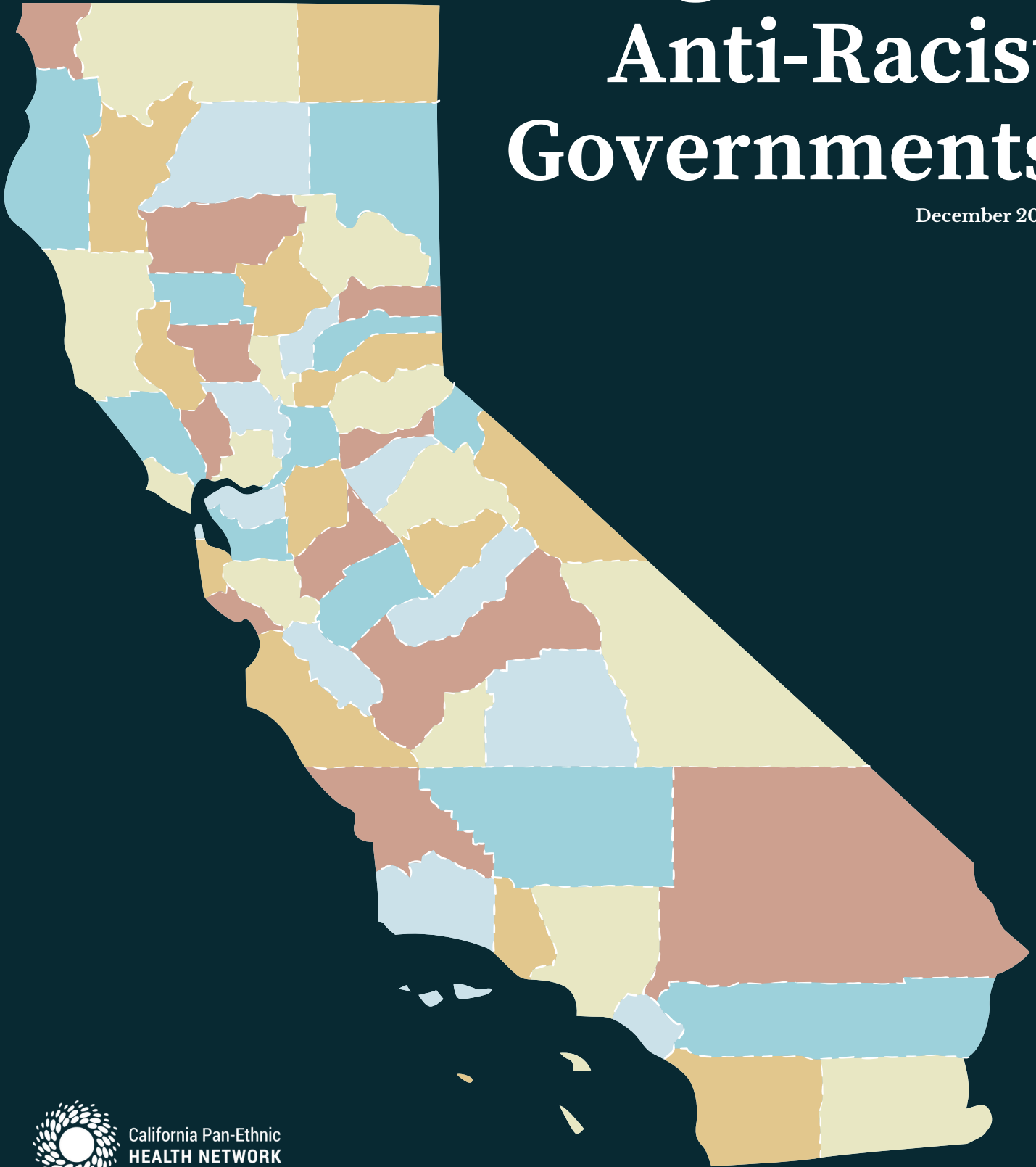


*A Roadmap On*  
**Building Toward  
Anti-Racist  
Governments**

December 2024



California Pan-Ethnic  
HEALTH NETWORK

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

*A Roadmap on Building Toward Anti-Racist Governments* presents a strategic framework for governments to address systemic racism and advance racial equity, drawing from the experiences of three California county governments. Recognizing racism as a chronic, perpetual public health crisis, the roadmap offers concrete lessons and action steps for government practitioners to focus on shifting power, center Black, Indigenous, Immigrant and People of Color (BIPOC) communities, and promote anti-racist policies and practices.

## Core Components of the Roadmap:

1. **One Perspective:** Anti-racism requires shifting the structural power dynamics that uphold systemic racism in society. Governments are urged to actively recognize and wield their institutional power to address racial inequities while supporting communities in building and exercising their own power.
2. **Two Principles:**
  - a. **Own Your Power:** Governments must recognize their regulatory, budgetary, legislative, and overall positional power, and treat anti-racism as a fundamental job responsibility rather than a peripheral task. Such power and position can be leveraged to either address past and present harms or further perpetuate racism. Anti-racism must be actively embedded into government operations, decisions, and policies.
  - b. **Share Your Power:** Impacted communities should be seen as the "north star," offering timeless guidance for governments on the direction and success of their anti-racist work. By treating communities most impacted by systemic racism as primary stakeholders and true partners and avoiding further marginalizing, placating, and tokenizing their efforts, governments can co-create solutions that better address systemic inequities.
3. **Three Practices:**
  - a. **Let Your Equity Leaders "Cook":** Using a simple analogy, governments must treat equity leaders like chefs in a kitchen, equipping them with the necessary resources, authority, support and influence to craft and execute anti-racism change.
    - i. Equity officers and managers should have access to ongoing dedicated budgets and autonomy to maximize their impact.
    - ii. Anti-racism must be institutionalized, normalized and decentralized across governments, rather than being an added task or position.
    - iii. Elected and appointed officials should provide equity officers and managers with unwavering support and solidarity, especially when their work is under attack.
    - iv. Staff who hold trusted relationships with impacted communities should also be elevated in their leadership.

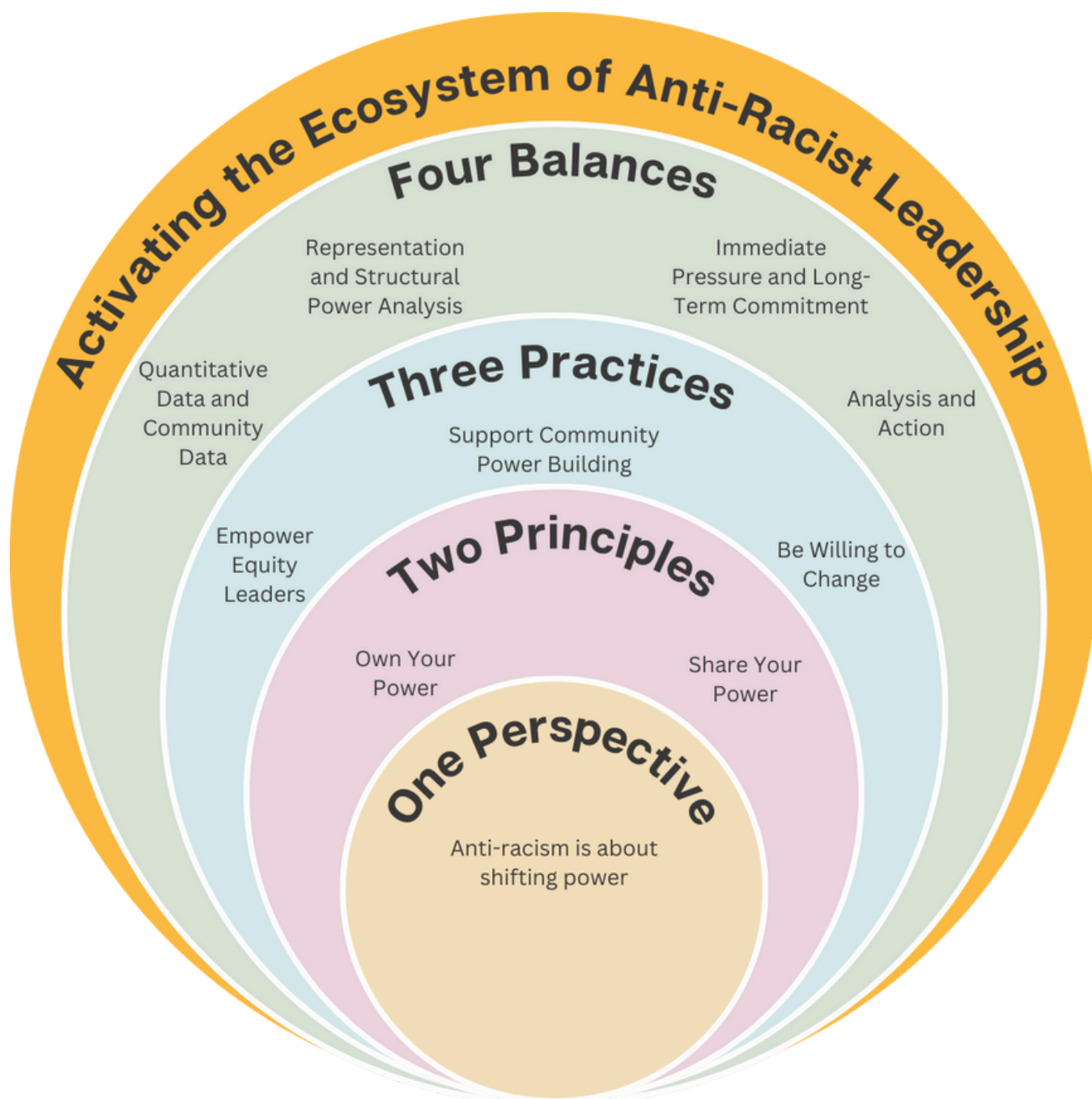
- a. **Support Community Power-Building:** Communities and community-led organizations themselves are essential for building life-affirming, resilient, autonomous systems of care as well as driving system change. Government practitioners can play an active role to support communities in building and exercising community power.
  - i. Governments must invest in building trusted relationships with impacted communities and correcting historic wrongs.
  - ii. Governments can provide useful information and data in accessible, transparent and proactive ways to support community power-building.
  - iii. Governments can directly fund community-based practices and projects, especially for traditionally excluded organizations.
  - iv. Governments must work to align both on the visions and solutions for a shared better future with impacted communities.
- b. **Be Willing to Change:** Anti-racism work requires generations of government entities and individual practitioners to adapt and grow. It requires the willingness to continuously learn and unlearn, and embrace and welcome discomfort and innovation as necessary components of change on the individual and organizational levels.

1. **Four Balances:**

- a. **Quantitative Data and Community Data:** Balancing quantitative data collected by institutions with lived community expertise and experiences allows a fuller understanding of problems and better solutions. Governments must leverage both to drive equitable decisions.
- b. **Representation and Structural Power Analysis:** Anti-racism initiatives should go beyond representation, recognize that authority, wealth, and other privileges play a part in one's political identity beyond their race and ethnicity, and focus on dismantling structural inequalities within governments and society.
- c. **Immediate Pressure and Long-Term Commitment:** Governments must harness moments of high pressure, like those following George Floyd's murder, to galvanize ongoing systemic change. Meanwhile, anti-racism is a long-term endeavor requiring steadfast commitment, even as public attention on racism shifts and wanes.
- d. **Analysis and Action:** Anti-racism requires both critical analysis and concrete action. Training, discussions, and reflections must be paired with visible actions that transform the daily operations and policies of governments.

**Lastly, Activating the Ecosystem of Anti-Racist Leadership**

Anti-racism is a complex, multi-faceted challenge requiring collaboration beyond just government institutions. Philanthropic partners, community organizations, and technical assistance organizations are all crucial in sustaining momentum and expanding resources. The work must happen across traditionally compartmentalized issue areas, as well as bridge across the diverse communities impacted by racist systems. By fostering strong, synchronized, cross-sector partnerships, governments can work collectively with other institutions and organizations to overcome political uncertainties and sustain progress toward racial equity.



