

RACIAL EQUITY TOOLKIT

IMPLEMENTING GREENLINING'S RACIAL EQUITY FRAMEWORK

Adrian Sanchez • Health Policy Fellow

Carla Saporta • Health Policy Director

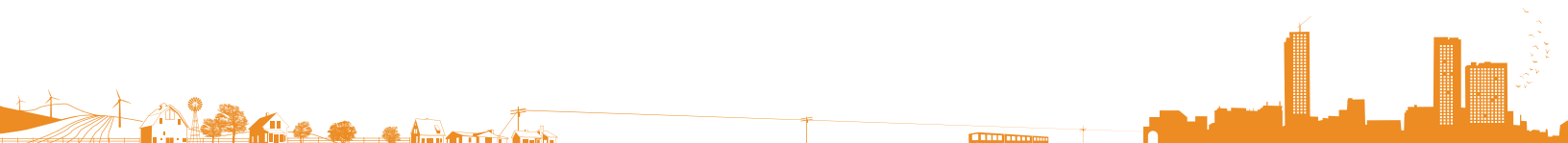


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About the Greenlining Institute

Founded in 1993, The Greenlining Institute is a policy, research, organizing, and leadership institute working for racial and economic justice. We work to bring the American Dream within reach of all, regardless of race or income. In a nation where people of color will make up the majority of our population by 2040, we believe that America will prosper only if communities of color prosper.

About the Authors

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Adrian Sanchez is from Salinas, California and recently received his BA in Ethnic Studies with a minor in Public Policy from the University of California, Berkeley. While at UC Berkeley, Adrian worked on efforts of access and affordability in the fields of health and education. He served on committees that focused on a student health advocacy agenda with the University Health Services. Adrian is passionate about alleviating health disparities in underrepresented communities and promoting sexual health efforts amongst men of color. Adrian was exposed to public policy as a New Leader for the Center for Progressive Leadership Program in Washington D.C., where he interned for Planned Parenthood Federation of America working on Latino advocacy and engagement. His research with the Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program focused on sexual healthcare utilization amongst undocumented Mexican Farmworkers and he hopes to bring his research and advocacy experience to the fellowship.

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Carla Saporta is the health policy director for the Bridges to Health team at Greenlining, focusing on developing a racially equitable framework for increased health care access and the implementation of the Patient Protection and the Affordable Care Act. Carla also leads efforts to develop public/private partnerships in the health care sector as a means to mitigate health disparities. Carla graduated from Occidental College with a Bachelor of Arts in Urban and Environmental Policy. She completed her Master's in Public Health, with an emphasis in Health Policy and Management, through the Oregon Masters in Public Health Program at Portland State University. Prior to Greenlining, Carla worked as a legislative analyst for Oregon State Senator Laurie Monnes-Anderson, Chair of the Senate Health Committee and was an organizer for the California Nurses Association. Her work at Greenlining is informed by the understanding that every policy is health policy.

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INTRODUCTION

Policymakers must be prepared to design policies that will meet the needs of the nation's increasingly diverse population.

The demographics of this country are rapidly shifting, with people of color projected to be the U.S. majority by approximately 2050.¹ California is already a majority-minority state, with approximately 60 percent of the state's population being of color, a figure that is expected to grow to 70 percent by 2060.² Given these demographic transformations, policymakers must be prepared to design policies that will meet the needs of the nation's increasingly diverse population.

Communities of color continue to experience high levels of unemployment,³ barriers to accessing healthcare,⁴ high foreclosure rates,⁵ and limited access to affordable transportation.⁶ As a result of these racial/ethnic disparities, communities of color often find it difficult to have an equitable share of the American Dream. Policymakers, stakeholders, and individuals

