



Beyond Apology

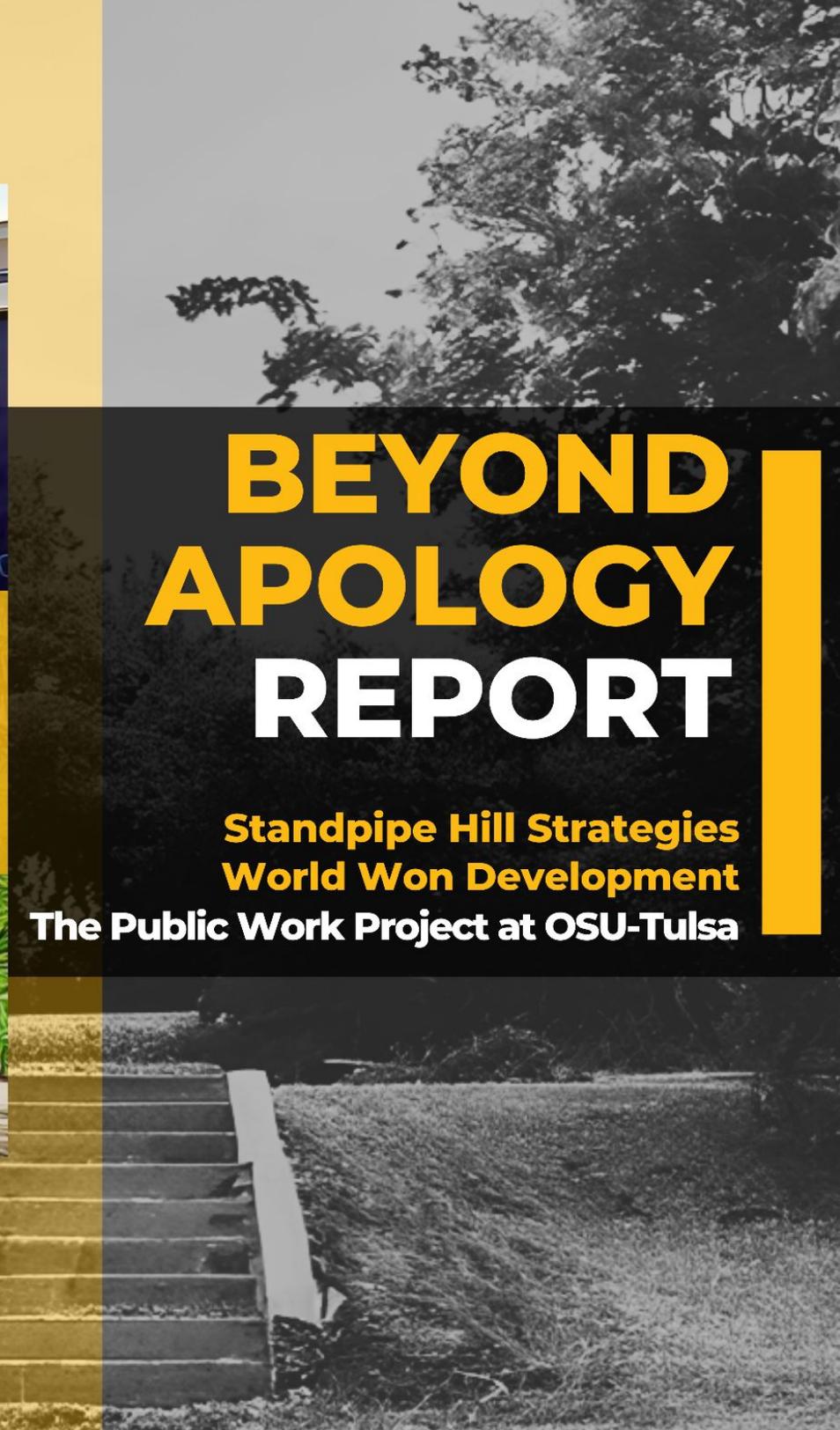
A SERIES OF COMMUNITY CONVERSATIONS ROOTED IN EDUCATION ON REPAIR AND REPARATION IN TULSA, OK