# CONTENTS

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <u>Executive Summary.....</u>   | <u>i</u>  |
| <u>Introduction.....</u>  | <u>1</u>  |
| <u>About Our Research.....</u>  | <u>2</u>  |
| <u>Background: Why the Time for Anti-Racist Governments is Now .....</u>    | <u>3</u>  |
| <u>Findings: A Roadmap on Building Toward Anti-Racist Governments.....</u>  | <u>6</u>  |
| <u>One Perspective: Anti-Racism is About Shifting Power .....</u>           | <u>7</u>  |
| <u>Two Principles .....</u>   | <u>8</u>  |
| <u>Own Your Power: Treat Anti-Racism as a Foundational Job Duty.....</u>    | <u>8</u>  |
| <u>Share Your Power: Treat Impacted Communities as the North Star .....</u> | <u>10</u> |
| <u>Three Practices .....</u>  | <u>12</u> |
| <u>Let Your Equity Leaders “Cook”.....</u>                                  | <u>13</u> |
| Support Community Power Building .....                                      | 16        |
| Be Willing to Change .....  | 18        |
| <u>Four Balances .....</u>  | <u>19</u> |
| Quantitative Data and Community Data .....                                  | 19        |
| Representation and Structural Power Analysis .....                          | 20        |
| Immediate Pressure and Long-Term Commitment .....                           | 21        |
| Analysis and Action .....   | 21        |
| <u>Activate the Ecosystem of Anti-Racist Leadership.....</u>                | <u>22</u> |
| <u>Process .....</u>  | <u>24</u> |
| <u>Acknowledgments .....</u>  | <u>30</u> |
| <u>References .....</u>   | <u>32</u> |

# INTRODUCTION

*“When you get these jobs that you have been so brilliantly trained for, just remember that your real job is that if you are free, you need to free somebody else. If you have some power, then your job is to empower somebody else.”*

– Toni Morrison

**To practice anti-racism is to work toward creating just systems and conditions where all people, no matter their race or ethnicity, are not only free from suffering but can reach their highest potential in life and enjoy life.**

The COVID-19 pandemic and the nationwide racial justice uprising following the killing of George Floyd by police in 2020 increased conversations about institutionalized racism in the United States. In California, a growing list of local governments have been making commitments to address systemic racism and advance racial equity, for example, by creating equity offices and positions in their jurisdictions. [1]

Despite increases in awareness and desire, governmental practitioners still struggle with knowing how to leverage governments’ unique power, position, and resources toward anti-racism. Further, recent legal challenges against racially affirming policies and programs have had chilling effects on practitioners’ work. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court in 2023 overturned affirmative action in higher education, and programs such as California’s Abundant Birth Project [2] have experienced lawsuits and attacks. These decisions have added to the challenges and complexities for those working to advance racial equity in governments and institutions.





Still, change is possible. In the “Building Toward Anti-Racist Governments” project [3], CPEHN presents a strategic framework for governments and government workers to address systemic racism and advance racial equity, drawing from practical storytelling of three California county governments who made progress towards racial equity in recent years. Recognizing racism as a chronic, perpetual public health crisis, the roadmap guides government practitioners in transforming racialized power dynamics, centering Black, Indigenous, Immigrant and People of Color (BIPOC) communities, and sustaining anti-racist policies and practices. We recommend our readers refer back to the individual county stories for contexts and details.

This roadmap does not mean to adjudicate: our thinking and practicing of anti-racism are continually evolving because racism and other systems of oppression are not static; they regularly shift and adapt around us. It is our hope that this roadmap provides not just practical guidance and suggestions but also inspiration, solidarity, questions, disruptions, and hope to our readers’ anti-racism practices.

## ABOUT OUR RESEARCH

***CPEHN is not a “neutral” research organization:*** Our research includes those who directly shared their experience and expertise with us — in this case, the local governmental practitioners and community advocates from the three counties we interviewed. Our analyses and beliefs are influenced by our mission to build power with poor and working-class communities of color and by our 30-plus years of experience bringing together and building solidarity across community-based organizations (CBOs) serving and representing various racial and ethnic subgroups across California. In recent years, CPEHN has been focusing intentionally and explicitly on building power with grassroots base-building groups and organizers to generate system changes. Who we are and what we do have influenced the making of this roadmap.

*Background:*

# WHY THE TIME FOR ANTI-RACIST GOVERNMENTS IS NOW

To understand why this project is relevant today, we must first go back to the year 2020.

On January 30, 2020, the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a “public health emergency of international concern.” [4] In subsequent months, local governments in the United States started to issue shelter-in-place orders to contain the spread of the virus, with California Bay Area counties being the first on March 16. [5] In the absence of a coordinated national COVID-19 response strategy under the Trump Administration [6], by the end of May 2020, more than four out of every thousand people in the U.S. had contracted COVID-19, totaling 1.3 million cases around the country. Alarming, out of every four people infected nationwide, at least two of them were Latine/x or Black, when Latine/x and Black people made up less than a third of the general population. [7]

Meanwhile, that spring, the United States witnessed the largest civil rights protest in history. An estimated 26 million people marched in the streets [8], demanding justice for George Floyd, a 46-year old Black man brutally murdered by Minnesota police [9], and many other Black lives lost to state-sanctioned violence. Amid the protests, police across the country continued to shoot tear gas and rubber bullets at crowds of people masked for COVID-19 and unmasked with their anger and frustration at governmental failures in addressing racism and the root causes of health inequities exposed during COVID-19. Cities and counties across the country started to declare racism a public health crisis [10]; many such declarations happened as a result of long-time community organizing efforts. [11] Political declarations framing racism as an urgent,

widespread crisis affecting entire populations resonated with many. Between 2020 and 2023, almost 40 cities and counties in California passed declarations.

The disparate health and social impacts from the pandemic on communities of color sounded alarms on racism, **“a system of structuring opportunity and assigning value based on race, that unfairly disadvantages some individuals and communities, and advantages others”** [13]. In 2020, Black, Latine/x, Native and Asian people in the U.S. experienced larger decreases in life expectancy and greater losses in midlife than did the White population. [14] Meanwhile, between 2019 and 2022, wealth gaps between the median Black and White households soared at a rate faster than previous time periods. [15] During the pandemic, racist hate crimes targeting Asians in the U.S. also skyrocketed [16], challenging the “model minority” myth that certain people of color could strive and assimilate to be White-adjacent through hard work and deference.





Table 1 summarizes additional data showcasing the racialized health and social inequities during the pandemic. In broad strokes, in 2020, a person of color in the U.S. was more likely than a White person to face evictions and delayed housing and bill payments, less likely to have stable internet access, less likely to be able to telework, more likely to contract COVID-19 or be hospitalized, and more likely to experience mental health disorders and have unmet care needs.

These data showcase how the health and social impacts of the pandemic were results from historic and current political actions and power imbalances more than just the spread of a virus. Racism baked into institutional, policy, budgetary, and programmatic decisions and the resulting racialized health disparities constitute an ongoing public health crisis that calls for immediate action from governments.

Table 1: Racial Disparities During the Early COVID-19 Pandemic Years

| Category  | Inequities and Disparities   |
|---|--|
| COVID-19 cumulative cases, hospitalizations, and deaths | <p>As of December 2022, American Indians and Alaskan Natives (AIAN) and Latinx/e people were one and a half times as likely as White people to be infected with COVID-19, and Latinx/e, Black and AIAN people were roughly two times as likely as White people to be hospitalized for COVID-19. Moreover, AIAN people were roughly two times as likely as White people to die from COVID-19, and Latinx/e and Black people were more than 1.5 times as likely to die from COVID-19. [17]</p> <p>Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander, Black, and Latinx/e Californians were much more likely than the average Californian to become hospitalized or die from COVID-19, according to cumulative data as of 2023 from the California Department of Public Health. [18]</p> |
| Mental health and mental health care                    | <p>Probabilities of depression/anxiety increased significantly more for Asians, Latinx/e, Blacks compared to Whites, from 2019 to April-May 2020. Black, Latinx/e, and Asian people were also more likely to have unmet mental health care needs compared to White adults in the U.S. [19]</p>   |
| Worker protections                                      | <p>Latinx/e and Black people in the U.S, compared to their White counterparts, had less access to teleworking, [20] paid sick leave, [21] and unemployment benefits [22] during the pandemic.</p>  |

Table 1: Racial Disparities During the Early COVID-19 Pandemic Years (continued)

| Category  | Inequities and Disparities   |
|---|--|
| Access to free COVID-19 testing, and treatments | Communities of color and low-income neighborhoods were less likely to get tested for COVID-19, according to data in Los Angeles County, one of the first local governments in the country to offer free testing regardless of symptoms in 2020. [23] |
| Housing Stability                               | Black and Latinx/e households are more likely to face evictions and delayed payments in mortgage, rent, and utility, compared to White households, after controlling for education and resources. [24]   |
| Access to broadband Internet                    | Indigenous people have significantly less access to broadband Internet compared to the general population. People of color generally are twice as likely to cut or cancel phone or WiFi service than White people due to expenses. [25]              |

The Greek root of the word “crisis” means to “siege” or “decide.” A collective crisis for humanity, be it an acute crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic, or a chronic or persistent emergency like racism, can be a turning point for collective decision-making. **Governments in the U.S. have a critical role in addressing the crisis and turning a new direction from their historic and ongoing failures, as racism—defined as a “system of advantage based on race”—is primarily created and sustained by unjust and biased laws, policies, and institutions.** [26] The question lies in the how.



**Discussion: What do we mean when we say “racism is a public health crisis”?**

There are many ways we can compare “racism” to the COVID-19 pandemic as a health and public health crisis in the U.S. and globally.

*Consider the following statements and write down your own thoughts. Do you agree or disagree with each of them, and why or why not?*

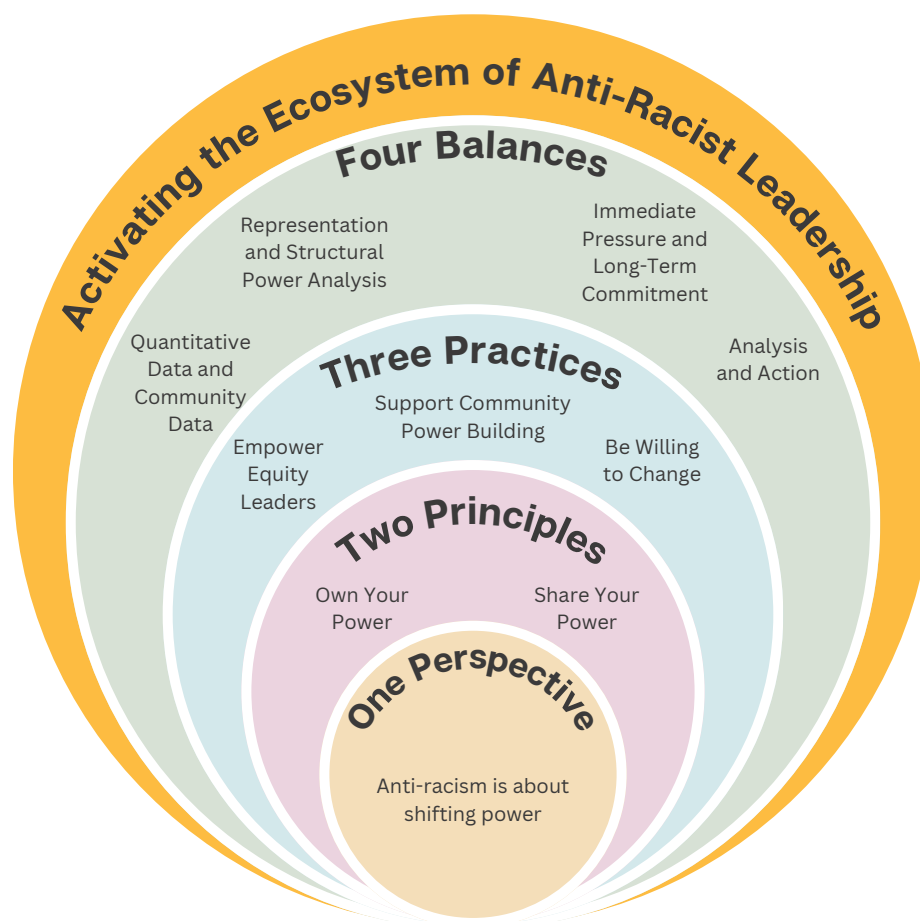
- Racism is widespread in our society.
- Outbreaks of racism expose the underlying health of our society.
- Racism negatively impacts the majority of people in society, not just people of color.
- Uprooting racism will take collective efforts across social sectors.