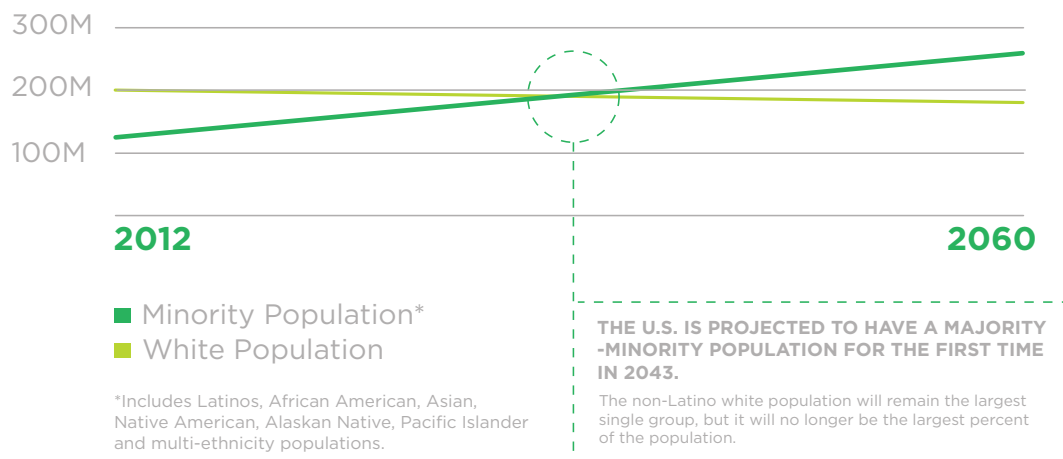
with political influence should consider using equity as a metric for creating fair and effective policy. Equity, more specifically racial equity, will offer a lens to think about all of the possible outcomes and consequences that policies will have on diverse communities, and help in designing policies that reduce disparities and address the needs of all.

KEY TERMS

Racial Equity: The Greenlining Institute defines racial equity as the condition that would be achieved if one's race or ethnic origin was no longer a determining factor in one's success.⁷ This concept focuses on achieving comparable favorable outcomes across racial and ethnic groups through the allocation of resources in ways designed to remedy disadvantages some people face through no fault of their own.⁸

Intersectionality: a particular way of understanding social location in terms of crisscrossing systems of oppression. Specifically, intersectionality is an "analysis claiming that systems of race, social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and age form mutually constructing features of social organization."⁹

FACT: THE U.S. IS BECOMING MORE DIVERSE



Why Racial Equity?

Communities of color are an economic asset to this country. They constitute a growing, diverse population contributing to the domestic economy, purchasing goods and services, paying taxes, and contributing to Social Security. As the population grows, so will these financial contributions.¹⁰ These rapid demographic transformations offer opportunities for growth through innovation, bringing a multiplicity of perspectives and solutions to solve America's most pressing issues.¹¹ America cannot prosper if communities of color are left behind, and a racial equity approach is crucial to that effort.

Racial equity is based on the unmistakable fact that not all communities start on the same level. In fact, some communities — African Americans, Native Americans and various immigrant communities, for example — have historically been more underserved in America and have experienced poverty in different ways and at different rates.¹² In order to achieve a fair economy and a stronger America, we must understand that the country is changing and wise investments need to be made now through a racial equity lens in order for communities of color to contribute fully to America's prosperity and future.

America cannot prosper if communities of color are left behind, and a racial equity approach is crucial to that effort.

The Racial Equity Toolkit

This racial equity toolkit is designed to provide policymakers, advocates, and others with an easy-to-follow guide to applying a racial equity lens to any policy issue, using an approach that can be put to work in a wide variety of situations. It is a follow up to the racial equity framework created in The Greenlining Institute's 2012 document, *Filling in the Gaps: A Racial Equity Framework for Successful Implementation of the Affordable Care Act*, which sought to provide a framework for equitable policymaking and implementation, using implementation of health care reform as a jumping-off point. Our hope is that this framework will be useful in many situations to provide a lens for thinking about equitable outcomes for all communities and strategies for reducing barriers to social and economic mobility. It additionally aims to identify tools, resources, strategies, and lessons learned that policymakers and stakeholders might want to replicate.⁴

This toolkit is based on qualitative case studies: The Greenlining Institute's real-world attempts to use the racial equity framework to guide our policy work. Specifically, we examined best practices and lessons learned in applying the Guiding Questions of the racial equity framework, which focused on six broad areas:

1. Gathering Information
2. Engaging Stakeholders
3. Identifying Policy Holes
4. Filling in the Holes
5. Examining Sustainability
6. Evaluation

This toolkit should serve as a thinking tool — a starting point for brainstorming and creative exploration — rather than a checklist.