BEYOND APOLOGY REPORT

Standpipe Hill Strategies
World Won Development

The Public Work Project at OSU-Tulsa



PART 2: FINDINGS

Priorities Overview

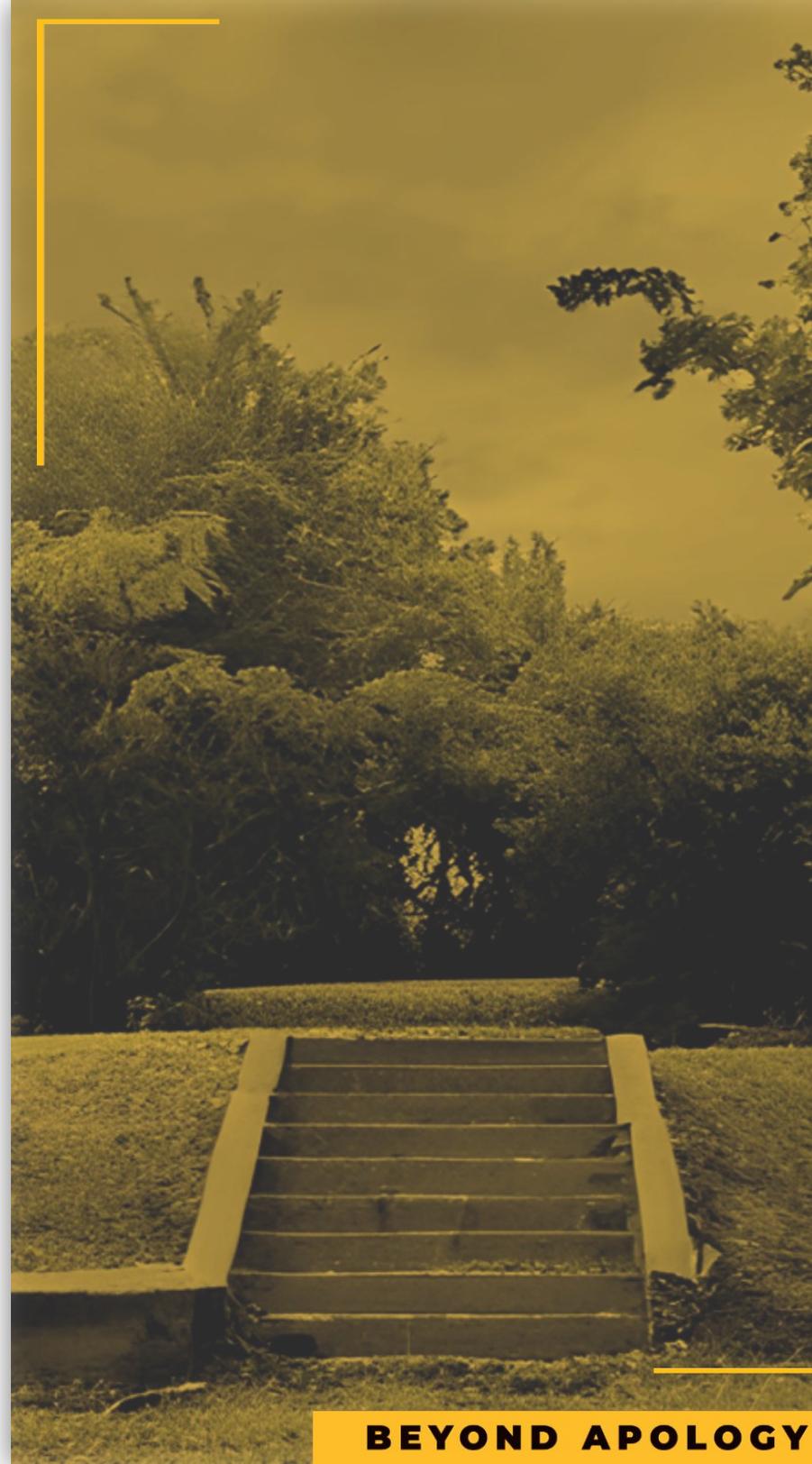
03

Priorities Breakdown

04

Recommendations

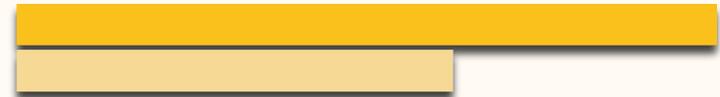
16



COMMUNITY PRIORITIES [BY THEME]