*What are some other ways you can compare racism to the COVID-19 pandemic?*

## Findings

# A ROADMAP ON BUILDING TOWARD ANTI-RACIST GOVERNMENTS

The “roadmap” contains “one perspective, two principles, three practices, and four balances” recommended for governments to take meaningful steps toward anti-racism. We encourage you to refer back to the three county stories [27] for additional background and context whenever an example sounds inspiring or intriguing to you.



## Definitions

- A **perspective** is a specific way of looking at a situation.
- A **principle** is a proposition that serves as the foundation for a system of belief or behavior or for a chain of reasoning.
- A **practice** is the actual application or use of an idea, belief, or method, as opposed to the theories of it. A practice also means the repeated exercise in or performance of an activity or skill so as to acquire or maintain proficiency in it.
- A **balance** is a condition in which different elements are equal or in the correct proportions.

## ONE PERSPECTIVE

The roadmap begins with “one perspective” (i.e. a specific way of looking at racism): **racism is about power imbalances and, therefore, anti-racism work requires fundamentally shifting the power dynamics in our society.** This perspective asks practitioners to critically understand and consciously wield their institutional and personal power in their anti-racism journey.

Systemic racism as an imbalance of power between racial groups in the U.S. is not a novel concept. Many civil rights movement leaders, including Malcom X and Kwame Ture, and political power building groups such as the Black Panthers Party and the Young Lords, have fought for poor and working-class Black, Indigenous, and People of Color to have self determination and self defense against police brutality and systemic oppression. Contemporary thought and movement leaders have also articulated racism in relation to power, including Alicia Garza, co-founder of the Black Lives Matter movement and Ibram X. Kendi, author of “How to Be an Antiracist.” The list goes on.

*“If a white man wants to lynch me, that's his problem. If he's got the power to lynch me, that's my problem. Racism is not a question of attitude; it's a question of power.”*

*– Kwame Ture*

On the other hand, as studies on political power evolve, our understanding of and strategies to fight back against racism and oppression in the U.S. also need to evolve. For example, governments need to understand that poor and working-class people of color have abundant people power [28]: the abilities to form analyses, change narratives, organize for actions, build coalitions, exchange resources, create authentic lasting relationships, and dream and build for a better world for all.

However, historic and present barriers that exist through institutions, laws, policies, elections, and budgets, hinder the translation of such abilities to the full exercise of power. To be anti-racist, governments and institutions must play a key role in addressing the inequitable political and socio-economic decision-making that maintains or exacerbates inequities in people's living conditions.



### *Power Building Literature*

**Harie Han and the P3 Lab, “Understanding Power”:**

[https://www.p3researchlab.org/understanding\\_power](https://www.p3researchlab.org/understanding_power)

**Richard Healy and Sandra Hilson, “The Three Faces of Power,” Grassroots Organizing Project:**

[https://grassrootspowerproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2\\_GPP\\_3FacesOfPower.pdf](https://grassrootspowerproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2_GPP_3FacesOfPower.pdf)

**“Power-Building Ecosystem Framework,” USC Equity Research Institute (ERI):**

<https://dornsife.usc.edu/eri/publications/power-building-ecosystem-framework/>

**“Resources for Collaboration and Power Sharing Between Government Agencies and Community Power-Building Organizations,” Human Impact Partners:**

<https://humanimpact.org/hipprojects/resources-for-collaboration-and-power-sharing-between-government-agencies-and-community-power-building-organizations/>

## TWO PRINCIPLES

Building on the principle that anti-racism requires shifting power, the roadmap further presents two principles for effective anti-racist government practices: **first, governments must own their power and treat anti-racism as a foundational job duty. Second, communities most impacted by racial inequities must be seen as the "north star," guiding governments on the direction and success of anti-racist work.**

### 1. Own Your Power: Anti-Racism is a Foundational Job Duty for Governments

Governments simply cannot act in oblivion, ambiguity, or denial of the power they have while trying to be racially just or equitable.

Governmental entities have the legal, legislative, budgetary, regulatory, and overall positional power and authority, especially when it comes to setting standards and regulations for broader social sectors, including the for-profit private sectors. For instance, our interviews revealed that when agricultural and viniculture industries successfully lobbied a county's Board of Supervisors, the County failed in its role as a governmental regulator. This failure could worsen inequities for farmworkers, many of whom are migrants of color.

*"[We need to have elected officials] with relationships to the community and support that comes from community, rather from business interests. I'd like to see our leadership be held accountable."*

*– Sonoma County Community Advocate*

Governments hold the power to either confront past and ongoing harms or continue to reinforce them. Historically and in the present, governments have perpetuated racism and other forms of oppression, not only through overt and coercive tactics such as redlining, mass incarceration, and police brutality, but also through the implementation of so-called "race-neutral" or color-blind policies. [29] For instance, the Supreme Court's recent decision to repeal affirmative action in higher education disregards the persistent structural racial power imbalances in the United States.



#### *Definitions*

- **Redlining** primarily refers to racially discriminatory lending policies and practices developed and implemented by the U.S. federal agency, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), beginning in the 1930s. The HOLC graded neighborhoods across the United States based on perceived mortgage investment risk, marking or "redlining" neighborhoods of color as "high risk." Redlining systematically denied mortgages and homeownership opportunities to communities of color while funneling investments into predominantly White neighborhoods.[30] Redlining, along with other discriminatory housing practices driven by U.S. governments and financial institutions, has perpetuated racial segregation and deepened health inequities, including in California. [31]





## Definitions

- **Mass incarceration** describes the large-scale imprisonment of individuals, particularly since the 1970s during the U.S. "War on Drugs." Also known as the "New Jim Crow", mass incarceration disproportionately targets and impacts people of color, especially Black and Latinx/e communities, through systemic biases in policing, sentencing laws, and criminal justice practices. For example, one of every three Black boys born today can expect to go to prison in his lifetime, as can one of every six Latino boys — compared with one of every 17 White boys. [32, 33] Worse still, many states today still allow for unpaid, forced labor of the prison population.
- **Police brutality** refers to the unjust and excessive use of force by law enforcement against civilians, including physical force, verbal assault, and psychological intimidation. In the U.S., people of color are disproportionately harmed by police brutality. [34]

Roberts and Rizzo argued that "racial passivism", i.e. the apathy or denial of racism, could be "the most insidious component of American racism" and more damaging and dangerous than those who deliberately choose to be racist. [35] **For governmental practitioners to commit to anti-racism, they must cultivate the awareness, intentionality, vigilance, and proactive strategies needed to confront not only overt racism but also its passive and subtle forms, both within and beyond government institutions.**

*If government investments are not mitigating inequities on communities of color, they continue to perpetuate historical harms in those communities."*

*— Sonoma County Antiracist Results Based Accountability Budget Tool [36]*

Government agencies and departments should recognize and integrate anti-racism as a fundamental responsibility of their work, a core function within their institutional power, rather than relegating it to a select few or treating it as a peripheral task. Embracing this approach offers numerous benefits: **when anti-racism is deeply embedded across government, racial equity-focused strategies and programs are less likely to be sidelined or defunded, and more likely to**

**endure budgetary or political challenges.** Some positive examples that moved counties along this direction included embedding racial equity as a key pillar in the County's five-year strategic plan (Sonoma County) and piloting an equity-centered budget tool across departments and programs (Monterey County). Committing halfway to equity is neither effective nor sustainable and, ultimately, undoes the good work of those who push for changes from both within and beyond governments.







### *Discussion*

- What types of legal or legislative, budgetary, regulatory, and overall positional power does your agency or department hold?
- What types of power do you hold in your own position?
- How have governments used their power to harm communities of color? Can you think of past or present examples specific to your agency or department?
- How have governments used their power to heal and address racial inequities? What are some past or present examples specific to your agency or department?
- How can you leverage your role as a governmental practitioner to create equitable and just living conditions for low-income and working-class people of color?
- What is something you can start doing today?

## 2. Share Your Power: Impacted Communities are Your North Star

A north star is a compass that offers timeless direction. Governmental and institutional practitioners should see Black, Indigenous, Immigrant, and People of Color (BIPOC) as the north star and the ultimate stakeholder for their anti-racism direction and progress. **Ultimately, the communities most affected by racist systems and policies should have the final say in determining whether governmental racial equity efforts have led to meaningful outcomes or impacts.**

*“[Sharing power is] a partnership we walk side by side, and whatever we do, we have to gain the community input and follow the needs of the community.”*

– Orange County Community Organization

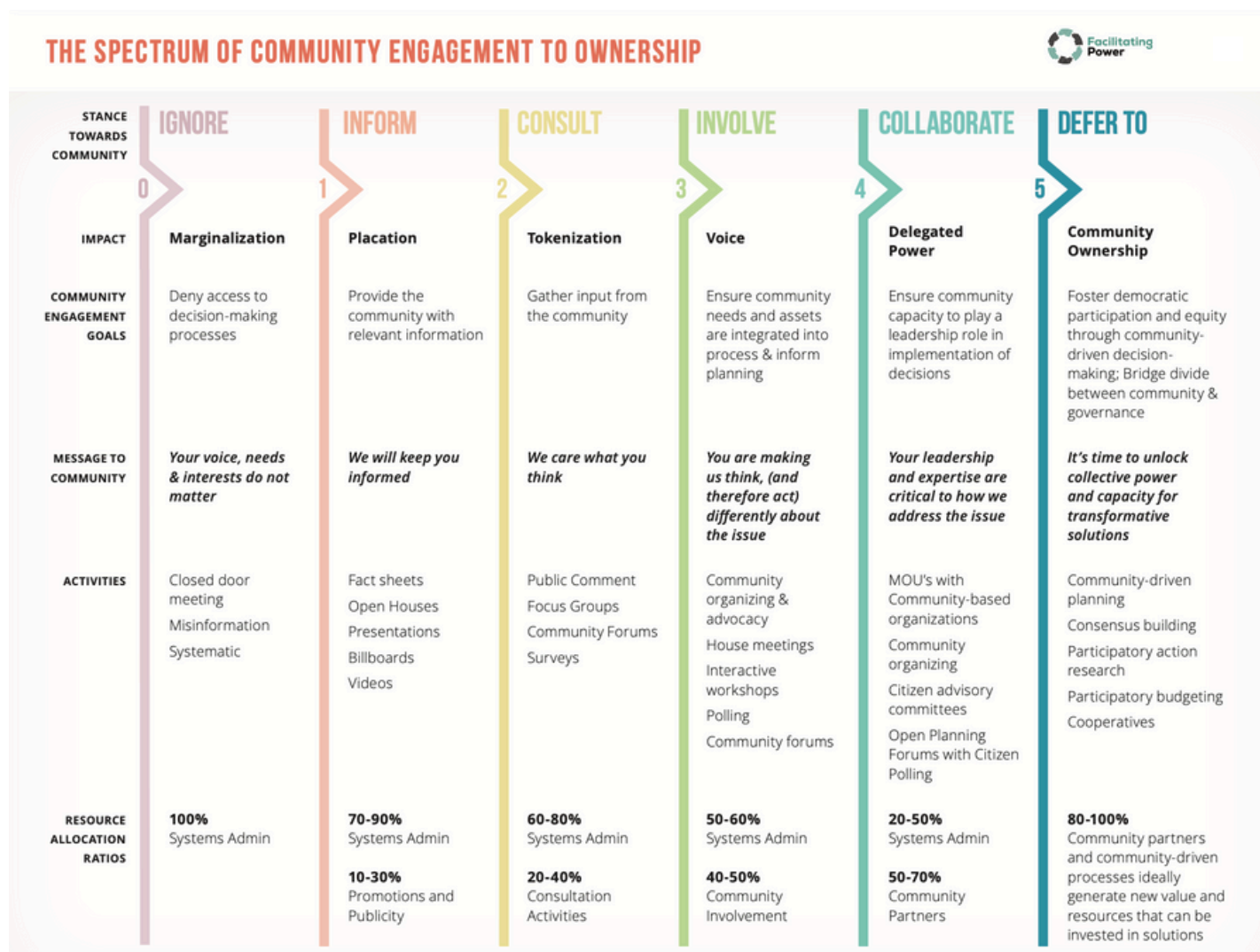
*“The community should have access to the county just like the county should have access to the community in sharing power; no one entity holds the power gate to the community.”*

– Orange County Governmental Practitioner

For instance, community organizers we interviewed in Orange and Monterey counties noted that while their counties' declarations of "racism as a public health crisis" were important and unprecedented public statements, they could have been more effective political tools if they had been co-created with communities of color. In practice, these declarations have largely remained internal county guidelines, leading to minimal change on the ground. Drawing from this feedback, governmental practitioners can assess where to refocus their attention and resources, after acknowledging and celebrating the "win" of formally recognizing racism through such declarations.

