force Participation
  - Washington: 76.3
  - General Population: 93.3

General Population

- Hate Crime Rate
  - Washington: 0.45
  - General Population: 15.37

- GINI Coefficient
  - Washington: 0.4230
  - General Population: 0.5149

- Incarceration rate
  - Washington: 275
  - General Population: 1.094
Measuring Segregation & Inclusion in Spokane

Racial inclusion index for 113 large cities
using American Community Survey [ACS] 2019 one-year estimates

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

(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, Spokane was one of the least segregated in 2020 (118th of 119).
- The Spokane area was 101st in the U.S. in comparing segregation between 1990 and 2019.
  - 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 similar 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?