



Beyond Apology

A SERIES OF COMMUNITY CONVERSATIONS ROOTED IN EDUCATION ON REPAIR AND REPARATION IN TULSA, OK



BEYOND APOLOGY REPORT

Standpipe Hill Strategies
World Won Development

The Public Work Project at OSU-Tulsa



Reparation?

Reparations: It happened. There was murder, false imprisonment, forced labor, a cover-up, and local precedence for restitution. While the official damage was estimated at \$1.5 million, the black community filed more than \$4 million in claims. All were denied. However, the city commission did approved two claims exceeding \$5,000 “for guns and ammunition taken during the racial disturbance of June 1.” In his memoirs Stradford recalled the guards acted like wild men. “The militia had been ordered to take charge, but instead they joined the rioter.” His view is supported by action of the governor in a concerted effort to rid the National Guard of the Ku Klux Klan in 1922. The preponderance of the information demands what was promised. Whether it was Ku Klux Klan instigated, land speculator’s conspiracy, inspired by yellow journalism, or random acts, it happened. Justice

demands a closure as it did with Japanese Americans and Holocaust victims of Germany. It is a moral obligation. Tulsa was likely the first city in the to be bombed from the air. There was a precedent of payments to at least two whites victims of the riot. The issue today is what government entity should provide financial repair to the survivors and the condemned community that suffered under vigilante violence? The Report tells the story, let justice point the finger and begin the reconciliation!

And Finally

Vigilantes under deputized and under the color of law, destroyed the Black Wall Street of America. Some known victims were in unmarked graves in a city owned cemetery and others were hauled off to unknown places in full view of the National Guard. The mob torched the soul of the city, an evil from which neither whites nor blacks have fully recovered.

Representative Don Ross

Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921

BEYOND APOLOGY

Dedication

Dear Community,

We humbly offer the *Beyond Apology Report*, a synopsis of community perspectives on repair and reparation in Tulsa, OK. This work is dedicated to the survivors and descendants of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre and the resilient spirit of Greenwood.

We acknowledge that no process, study, or report can fully collect, detail or assess the past events or present impacts of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre and its over 100-year aftermath. Furthermore, we acknowledge that without direct action on “findings” from any of the many processes, studies and reports around these events, there cannot be justice. Therefore, *Beyond Apology* (the process) and report endeavors to serve another brick-layer in the foundation laid and re-laid by the many attorneys, historians, researchers, activists and legislators [past and present] who have and continue to work towards justice.

Our devoted team has invested unwavering dedication and heartfelt commitment into executing a thoughtful process and producing an actionable presentation of community perspective in this report. We are profoundly grateful to each one of you for your support and participation in this work.

Finally, we want to pay special respect to former State Representative Don Ross and the late Senator Maxine Horner whose work on the 2001 Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, laid the historical groundwork for the *Beyond Apology* process and report.

With sincere gratitude,
Standpipe Hill Strategies & *Beyond Apology* Team

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“I.H Spears” Photo Credit: Tulsa Historical Society

BEYOND APOLOGY

Executive Summary

Between April 2023 and July 2023, The Beyond Apology Team hosted four in-person sessions at locations around Tulsa including: 36th Street North Event Center, Greenwood Cultural Center, and Tulsa Community College Southeast Campus. 339 attendees participated in person at *Beyond Apology* sessions.

A series of community conversations rooted in education on what repair and reparation in Tulsa, OK should look like, *Beyond Apology* finds its foundation in the roots of national and international reparations processes.

The process also emanates from the Tulsa City Council and Council Resolution 20113. The resolution calls for the “establishment of a community-led process to evaluate recommendations for reconciliation by the commission’s [State of Oklahoma’s Commission to Study the 1921 Race Riot] and other reports.” While the council did not commission or manage *Beyond Apology*, the outline and intended outcomes of the process were presented to the Tulsa City Council prior to its execution. Additionally, Council members were recruited and some engaged in the *Beyond Apology* sessions. This report summarizes the *Beyond Apology* process and its findings. Additionally this report contains expert profiles, resources and study materials made available at *Beyond Apology* sessions.

These resources are included in hopes that readers of this report will take the opportunity to increase their knowledge of and connection to the ongoing struggle for reparative justice in Tulsa, OK. Finally, this report compares recommendations made in the two most extensive studies of the Tulsa Race Massacre (2001 Oklahoma Commission Report, 2020 Human Rights Watch Report) with the community priorities identified through the *Beyond Apology* process (2023).

Beyond Apology was conceived by a team of descendants with Standpipe Hill Strategies (SPH), a community development consulting firm whose founders were raised in the shadows of Tulsa’s Historic Black Wall Street. Working pro bono, and with the financial support of private and individual donors, SPH commissioned World Won Development (Tulsa, OK) to support community engagement and program operations. Representatives from these entities in addition to a staff of descendants and reparations advocates make up the “*Beyond Apology* Team”. Researchers with The Public Work Project at OSU-Tulsa were commissioned to design and carry out a research protocol and submit a report of the findings. The opinions expressed in the report are those of the participants in the *Beyond Apology* research protocol, and the themes identified emerged from data provided by those participants. Furthermore, any recommendations for what to do or how to use the findings in this report should be attributed to the *Beyond Apology* Team identified above, and not to The Public Work Project, or OSU-Tulsa.

BEYOND APOLOGY

Principles of the Process



Beyond Apology was created as part of an ongoing push for justice characterized by repair/reparation for the Tulsa Race Massacre and its ongoing harms.

Designed as a space for community education around:

1. *Tulsa City Council Resolution 20113*
2. *Equity/equality data in Tulsa, OK*
3. *Studies and recommendations for reparations in Tulsa, OK*
4. *Case studies of reparative acts in the United States and around the world.*
5. *Legal and legislative efforts for reparations in Tulsa, OK.*

Beyond Apology made room for impacted community members to express what repair/reparation should look like; and for perspective-gathering (data), rooted in authentic dialogue.

***Beyond Apology* was supported by the Tulsa City Council, but driven by community.**



This was neither a process where the rights of survivors and descendants of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre to access reparative measures were in question; nor a space dominated by perspectives of non-descendants or non-impacted community members. **All people and perspectives were welcome and documented, but not centered.**

***Beyond Apology* was not an end-point in the responsibility of decision makers to repair harms caused.** This process built on the previous and ongoing work of community members and advocates (legal, legislative, communal) to hold entities accountable for remedying unmitigated harms. **This process is not an action of any of those governmental or non-governmental entities.**

RESEARCH METHODS

Data Collection & Findings

A core intended outcome of the *Beyond Apology* process was identifying community-informed priorities around repair and reparations. A functional way to think about this outcome is - if a group was pursuing a reparations program, these priorities would help them determine “where to start.” To that end, *Beyond Apology* was designed as a space for informed perspectives to be shared.

Every session included the opportunity for participants to share their perspectives by responding through visual, verbal, or written protocols to the following prompts:

- 1) What should repair/reparation look like?**
- 2) What areas of repair/reparation be prioritized?**

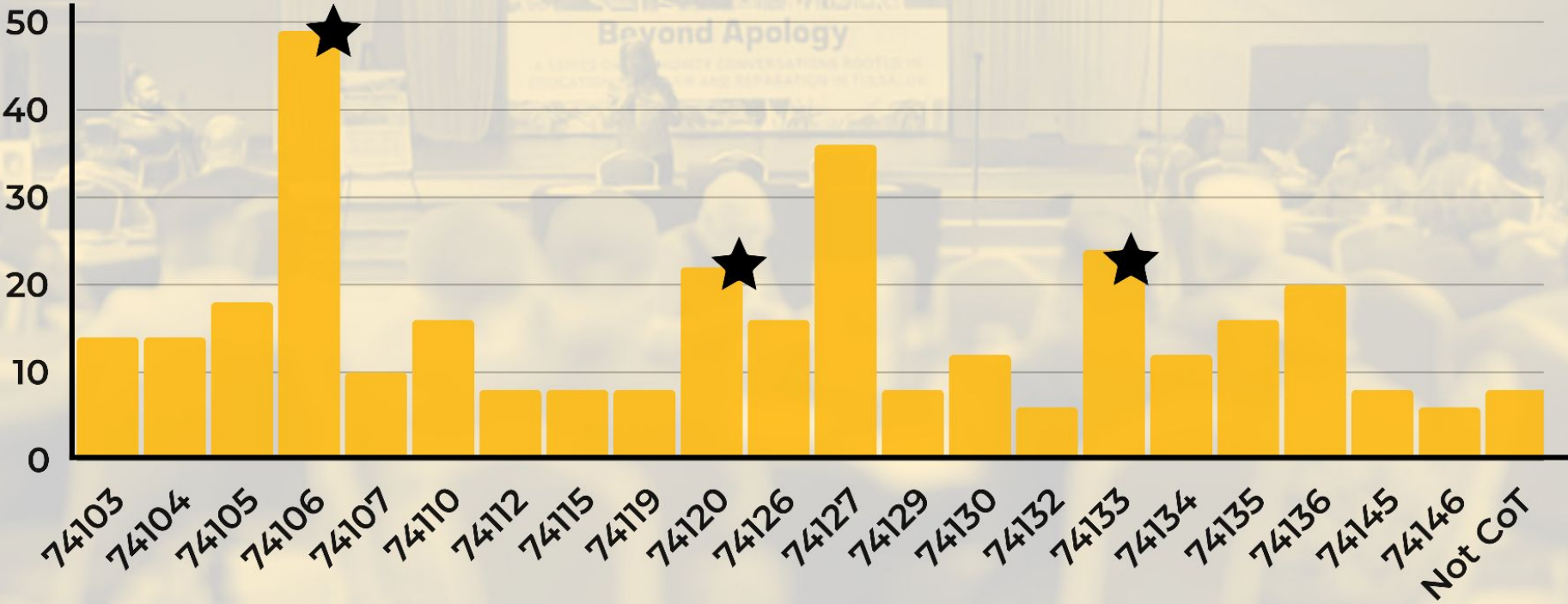
Contributing to the dataset by sharing was optional for *Beyond Apology* attendees, 35% of unique attendees chose to share (n=83/256). “All participants gave their informed consent to the research protocol before sharing their perspectives. Researchers have kept the raw data confidential; no identifying information beyond age, zip code, descendant status, and “current relationship to Greenwood and/or the Tulsa Race Massacre” were included in the transcripts, and thus in this report (see Appendix A for a demographic summary).