Education

85% of Descendants
53% of total participant group prioritized



Financial Compensation

42% of Descendants
46% of total participant group prioritized



Community & Economic Development

50% of Descendants
35% of total participant group prioritized



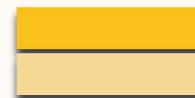
Housing & Home Ownership

35% of Descendants
34% of total participant group prioritized



Land

23% of Descendants
23% of total participant group prioritized



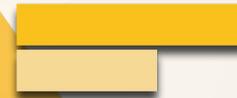
Health & Wellness

43% of Descendants
20% of total participant group prioritized



Systems Change (Policy)

28% of Descendants
17% of total participant group prioritized



Cultural Identity

14% of Descendants
7% of total participant group prioritized



EDUCATION

“Education in Every Sense of the Word”

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

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

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



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

(1) additional information found on pg.49

EDUCATION

“Education in Every Sense of the Word”

Invest in Equity

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

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



FINANCIAL COMPENSATION

“Restoring Wealth” through “Financial Restitution”

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

What Descendants Said About Financial Compensation

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

Demographic Trends

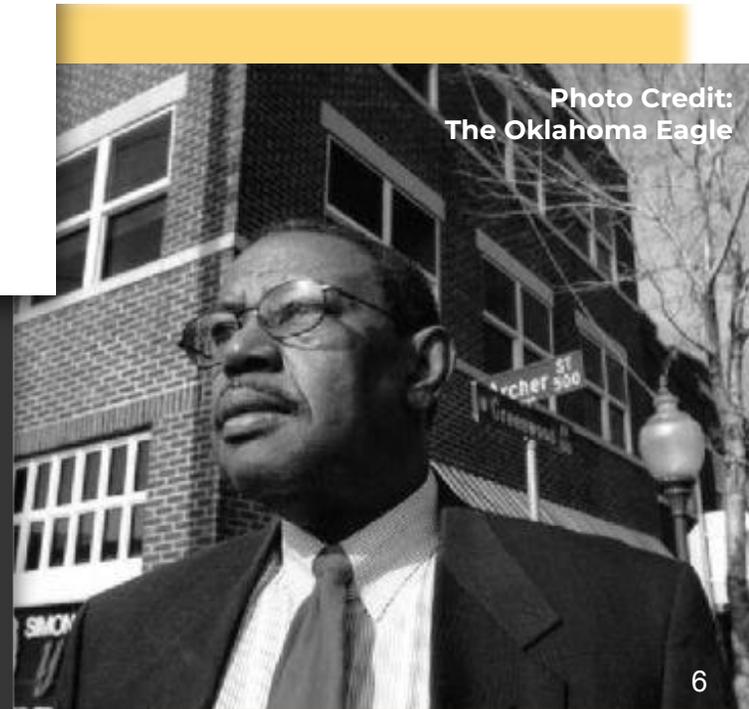
Analyzing the responses based on zip code area, participants all over Tulsa support monetary reparations. There was no consensus about the process for distributing the money, or frequency of payment. Those who lived in the zip codes comprising Tulsa City Council District 1 emphasized direct payment to,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

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

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



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



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

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

Invest in Business

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

Invest in Neighborhoods

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

Demographic Trends

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

HOUSING & HOME OWNERSHIP

“Direct Routes for Home Ownership”

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

What Descendants Said About Housing

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

Demographic Trends

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

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

Report Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Change 2018 to 2022 +2
Score	47	54	48	42	49	
White householders	58.1%	58.2%	57.9%	60.6%	58.8%	
Black householders	31.6%	34.8%	32.0%	30.9%	32.7%	
Ratio	1.839	1.672	1.809	1.961	1.798	

2022 Report Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2021 1-Year Estimates



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

“Give Those People Back Their Land”

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

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

Land Trusts

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



“Give Those People Back Their Land”

Land Ownership and Who Should Benefit

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

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

Demographic Trends

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

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



HEALTH & WELLNESS

“Help Community Members Seek & Receive Care”