Treating impacted communities as the north star requires governmental practitioners to share their positional power with community partners, such as through sharing information and knowledge, funding, resources, and decision-making. Community self-determination, where communities have the authority to decide what is best for themselves, should drive and lead governmental decision-making affecting those communities. Practitioners at Monterey County Health Department and Sonoma County's Office of Equity used the "Spectrum of Community Engagement to Community Ownership" [37] developed by Rosa Gonzalez to inform

their work with the community. This framework educates and alerts governmental practitioners that many surface-level “community engagement” efforts, such as “keeping-you-informed” presentations and public comment opportunities, are still marginalizing, placating, and tokenizing the community. Despite progress in the three counties, there is still much work to be done for these local governments to learn how to share their power and embrace community delegation and ownership, as outlined in Gonzalez's Spectrum (see below).



*“Too often in government, we have this sense that community doesn't quite know what it needs. [...] We might say things like, well, you know, they wouldn't know how to formulate a policy [or] from a policy perspective how to do that. I think that's just been proven to be untrue. It's about how we engage in that co-creation [of policy] and it's the government's job to figure those things out. For example, communities have asked for rental assistance, and that is a policy.”*

– Sonoma County Governmental Practitioner

Sharing power with the communities also requires careful examinations of the existing practices, concepts, and frameworks governments use with an antiracism lens. For example, the types of health disparity data governments collect — and the narratives around such data — have historically led to blaming communities of color for their oppression and marginalization, noted a governmental practitioner in Sonoma County.

For example, Sonoma County’s “High Utilizers of Multiple Systems in Sonoma County” report, while filling in critical data gaps which were missing for the County’s small-numbered Black community, still framed Black communities as “problems” to be solved and reliant on public resources (“high utilizers”), instead of turning to the systems and conditions that created these problems and “reliance” in the first place. [38]

Finally, there are many considerations regarding who the “impacted communities” are. For example, governments often turn to nonprofit organizations whose missions are to serve or represent BIPOC

communities as a way of community engagement. However, nonprofit organizations, even those with well-intended missions, can perpetuate racism, discrimination, divisions, and gatekeeping, and fall victim to and mirror the racist systems they operate in. It is important to discern who is disenfranchised and disempowered in each specific scenario in your anti-racism effort. **It is crucial to consider both experience and expertise, as experience alone does not always result in a shared understanding of harm and how to repair it.** Solution-finding for racism is not unidimensional, and partnering with communities is a vital first step for governments.



### *Discussion*

- Which communities in your jurisdiction are most impacted by racist systems and policies?
- What does it mean to treat impacted communities as the “north star” and ultimate stakeholders in your work? What does this look like in practice?
- What policies and practices are currently implemented at your agency or department to share power with impacted communities? For instance, how are communities informed and involved in decision-making processes?
- Where do your practices fall on Rosa Gonzalez’s “Spectrum of Community Engagement to Community Ownership”? What are the gaps and challenges?
- What can you do differently? What is one action you can begin taking today?

## THREE PRACTICES

To put the two principles (i.e., anti-racism is your job duty, and impacted communities are your north star) into practice, **we further present three sets of practices distilled from the county examples:**

1. **Internally, let your equity leaders “cook”;**
2. **Externally, support community power building;**
3. **Systemically and personally, be willing to change.**



## 1. Let Your Equity Leaders “Cook”

The first practice focuses on elevating the expertise and leadership within governments. It starts with a simple analogy: in your “kitchen” (your jurisdiction, agency or department), you (leadership) have recruited the most brilliant “head chef” (your health equity director, racial equity officer, community relationship manager, etc.) to make a gourmet meal (say, to close alarming health disparities in the county).

*You say you want to achieve this equity outcome, but the real question is: are you truly allowing your star chef to cook? For example, does your chef have the right tools—the pots, pans, and ingredients (budget and resources)—to do their job? Are they given the authority to direct the rest of the kitchen (leadership and positional power), especially when disagreements arise with other chefs and sous-chefs (colleagues) or with the menu (strategic plans and policies)? Will you, as their supervisor, provide unwavering support and reassurance, even when the kitchen gets chaotic (internal and external pushback for challenging the status quo)?*

**While establishing an equity office or appointing an equity officer is a critical step in governments’ anti-racism efforts, we found that leaders of color were often not given the full access, resources, autonomy, or support to maximize their vision or talent in driving change.** Worse still, the selected few with equity in their job descriptions often have to take on the impossible tasks of changing whole institutions under which they work, or countering or undoing the harm their colleagues could be perpetuating simultaneously.

*“Because of white supremacist thinking [...] you have institutions that essentially put people in leadership positions in a tokenistic way.”*

– Sonoma County Governmental Practitioner

Here are a few ways jurisdictions can let their equity leaders “cook” and realize their “cheffery”:

**1.1 Give Equity Leaders Ongoing, Dedicated Budgets and Resources:** When provided with the necessary budgets and resources, the impact of equity leaders can be fully realized and amplified. For example, Orange County’s Health Care Agency worked with its newly created Office of Population Health and Equity to direct the \$22 million CDC health equity grant in 2021. Health equity leadership in the county facilitated the unprecedented “Equity in OC initiative” that invested the entirety of these funds into an array of community organizations and their community-centered initiatives serving BIPOC, LGBTQ+ and other disadvantaged communities in the county. Moreover, in addition to the CDC grant, an Orange County Supervisor allocated \$1 million discretionary funds to further support the initiative, particularly for smaller nonprofits to participate.

Sonoma’s newly created Office of Equity co-led the county’s COVID-19 relief and recovery process leveraging the federal American Rescue Plan Act funds. The Office’s leadership and collaboration with the county’s Human Services Department led to funding equity-driven community programs such as supplemental income and emergency financial assistance for Black and Brown communities. The county also answered to the advocacy led by Sonoma County’s Black community leaders and invested in a first-of-its-kind Black Therapy Fund in 2020, programmed by the Sonoma County Black Forum. The county also learned to use equity-driven tools in budgeting and contracting, including an Anti-Racist Results Based Accountability metric, which could have long-term widespread impacts for equitable budget-making in the county.

It is unrealistic to expect governmental equity leaders to conduct or sustain the difficult work of reducing racial inequities without ample, ongoing funding and resources. In reality, they are often



expected to do this work with pilot or ad-hoc money. Ongoing General Fund allocations are needed to continue the infrastructure, partnerships, and community programs enabled by pandemic-era one-time resource opportunities in Orange and Sonoma counties.

**1.2 Institutionalize and Normalize Equity Across Government:** Dedicated equity leadership is not enough: anti-racism practices need to be institutionalized, normalized, and decentralized across government, rather than seen as an added strategy, program, or competency for the selected few. In this spirit, Sonoma County's Office of Equity led and facilitated an Equity Core Team of almost 80 employees across multiple departments to learn about racial equity concepts, train on facilitating conversations, and implement an Anti-Racist Results-Based Accountability tool across departments. This decentralization ensured that the Office of Equity itself was not the sole entity responsible for equity work in the county. This Equity Core Team ignited county-wide conversations and continued to act as facilitators and leaders across the county on racial equity. Additionally, Sonoma County also embedded a "Racial Equity and Social Justice Pillar" in its most recent county-wide Five-Year Strategic Plan (2021-2026), which has been the "permission" needed to advance equity work, according to its Office of Equity.

Government institutions must prioritize integrating anti-racism practices throughout their operations, including personnel, finance, procurement and contracting, and data analyses. **It is unrealistic to expect that a single equity office or position can transform some of the most bureaucratic governmental roles and functions, which often continue to perpetuate harm.**

*"Some of our systems that are most entrenched are the ones that need to change first: HR, budgeting and procurement...the big pieces of our government that enable us to do our work."*

*– Sonoma County Governmental Practitioner*

**1.3 Show Unwavering Solidarity for Equity Leaders:** Elected and appointed government officials with public positional power who show solidarity for their equity practitioners truly help solidify and amplify anti-racism efforts. Governmental equity practitioners often face challenges inside and outside of governments in their work. In Orange County, the (former) public health officer was burned out and left his post after enduring rounds of racist attacks from the public during the COVID-19 pandemic. In Sonoma County, the (former) director at the Office of Equity faced a sexist attack and ongoing backlash from the Sonoma County Farm Bureau for doing her job requested by her supervisors. Prior to our research project, multiple Sonoma County Black department heads left their positions citing internal discrimination, sexism, and racism in previous years at the county and lack of support from their leadership. These equity champions of color were faced with the impossible task of confronting racism personally and professionally without receiving adequate support from their bosses or colleagues.

**Solidarity could involve speaking out or taking an official stand when your equity colleagues are targeted or attacked, whether internally or externally. It could also mean checking in with them directly to understand what support they need and taking action to meet those needs.**

*"There can start to be a perception that, okay, we've created the Office of Equity [...] It's become the Office of Equity's job to just deal with the working-class people, to deal with the people of color, to deal with immigrants, and that it somehow allows the Board of Supervisors not to have to deal with it [...] That's a real challenge [...] There's definitely a disconnect between elected officials and staff of Office of Equity; some officials disapprove it and some who approve but don't embody it."*

*– Sonoma County Community Advocate*

**1.4 Elevate Staff Working at the Frontline and Programmatic Levels:** Lastly, it is likely that you already have “star chefs” on your team instead of having to outsource for one. **Equity leadership is not necessarily about holding positional power; it is defined by one’s deep attunement to the strengths and challenges in their communities and strong commitment to addressing injustices and inequities.** Frontline staff, who work to create open communication and genuine engagement with impacted communities, who often come from impacted communities themselves, can provide critical insight and leadership in the county’s anti-racist work.

For example, Sonoma County’s Equity Core team, which started in 2021, centered staff who had been doing equity work for years but were not privy to previous director-level racial equity trainings. The Equity Core Team also provided space for racial affinity discussions where staff of color could discuss the institutional harm they experienced themselves, find solidarity and support, and be re-energized in their work.

In Monterey County, the Civil Rights Office started a monthly standing meeting during COVID-19 open to all departments. More than half of the county departments participated to discuss biases, micro-aggression, and racism in these meetings. The Office also created an employee resource group to “mobilize folks within their sphere of influence, to feel supported and know that they have at least peer support and colleagues’ support, and that can be enough to start to push the inertia one way or the other.”



### *Discussion*

- Who are the equity leaders in your department or jurisdiction?
- Who hold trusted relationships with communities most impacted by racism in your department or jurisdiction?
- How are you currently keeping up with the racial or health equity work happening in your jurisdiction?
- How are you currently collaborating with the equity leaders in your jurisdiction? What would you like to do more of?
- How are you currently supporting or showing solidarity with the equity leaders and staff? What would you like to do more of?
- How could you further leverage your own position, power, and resources to support the anti-racism work in your jurisdiction? What is one action you can begin taking today?





## 2. Support Community Power-Building

**Community power-building is “long-term work that requires stable, resilient, and accountable organizations to nurture and channel people’s energy and will toward strategic change.”**

[39] While communities and community-led organizations themselves are at the heart and center of community power-building [40], governmental practitioners can play an active role to support these efforts to build life-affirming, resilient, autonomous systems of care as well as to advocate for system change. Here are a few recommendations drawn from the three counties’ stories in which governmental practitioners supported community power-building work.