“Researchers with The Public Work Project at OSU-Tulsa collected data at each *Beyond Apology* session, transcribed participant statements, analyzed the data, and produced a report of the findings, provided to the *Beyond Apology* team. Eight themes emerged from the data (i.e., from the perspectives shared by participants in the *Beyond Apology* sessions): **education, financial compensation, community and economic development, housing, land, health and wellness, policy change, and cultural identity.**

In the “Findings” section of this report, these themes are summarized in descending order according to the number of individuals who shared thoughts related to a particular area or approach to repair or reparation. The description of each theme includes a summary of most frequently occurring ideas expressed by all participants mentioning that particular topic. Ideas/opinions shared by descendants of victims and survivors are highlighted, along with those of residents in the Tulsa City Council District 1, which is most proximate to the boundaries of the Greenwood district as it existed in 1921. Summaries also include trends in demographic data (when available) based on participant response. The de-identified dataset is available for review at beyondapology.org.

BEYOND APOLOGY

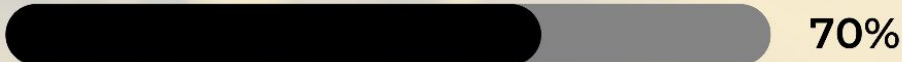
Participation by Zip Code



Participants Identifying as Descendants



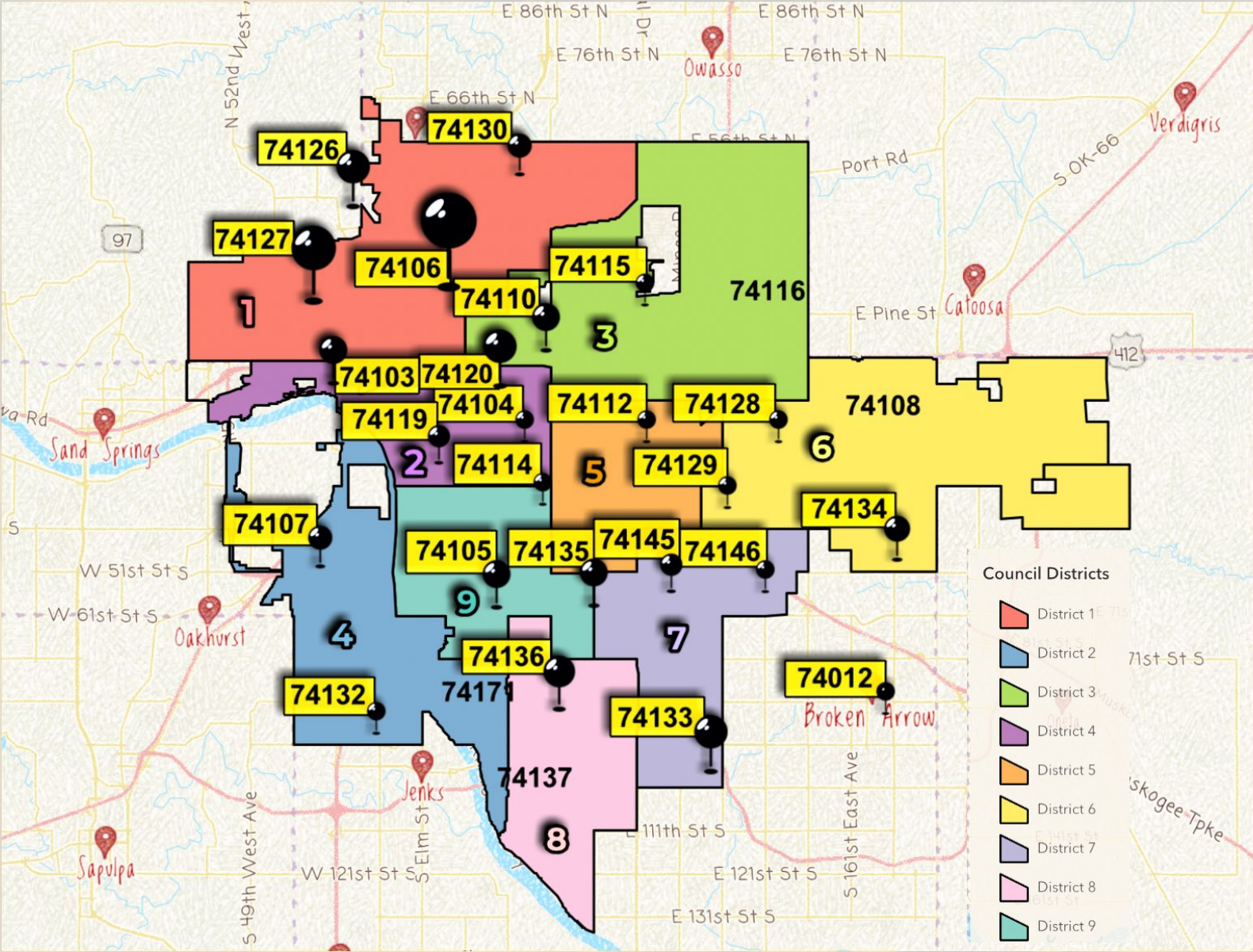
City of Tulsa Zip Codes Represented



★ *Beyond Apology Sessions were held at venues in these zip codes.*

BEYOND APOLOGY

Participation by Zip Code



PART 1: PROCESS



BEYOND APOLOGY SESSIONS

01

Purpose - Created in honor of the Ancestors that built the Greenwood community in Tulsa, OK and in support of the survivors and descendants of the Tulsa Race Massacre and their ongoing quest for justice, repair and reparation...Beyond Apology was a series of community conversations rooted in education on what repair and reparation in Tulsa, OK should look like.

02

Sessions - The sessions were open to the public and designed to be accessible to any community member regardless of their prior knowledge of or connection to the Tulsa Race Massacre and ensuing harms rooted in racial inequity. Each session was designed to be a stand alone event with a consistent scope, sequence and opportunities for input. Participants could but did not need to attend all sessions. Ultimately, each session brought a uniqueness thanks to the variety of perspectives of community members sharing the space.

03

Calendar

Tuesday, April 11th, 2023 | 5:00pm-8:00pm | 36th Street North Event Center

Thursday, April 13, 2023 | 5:00pm-8:00pm | TCC Southeast Campus

Tuesday, May 30, 2023 | 5:00pm-8:00pm | 36th Street North Event Center

Tuesday, June 13, 2023 | 5:00pm-8:00pm | Greenwood Cultural Center



BEYOND APOLOGY SESSIONS

Stations

Supported by guest experts, each session provided participants with the opportunity to expand their knowledge/context around the following areas:

01

Tulsa City Council Resolution & public commitments to repair harms.

02

Equity/Equality data in Tulsa, OK.

03

Studies and recommendations for reparations.

04

Case studies of reparative acts in the United States and around the world

05

Legal and legislative efforts for Reparations in Tulsa, OK.

TULSA CITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 20113

Published in the Tulsa World

13th day of June 2021.

RESOLUTION NO. 20113

A RESOLUTION PROVIDING DECLARATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE TULSA CITY COUNCIL; RECOGNIZING THE FINDINGS CONTAINED IN THE 1921 TULSA RACE RIOT COMMISSION REPORT; RECOGNIZING A HISTORY OF DISCRIMINATION SUFFERED BY BLACK AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES; RECOGNIZING FINDINGS CONTAINED IN THE CITY'S EQUALITY INDICATOR REPORTS ESTABLISHING THAT THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DISPARITIES BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE TULSANS; STATING MEMBERS' APOLOGIES FOR ACTIONS PERPETRATED BY OTHERS DURING THE 1921 TULSA RACE MASSACRE AND SUBSEQUENT SEGREGATION, AND DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES; CALLING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNITY-LED PROCESS TO EVALUATE THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RECONCILIATION MADE IN THE COMMISSION'S AND OTHER REPORTS; SUPPORTING THE MISSION OF THE MAYOR'S OFFICE OF RESILIENCE AND EQUITY, THE GREATER TULSA AFRICAN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS COMMISSION, THE TULSA AUTHORITY FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND COMMUNITY PARTNERS; URGING ENTITIES IN TULSA THAT HAVE ADVANCED AND BENEFITTED FROM RACIAL INEQUITY TO JOIN THE CITY IN ITS APOLOGIES; PLEDGING TRANSPARENCY IN REPORTING PROGRESS ON THE CONTENTS OF THIS RESOLUTION; AND DECLARING AN EMERGENCY.

Led by Tulsa City Councilors, participants were introduced to the 2021 Tulsa City Council resolution, which went beyond apologizing for the Tulsa Race Massacre, by committing to act on disparities. In addition, the resolution called for a “community led process” to evaluate recommendations for repair and reconciliation. The resolution served as the impetus for the *Beyond Apology* process. **The full resolution can be read at www.cityoftulsa.org**



EQUITY DATA

Tulsa Equality Indicators



Indicator 19: Homeownership by race
Ratio of percentage of White to Black homeowners who are homeowners

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Score	47	54	48	42	49
White householders	98.8%	98.4%	97.6%	96.6%	98.8%
Black householders	31.6%	34.8%	32.0%	30.9%	32.7%
Ratio	3.120	2.822	3.050	3.110	3.020

Change 2018 to 2022: +2

Ei White Tulsans are 80% more likely to own a home than Black Tulsans.

Indicator 28: Juvenile arrests by race
Ratio of arrests for Black to White youth age 0 to 17 per 1,000 youth in their respective populations

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Score	40	35	35	31	37
Black youth	95.25	86.85	84.93	84.95	95.51
White youth	12.226	9.182	8.798	7.711	6.364
Ratio	7.145	9.450	9.663	10.888	15.163

Change 2018 to 2022: -3

Ei Black youth are arrested at over 2.5 times the rate of White youth.