How to Use this Toolkit

The Greenlining Institute's program areas found the racial equity framework to be a useful guide to their efforts, but also experienced the inevitable challenges that occur when theory collides with reality; thus, even in spaces where considering racial equity is the norm, the framework is a helpful tool for focusing advocacy work. This toolkit attempts to describe those experiences in a step-by-step fashion which we hope others will find useful. It should serve as a thinking tool — a starting point for brainstorming and creative exploration — rather than a checklist. By offering guiding questions, case studies, and recommendations, this toolkit can function as a springboard to reframe and expand our thinking about not only racial justice issues, but about how policies and actions of all sorts can work to promote the well-being of all people.

METHODOLOGY

As we considered ways to explain the experiences and challenges of applying the racial equity framework, we realized that our own policy work within The Greenlining Institute provided multiple useful examples. The following case studies apply the racial equity framework to specific issues within The Greenlining Institute's program areas, focusing on six sets of guiding questions. Our case studies provide best practices, effective strategies, and lessons learned.

This toolkit was informed by data gathered through in-depth interviews with key staff in three Greenlining Institute program areas: Claiming Our Democracy, Environmental Equity, and Energy. These in-depth interviews were held from May 2011 to September 2012. Others who worked on the specific policy efforts also provided input. A literature review was later created that focused on the methods used to construct a toolkit, with a focus on best practices, strategies, and lessons learned.

Data was collected and reviewed from the three program areas and cross-compared to find key commonalities and themes, augmented by the insights informed by the literature review. The best practices described in this toolkit have been identified through themes found across all program areas and were coded based on the recurrence of those themes from each Guiding Question of the racial equity framework in the program area interviews. This approach was also applied to identifying lessons learned.

CASE STUDIES

Claiming Our Democracy: Greenlining's Claiming Our Democracy (COD) team works to provide communities of color full access to the democratic process. In recent years, one of this team's main concerns has been California's ballot initiative process, a system in which communities of color and low-income Californians may be marginalized. COD applied the racial equity framework during its work to develop, introduce, and attempt to pass Senate Bill 1233 in 2012. The bill would have required the state to translate ballot initiative petitions into California's nine most prominent non-English languages in order to provide access to this crucial stage of the initiative process for limited English proficient (LEP) and monolingual voters. Currently, initiative petitions are available only in English.

Environmental Equity: Greenlining's Environmental Equity team focuses on the emerging green economy in order to make sure that communities of color not only have a clean environment, but also benefit from the economic opportunities made possible by environmental efforts. One focus of this team is to reduce pollution in low-income communities of color, which are often among the most severely polluted.¹³ This program area applied the racial equity framework to create funding strategies for electric vehicle (EV) infrastructure, using funds from a settlement with a major energy company. The guiding questions helped the program area offer recommendations to the California Public Utilities Commission regarding how to appropriately use the funds to improve EV access in low-income, communities of color.

Energy: Greenlining's Energy program addresses the electric and gas services upon which homes and businesses depend, seeking to ensure that low-income ratepayers are protected and that race, language, or income are never barriers to these essential services. This team applied the racial equity framework to an initiative to ensure that utility companies implement fair background check policies for contractors in the energy efficiency field. They specifically sought to block a proposed policy that could have barred many young men of color (who are disproportionately likely to have had encounters with the criminal justice system)^{14,15} from jobs in energy efficiency by barring applicants with even minor, non-violent offenses on their records.

In this toolkit, each Guiding Question highlights a particular program area's experience utilizing the framework and recommendations for best practices. The data and stories collected from the case studies are reflected in the best practices, recommendations and lessons learned, which are designed to apply to a wide variety of situations. The specific examples presented should be considered as a jumping-off point, intended to illustrate broad principles that apply to nearly any policy or advocacy issue, as well as many other situations.