6

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

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

What Descendants Said About Mental and Physical Health

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

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



“Rendering of Moton Hospital” Photo Credit: Julius Pegues

HEALTH & WELLNESS

“Help Community Members Seek & Receive Care”

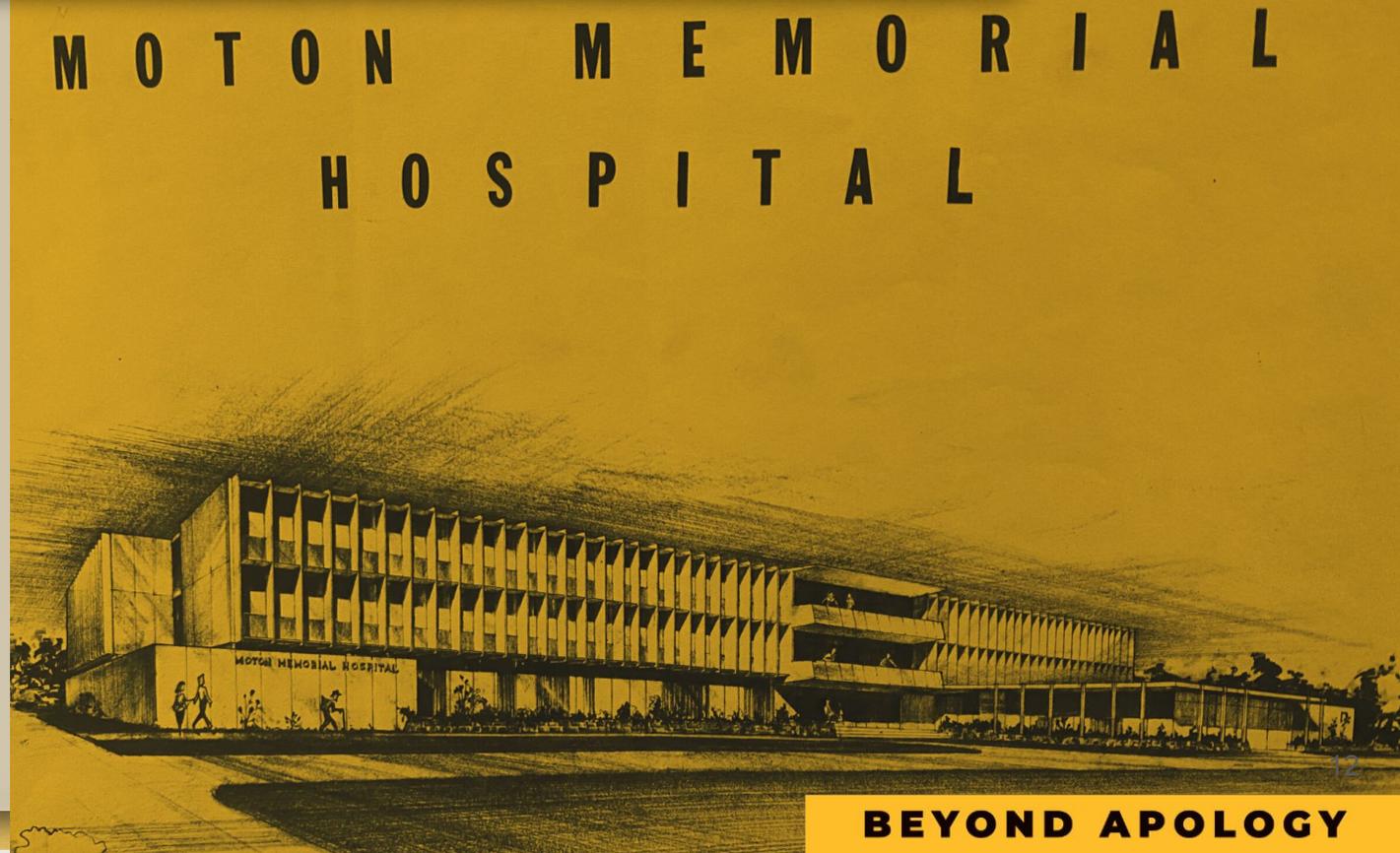
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Address Generational Trauma