Indicator 8: Median household income by race
Ratio of White to Black median household income

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Score	49	54	48	44	50
White	\$61,993	\$61,744	\$62,448	\$60,648	\$67,056
Black	\$28,399	\$29,693	\$30,483	\$31,884	\$33,781
Ratio	2.170	2.074	2.050	1.930	1.980

Change 2018 to 2022: +1

Ei Median household income for White Tulsans is more than 75% greater than that of Black Tulsans.

Indicator 46: Vacant housing by geography
Ratio of percentage of housing units in North to South Tulsa that are vacant

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Score	47	51	48	47	48
North Tulsa	17.6%	18.6%	17.4%	17.4%	16.6%
South Tulsa	9.6%	9.7%	9.5%	9.4%	9.4%
Ratio	1.842	1.912	1.811	1.828	1.811

Change 2018 to 2022: +1

Ei Housing vacancy rate is 80% greater in North Tulsa than in South Tulsa.

Indicator 41: Life expectancy by geography
Ratio of life expectancy in years past retirement age for South to North Tulsa

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Score	35	35	34	33	35
South Tulsa	13,931	12,999	13,432	13,494	13,364
North Tulsa	4,568	4,504	4,500	4,354	4,679
Ratio	3.050	2.882	2.998	3.090	2.859

Change 2018 to 2022: +0

Ei South Tulsa residents live almost 3 times longer past retirement age than North Tulsa residents.

Indicator 40: Infant mortality by race
Ratio of infant mortality rates for Black Tulsa County residents to White Tulsa County residents per 1,000 live births

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Score	31	26	31	32	32
Black	81.683	88.899	14,784	16,988	14,350
White	6,220	4,652	4,261	5,188	4,417
Ratio	3.350	4.308	3.397	3.274	3.249

Change 2018 to 2022: +1

Ei Black families are more than 3 times as likely to experience death of an infant as White families.



The Tulsa City Council Resolution references disparities found in the Tulsa Equality Indicators reports. With support from Dr. Melanie Poulter, a lead researcher of the Tulsa Equality Indicators Report, participants were given the opportunity to explore findings in the report. **Reports dating back to 2018 can be found at: csctulsa.org/tulsaei**

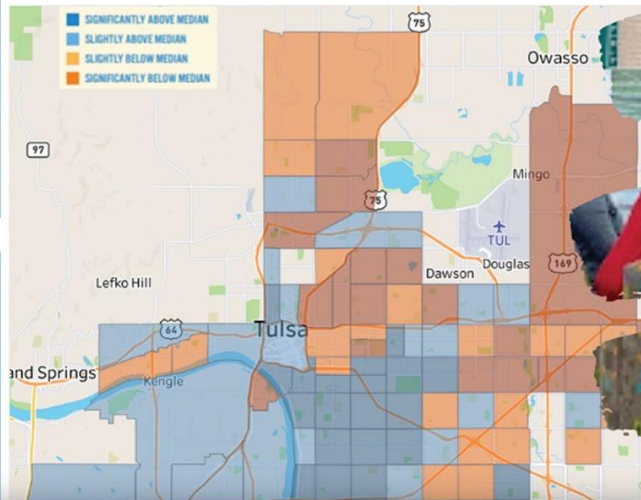
EQUITY DATA

Child Equity Index



- 1 STUDENT LEVEL DOMAIN**
 - Gender
 - Race/Ethnicity
 - ELL
 - Student Mobility
 - Attended Pre-K
 - Economic Disadvantage
 - Homeless
 - Special Alert (i.e. medical)
 - EBL
 - Suspensions
- 2 NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH**
 - Built Environment Score
 - Life Expectancy
 - Mental Health/ Substance Abuse Visits
 - ER Visits
 - Infant Mortality Rate
 - Teen Pregnancy
 - Low Birth Weight
- 3 NEIGHBORHOOD SES**
 - % of Population with Less than a High School Education
 - % of Pop below 100% FPL
 - % of Pop below 200% FPL
 - Unemployment Rate
 - Receipt of SNAP (Food Stamps)
 - Housing Cost Burdened
 - Housing Quality
 - and Condition
- 4 NEIGHBORHOOD SAFETY**
 - Violent Crime (aggravated assault, homicide, rape, robbery)
 - Narcotics Crime
 - Gun-related Mortality
 - Arrests
- 5 NEIGHBORHOOD CUSTODIANSHIP**
 - Nuisance/311 Complaints
 - Negative Land Use
 - Built Environment Nuisance

Domain Index Scores: The index scores produced by the model help us understand the geographic landscape of access and opportunity. The map below illustrates the statistical relationship between overall neighborhood conditions and their contribution to academic outcomes for the students that live there. For instance, the blue-shaded census tracts represent areas with above-median (and more favorable) contributions to student academic outcomes, whereas the orange-shaded census tracts represent the areas with below-median (and less favorable) contributions. With the ability to look at how each individual domain contributes to the overall index, this information provides the ability to identify types of interventions needed to help close opportunity gaps and to overcome barriers to student success.



In addition to investigating Tulsa Equality Indicators, participants engaged with ImpactTulsa's Childhood Equity Index - a tool that measures the geographic landscape of access and opportunity. Dr. Delia Kimbrel and Ashley Philippsen, team members from ImpactTulsa, walked *Beyond Apology* participants through the tool during sessions.

The Index can be found at impacttulsa.org/child-equity-index

Reports & Recommendations

The Case For Reparations In Tulsa, OK; A Human Rights Argument

With the International Human Rights Law as their guide, Human Rights Watch completed their report, *The Case for Reparations in Tulsa, OK: A Human Rights Argument*, in 2020. The findings stem from analysis of the “2001 Tulsa Race Riot Report, numerous books on the massacre and its aftermath, news articles, law review articles, academic research papers, court records, and city planning documents” (HRW, 2020). Author and international reparations researcher Dreisen Heath joined *Beyond Apology* sessions to discuss the report and its recommendations. **The report can be found at www.hrw.org**



The Case for Reparations in Tulsa, Oklahoma A Human Rights Argument

Author, Dreisen Heath (May 29th, 2020)

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations below to the Tulsa, Oklahoma, and US governments are primarily focused on the need for proportionate and prompt reparations for the massacre and its aftermath.

Recommendations to State and Local Authorities

Immediate Compensation to Survivors

Neither they nor any descendants of survivors have ever received any restitution or compensation for the harm they suffered...The city and state governments should immediately take steps to provide reparation to them, including in the form of direct compensation and acts to recognize, memorialize, and apologize for the harm done.

Statute of Limitations

A member of the Oklahoma legislature should introduce, and the legislature should pass, legislation that would clear the legal hurdle that the Oklahoma statute of limitations now poses to civil claims related to the massacre and its aftermath. In addition, the state of Oklahoma and city of Tulsa should commit not to assert any statute of limitations defense in any claims brought against them in connection with the massacre so that the claims can be heard on the merits.

Recovery of Remains

State and local authorities should continue and fund the investigation into the existence of mass graves currently underway, recover, and identify the remains.

Promptly Develop and Implement a Comprehensive Reparations Plan

State and local authorities should move promptly to develop a comprehensive reparations plan, in close consultation with survivors, descendants, and community members affected by the massacre, that is based on the recommendations of the “Tulsa Race Riot Commission” report and responsive to developments in the last 20 years. It should also include measures to further rehabilitation, truth-telling and guarantees of non-repetition. In designing such a plan, state and local authorities could consider the following measures, some of which community members have recommended:

HUMAN
RIGHTS
WATCH



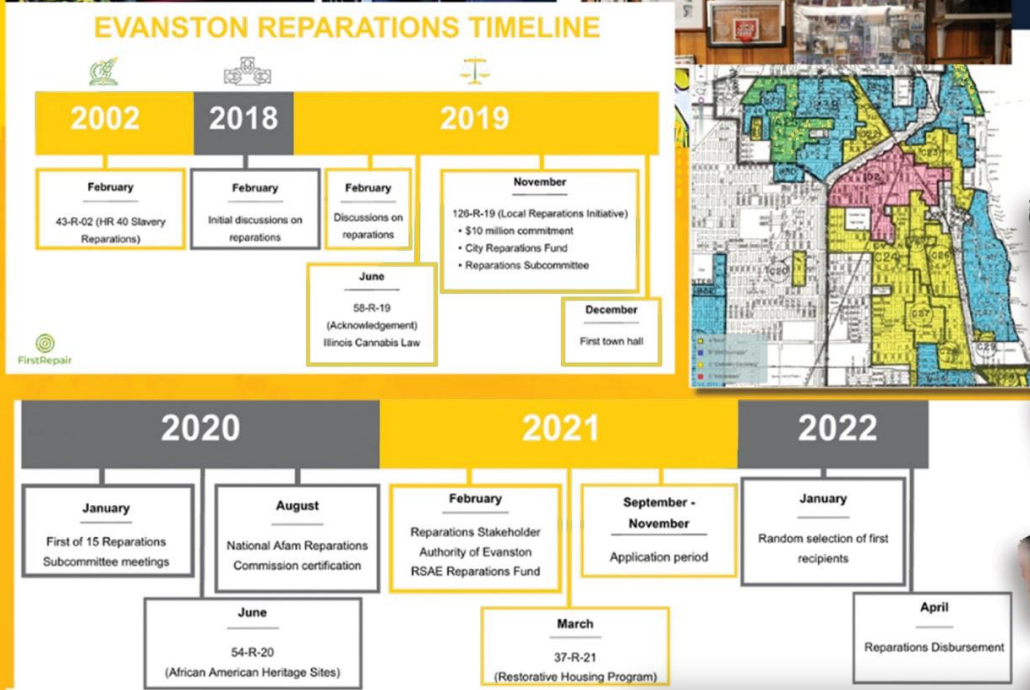
CASE STUDIES

Evanston, Illinois & First Repair



Evanston is the first U.S. city to issue slavery reparations. Experts say it's a noble start.