THE GUIDING QUESTIONS: A STEP-BY-STEP GUIDE

1. Gathering Information

It is important to consider the resources and materials currently available. Examine the existing information about the population, community, and project/initiative. Questions to consider:

- What specific issue(s) do we intend to address?
- What is the purpose of the policy we are making and/or implementing?
- What quantitative and qualitative evidence of inequity exists around the issue that this policy is supposed to address?
- How might implementation play out differently in different communities?
- What additional information is missing or needed?

Example: Starting with the general aim of making the ballot initiative process more user-friendly for underserved communities, Claiming Our Democracy began their information-gathering knowing something of the inequities of California's initiative process, but understanding that the communities' perspective was needed to fully grasp how these issues played out in different communities. Therefore, the team conducted statewide listening sessions to hear the real-world experiences of voters, with a focus on low-income communities and voters of color, a process informed by Greenlining's racial equity framework. During this process, limited English proficient (LEP) voters raised the issue of being left out of the process of qualifying ballot measures because petitions are only available in English, and our team learned that some regions in California have more diverse LEP populations than others. By going out into the community, Claiming Our Democracy learned about a specific problem affecting particular population groups that could be addressed through legislation. The following are best practices that Claiming Our Democracy concluded from their information gathering process:

A. Develop a community-based stakeholder process

- Create a system that captures community needs, i.e. a community needs assessment
- Develop a system that identifies barriers experienced by different communities to help inform policy
- Work with grassroots organizations in the local community to help with gathering information in a culturally appropriate way (e.g. literacy level, language access, cultural issues/attitudes)

By going out into the community, Claiming Our Democracy learned about a specific problem affecting particular population groups that could be addressed through legislation.

Lessons Learned

Often, policy work can be very prescriptive and not informed by the challenges and realities of everyday people.

Prior to the listening sessions, the Claiming Our Democracy team organized a diverse coalition of stakeholders (mainly from advocacy and community groups) to engage in a discussion about possible reforms in the ballot initiative process. Often, policy work can be very prescriptive and not informed by the challenges and realities of everyday people. For Claiming Our Democracy, a lesson learned involved the importance of starting a community-based listening process early and hearing from the people directly about their experiences with the voting and ballot initiative process. It was in the listening sessions that the team was able to inform and craft the language for SB 1233 after hearing from a community member about ballot initiatives only being in English — a problem that had not surfaced in the discussions with fellow advocates. The team researched the community member's claim and confirmed that language access was indeed an issue that could and should be addressed. To inform policy, there needs to be a comprehensive strategy that incorporates all voices, not just those of policy experts, nonprofit leaders, and academics. Moving forward, Claiming Our Democracy will reach out to the community first, to capture real, lived experiences so that the people's voices can inform more equitable policy that benefits their communities.

Recommendation:

Create a comprehensive strategy that engages all stakeholders and all voice to support policy development

- Minimize the implementation of policies that disregard the considerable impact on diverse racial and ethnic communities
- Provide practical decisions based on real stories from real people
- Support community-based research — research that involves community members and experts in all aspects of the research process.¹⁶ Often when we only focus on scientific data, we leave out important contextual factors

2. Engaging Stakeholders

People affected by a particular issue, along with other advocates familiar with the issue, can provide insight and perspective about the possible outcomes of policies and help evaluate the implementation process. A diverse group of stakeholders can help policymakers achieve better outcomes by bringing a wide breadth of expertise to bear. Questions to consider:

- Who are the stakeholders (including community members and members of various racial/ethnic groups) that may be positively or negatively affected by this policy? How can we best inform them?
- How can we engage potentially affected stakeholders as active participants in the decision-making, planning, and implementation processes in an impactful way?
- Are we meaningfully considering the needs and concerns of stakeholders during the decision-making processes?
- Which stakeholders are missing from the discussion and how can we engage them?

Example: For our Energy program, garnering letters of support from a variety of sources was crucial to their successful background check initiative against the utility companies. The team used the racial equity framework to identify all possible stakeholders who might support the effort to stop utility companies from using unfair background checks for energy efficiency employees. They reached out to elected officials, nonprofit organizations, academics, and personal contacts from a variety of backgrounds, such as equal opportunity organizations, drug policy advocates, and retired law enforcement officers — many of whom they had never worked with before.