**2.1 Invest in Trusted Relationships:** Trust and relationship-building take time and consistent effort and are critical in any working relationship between government and communities, especially when, historically, governments have broken the trust of the communities. Indeed, public trust for governments in the U.S. has steadily declined and is at historic lows. [41] In Orange County, community organizations mentioned how efforts from recent leadership at the Health Care Agency (HCA) and the newly created Office of Population Health and Equity contributed to a change in the mistrust and distrust community organizations hold toward the county. For example, the HCA partnered extensively with API and Latinx/e community organizations to respond to COVID-19. The Office of Population Health and Equity invited and compensated community organizations and residents to meet and determine funding priorities for its Equity in OC program, and then distributed the funds according to community-set priorities. This trust-building through equitable partnerships contributed to the improvement of the working relationship between Orange County government and its CBOs and residents.

*“Because of the political dynamics of Orange County, there has been long-standing mistrust between the county and CBOs. Some agencies had a really bad reputation for treating CBOs very poorly. There’s a subservient role instead of a partnership role [with CBOs] ...It wasn’t until recently that we had new leadership in the county that we started seeing the county open itself up to more equitable practices [and] a partnership mentality.”*

*– Orange County Community Advocate*

**2.2 Provide Useful Information and Data for Communities:** Governmental practitioners can share data and information in transparent and accessible ways with communities, in multiple languages, plain languages, and via multiple digital and paper platforms. Government-held information, such as disaggregated population health disparity data, or simply organizational charts can be shared with the public. A step further for governmental practitioners is to actively consult the community about what information, data, and evidence can be useful and then dedicate resources within governments to make those available.

For example, Sonoma County published several health equity reports that highlighted health inequities among communities of color. Notably, the first iteration of the Portrait of Sonoma report in 2014 neglected to include data for Black and Indigenous communities in the county due to their relatively small population size. Following advocacy from Black-led community organizations, in the 2021 update of the Portrait, Sonoma County acknowledged this deficiency and made efforts to improve data collection and analysis methods that have historically overlooked and erased smaller communities, such as Black and AI/AN populations. CBOs in the county then leveraged

data in the updated Portrait to further advocate for and secure programs to address health inequities, such as the Black Therapy Fund.

### 2.3 Fund Community-Based Initiatives:

Governments can directly fund community-based evidence practices, which are proven effective for communities of color. For example, Monterey County funded 125 community health workers across 10 community-based organizations during the height of the pandemic to provide COVID-19 education, outreach, and wrap-around services for the communities disproportionately impacted by COVID-19. Sonoma County also funded a Black Therapy program to address provider shortages and mental health disparities for its Black community.

Governments can also enhance their contracting and procurement processes, so that public funding can be accessible to all applicants, especially small or grassroots CBOs who traditionally might not have the infrastructure to apply or compete for government funding. [42] Orange County's Equity in OC program used a variety of strategies to make funding accessible, such as using a third-party nonprofit entity as a pass-through, hiring external consultants to provide technical assistance in grant applications, engaging applicants in grant making processes, and keeping the feedback loop open.

**2.4 Align on the Visions and Solutions with Communities:** Anti-racist partnerships mean that governments and communities need to align on the visions and solutions for a shared better future. There were many "baby steps" made across counties where governments worked with communities to co-identify challenges and co-create solutions. For example, many departments in Monterey County and Salinas City governments committed to co-creating racial equity plans in areas such as health, housing, and incarceration, with community advocates and residents through the recent Collaboratively Organizing for Liberation, Inclusion and Breaking Racial Inequities

(COLIBRI) initiative. Sonoma County developed a community-centered process in which community members took the lead in creating policy recommendations for the 2021 Portrait of Sonoma report. CBOs later formed workgroups to implement those recommendations. Achieving alignment on visions and solutions also requires governmental practitioners to actively support community organizing and advocacy efforts from within their departments.

*"A lot of this work happens because there's someone inside the institution [who] believes in the type of work we're doing [...] They can start rallying their colleagues and bringing them to spaces and having them be more open-minded than they would have, if it would have come from the outside."*

– Monterey County Community Organizer



### Discussion

- In your own words, what does "community power-building" mean to you?
- Why is community power-building an important step in anti-racism?
- Who are the key people and organizations doing community power-building work in your jurisdiction? What are they focusing on?
- What can you do to support the community power-building people and organizations in your jurisdiction?
- How can you better leverage your own position, power, and resources within governments to support community power-building? What is one action you can begin taking today?

### 3. Be Willing to Change

Racism, as a legacy of colonization and slavery, is deeply ingrained in U.S. society. Undoing its effects will require generations of practitioners dedicated to ongoing learning and unlearning of the complexities and nuances of racism, while also addressing its intersections with other systems of oppression, such as capitalism, sexism, and ableism. As many practitioners we interviewed mentioned, to be an antiracist practitioner working in governments and institutions, the work is as much about what happens on a structural and institutional level as it is about each practitioner's personal journeys and reflections.

*“We have to be examining ourselves too and that can be really upsetting [...] and triggering for people [...] Of course we know fighting racism is the right thing to do. When we stop to think about how we actually do that and again, how that makes us feel and what it means for our positionality, our authority and our power, that is really ground-shaking for some folks. Because it is there. Our whole lives have been built up in one direction. So, it really shakes that foundation.”*

*— Sonoma County Governmental Practitioner*

**3.1 Be Willing to Grow from Discomfort:** In psychology, the skill of willingness is about learning to allow yourself to experience what you are feeling so that you can work through it. It is about learning and growing from one's emotions. On a personal level, the practice of willingness can look like the following:

- Be willing to ask questions about one's existing beliefs and thoughts with curiosity and without holding judgments, shame, or guilt.
- Be willing to learn, unlearn, and learn and unlearn again.
- Be willing to recognize one doesn't know everything, and mistakes are part of the journey.
- Be willing to deal with difficult emotions that may arise.
- Be willing to always do better. Anti-racism work is not a one-and-done effort, and all of us have areas to learn and grow.

**3.2 Be Willing to Experiment and Innovate:** On a systems level, the practice of willingness asks practitioners to be both strategic and brave. Despite the risk-averse habits of governments, counties that demonstrated success were ones that were willing to take risks, try new strategies and initiatives, as well as challenge existing narratives, habits, and patterns.

In Monterey County, following the fatal police shooting of four Latino men in 2010, community advocates and Salinas city government jointly hosted a weeklong healing-centered racial justice training and discussions, which also involved the City Police Department. These conversations helped pave the way for the community power-building strategies in the county in the years to follow.

Despite political odds, the Orange County Board of Supervisors issued multiple declarations to denounce hate crimes and racism in 2022. The county's \$22 million investment in community power-building initiative was unprecedented, as the entirety of a federal health equity grant went into community-led initiatives, funding BIPOC and LGBTQ+ communities while simultaneously innovating government contracting processes.

*"[The EiOC initiative] provided a space for the community, and for myself as well, as the grant administrator, to give ourselves grace and to be a space, to learn from each other and to acknowledge that I don't have it all figured out; the Equity in OC fund doesn't have it all figured out; community-based partners don't have it all figured out."*

*– Orange County Grant Administrator for EiOC*



### Discussion

- How has your understanding of racism and anti-racism evolved in recent years? What new insights have you gained, even compared to just a year ago?
- How has the collective knowledge and understanding of racism and anti-racism changed in your jurisdiction in recent years? What factors contributed to these shifts?
- In what ways do you continue to challenge your own assumptions and beliefs? How do you actively seek out new perspectives?
- Who are the people you learn from and exchange ideas with? Where do you go to find or seek new information?
- What lessons have you learned from the experiences of Orange, Sonoma, and Monterey counties? Which practices could be adapted for your own jurisdiction?
- Are there other anti-racism strategies you've heard about that you'd like to try in your jurisdiction? What would it take to implement them?
- What is one action you can begin taking today?

## FOUR BALANCES

A balance by definition is a condition in which different elements are equal or in the correct proportions. **In this project, we recognized four sets of balances for governmental anti-racism practitioners to focus on:**

1. **leverage both quantitative data and community data;**
2. **balance representation with structural power analyses;**
3. **harness high-pressure moments while committing to steadfast long-term work; and**
4. **sharpen analyses and take actions.**

### 1. Quantitative Data and Community Data

Quantitative data that are often collected by institutions are important to anti-racist work because such data help governments identify population-wide racialized disparities and direct equity efforts with consensus. Meanwhile, community data, defined as “evidence generated by communities about their everyday lives” and “community-centric forms of knowing, being, doing, and dreaming”, often in the form of qualitative data and stories [43], are just as important for policy- and decision-making.

Here are a few examples of balancing efforts in leveraging various forms of data: Orange County created an OC Equity Map to locate and direct resources to the most-in-need neighborhoods during its COVID-19 response, one of the first in the state. In addition to using a public health map in its COVID-19 response, Orange County also closely consulted and contracted with nonprofits that represent and serve the Latine/x and the API communities to provide COVID-19-related services.

Sonoma County invested resources to produce its “A Portrait of Sonoma” reports in 2014 and 2021. The initial report in 2014 deemed Black and Native communities “statistically insignificant” to include. It was not until the advocacy from Black and Native community leaders who challenged these harmful narratives that the county included critical data for these communities in the 2021 updated portrait. Public data sets can easily erase or misrepresent communities that are small in number, geographically dispersed, and/or not well captured because of, for example, how race and ethnicity are categorized in the U.S. Census, as CPEHN found in a 2021 report “Nothing About Us Without Us.” [44] As a response to the racial inequities highlighted in the Portrait of Sonoma Update in 2021, Sonoma County decided to bring in communities most impacted to develop an Agenda for Action workgroup. The county recognized that unlike an outside think tank, which produced the first Portrait, impacted communities are best positioned to identify the underlying causes and recommend solutions to the inequities they experience.

## 2. Representation and Structural Power Analyses

Governments have been turning to equity, diversity, and inclusion (DEI) programs and initiatives as their main anti-racism measures, for example, by recruiting representatives from an array of racial and ethnic backgrounds to government advisory bodies. However, without structural power analyses recognizing that authority, wealth, and other privileges play into one’s political identity beyond their race and ethnicity, such measures remain a “check-the-box” type of community engagement and could pull us further away from our anti-racism goals.

Governmental anti-racism practitioners can be more intentional and strategic in how they disrupt existing power imbalances to advance racial equity. For example, under the Equity in OC initiative, Orange County equity leaders decided to set up grants in the way that nonprofit organizations serving the same racial or ethnic group had to collaborate and form “population collectives” to apply for and use the funds. This decision generated controversy and discomfort in the nonprofit community in the county, as CBOs traditionally were made to compete with each other and fight for limited resources; those who are more established than the rest may act as “gatekeepers” to government funding. It is equally important to note that this scarcity mindset among nonprofit organizations is a result of institutional oppression, and governments have played a part in actively creating this dynamic. Orange County’s effort to address underlying power imbalances in the nonprofit industry and not further perpetuate scarcity, division, and gatekeeping through how they distributed funds set up applaudable examples for more governments.

*“The first year [of EiOC] was tough because we angered so many traditional gatekeepers and brought in new partners that threatened their funding source.”*

*– Orange County Governmental Practitioner*



### 3. Immediate Pressure and Long-Term Commitment

Racism is a chronic emergency that requires ongoing commitment to address. In the immediate years following the COVID-19 outbreak and George Floyd's murder by police, there was a heightened sense of urgency and momentum when governmental practitioners vowed to address racism. Many initiatives, such as creating equity offices and positions as well as leveraging federal COVID-19 funds toward equity-centered programs, happened during this time. However, many government bodies also quickly rushed back to "business as usual," reducing COVID precautions, and moving away from funding racial equity.

It is important for governmental practitioners to harness the urgency and public pressure of historic moments like the pandemic and the racial justice uprisings in 2020. It is also critical for anti-racism work to require long-term commitments and steadfast efforts from practitioners without the public spotlights, especially during the ebbs and flows of political interests, including political backlashes.

In our research, we found that each county's success traces back to work happening at least 10 to 15 years ago. In Sonoma, early GARE trainings in 2018 paved the way for the creation of an Office of Equity that was instrumental in internal learning and external budgeting decisions. In Monterey, joint healing-centered racial equity conversations between the City of Salinas and community, facilitated by national technical assistance groups, paved the way for many community power-building groups and the evolution of partnerships between Monterey Building Healthy Communities and local governments.

### 4. Analyses and Actions

The practice of anti-racism requires the balance and interplay of forming and sharpening analyses (for example, through racial equity trainings, collective healing sessions) and the actual actions (for example, organizing a workgroup to create a plan, passing policies on racial equity).