Critics said a plan by Evanston, Illinois, to give housing grants to Black residents isn't enough. But experts say this could be just the beginning.



The nation's first reparations program funded by a municipal government is in Evanston, IL. Former Alderman and architect Robin Rue Simmons is the founder of First Repair, a national organization connecting local reparations movements across the country. She joined *Beyond Apology* participants to discuss the work in Evanston as a case study for what is possible in Tulsa. **To see the work of FirstRepair visit firstrepair.org.**





CASE STUDIES

Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center

The Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center has been integral in support of national reparations research. Executive Director Biliqis Wilkerson engaged with *Beyond Apology* participants around progress on reparations processes across the country. To find more resources like the *Reparations Toolkit* from Movement For Black Lives, visit thurgoodmarshallcenter.howard.edu.



THURGOOD MARSHALL

CIVIL RIGHTS CENTER
HOWARD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

LEGAL & LEGISLATIVE FIGHTS FOR REPARATIONS

Lawmaker brings Tulsa Race Massacre reparations fund back before Oklahoma Legislature

Randy Krehbiel



Legislation that would appropriate \$300 million “to implement a program of reparations for damages to persons and property” in Tulsa’s 1921 Race Massacre has been filed for the session that begins Feb. 6.

JUSTICE FOR GREENWOOD

THE HISTORIC LAWSUIT

Almost 100 years after the Massacre, eleven plaintiffs, including the last 3 known living survivors, Viola Fletcher, Leslie Benningfield Randle, and Hughes Van Ellis, filed a lawsuit on September 1, 2020, against The City of Tulsa and seven other defendants demanding accountability and restitution for the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre and 100 years of continued harm.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT IN AND FOR TULSA COUNTY
STATE OF OKLAHOMA

DISTRICT COURT
FILED

SEP 02 2022

DON NEWBERRY, Court Clerk
STATE OF OKLA. TULSA COUNTY

1. LESSIE BENNINGFIELD RANDLE,)
Tulsa Race Massacre Survivor,)
2. VIOLA FLETCHER,)
Tulsa Race Massacre Survivor,)
3. HUGHES VAN ELLIS, SR.,)
Tulsa Race Massacre Survivor,)

Case No. CV-2020-1179
Judge Caroline Wall
JURY TRIAL DEMANDED
ATTORNEY LIEN CLAIMED



Famed attorney B.C Franklin initiated the first lawsuit on behalf of Race Massacre victims. Subsequent generations of litigators and legislators continue to pursue repair and reparation through the courts, Oklahoma State Capitol, and Congress. Beyond Apology participants were introduced to historic efforts including the recent legislative work of Rep. Regina Goodwin and legal efforts of Attorney Damarion Solomon-Simmons and the Justice For Greenwood team. To explore more about legal efforts visit JusticeforGreenwood.org.

SHARING PERSPECTIVE



SHARE YOUR PERSPECTIVE WRITTEN REFLECTION

Please provide the following information

1. Age?
2. What is your current zip code?
3. Are you a descendant of the Tulsa Race Massacre?
4. What is your current relationship to Greenwood/Race Massacre?

Please respond to the following prompts

What should repair or reparation look like?



SHARE YOUR PERSPECTIVE VISUAL ARTS REFLECTION

Use the shapes to guide your reflection on the information you received from the stations you visited. Choose a shape that represents:

- "What repair or reparation should look like?"
- "Your interpretation of repair/reparation?"
- "What areas of repair or reparation should be prioritized?"



Participants were given the space and opportunity to express what repair and reparation and what areas of repair or reparation should be prioritized. Those who opted to share were able to respond to complete a visual, written or auditory reflection of their choice. This process was monitored and managed by researchers from OSU-Tulsa. **Full Transcripts (anonymous) are available at beyondapology.org**

EXPERT BIOS



ROBIN RUE SIMMONS

Robin Rue Simmons is the Founder and Executive Director of FirstRepair, a not-for-profit organization that informs local reparations, nationally. She serves as the chairperson of the City of Evanston's Reparations Committee. Rue Simmons is the former 5th Ward Alderman for the City of Evanston, IL, where she led, in collaboration with others, the passage of the nation's first municipally-funded reparations legislation for Black residents, which began disbursements in January 2022.



DREISEN HEATH

Dreisen Heath (she/her) As one of the U.S.'s leading reparative justice organizers, Heath seeks to mobilize and support individuals impacted by systemic racism to enact transformative change through movement and coalition building as well as policymaking and narrative change work. Heath is also the Founder of the *Why We Can't Wait* Coalition, a national coalition of hundreds of organizations, including internationally based and US-based national and grassroots organizations seeking to advance comprehensive reparations at all levels. In May 2023, in partnership with Congresswoman Cori Bush, she helped author and introduce historic reparations legislation which provides a comprehensive framework for a federal reparations program for the legacy of slavery, a framework that never existed in the congressional record prior. Heath most recently led Human Rights Watch (HRW)'s racial justice and reparations work as a researcher and advocate in HRW's United States Program. Heath has authored significant research reports and publications, including *The Case for Reparations in Tulsa, Oklahoma: A Human Rights Argument*, which is cited in the historic lawsuit brought under Oklahoma's public nuisance law on behalf of the three known living survivors of the 1921 Tulsa race massacre.

EXPERT BIOS



BILIQIS WILKERSON

Bilqis Watts Wilkerson is the Managing Director at the Thurgood Marshall Civil Rights Center at Howard University School of Law (“the Center”). As Managing Director, Wilkerson is a subject matter expert in racial reconciliation and has been facilitating trainings and workshops on anti-racism, racial equity and inclusion since the early 2000s. Wilkerson is a 2020 graduate of Howard University School of Law. As a law student, Wilkerson worked with the Center during her 2L and 3L year. Wilkerson was a research assistant for the forthcoming 7th edition of the legal textbook, *Race, Racism, and American Law*.

MELANIE POULTER

Melanie Poulter joined the Tulsa Area United Way team in 2021 as the Research and Data Director. In this role, she leads efforts on research projects, including the just-released Community Insights report: *The Impact of COVID-19 on Children and Youth in the Tulsa Area United Way Region*, and TAUW’s Living Wage presentation and simulation. She collaborates with many key local organizations, businesses, and governmental entities to elevate data-informed thinking and decision-making through such efforts as Leadership Tulsa’s Tulsa Equality Indicators Learning Series, and GKFF-BEST Data Field Trip.



EXPERT BIOS



ASHLEY PHILIPPSEN

Ashley Harris Philippsen, Executive Director at Impact Tulsa is a systems, culture, and equity coach with over a decade of experience in education, leadership development, civic engagement, coalition building, systems leadership, and school and curriculum design. As the former Deputy Chief of Community Development and Policy at the City of Tulsa, she was responsible for designing and facilitating community engagement and organizing processes for urban planning and development, amongst other City initiatives.

COUNCILOR VANESSA HALL-HARPER

Vanessa Hall-Harper has served as the Tulsa District 1 City Councilor since 2016. She is also a Political Science Adjunct Professor at Tulsa Community College as well as a private consultant. Vanessa worked over 25 years in the Tulsa County system. She was employed with the Tulsa Health Department for over 20 years. As a City Councilor, She has also been integral to several community initiatives such as the creation of the African American Affairs Commission, the rebuilding B.C. Franklin Park, the creation of the Tulsa Expungement Expo, the District 1 Housing and Policy Committee and the Tulsa Black Contractors Association.



COUNCILOR LORI DECTER WRIGHT

Lori Decter Wright is in her second term on the Tulsa City Council representing southeast Tulsa's District 7 and is the 2022 Council Chair. She is also the CEO and Director of Tulsa's Opera. Lori is the Executive Director of Kendall Whittier Incorporated (KWI), a community-based nonprofit organization founded in 1968 that is focused on food insecurity. A Tulsan by choice, Councilor Decter Wright has called Tulsa home for 14 years.



PART 2: FINDINGS



COMMUNITY PRIORITIES [BY THEME]

Education

85% of Descendants
53% of total participant group prioritized



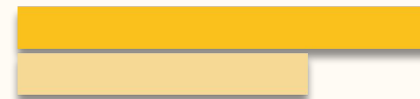
Financial Compensation

42% of Descendants
46% of total participant group prioritized



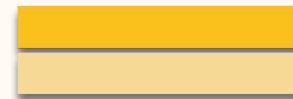
Community & Economic Development

50% of Descendants
35% of total participant group prioritized



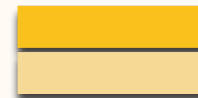
Housing & Home Ownership

35% of Descendants
34% of total participant group prioritized



Land

23% of Descendants
23% of total participant group prioritized



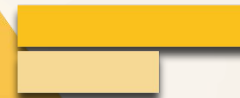
Health & Wellness

43% of Descendants
20% of total participant group prioritized



Systems Change (Policy)

28% of Descendants
17% of total participant group prioritized



Cultural Identity

14% of Descendants
7% of total participant group prioritized



EDUCATION

“Education in Every Sense of the Word”

A majority of descendants (85%), and more than half the participants who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions (53%) positioned education in one form or another as central to an appropriate reparations strategy. Nearly half the participants who spoke about educational opportunities (45%) explicitly mentioned, in some fashion, the “right to go to college, to get an education.” (1)

“Provide Scholarships” or “Free Tuition to Colleges and Trade Schools”

The nearly unanimous opinion among those advocating for postsecondary education opportunities was that students should be offered scholarships or “free . . . tuition to “universities and trade schools.” Most emphasized providing funding for postsecondary education opportunities without limiting the prospective students’ choice of institution. Comments addressed what one participant described as “education in every sense of the word, not just academic education.” Another referenced the importance of “education as a form of exposure to new experiences as educational opportunities should be made more available to residents of north Tulsa, with the goal of changing the mentality [toward] lifelong learning on topics such the arts, politics, financial literacy, accountability, and resilience.” A descendant living in zip code area 74133 referenced a trade school program they considered to be very beneficial for individuals who “may not . . . go to college, but they have a skill that they can still use . . . to help them make a living.”