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

Demographic Trends

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



SYSTEMS CHANGE

“Focus on Systems Change”

7

17% who recorded their perspectives in *Beyond Apology* sessions

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

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



Demographic Trends

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

“Beyond Apology Session” Photo Credit: Tulsa World

CULTURAL IDENTITY

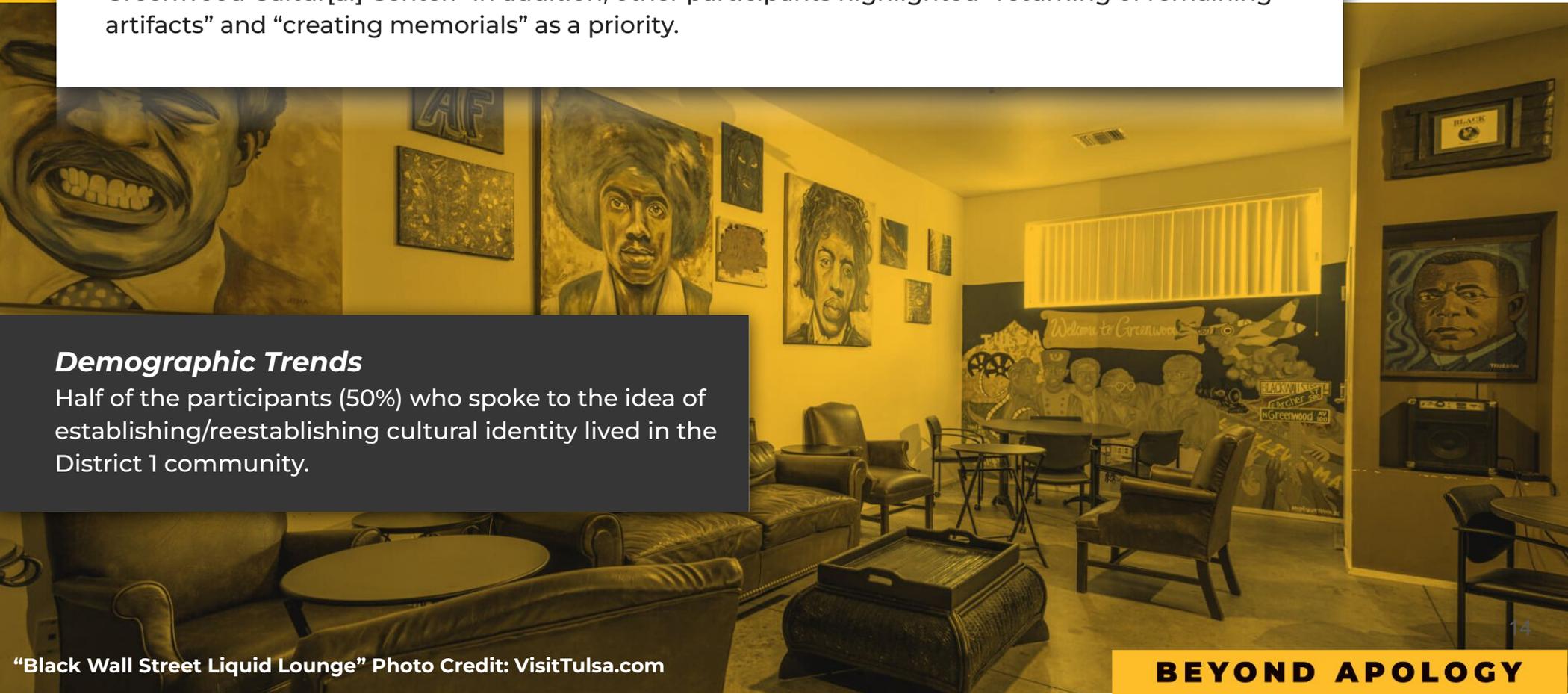
“Cultural Wealth Building”

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

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

Demographic Trends

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



RECOMMENDATIONS

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

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

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

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

RECOMMENDATIONS

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

RECOMMENDATIONS

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

RECOMMENDATIONS

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

RECOMMENDATIONS

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