For example, in Monterey County, the 2014 healing-centered racial equity training between Salinas City government and community organizers was instrumental, as it touched people's hearts, opened conversations with community residents most harmed by racially-biased policing, and created shared language and frameworks on racial justice. This collective learning paved the way for changes in Monterey County in the next decade. For instance, Monterey County Building Healthy Communities have been co-creating racial equity plans with the city and county governments. On the other hand, actions such as embedding racial equity as a key pillar in the county's strategic plan (Sonoma County) and piloting an equity-centered budget tool across county departments and programs (Monterey County) provided government workers at large with the tools to think about racial equity more often in their work. Once equity is normalized in the "doing," hearts and minds can shift, and analyses can follow.





### Discussion

- How does your jurisdiction currently use data to inform decision-making? How is community data collected and utilized? How do you currently incorporate community experience and expertise into policy and decision-making? What more could you do or do differently?
- How is your jurisdiction working to ensure racial equity within government representation? What more could you do or do differently?
- What recent examples can you share of seizing a high-pressure moment in your jurisdiction to advance racial equity? What are examples of long-term commitments? How do you balance short-term actions with long-term goals?
- Can you share examples where you changed the course of an action based on new insights or analysis? What are examples where taking action led you to gain new perspectives or analysis?
- Are there other competing interests or tension points in your anti-racism work that you've had to balance?

## ACTIVATE THE ECOSYSTEM OF ANTI-RACIST LEADERSHIP

*“There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle  
because we do not live single-issue lives.”*

*– Audre Lorde*



Racism is a complex, “wicked” problem [45] that no one field or one organization can solve alone. Its complexity generates constant disagreement of its causes and solutions. Its wickedness means that racism is a dynamic process by which various systems and institutions will endure and adapt to reinforce the status quo, despite changes or disruptions. Beyond governments and community organizations, a broader ecosystem of people and organizations need to be activated and engaged to address racism, each with a unique and crucial role to play.

Our county stories showcased the impacts and successes of many such local ecosystems of anti-racist leadership. For example, philanthropic funders played a critical role in facilitating the dynamic between governments and communities, as well as directly funding anti-racism work. The California Endowment’s Building Healthy Communities initiative was instrumental in setting up Monterey County’s power-building ecosystem more than 15 years ago. In Orange County, philanthropic partners have worked to sustain the progress, following the departure of equity leaders and the waning of one-time federal funding.

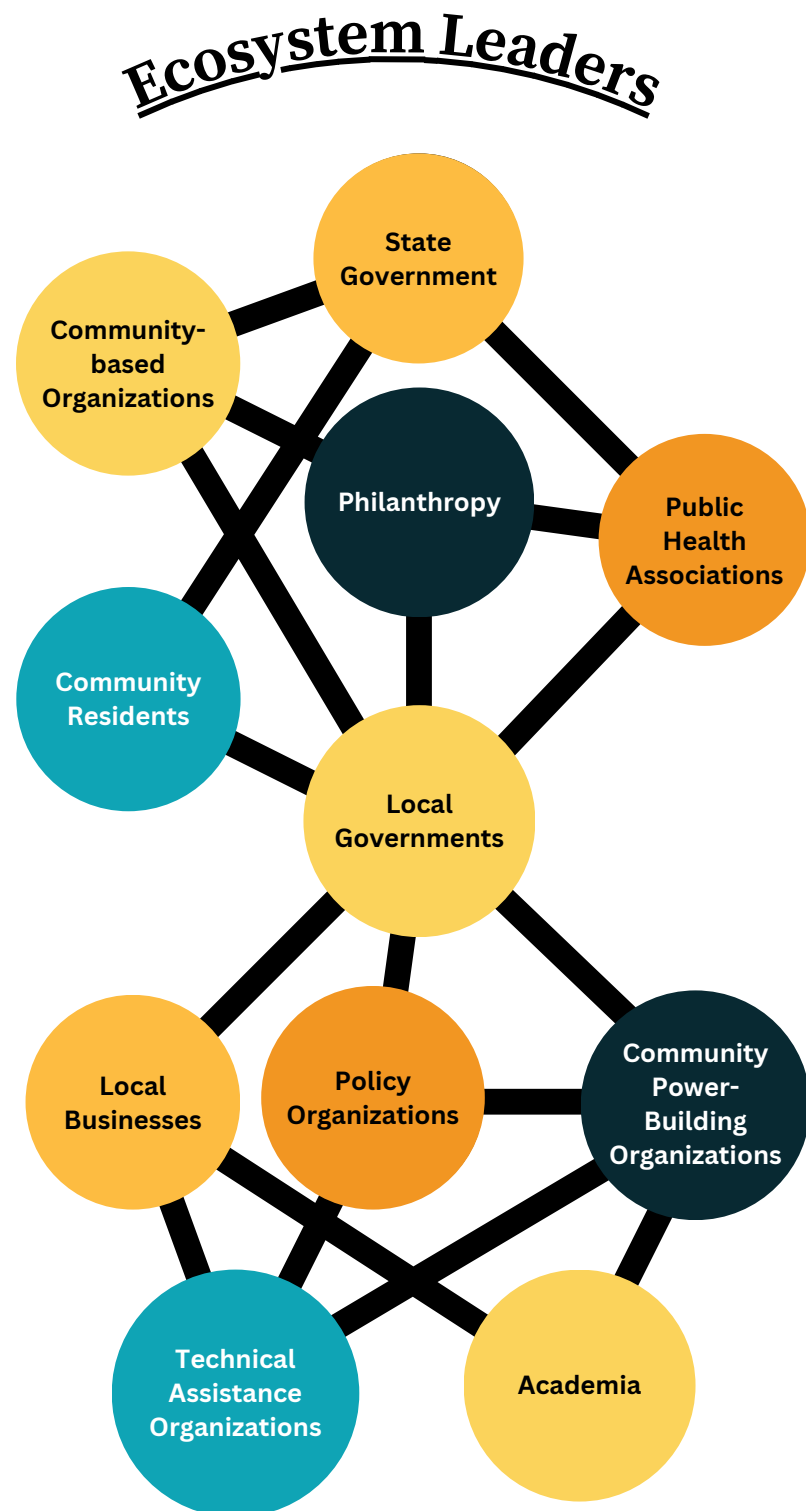
Think tanks and technical assistance groups with racial equity goals have played supportive roles in the journeys of these counties. Both Monterey and Sonoma County governments have participated in national and regional Government Alliance on Race & Equity (GARE) trainings and cohorts. Human Impact Partners, a national public health organization, has worked with the Monterey County Health Department to facilitate

and strengthen government-community partnerships. The Bay Area Regional Health Inequities Initiative (BARHII), a public health association in California, provided trainings such as adaptive leadership for racial equity for Sonoma County, which helped the county in establishing its first Office of Equity. Emerging from this successful partnership, BARHII has also been convening the Bay Area Equity Officer Network (BAEON) and supporting multiple jurisdictions in California in their anti-racism journeys.

Our interviewees also expressed the desire for California's state government to offer more standards, guidance, and support, especially budgetary instruments or mandates for local governments to bolster local anti-racism efforts. Meanwhile, we recommend that practitioners in California state government:

- own and share your power,
- let your equity leaders cook,
- support community power building,
- be willing to change, and
- pay attention to the nuances and balances in the highly dynamic process of antiracism.

Moving forward, efforts must be more coordinated and amplified, spanning traditionally siloed issue areas (such as mental health, housing, and criminal justice), reaching diverse communities affected by systemic racism, and across sectors (including government, business, and nonprofit organizations). Our next steps involve building trusted relationships and aligning partnerships across these sectors and organizations. By cultivating resilient, interconnected systems and forming strong cross-sector partnerships, governments can collaborate with other institutions to navigate and overcome political uncertainties and sustain meaningful progress toward anti-racism.

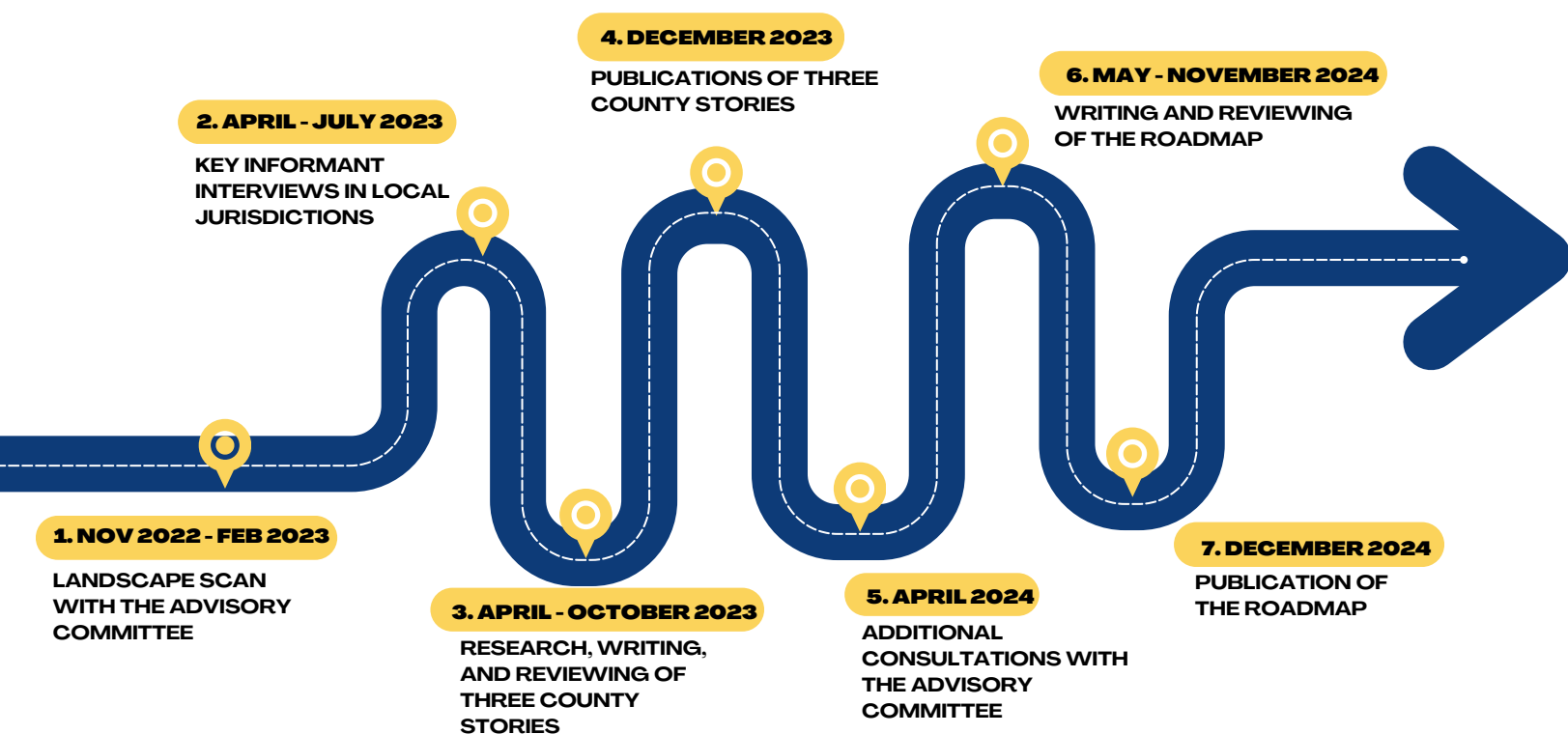




### *Discussion*

- Conduct a landscape analysis of the anti-racism work within your jurisdiction.
  - Who are the key individuals and organizations leading anti-racism efforts? What roles do they play?
  - How are these entities connected to one another, and how strong or weak are those connections?
  - Where does your local government or department fit within this landscape?
- Conduct a power mapping of the anti-racism movement in your jurisdiction.
  - Who are the allies and supporters, and who are the opponents?
  - What power and influence do these groups hold?
  - Who else can you sway or mobilize to further your work?
- Develop a strategy to strengthen the anti-racism ecosystem in your jurisdiction.
  - How can you use your position, power, and resources as a government practitioner to enhance this ecosystem?
  - Who can you partner with? Are there individuals or organizations outside the current ecosystem that you can bring in to support this work?