“Langston University-Tulsa” Photo Credit: The Oklahoma Eagle

(1) additional information found on pg.49

EDUCATION

“Education in Every Sense of the Word”

Invest in Equity

Some participants specifically used the word “equity” in their comments about education, prioritizing educational equity for children attending north Tulsa schools as a primary form of reparations benefitting current residents of north Tulsa. Others also offered thoughts about improving schools. For instance, a participant and possible descendant in their 50s who lived in zip code 74127 offered very definite suggestions: “efforts should be made to focus on assuring that adequate numbers of teachers and decent educational opportunities are extended to Tulsa’s most economically disadvantaged areas.”

From the perspective of a participant who is the parent of descendants of the massacre, “the best educators” should be teaching. Another participant, age 30-39 from zip code area 74119, called for “investment in education opportunities in north Tulsa.” There should be, in the words of someone in their 70s living in zip code 74104, “no difference to [sic] access to education” and resources for students in north Tulsa relative to those in other areas of the city.(2)



FINANCIAL COMPENSATION

“Restoring Wealth” through “Financial Restitution”

The second most common theme identified by participants who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions was financial compensation, with (46%) using terms such as “financial restitution” and “restoring wealth.” Nearly 70% of the participants who prioritized financial compensation as a reparative strategy specifically supported direct cash payments with the comments of one descendant summarizing these sentiments plainly, “direct payments should be prioritized.”

What Descendants Said About Financial Compensation

Slightly less than half the descendants participating in *Beyond Apology* Sessions (42%) agreed, with one person who emphasized, “direct payments” as a first step. Descendants as a group prioritized what one living in the 74106 area referred to as “financial compensation in the form of a lump sum to descendants of Greenwood business owners.” Beyond the references to payments to descendants, there was no consensus on the precise criteria to determine eligibility, other than a general commitment to “wealth transfer” and “direct cash payments to descendants and survivors.”

Demographic Trends

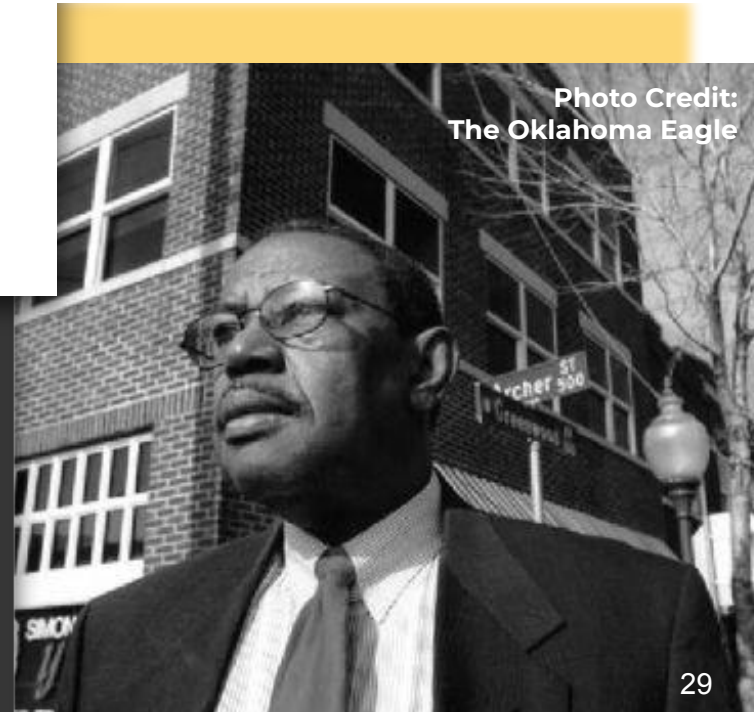
Analyzing the responses based on zip code area, participants all over Tulsa support monetary reparations. There was no consensus about the process for distributing the money, or frequency of payment. Those who lived in the zip codes comprising Tulsa City Council District 1 emphasized direct payment to, in the words of a non-descendant living in the 74106 area, “at the very least the [survivors] who are living.” Nearly two of every three participants who mentioned monetary reparations (58%) made no further statement about who should receive the payments.

Indicator 8: Median household income by race
Ratio of White to Black median household income

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Change 2018 to 2022 +1
Score	49	54	48	44	50	
White	\$51,053	\$51,744	\$55,448	\$58,948	\$57,566	2022 Report Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2021 1-Year Estimates
Black	\$28,399	\$30,902	\$30,463	\$30,864	\$32,701	
Ratio	1.798	1.674	1.820	1.910	1.760	



Median household income for White Tulsans is more than 75% greater than that of Black Tulsans.



“[In]vesting into the Future of Our Community”

35% of participants who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions prioritized investing in community or economic development as a reparative strategy. Descendants discussed “economic development as part of repair” at about the same rate as they did wealth building and financial compensation (50%). While the previous theme (financial compensation) focused on making whole those harmed in 1921, the overwhelming consensus (from participants who recorded their perspectives and prioritized this area) in the data related to this theme supported present day investments in north Tulsa with an eye toward a more economically vibrant future.

Invest in Business

Many ideas generated by participants integrated and highlighted business development, infrastructure needs, and “redeveloping, revitalizing homes and neighborhoods.” The participant group emphasized support for “economic development as part of repair,” “investing in the future of our community,” and “support for entrepreneurs [and] Black business owners.” Furthermore, participants mentioned attracting business and industry to north Tulsa, better transportation, and access to resources such as “a variety of stores equipped with . . . affordable items for reasonable prices.”

Invest in Neighborhoods

A person in their 60s captured the sentiments of several others calling for “clean neighborhoods, streets, parks, shopping areas, housing repairs or rebuilding.” Ultimately, “repair should look like a wealth of businesses in north Tulsa; growth in north Tulsa [should] look like south Tulsa.” Similarly, two people who did not mention their age also emphasized “improvements to the physical area of north Tulsa,” or what one person expressed this way: “repair north Tulsa, and make sure it looks nice. Have a nice place for the Black people that live there.”

Demographic Trends

Slightly less than one in three (28%) of those speaking to “investing into [sic] the future of our community” lived in the zip code areas comprising City Council district 1. Those living beyond District 1 represented a total of 11 zip codes in Tulsa and adjacent suburbs. The youngest person was between the ages of 20 and 29, and the oldest in the 90-96 age range, an indicator of widespread consensus. Taken together, these statistics indicate widespread support from across the city from those who referenced community economic development as a form of reparations.

HOUSING & HOME OWNERSHIP

“Direct Routes for Home Ownership”

34% of participants who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions shared thoughts on housing as an element of a reparations strategy. Although some simply referenced the word “housing” in their comments, several moved on from the general theme to develop points specifically relating to expanding opportunities and “direct routes to home ownership” in north Tulsa.

What Descendants Said About Housing

About 30% of descendants prioritized housing as a reparative strategy. Descendants prioritizing housing emphasized a commitment to strategies that increased homeownership or to “direct payments . . . for free housing” or “equity in housing.” Two direct descendants had specific ideas for how to structure reparations related to housing. One person suggested the establishment of “a trust . . . to assist residents of north Tulsa with home ownership.” Another recommended “subsidies for . . . down payments, [more favorable] closing costs, interest rates for their loans, and access to private dollars or loans” to purchase homes.

Demographic Trends

36% of the participants whose responses were included in this theme live in the zip codes comprising Tulsa City Council District 1. Eleven other zip codes were also represented, with the largest groups living in the 74127 and 74135.

Indicator 19: Homeownership by race
Ratio of percentage of White to Black householders who are homeowners

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Change 2018 to 2022 +2
Score	47	54	48	42	49	
White householders	58.1%	58.2%	57.9%	60.6%	58.8%	2022 Report Source U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2021 1-Year Estimates
Black householders	31.6%	34.8%	32.0%	30.9%	32.7%	
Ratio	1.839	1.672	1.809	1.961	1.798	



White Tulsans are 80% more likely to own a home than Black Tulsans.

“Give Those People Back Their Land”

Roughly one-fourth of participants who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions (23%) prioritized land. Furthermore, of the participants who prioritized land, 95% identified as non-descendants. The topic of land arose as a priority in two ways: land ownership, expressed by some as returning the land to (descendants of) the original owners (n=14/19 or 74%), and the establishment of a land trust (n=4/19 or 21%).

The general sentiment of all participants whose data is reflected in this theme can be summarized by the comment from a resident living in the 74106 zip code area: “We need to go back and find out who those descendants are and give them their land back.” Additional phrases from participants like “land returned to descendants and survivors” and “give them back their rights to the property” suggested that this theme differed from housing or discussions of real property ownership in the sense that the meaning here was specifically about returning “tangible assets like land” as a reparation strategy.

Land Trusts

A frequently occurring idea related to land was the development of a land trust. Of the participant group speaking about land trusts, 25% thought the trust should primarily be established to benefit descendants while 75% noted that any land trust should be “for the black community” more broadly. One participant whose children are descendants expressed a slightly different idea, calling for “[a]ll of those . . . 30 plus blocks that were destroyed need to be restored back as a zone,” (3) without specifying the purpose or beneficiary of the new zone.