They provided a template letter of support but encouraged supporters to customize it and contribute their own ideas. As stakeholders, their active participation and unique perspective provided insight that helped the team strengthen their argument. During their process, Energy highlighted the need to engage stakeholders early:

A. Engaging stakeholders early in the process

- Helps to develop a broad base of supporters who can identify unintended consequences early
- Assists in monitoring and evaluating the creation of racially equitable policies
- Creates a hook. Develops a support system with diverse members who will become invested in the issue and create urgency around it

Lessons Learned

Communities of color have experienced disparate levels of racial discrimination and criminalization by law enforcement in America.¹⁷ These realities can influence decisions about seeking support, especially on an issue dealing with criminal background checks. For Energy, one of the biggest supporters of their efforts on criminal background checks came from what might seem like an unexpected source: a retired member of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). At times, entities may have different policy missions but have overlapping constituencies. For the team, it was insightful and compelling to have a retired Deputy Chief of the LAPD who had extensive experience, and was an insider working in the criminal justice system, saying these policies don't make sense. His passion for criminal justice reform made advocating for the removal of overly-restrictive background checks a natural fit, and aligned with the efforts of Energy, which normally does not work on criminal justice issues. The synergy between their arguments confirmed that changes needed to be made.

Develop a robust network with stakeholders who might not align at first with your mission.

Recommendation:

Build Coalitions with Unexpected Partners

- Develop a robust network with stakeholders who might not align at first with your mission
- Find common ground on a particular policy issue
- Use these partnerships to consider different perspectives in formulating a solution

3. Identifying Policy Holes

This is the process of identifying both positive and negative consequences of the proposed policy. Who might be accidentally harmed, or simply left out? Stakeholder participation is crucial in identifying missing information, adverse effects, and unintended consequences. Questions to consider:

- What adverse impacts or unintended consequences could result from this policy if enacted as written?
- How would different racial and ethnic groups be impacted (either positively or negatively) if this policy were enacted or implemented as written?
- What additional barriers might prevent individuals in certain racial/ethnic groups from benefiting fully if this policy were implemented as written?
 - a. Consider language, gender, socio-economic status (SES), digital inequality, LGBTQ status, (dis)ability, employment status, immigration status, education level, geography, environment, religious beliefs, culture, history of incarceration, etc.

Example: Environmental Equity identified barriers that could prevent certain racial and ethnic groups from fully benefiting from the Electric Vehicle (EV) program. The proposed EV program does not have the capacity to include cars that are accessible for individuals with disabilities, and not everyone can use a car that has been modified to be driven with only hands. As a result, this program would adversely affect communities with disabilities, which include a high representation of communities of color.¹⁸ In order to mitigate this policy hole, Environmental Equity talked to stakeholders potentially interested in the program to make sure they fully considered all potential impacts and mitigate the negative impacts in advance. Currently, the team is working to engage individuals involved in the labor movement and communities of color as a proactive measure to devise solutions as implementation continues. Because this is a pilot program, all involved stakeholders should expect to learn from these lessons in order to maximize options in the future. As result, consider the following when thinking about solutions to policy holes:

A. Consider ALL possible intersectionalities¹⁹ in the analysis

- Don't lose sight of other factors affecting the analysis because of a sustained focus on race and ethnicity
- Consider other factors such as class, sexual orientation, and ability
- Remember, there is no “one size fits all” approach

B. Consult with stakeholder groups to assist in identifying adverse effects and outcomes

- Stakeholders provide a different set of eyes and perspectives
 - a. Because data may be limited, maintaining communication with a robust network can give you access to important information

Lessons Learned

The racial equity framework helped Environmental Equity realize that some communities for whom they advocate would be left out of this Electric Vehicle program. Environmental Equity identified the need to broaden the market share and consumer base for EVs, extending access to EVs for low-income, communities of color, but learned that within these communities there are people with different lived experiences and circumstances that must be considered.