## THE PROCESS



## 1. LANDSCAPE SCAN WITH THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Between November 2022 and February 2023, CPEHN hosted exploratory one-on-one conversations with 12 nonprofit organizations that operate at the intersection of public health and racial equity in California and nationally. During these conversations, we discussed and received feedback on (i) meaningful research questions to explore and (ii) a shortlist of California counties to further investigate. We also gained insight from organizations that were studying the “Racism as a Public Health Crisis” declarations, including the Praxis Project and Berkeley Media Studies Group, on the usefulness of these declarations.

These organizations became the “advisory committee” of the project (Table 2), who we continued to engage with throughout the project. Though not exhaustive, the landscape scan helped us identify the localities, organizations, and research questions we investigated next.

Table 2, *Advisory Committee for the Building Towards Anti-Racist Governments Project*

| Advisory Committee Organizations   |
|--|
| Bay Area Regional Health Inequities Initiative (BARHII)<br>Berkeley Media Studies Group<br>Big Cities Health Coalition<br>Central California Public Health Consortium<br>ChangeLab Solutions<br>Human Impact Partners<br>Network for Public Health Law<br>Praxis Project<br>Prevention Institute<br>Public Health Alliance of Southern California<br>Public Health Institute - State of Equity<br>Race Forward and Government Alliance on Race & Equity (GARE) |

## 2. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS IN LOCAL JURISDICTIONS

After the landscape scan, we drafted a one-hour interview protocol and narrowed our research targets to Orange, Sonoma, Monterey, and Riverside counties in California. These counties were chosen intentionally to represent a variety of geographic locations, political climates, rural-urban composition, and population density in California state (Table 3). Riverside County was not included in the final analyses because of incomplete data.

In each county, CPEHN identified and interviewed governmental racial equity practitioners as well as nonprofit organizations, including organizations that provide intermediary support for governments and organizations that do organizing, advocacy, and base-building work on the ground (Table 4). Initial interviews

led to identifying additional organizations to interview in each county. Between April and July 2023, CPEHN conducted key informant interviews with dozens of individuals in the three counties (see the full list in acknowledgments). These interviews provided critical data to the project publications.

*Table 3, Summary of County Background Data*

|                                     | Orange County   | Monterey County  | Sonoma County  |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| <b>Political Climate (2021)</b>     | Three Democrats and two Republicans on the Board of Supervisors                       | All Democrats on the Board of Supervisors  | All Democrats on the Board of Supervisors  |
| <b>Population (2021 Census)</b>     | 3.19 million  | 432,858  | 482,650  |
| <b>Urban-Rural</b>                  | Urban   | Rural  | Urban-Rural  |
| <b>Race/Ethnicity (2021 Census)</b> | 34% Latinx/e,<br>23.3% Asian,<br>2.3% Black,<br>1.1% AIAN,<br>0.4% NHPI,<br>38% White | 60.8% Latinx/e,<br>6.8% Asian,<br>3.2% Black,<br>2.6% AIAN,<br>0.6% NHPI,<br>28.4% White | 28.9% Latinx/e,<br>5% Asian,<br>2.2% Black,<br>2.3% AIAN,<br>0.4% NHPI,<br>60.6% White |
| <b>Geographic Location</b>          | Southern California   | Central Coast  | Northern California/ Bay Area  |

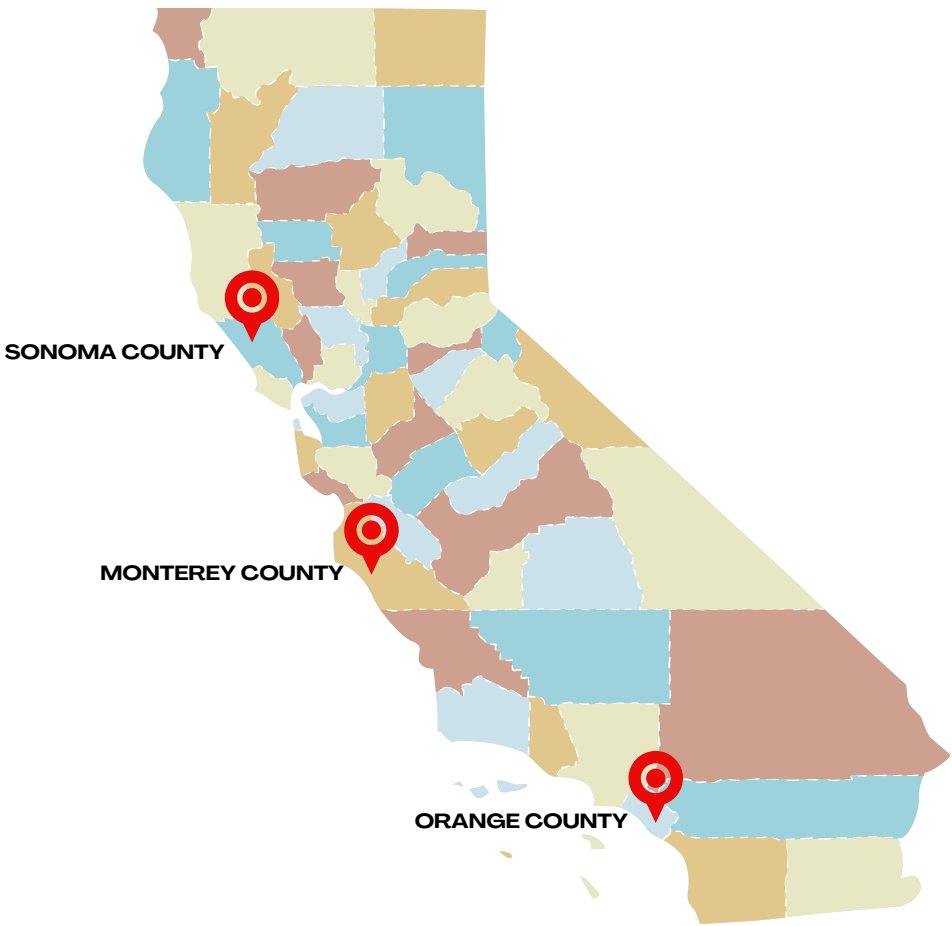


Table 4, Local Key Informant Interviewees

| County                   | Orange County                                     | Monterey County   | Sonoma County   |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|
| Governments              | Orange County Health Care Agency                  | Monterey County Health Department<br>Monterey County Civil Rights Office          | Sonoma County Office of Equity<br>Sonoma County Health Services Department                        |
| Non-profit Organizations | Alianza Tranlatinx<br>Advance OC<br>OC United Way | Building Healthy Communities Monterey County<br>Action Council: Mujeres en Acción | North Bay Jobs with Justice<br>Sonoma County Black Forum<br>NAACP Santa Rosa-Sonoma County Branch |





### *Key Informant Interview Questions*

1. Please describe the work that led up to the declaration of racism as a public health crisis.
  - a. Who contributed to the passage of the declaration (or the establishment of the equity office/program)?
  - b. If there were any political challenges, what softened the ground/laid the foundation for the declaration to be passed?
  - c. How were local communities involved (especially the BIPOC-led/directly impacted Community Based Organizations and coalitions)?
2. Since the passage of the declaration, what have been the biggest challenges in getting traction to operationalize and commit to addressing racism as a public health crisis? What are the most significant changes that have happened within the county since?
3. From your perspective, how has the declaration been helpful in advancing existing racial equity work? If it has not been helpful, how has it hindered/impeded the current equity work?
4. Do you feel comfortable openly discussing racial equity and racism in your department or county? Why or why not?
5. In the last 3 years, what have been the top 2-3 wins you want to celebrate in your equity team's work advancing racial equity, and why?
6. From your perspective, what are the main obstacles to advancing racial equity in your county at large? And how do you navigate those in your position?
7. What are your future goals for racial equity in the county? From your perspective, what would it take to get there?
8. Overall, how does your department share power with the communities that you serve?
9. Overall, how can community members participate in the county's decision-making processes?
  - a. For example, the county's budget or your department's strategic plan?
10. Do you intentionally use inside-outside strategy with your community partners to advance racial equity efforts with the county at large? If so, can you share with us an example?
11. How is the county promoting data equity for the public?
  - a. In what ways is the county ensuring that data are easily accessible to the public?
12. We are also curious how the state, as well as other jurisdictions, might have played a role in your racial equity work. What has been helpful coming from the state?
  - a. For example, have you participated in any training or capacity-building organized by the state departments?
  - b. Are there specific funding sources that enabled or supported racial equity work?
  - c. Have you used any racial equity guidance from the state?

### 3. ADDITIONAL RESEARCH, WRITING, AND REVIEWING

From April through October 2023, CPEHN conducted additional research to understand the backgrounds and history of racial equity work in these three counties. Combining that with the interview data, we wrote three individual county case studies: “Orange County: Brave Steps”; “Sonoma County: Planting the Seeds”; and “Monterey County: Building Community Power.” Each story documented a cohesive journey of the best efforts, highlights, and trials and errors of the racial equity work in these counties, led by either governmental or nonprofit practitioners and dated back to as early as 2010. These county stories were reviewed, edited, and approved by the local interviewees and released in December 2023.

In 2024, CPEHN continued to analyze the themes, successes, and challenges across the three counties, and distilled and summarized the findings in this roadmap. A wide array of field practitioners and experts reviewed the roadmap, including the local interviewees, advisory committee members, and additional racial equity-focused organizations (see the full list in the acknowledgments section).

# Acknowledgments

**Author: Weiyu Zhang, California Pan-Ethnic Health Network**

*The author wishes to extend her heartfelt gratitude to the interviewees from Orange, Sonoma, and Monterey counties in California; their expertise and experiences were instrumental in shaping the three stories and the roadmap. She is also deeply thankful to the project advisors, editors and reviewers of the report, whose invaluable insights, suggestions, and feedback guided the project's direction and enhanced the clarity and depth of the analyses. A special acknowledgment goes to her CPEHN colleagues, whose contributions spanning research, interviews, data analysis, graphic design, reviews, and facilitation were vital to this project. CPEHN team's unwavering dedication to creating racially just systems and policies has been a main source of inspiration for the roadmap. Each individual is listed with their affiliated organization at the time of the project below.*

## **Interviewees:**

**Orange County:** Clayton Chau (Orange County Health Care Agency), Khloe Rios-Wyatt (Alianza Translatinx), Katie Kalvoda (Advance OC), Carol Kim (Orange County United Way)

**Sonoma County:** Alegría De La Cruz (Sonoma County Office of Equity), Nora Mallonee-Brand (Sonoma County Department of Human Services), Heilyn Gandia (Sonoma County Department of Human Services), Regina Brennan (Sonoma County Black Forum), D'mitra Smith (NAACP Santa Rosa-Sonoma County Branch), Kirstyne Lange (NAACP Santa Rosa-Sonoma County Branch), Max Bell Alper (North Bay Jobs with Justice)

**Monterey County:** Andrea Manzo (Action Council of Monterey County and Building Health Communities Monterey County), Vicente Lara (Monterey County Health Department Planning, Evaluation, and Policy Unit), Krista Hanni (Monterey County Health Department Planning, Evaluation, and Policy Unit), Maria Elena Manzo (Mujeres en Acción), Juan Rodriguez (Monterey County Civil Rights Office), Natalie Alfaro Frazier (Monterey County Civil Rights Office), Christina Santana (Monterey County Health Department)

## **Advisors and reviewers:**

Janine Christiano (Race Forward), Gordon Goodwin (Race Forward), Julia Caplan (Public Health Institute - State of Equity), Holly Nickel (Public Health Institute - State of Equity), Giovianna Burrell (Public Health Institute - State of Equity), Lianne Dillon (Public Health Institute - State of Equity), Hannah Seriki (Public Health Alliance of Southern California), Savannah North (Public Health Alliance of Southern California), La'Quana Williams (Prevention Institute), Katie Miller (Prevention Institute), Catherine Labiran (Praxis Project), Taryn Palumbo (Orange County Grantmakers), Elena Santamaria (NextGen Policy), April Shaw (Network for Public Health Law), Dawn Hunter (Network for Public Health Law), Julian Drix (Human Impact Partners), Maria Barakat (Greenlining Institute), Tina Yuen (ChangeLab Solutions), Iyanrick John (ChangeLab Solutions), Cesar De La Vega (ChangeLab Solutions), Alyssa Kennett (Central California Public Health Consortium), Jamen Garcia (Central California Public Health Consortium), Yesenia Silva (Central California Public Health Consortium), Richard Veniza (Blue Shield of California Foundation), Lonias Gilmore (Big Cities Health Coalition), Heather Gehlert (Berkeley Media Studies Group), Katherine Schaff (Berkeley Media Studies Group), Anita Kumar (Bay Area Regional Health Inequities Initiative), Melissa Jones (Bay Area Regional Health Inequities Initiative), Eric Morrison-Smith (Alliance for Boys and Men of Color)

# Acknowledgements

## CPEHN Contributors:

Kiran Savage-Sangwan, Ronald Coleman, Cary Sanders, Mihae Jung Lozano, Cassandra Aguilar, Samantha Schwimmer, Kei Yamamoto, Johan Cardenas, Aviva Prager, Navneet Virk, Esther Lee, June O'Leary

# About Us

**About the California Pan-Ethnic Health Network (CPEHN):** For 32 years, CPEHN has convened Black, Indigenous, immigrant, and other communities of color in California to collectively advance racial and health equity in California. As a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, we build power with historically marginalized and excluded communities through public policy advocacy, data and research, network and coalition building, and storytelling.