“Give Those People Back Their Land”

Land Ownership and Who Should Benefit

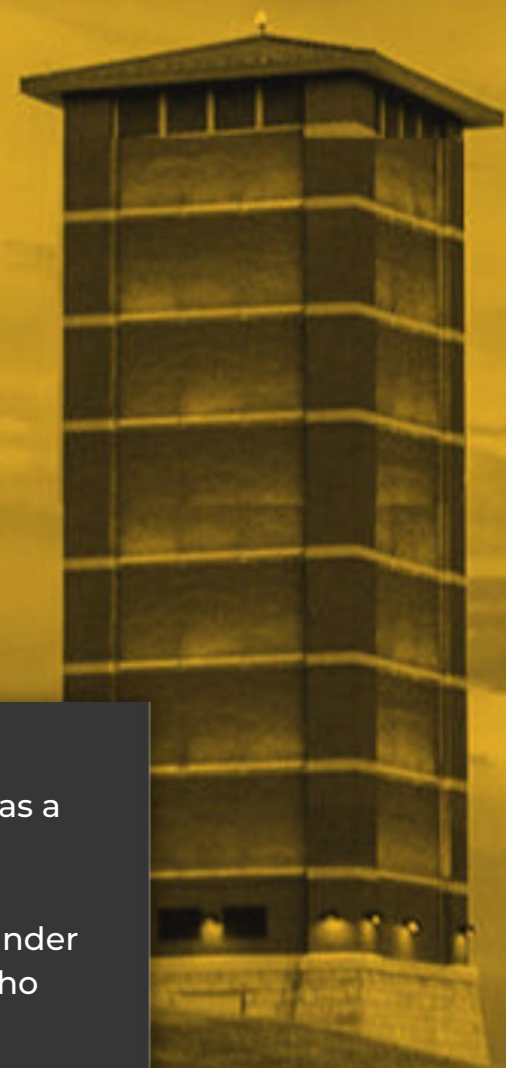
Those who referenced “land trusts” as a tool did not offer much in the way of specific details about which land, or terms of the trust. Participants who mentioned land ownership were more nuanced in their comments; Roughly one in three people (n=6/19 or 32%) prioritized restoring land ownership rights to “descendants and survivors specifically,” while a slightly smaller group (n=5/19 or 26%) advocated for “black-owned land in North Tulsa” more broadly defined.

The group specifically discussing land ownership in some form (n=11/19, or 58%) was more or less evenly divided in terms of who should receive the land: survivors and descendants (n=6/11 or 55%), or “the black community” in general (n=5/11 or 46%). Others (n=8/19 or 42%) mentioned land in a more generic way, such “give back the land,” but did not indicate which land, or to whom the property should be given.

Demographic Trends

Slightly less than half those naming land ownership and/or the establishment of a land trust as a priority for reparations strategy (n=8/19 or 42%) live in the District 1 community.

It is difficult to analyze trends in this data based on the age of the participants because just under half of the participants (47%) did not mention their age when recording statements. Those who did record their age ranged from under 18 to over 80, suggesting the broad appeal of the strategies addressed in this teme area.



HEALTH & WELLNESS

“Help Community Members Seek & Receive Care”

6

One in five participants who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions (20%) mentioned some aspect of mental and/or physical health and/or wellness as an element of a reparations strategy.

In general, participants spoke about wellness in two ways with most focusing on access to both preventative and curative care services (n=11/17 or 65%), and others on accessibility to care (n=4/17 or 24%) with quality as an overall focus for both. Healthcare screenings and “exposure to tools” or preventative strategies were expressed under preventative healthcare. Psychological and physical therapy and “at-home follow-up treatment” were labeled as forms of curative healthcare. Healthcare outreach services and public transportation were given as solutions for healthcare accessibility. Healthcare equity and culturally informed services specific to “the neighborhood” or the north Tulsa community were highlighted as examples of quality health care.

What Descendants Said About Mental and Physical Health

43% of descendants who shared their perspective prioritized some aspect of mental and/or physical health and wellness. Two direct descendants called for “mental health services,” including “therapy, . . . exposing people to the tools used to deal with anxiety, to deal with depression, to deal with mental health. One suggested these services be provided at no cost. Another direct descendant called for access to preventative health care as an element of wellness.

M O T O N M E M O R I A L
H O S P I T A L



“Rendering of Moton Hospital” Photo Credit: Julius Pegues

HEALTH & WELLNESS

“Help Community Members Seek & Receive Care”

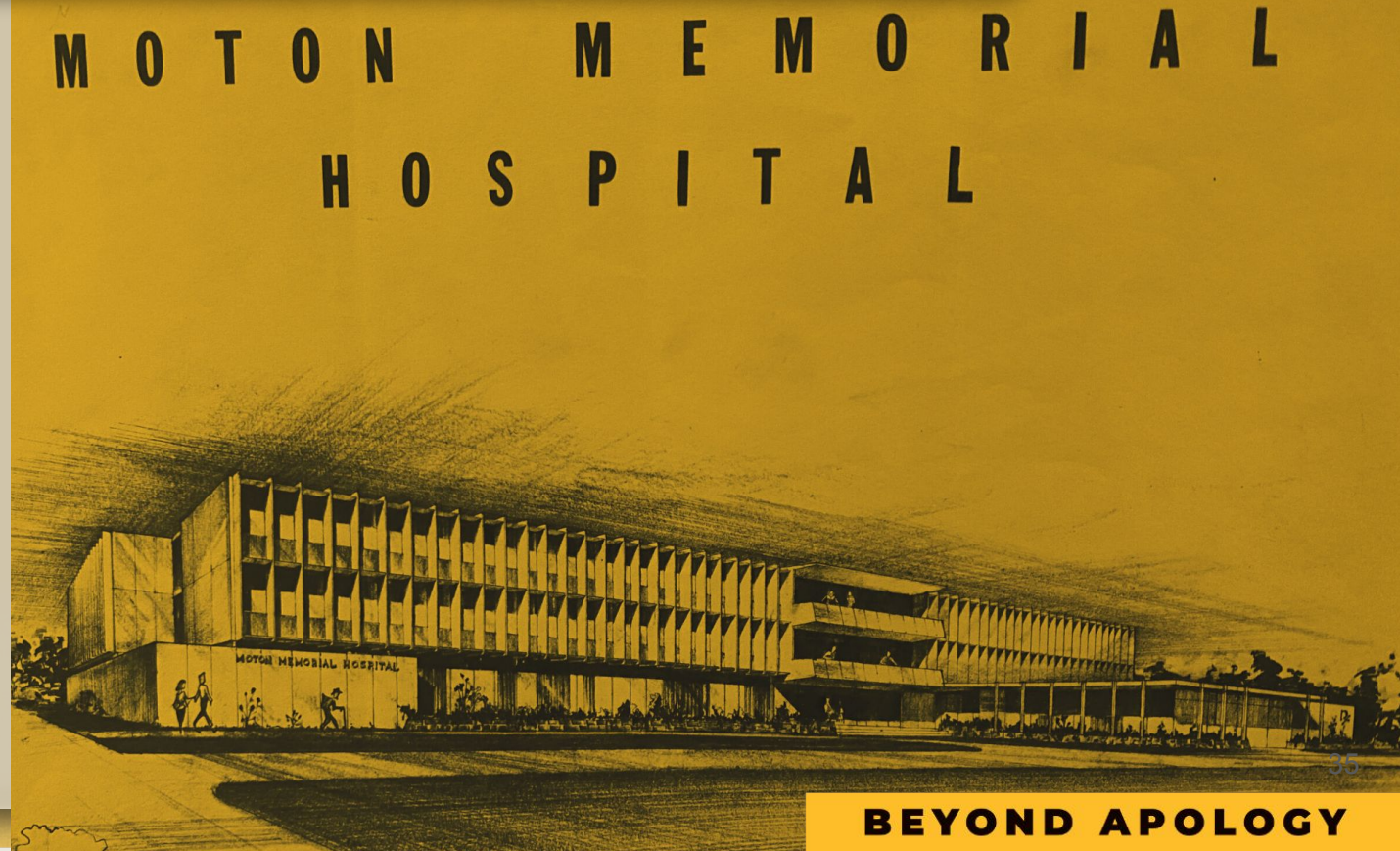
6

Address Generational Trauma

Just under one in four participants who referenced health and wellness as a priority area noted the generational trauma associated with events of the past century as influencing health outcomes for “Greenwood and the residents who live there and the one[s] who have gone elsewhere.” A resident of zip code area 74119 explained the historical trauma of “urban removal” this way: “a number of minorities and descendants suffer from health issues from having to move away from their homes in north Tulsa.” The sentiment is clear among those who prioritize this issue: “Healthcare . . . is a priority.”

Demographic Trends

Of the participant responses naming health and wellness as a priority, just under half (47%) live in District 1.



SYSTEMS CHANGE

“Focus on Systems Change”

17% who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions prioritized a focus on “systems change.”

A small number of participants who spoke to this theme area (14%) suggested “community lead discussion” around policy change and “grassroots efforts” as approaches for the systems change priority. Another 21% verbalized the priority should be the “the 2001 recommendations.” A participant who identified as a descendant stated, “Everything that was asked for in the lawsuit and study in 2001 should be done.” Outside of following the 2001 report recommendations, no clear majority developed in regards to any specific systems change approach. Rather, a variety of possible directions for new policy development/implementation were suggested by the group.

Some participants were broad in their descriptions, mentioning simply “policy change” or “change the zoning codes” while others laid out more detailed policy recommendations. One participant discussed “tax exemption and/or abatement for descendants and/or residents of District 1.” Another proposed “representative allotments in local government to [be held by] descendants (i.e., an additional government seat held only by a descendant) at the municipal, county, and state level.” A descendant who spoke to this theme area called for a “focus on systems change” through “a combination of grassroots efforts and policy change.”



Demographic Trends

79% of participants who spoke to priorities within this theme area provided demographic information; of these, almost half (46%) lives in Tulsa City Council District 1.