Recommendation:

Remember that there is no universal or “one size fits all” approach to solving problems

- Different outreach and engagement strategies are needed that reflect the diversity within communities
- Having a diverse and robust set of stakeholders from different constituencies and communities avoids creating a limited audience base — the bigger the audience, the greater the opportunities for support and input

4. Filling in the Holes

In the real world and in politics, there are no perfect solutions. Sometimes the best immediately attainable result is one that moves the ball forward significantly, but still leaves some issues to be addressed. This is one of the most challenging parts of the process, and certainly challenged Greenlining's teams. Claiming Our Democracy realized that their bill did not successfully address literacy level, and Environmental Equity did not account for disabled communities. Finding solutions to address all disparities will be an on-going process that is often easier said than done. Although Greenlining's teams did not successfully provide solutions to their policy holes, they were able to identify the issue areas with the help of the racial equity framework and will continue to monitor those policy holes and work on addressing them. In order to make the least imperfect policies, it is critical to systematically identify those who have been affected, those that are left out, and know that a lot of work still needs to get done. In the process there were lessons learned, including solutions that could have been considered. Questions to consider:

- What steps could we take to prevent or minimize adverse impacts or unintended consequences?
- What steps could we take to address additional barriers that could prevent various racial/ethnic groups or others from accessing the policy fully?
- Are there further ways to maximize equitable outcomes?

It is critical to systematically identify those who have been affected, those that are left out, and know that a lot of work still needs to get done.

Lessons Learned

Once you understand all of the factors that can impact a policy and the reasons why it might have negative effects on some groups, it is important to move quickly to identify solutions and put them into place as early in the process as possible. In order to inform the process of filling in the holes, examine the causes and think critically about the factors that contribute to producing or perpetuating racial inequities. Sometimes this requires one to question the structures, politics, and values of the project or policy.

Recommendation:

Deconstruct the impacts of the policy — consider all factors²⁰

- Get inside the policy — understand its role, its purpose, history, and structure
- Create an environment where all stakeholders feel safe and comfortable to discuss the values of the policy
- Remember that there might be multiple right answers
- Ask other stakeholders or participants of the brainstorming process about their perspectives on particular issues. Be an active listener
- Refer back to the information-gathering phase and ask: What other information is missing?

5. Examining Sustainability

In order to consider the viability and sustainability of a particular issue/project, one should consider the political, social, and economic conditions that support or impede the growth and development of the initiative. It is important to develop the necessary systems and mechanisms to ensure supportive conditions and avoid creating further disparities. This must include continued stakeholder input, adequate provisions, and funding for implementation and enforcement. Questions to consider:

- Is this policy adequately funded to achieve its designed goals? Are mechanisms in place to ensure successful implementation and enforcement?
- Are there provisions to ensure ongoing stakeholder participation and public accountability of policy implementers and enforcers?

Example: Environmental Equity is relying on data and communication with stakeholders to create more investments and ensure that the electric vehicle program can be sustainable. The team hopes that the successful implementation of this program will generate data demonstrating that this project is financially feasible for investors or the state to invest in for the public good. Environmental Equity's vision of the best-case scenario is that this project will initially engage small, minority-owned businesses that will come up with a business model that can be replicated and expanded. These businesses would figure out how to implement EV car-sharing for the public good, while finding solutions to growing this industry themselves. These businesses would pay family-sustaining wages and employ well-trained people — something that will have a ripple effect in communities. If this program can hit all of those points — reducing pollution, providing high road jobs,²¹ and developing a business model, while showing that the pilot project works and how to do it right — then it will be easier for other people to replicate the program or invest in it. Their hope is to attract federal funding that would allow for this program, if successful, to spread out to more states.

A. Data collection as an advocacy tool for greater investment

- Keep important people in the field looped in to leverage advocacy and investment
- Use this ongoing communication to influence insiders who may also have a stake in the issue (i.e. personal connection)

Lessons Learned

A major indicator of a project's success is its ability to be sustainable. How successfully projects are able to develop metrics of success and an effective strategy for the transition from short-term funding sources to long-term funding may determine the project's ability to continue. Environmental Equity doesn't want this program to only last a couple of years, so the team needs to make sure it is sustainable in the long run. This will require long-term collaborations and partnerships. Because this is a pilot program, it will be important to collect the data needed to measure success, enabling long-term funding, replication, and expansion.