**CPEHN's Building Toward Anti-Racist Government Project** is a two-year policy research project aiming to highlight how local governments can take meaningful steps to practice anti-racism and advance racial equity. This project is funded by the Blue Shield of California Foundation.

## Connect with CPEHN

Website: [www.cpehn.org](http://www.cpehn.org)

LinkedIn: [www.linkedin.com/company/calpehn](https://www.linkedin.com/company/calpehn)

Instagram: [@calpehn](https://www.instagram.com/calpehn)

Blue Sky: [@cpehn.bsky.social](https://bsky.app/profile/cpehn.social)

Twitter: [@cpehn](https://twitter.com/cpehn)

# References

1. "BARHII Practice Shift: A Playbook for Harnessing New Equity Roles to Drive Innovation in California's Local Public Health Departments." Bay Area Regional Health Inequities Initiative, Jan. 2024, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/647f6cbb489b5b79d0952c3f/t/65e64f0f0e36dd64386c20fb/1709592340077/BARHII.+Practice+Shift.+A+Playbook+for+Harnessing+New+Equity+Roles+to+Drive+Innovation+in+California%27s+Local+Public+Health+Departments+%28Compressed+13MB%29.pdf>
2. Cohen, Ronnie. "Backlash to Affirmative Action Hits Pioneering Maternal Health Program for Black Women." Los Angeles Times, 28 Nov. 2023, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-11-28/backlash-to-affirmative-action-hits-pioneering-maternal-health-program-for-black-women>.
3. "Building Towards Antiracist Governments." California Pan-Ethnic Health Network, <https://cpehn.org/what-we-do-2/our-projects-2/building-towards-antiracist-governments/>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
4. "Statement on the Second Meeting of the International Health Regulations (2005) Emergency Committee Regarding the Outbreak of Novel Coronavirus (2019-nCoV)." World Health Organization. 30 Jan. 2020. [https://www.who.int/news/item/30-01-2020-statement-on-the-second-meeting-of-the-international-health-regulations-\(2005\)-emergency-committee-regarding-the-outbreak-of-novel-coronavirus-\(2019-ncov\)](https://www.who.int/news/item/30-01-2020-statement-on-the-second-meeting-of-the-international-health-regulations-(2005)-emergency-committee-regarding-the-outbreak-of-novel-coronavirus-(2019-ncov)). Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
5. Mervosh, Sarah, et al. "See Which States and Cities Have Told Residents to Stay at Home." The New York Times, 24 Mar. 2020. NYTimes.com, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/coronavirus-stay-at-home-order.html>.
6. "Experts: Trump Administration's Lack of Unified COVID-19 Strategy Will Cost Lives." NBC News, 3 Apr. 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-administration-s-lack-unified-coronavirus-strategy-will-cost-lives-n1175126>.
7. Stokes, Erin K. "Coronavirus Disease 2019 Case Surveillance — United States, January 22–May 30, 2020." MMWR. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, vol. 69, 2020. www.cdc.gov, <https://doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.mm6924e2>.
8. Buchanan, Larry, et al. "Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History." The New York Times, 3 July. 2020. NYTimes.com, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html>.
9. Hill, Evan, et al. "How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody." The New York Times, 31 May. 2020 (updated 24 Jan. 2022). NYTimes.com, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>.
10. "Racism Declarations." American Public Health Association. <https://www.apha.org/topics-and-issues/racial-equity/racism-declarations>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
11. "Equity in Action?: Assessing the Role of Community in Declarations of Racism as a Public Health Crisis." The Praxis Project, 23 Aug. 2023, <https://www.thepraxisproject.org/resource/2023/equity-in-action>.
12. "Racism Declarations." American Public Health Association. <https://www.apha.org/topics-and-issues/racial-equity/racism-declarations>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
13. Garcia, Jennifer Jee-Lyn, and Mienah Zulfacar Sharif. "Black Lives Matter: A Commentary on Racism and Public Health." American Journal of Public Health, vol. 105, no. 8, Aug. 2015, p. e27. pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov, <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2015.302706>.
14. Masters, Ryan K, et al. "Life Expectancy Changes During the COVID-19 Pandemic, 2019-2021: Highly Racialized Deaths in Young and Middle Adulthood in the United States as Compared With Other High-Income Countries." American Journal of Epidemiology, vol. 193, no. 1, Jan. 2024. pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov, <https://doi.org/10.1093/aje/kwad180>.
15. "Black Wealth Is Increasing, but so Is the Racial Wealth Gap." Brookings, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/black-wealth-is-increasing-but-so-is-the-racial-wealth-gap/>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
16. Han, Sungil, et al. "Anti-Asian American Hate Crimes Spike During the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic." Journal of Interpersonal Violence, vol. 38, no. 3–4, June 2022, p. 3513. pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov, <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605221107056>.
17. "Key Data on Health and Health Care by Race and Ethnicity." Kaiser Family Foundation, 11 June 2024, <https://www.kff.org/key-data-on-health-and-health-care-by-race-and-ethnicity/>.
18. "COVID-19 and California's Commitment to Health Equity." California Department of Public Health. <https://www.cdph.ca.gov/Programs/CID/DCDC>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
19. Thomeer, Mieke Beth, et al. "Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Mental Health and Mental Health Care During The COVID-19 Pandemic." Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities, vol. 10, no. 2, Apr. 2023, pp. 961–76. Springer Link, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-022-01284-9>.
20. "Highlights of May 2020 to September 2022 Supplemental Data." Bureau of Labor Statistics, <https://www.bls.gov/cps/covid-may2020-sept2022-highlights.htm>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
21. Hawkins, Devan. "Disparities in Access to Paid Sick Leave During the First Year of the COVID-19 Pandemic." Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine, vol. 65, no. 5, Jan. 2023, p. 370. pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov, <https://doi.org/10.1097/JOM.0000000000002784>.
22. Ananat, Elizabeth Oltmans, et al. "Racial And Ethnic Disparities In Pandemic-Era Unemployment Insurance Access: Implications For Health And Well-Being." Health Affairs (Project Hope), vol. 41, no. 11, Nov. 2022, p. 1598. pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov, <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2022.00741>.
23. Khalifeh, Zain, et al. "Disparities in Access to COVID-19 Testing in Los Angeles County." Preventive Medicine Reports, vol. 37, Dec. 2023, p. 102567. pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pmedr.2023.102567>.



# References

24. Chun, Yung, et al. "Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Housing Instability During the COVID-19 Pandemic: The Role of Assets and Income Shocks." *Journal of Economics, Race, and Policy*, vol. 6, no. 2, June 2023, pp. 63–81. Springer Link, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41996-022-00109-5>.
25. Early, Jody, and Alyssa Hernandez. "Digital Disenfranchisement and COVID-19: Broadband Internet Access as a Social Determinant of Health." *Health Promotion Practice*, vol. 22, no. 5, Sept. 2021, pp. 605–10. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248399211014490>.
26. Roberts, Steven, and Michael Rizzo. "The Psychology of American Racism." OSF Preprints, 1 June 2020. <https://doi:10.31219/osf.io/w2h73>.
27. "Building Towards Antiracist Governments." California Pan-Ethnic Health Network, <https://cpehn.org/what-we-do-2/our-projects-2/building-towards-antiracist-governments/>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
28. Healy, Richard and Sandra Hinson. "The Three Faces of Power." Grassroots Power Project, [https://grassrootspowerproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2\\_GPP\\_3FacesOfPower.pdf](https://grassrootspowerproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2_GPP_3FacesOfPower.pdf). Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
29. Fashaw-Walters, Shekinah A., and Cydney M. McGuire. "Proposing A Racism-Conscious Approach To Policy Making And Health Care Practices: Article Proposes a Racism-Conscious Health Policy Framework." *Health Affairs*, vol. 42, no. 10, Oct. 2023, pp. 1351–58. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2023.00482>.
30. Lynch, Emily E., et al. "The Legacy of Structural Racism: Associations between Historic Redlining, Current Mortgage Lending, and Health." *SSM - Population Health*, vol. 14, June 2021, p. 100793. ScienceDirect, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100793>.
31. "Healthy Places Index." <https://www.healthyplacesindex.org/>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
32. "American History, Race, and Prison." Vera Institute of Justice, <https://www.vera.org/reimagining-prison-web-report/american-history-race-and-prison>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
33. "Mass Incarceration | ACLU." American Civil Liberties Union, 10 Jan. 2018, <https://www.aclu.org/news/smart-justice/mass-incarceration>.
34. Chaney, Cassandra, and Ray V. Robertson. "Racism and Police Brutality in America." *Journal of African American Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4, Dec. 2013, pp. 480–505. Springer Link, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-013-9246-5>.
35. Roberts, Steven, and Michael Rizzo. "The Psychology of American Racism." OSF Preprints, 1 June 2020. <https://doi:10.31219/osf.io/w2h73>.
36. "Anti-Racist Results-Based Accountability (AR-RBA)." [https://upstreaminvestments.org/impact-make-a-change/anti-racist-results-based-accountability-\(ar-rba\)](https://upstreaminvestments.org/impact-make-a-change/anti-racist-results-based-accountability-(ar-rba)). Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
37. "The Spectrum of Community Engagement to Ownership." Facilitating Power, <https://movementstrategy.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/The-Spectrum-of-Community-Engagement-to-Ownership.pdf>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
38. "When 'Upstream' Public Health Efforts Fall Short." Human Impact Partners. Medium, 20 Feb. 2019, <https://humanimpact-hip.medium.com/when-upstream-public-health-efforts-fall-short-3297dca3c47>.
39. Frasz, Alex. "Culture and Community Power Building." *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 2024, [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/culture\\_and\\_community\\_power\\_building](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/culture_and_community_power_building). Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
40. Barsoum, Gigi and Frank Farrow. "An Ecosystem to Build Power and Advance Health and Racial Equity: A Report for the California Endowment." [https://www.calendow.org/app/uploads/2021/09/An-Ecosystem-to-Build-Power-Final-Report\\_2021.pdf](https://www.calendow.org/app/uploads/2021/09/An-Ecosystem-to-Build-Power-Final-Report_2021.pdf). Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
41. Bell, Peter. "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2024." Pew Research Center, 24 June 2024, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/06/24/public-trust-in-government-1958-2024/>.
42. "Unlocking California State Funding for CBOs." ChangeLab Solutions, <https://www.changelabsolutions.org/product/unlocking-california-state-funding-cbos>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
43. "Nothing About Us Without Us." California Pan-Ethnic Health Network, 26 Oct. 2021, <https://cpehn.org/publications/nothing-about-us-without-us/>.
44. "Introducing Community Data." Coalition of Communities of Color, <https://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/research-and-publications/introducing-community-data>. Accessed 5 Nov. 2024.
45. Rittel, Horst W. J., and Melvin M. Webber. "Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning." *Policy Sciences*, vol. 4, no. 2, June 1973, pp. 155–69. DOI.org (Crossref), <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01405730>.