“Beyond Apology Session” Photo Credit: Tulsa World

CULTURAL IDENTITY

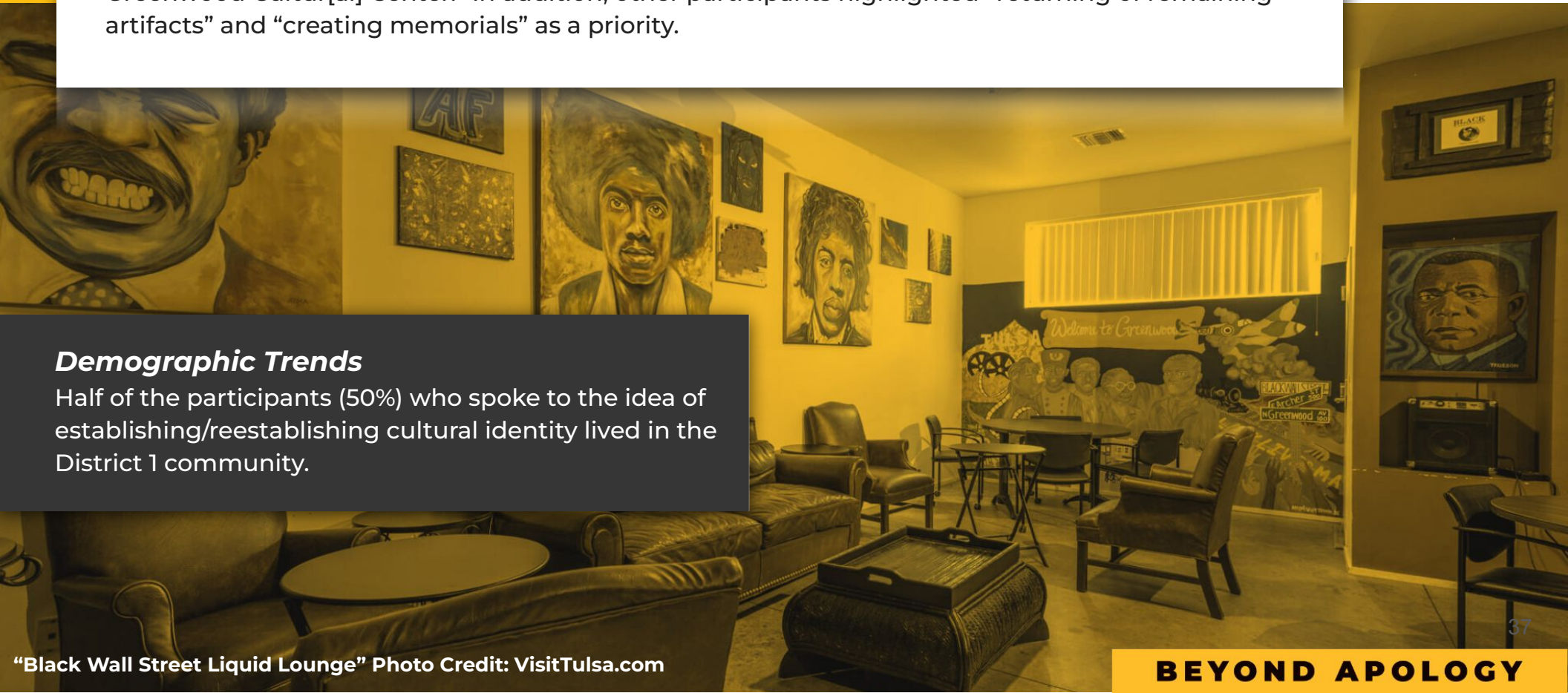
“Cultural Wealth Building”

7% of participants who shared their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions spoke to what one person called “the work of cultural wealth building.”

One descendant called specifically for assistance to allow people to “trace their lineage, their generations, their ancestry.” Another participant whose children are descendants expressed the need to establish “legacy organizations” for descendants. This idea of ancestry or legacy appeared in a few other comments made by residents of Tulsa City Council District 1. Two people described establishing a process such that someone might be “verified [as] a descendant,” and receive “tangible, recipient services.” Another participant called for “funding [to] be made available for the Greenwood Cultur[al] Center.” In addition, other participants highlighted “returning of remaining artifacts” and “creating memorials” as a priority.

Demographic Trends

Half of the participants (50%) who spoke to the idea of establishing/reestablishing cultural identity lived in the District 1 community.



RECOMMENDATIONS

In line with successful local, national and international reparations programs, **we recommend that the City of Tulsa establish a government sanctioned task-force or commission to establish and implement the terms of a reparations program.**

The scope should at the very least include survivors and descendants of the Tulsa race massacre and Black Tulsans who have been impacted by discriminatory policies and practices.

Furthermore, the make-up of the above mentioned Task-force or commission should ensure overwhelming representation from the communities most impacted by the harm.

Finally, the “reparations program” must be differentiated from “equitable policy”. **While the City of Tulsa should strive to enact “equitable policy”, the matter of reparations and any ensuing program exists to remedy past harms done to a specific group of people.** In this case that is the the over 100 years of harm done to Black Tulsans in the wake of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Beyond Apology Report (2023)	Oklahoma Commission Report (2001)	Human Rights Watch Report “A Case for Reparations in Tulsa, OK: A Human Rights Argument” (2020)
<p>Priority 1: Education</p> <p>“Tuition or scholarships to universities and trade schools”</p>	<p>“A school or scholarship fund available to students affected by the Tulsa Race Riot.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Substantially expand the limited existing scholarship award program.• Offer descendants of the massacre and students in the Greenwood and North Tulsa area tuition-free enrollment, especially at the two universities, within the historic boundary, OSU-Tulsa and Langston-Tulsa.• Establish, a birthright program, a free heritage trip to Africa, for descendants.
<p>Priority 2: Financial Compensation</p> <p>“Direct payments should be prioritized”</p>	<p>“Direct payment of reparations to survivors and descendants of the Tulsa Race Riot.”</p>	<p>“Viola Fletcher and Lessie Benningfield Randle are the only known living survivors of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre. Neither they nor any descendants of survivors have ever received any restitution or compensation for the harm they suffered. Given Fletcher and Randle’s advanced age, the city and state governments should immediately take steps to provide reparation to them, including in the form of direct compensation.”</p>

RECOMMENDATIONS

Beyond Apology Report (2023)	Oklahoma Commission Report (2001)	Human Rights Watch Report “A Case for Reparations in Tulsa, OK: A Human Rights Argument” (2020)
<p>Priority 3: Community & Economic Development</p> <p>“Investing in the future of our community”</p>	<p>“Establishment of an economic development enterprise zone in the historic area of the Greenwood District.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a business development fund for black residents in Greenwood and north Tulsa and ensuring administration and decision-making for the fund includes leaders from the target communities, and includes a process for consultation with residents. • Actively recruit Greenwood residents to apply for grants or provide community-based block grants for black applicants expressing interest in entrepreneurial activities. • Ensure that a certain percentage of grants benefit black entrepreneurs from Greenwood and north Tulsa.
<p>Priority 4: Housing</p> <p>“Direct routes for home ownership”</p>	<p>Report did not address directly.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide subsidized housing, housing assistance, and housing relief services to residents displaced from Greenwood, who now reside in North or East Tulsa, or other parts of the county. • Subsidize home mortgages and rent for long-term residents of Greenwood. • Issue housing vouchers for long-time residents of the Greenwood community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Beyond Apology Report (2023)	Oklahoma Commission Report (2001)	Human Rights Watch Report “A Case for Reparations in Tulsa, OK: A Human Rights Argument” (2020)
<p>Priority 5: Land Return</p> <p>“Give those people back their land”</p>	<p>Sen. Maxine Horner and Rep. Don Ross advanced joint resolutions in the Oklahoma Legislature that provided pathways for land acquisition, however those sections were ultimately removed.</p>	<p>Report did not address directly.</p>
<p>Priority 6: Health and Wellness</p> <p>“Help Community Members Seek and Receive Health Care”</p>	<p>Report did not address directly.</p>	<p>“Authorities could offer rehabilitation for survivors and descendants, including free trauma-informed care as a result of the generational impacts of the massacre. The city of Tulsa could work with the Oklahoma Department of Health to issue lifetime medical benefits and burial services to all living survivors and descendants residing in Greenwood and North Tulsa.”</p>

RECOMMENDATIONS

Beyond Apology Report (2023)	Oklahoma Commission Report (2001)	Human Rights Watch Report “A Case for Reparations in Tulsa, OK: A Human Rights Argument” (2020)
<p>Priority 7: Systems Change (Policy)</p> <p>“Everything that was asked for in the lawsuit and study in 2001 should be done.”</p>	<p>“There are chapters left to write. To face, not hide again, the shame from this evil. Some remedial action is suggested in this report and others are prepared for statue in Senate Bills 751 and 788 and House Bills 1178 and 1901 and House Joint Resolutions 1028 and 1029.</p> <p>The legislature is now the care taker of this past and may disperse to the future for giving, fair, kind, deserved and decent justice.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collect data and commission expert studies on persistent racial disparities in Tulsa and Oklahoma at large. • Review government budgets to direct more resources to social and economic programs in low-income black communities that are impacted by long-term structural racism. • Develop and implement programs in various systems—health, housing, education, and criminal law—that are specifically designed to counter the long-term effects of structural racism.
<p>Priority 8: Cultural Wealth</p> <p>“The work of cultural wealth building.”</p>	<p>“A memorial for the reburial of any human remains found in the search for unmarked graves of riot victims.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide capital endowments for future historical and arts exhibits that capture the full essence of thriving Greenwood, in addition to continuing and implementing plans for the renovation and expansion of the existing Greenwood Cultural Center.

APPENDICES



Appendix A

Methodological Notes on Describing Participant Demographics

Across four sessions, 83 people opted to share data for the *Beyond Apology* series. Researchers collected demographic data reflecting participant age, zip code, and “relationship to Greenwood/the Tulsa Race Massacre.”

Age: Those who reported their age (n=38) ranged in age from 12 to 96. Three in every four participants reported ages between 20-39 (n=15, 39%) or 50-69 (n=14; 37%).

Table 1: *Beyond Apology* participants by age range (4)

Age Range	# of Participants*	% of Participants*,**
10-19	2	5%
20-29	8	21%
30-39	7	18%
40-49	2	5%
50-59	5	13%
60-69	9	24%
70-79	2	5%
80 and over	3	8%

*based on information from 38 of 83 participants who reported their age.
**does not sum to 100%

(4) additional information found on pg.49

Appendix A

Methodological Notes on Describing Participant Demographics

Zip Code: Tulsa has 24 residential zip codes. The 40 blocks comprising the historic Greenwood neighborhood in 1921 are within zip code areas 74106 and 74120 today. Most participants (69 of 83) reported zip codes, allowing researchers to use this information to determine place of residence for participants in the three *Beyond Apology* sessions. 22 zip codes were represented by at least one person. Fifteen zip codes had multiple representatives (See Table 2).