Recommendation:

Devise a long-term funding plan and strategy

- Engage a breadth of potential funders: state and federal agencies, foundations, private donors, and/or adoption by larger organizations
- Replicate the project in other communities
- Present data and information locally, regionally, or nationally — information needs to be understood well enough to replicate and disseminate
- Demonstrate that the investment is worth making

6. Evaluation

Evaluation is more than just outcomes and results. This process should consider the lessons learned, skills, knowledge, and perspectives developed by the individuals involved in the reflection process. The evaluation process should adapt and adjust to the needs of the project and goals in mind. Questions to consider:

- Are there provisions to ensure ongoing collection of data (that can be disaggregated by race/ethnicity) and public reporting of data?
- Are there clear markers of short-term and long-term success as well as timelines for meeting markers of success?
- What are the mechanisms we will utilize to ensure that goals are met?
- What are the consequences if goals are not met?
- Is there a process for those impacted by the policy to express grievances or satisfaction and to ensure that concerns are met?

Example: Energy successfully blocked inequitable background check policies, removing minor crimes such as nonviolent drug offenses as a bar to employment. Due to this success, the team will need to stay in close communication with utility companies and regulators in order to track policy changes and monitor implementation of fair background check policies. Consistent with the principles of the racial equity framework, Energy will pursue ongoing data collection because there currently exist gaps in the literature. Having built relationships with key stakeholders, this program area is committed to staying connected with academics and experts in the field to gather this data for future research.

The following are effective evaluation strategies that were gathered from this case study.

A. Evaluation happens throughout the process and should not be left until the end

- Although this is the last Guiding Question, it is important to conduct ongoing evaluation in order to adjust for things that aren't working
- Encourage ongoing self-reflection and dialogue on the part of every person involved with the policy development and/or implementation process in order to enhance understanding of the project and goal
- Treat evaluation as a learning tool throughout the life of the project, a tool that must be considered as more than just measuring outcomes.

Lessons Learned

Baseline data can help inform performance and success indicators, and a lack of it will create complications. The Energy team would have benefited from data regarding other sectors that use criminal background checks, indicating whether different types of policies influenced the diversity of the workforce in various fields. Other factors that should be considered include employee self-selection — potential applicants deciding not to apply because a criminal background check is a part of the process. Moving forward, the Energy team is going to consult workforce development agencies regarding the role criminal background checks play in hiring and whether they create this chilling effect.²² As a result, consider the following recommendation:

Recommendation:

Develop strong baseline data to create benchmarks for evaluating program effectiveness

- Develop a thorough literature review that encompasses current best practices and the state of affairs on the issue
- Consult with entities and experts in the field, in this case workforce development agencies, stakeholders in the energy field and the construction sector
- Promote data comparison across academic disciplines and employment sectors — don't reinvent the wheel

CONCLUSION

This toolkit should be used to provide policymakers, advocates, and others with an easy-to-follow guide to applying a racial equity lens to any policy issue. We hope that this resource helps create policies that reduce barriers to social and economic mobility for all communities.

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- ¹⁹ Intersectionality: A particular way of understanding social location in terms of crisscross systems of oppression. Specifically, intersectionality is an "analysis claiming that systems of race, social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and age form mutually constructing features of social organization.
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- ²¹ High road jobs are jobs that make sure that economic development projects really end up benefiting people in local communities. High Road Standards ensure that green projects — like city energy efficiency upgrade programs and storm water initiatives — create real opportunities for people who need them most. See: *High Road Agreements: A Best Practice Brief by Green For All*. (2012). Green for All. Retrieved from: http://greenforall.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/High-Road-Agreements_A-Best-Practice-Brief-by-Green-For-All.pdf.
- ²² Kendrick, L. (2012). *Speech, Intent, and the Chilling Effect*. University of Virginia School of Law. Retrieved from: <http://www.law.ucla.edu/workshops-colloquia/Documents/Kendrick.SpeechIntentandtheChillingEffect.Draft030712.pdf>.

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