69 of 83 participants who shared their perspective reported their zip code. Nearly half of the participants (n=27/69, or 40%) live in the five of the eight zip codes comprising Tulsa’s City Council District 1; three District 1 zip code areas did not have representation in responses from *Beyond Apology* participants. The authors of this report used the terms “north Tulsa” and Tulsa City Council District 1 synonymously unless the participant differentiated between the two in their comments. Slightly less than 10% of the participants who shared (n=7) reported residing in zip code areas outside of the Tulsa city limits. One person in this group was a descendant of Race Massacre survivors, and two others grew up in north Tulsa and moved to a suburb as an adult. The remaining four people who reside outside Tulsa identified as volunteers or advocates working with families or church communities in North Tulsa.

**rounded up to eliminate partial numbers; thus, does not sum to 100%

***Tulsa City Council District 1

****1 participant from each zip code

Table 1: *Beyond Apology* participants by zip code (5)

Zip Code	# of Participants*	% of Participants**,**
74106***	9	13%
74127***	9	13%
74107, 74112, 74115, 74116, 74129, 74134****	7	10%
Outside Tulsa	7	10%
74119	6	8%
74105	5	7%
74126***	5	7%
74110***	4	6%
74114	3	4%
74136	3	4%
74137	3	4%
74103***	2	3%
74104	2	3%
74120	2	3%
74132	2	3%
74133	2	3%
74135	2	3%

Appendix A

Descendent Status

Most participants who shared their perspective (n=69/83; 83%) responded to the prompt “relationship to Greenwood/Tulsa Race Massacre.” More than half the participants (n=44/69, or 64%) mentioned a direct relationship to Greenwood/north Tulsa. These connections related either to descendant status, or membership in the Greenwood community now or in the past.

Fewer than one in six participants (n= 10/69 or 14%) indicated they, or some member of their immediate family, were definitely descendants of victims or survivors of the Tulsa Race Massacre. The majority of this group (n=7/10 or 70%) self-identified as direct descendants. An unexpected trend in the data revealed one-quarter of those in the descendant group were parents or other close family members who were not themselves descendants; rather, they participated in the *Beyond Apology* sessions on behalf of their children or other family members, who were direct descendants (n=3/10 or 30%).

A total of four more individuals said they “may be” descendants, based on family oral tradition (n=2/4, or 50%), or that they were “unsure” of their descendant status (2/4, or 50%). While neither response reflects a firm identity, these individuals are in a different category than those who clearly stated that they were not descendants. Therefore, given the uncertain records available from the time of the massacre, and subsequent silence within families around descendant status, researchers include responses from these four people with those from the descendant group.

Among the 83 people who shared their perspective in the *Beyond Apology* sessions, three groups are referenced in this report based on their relationship to Greenwood/north Tulsa and/or the 1921 Race Massacre. Half the participants with known ancestors harmed by the events of the 1921 massacre (n=5/10, or 50%) identified as living in a District 1 zip code area at the time of the BA sessions. Five non-descendant participants who now reside in other zip code areas within the Tulsa city limits(n=5/69 or 7%) reported that either they or their parents had been raised in the neighborhood. An additional 47% (n=27/57) of the *Beyond Apology* participants either live (n=13/57 or 23%) work, or volunteer (14/57, 25%) in what participants most typically referenced as “north Tulsa.”

Appendix B

“Our Black People”

An Expressive Writing
by a (Possible) Descendant

“I would like to close my interview with a short expressive writing I wrote. The title is called ‘Our Black People’ and what I did is I took the letters from each word our black people and came up with these other skill sets. So the title again is ‘Our Black People’.”

If I was looking out the eyes of theirs from my eyes, I will see their vision for my children’s children children children children.

	Businessmen	Postmasters
	Lawyers	Electricians
Ownership	Accountants	Operators
Unity	Carpenters	Principals
Resourceful	Kings	Laborers
		Entrepreneurs

I will see the green trees, the flowing water wells and the blue skies. I would see the birds flying and smell the beautiful scent from the flowers or could it have been fragrance from the ladies or the cologne from the men. I will see the children playing and hearing the babies crying. I would hear the laughter from the neighbors. I will hear the deep gospel singing and the R&B rhythm from the beat of the hammers. I will see the bending knees. The praying hands and hear the church bells ringing.

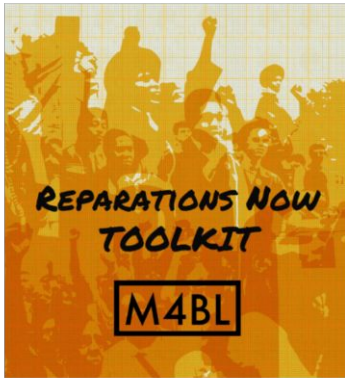
I will see them dancing to their lovers heartbeats. I will see the joy in the morning time in the developing future. Striving economic streets of success. A wealthy and healthy community. Oil rights and me minding my own business, independence lifestyle attitudes. I will see the braveries and their culture colors, music, food, soulfulness, and the floating spirits that covered them. I will see life, the living, the giving, the trying, the doing, the deeds, the do’s, the don’ts, the great and the greatness building together.

I will see rules, regulations, policies, procedures, and the ability to protect their own out of love and respect for one another. From what I did see out of their eyes from my eyes, I could see their vision again in the now as soon as the someones get out of our black people’s way so that my children[’s] children children children children children can receive and benefit from their ancestries legacies, tomorrow.

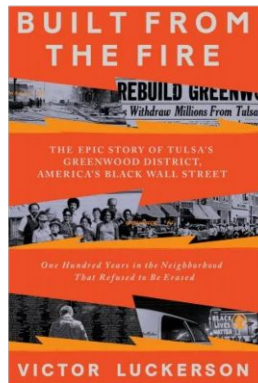
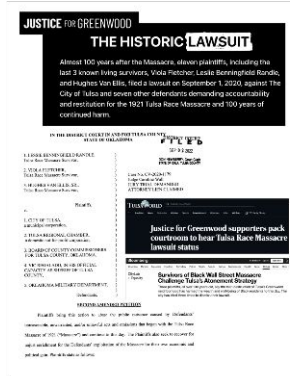
BEYOND APOLOGY

Resource & Research Materials

Case studies, research materials and other advocacy tools are available in **M4BL's toolkit**.



Keep up with advocacy & legal efforts + connect to a robust descendant network through **Justice For Greenwood**.



Connect to and learn about local reparations movements across the country through **First Repair**.



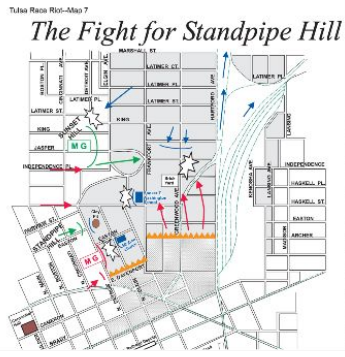
Books on the Tulsa Race Massacre like *Built From The Fire* (Victor Luckerson) are available at **Fulton Street Books & Coffee**.



BEYOND APOLOGY

Resource & Research Materials

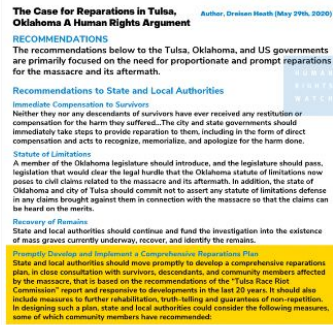
2001 Report from the **Oklahoma Commission to study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921.**



Tulsa City Council Resolution 2013 addressing the Tulsa Race Massacre.



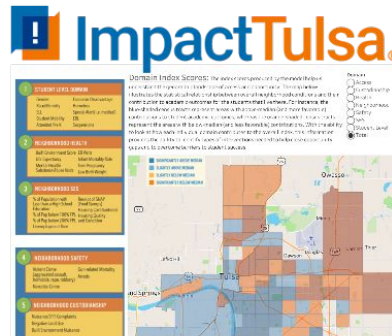
2020 Report from **Human Rights Watch** *"The Case For Reparations in Tulsa, OK"*.



Since 2018, Community Service Council has produced **Tulsa Equality Indicators** reports.



ImpactTulsa continuously updates the **Child Equity Index** for Tulsa, OK.



Endnotes

1) “*In vivo*” codes, or words/phrases taken directly from participants’ statements, have been used to label the priority areas.

2) Some participants, especially at the first two sessions of *Beyond Apology*, offered more than one thought/idea related to the same priority area. These individual ideas were “counted” as distinct contributions when they were substantially different than other ideas, and also aligned with the comments of at least two other participants, or any one descendant. Further, percentages calculated at $n > 0.50$ were rounded up to the next higher whole number. Accordingly, the numbers and percentages of participants throughout this report may not necessarily sum to 83, or to 100%.

3) A limitation inherent to the design of the study is the video statement without opportunity for member-checking or follow-up interview to clarify participants’ meanings. This limitation is particularly relevant in this theme. Even though they were involved in recording the video statements, and in many instances had informal conversation with participants before and/or after they recorded statements, the researchers have found it difficult to make sense of how an individual participant is making meaning of the words and phrases they use to label a priority area. One prime example came in the context of the establishment of a land trust, or what one person referred to as a “zone.” Without further interaction, the researchers cannot assume any individual’s level of understanding of the legalities, structure, or function of a trust. Another such idea that remains similarly inscrutable is the reference to land as a “tangible asset.”

4) See storymap created by Tulsa Community College students for the Mapping Greenwood project, at <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/e8ff63863e7d4b18802eda14aaf10e39>

5) Tulsa City Council district boundaries superimposed on a map of zip code boundaries, produced by the Indian Nations Council of Governments, can be viewed at <https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/6823e590b4164ec0a1b37567f03c2f17/>



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