# Advancing and Sustaining Racial Justice in Pro Sports

By Dr. Shaun Harper



### **Contents**

Message from the Author
Black Lives Matter: Some Reflective Questions
Racial Justice Continuity Framework and Principles
Recommendations for Teams and Leagues
A Replicable Racial Equity Community Action Approach11
About the Author and the Center

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## Message from the Author

Amid mostly peaceful protests in response to the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor in Summer 2020, I published an article in the Washington Post titled, "Corporations Say They Support Black Lives Matter. Their Employees Doubt Them." Described therein are many anti-racism gestures businesses were making, racial justice financial commitments they were announcing, and messages CEOs were posting to their websites and emailing to everyone in their companies. I explained that on the one hand Black employees across industries were grateful that their leaders were leveraging their platforms and company resources in support of one of the most important movements in American history. But on the other hand, sudden claims that Black Lives Matter frustrated many Black professionals because such declarations were inconsistent with their longstanding workplace realities. Furthermore, most of them wisely predicted that performative actions being taken then would be short lived.

I was inspired during that time by the myriad ways in which many professional sports leagues and individual teams called attention to systemic racism. Various justice-focused messages appearing in end zones, along courtsides, and on jumbotrons, plus "Say Her Name" and "I Can't Breathe" printed on jerseys, "Black Lives Matter" painted on busses transporting players to games, Breonna Taylor stickers affixed to helmets, pre-game moments of silence for unarmed Black Americans murdered by police, athletes kneeling without being penalized, and the airing of league-wide racial justice television commercials are just some efforts that emerged during that time. Here in Los Angeles, our 11 professional sports teams formed an alliance in July 2020 to impact social justice through sport over five years. The Lakers hired its inaugural Director of Racial Equity and Action. In August 2020, the Milwaukee Bucks protested the shooting of Jacob Blake in Kenosha, Wisconsin by opting out of their NBA playoff game.

Three years prior to the summer of racial reckoning, the NFL launched its social justice initiative, which it now calls "Inspire Change." In 2020, the League committed \$250 million over 10 years to current and

retired players for grantmaking to social justice nonprofits of their choice. Other pro sports leagues and teams have also launched new racial equity initiatives over the past 20 months. I deem these actions praiseworthy. Notwithstanding, similar to those Black employees referenced in my aforementioned Washington Post article, I remain skeptical of the sustainability of most anti-racism activities that emerged in professional sports throughout the 2020-21 seasons.

The purpose of this report is to introduce some reflective questions, a racial justice continuity framework, ten principles, and numerous concrete actions that will deepen and sustain the momentum of Summer 2020. I offer guidance to leagues and teams that are serious about going beyond slogans and charitable donations. While this report is being debuted at an NFL event in L.A. during the week of Super Bowl LVI, it is intended for every professional sports league and all teams across America. I sincerely hope they and you find it useful.

I conclude this message with a sincere expression of gratitude to my Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity brother Colin Kaepernick, who sacrificed his career and used the NFL platform to raise public consciousness about racial injustice years before doing so was allowable in his industry. I also salute and appreciate every other athlete, team or league employee, and executive who used pro sports as a vehicle to inspire change before and during these past 20 months. Finally, thanks in advance to everyone who chooses to make the recommendations offered in this report actionable and sustainable.

Dismantling racism requires so much more individual effort and teamwork from all of us.

Keep the faith.

Professor Shaun Harper, Ph.D. University of Southern California



## **Black Lives Matter:** Some Reflective Questions

Black Lives Matter is not merely a hashtag or slogan. It is a powerful affirmation of the value of Black people and our deservingness of freedom, joy, justice, equity, reparations, and equal protections under the law. Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi founded #BlackLivesMatter in 2013 in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman, the person who racially profiled and ultimately murdered Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida. Black Lives Matter has since evolved into one of the highest-impact social, political, and racial justice movements in American history. It also is a global organization that operates in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, and other parts of the world.

In Summer 2020, millions of people marched for Black lives. Several of them loudly chanted, "Black Lives Matter!" Some also proudly carried posters and wore t-shirts declaring the same. I am not so sure they all understood the full meaning of those three powerful words. There is a chance that they denied themselves an opportunity to reflect on this before engaging in various demonstrations of performative activism. Unfortunately, this is also likely true for many of the well-intended persons in professional sports who were involved in the sudden creation of racial justice activities described on Page 1 of this report. To be fair, it could be that people were so rightly outraged by the murders of Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and Ahmaud Arbery (as well as the shooting of Jacob Blake) that they felt compelled to take swift action then. Perhaps some were self-conscious enough to say, "I will reflect on what this all means later." Nearly 20 months after the marches, now is a good time to reflect on what this all means, especially as teams and leagues aim for authenticity and sustainability in the name of racial justice.

Presented here are several reflective questions for individual persons, pro sports teams, and leagues. These questions are not intended to engender embarrassment, but instead to stimulate reflection about personal and collective accountability, potential contradictions and unintended hypocrisies, and corporate social responsibility for racial justice. These questions also invite readers to reflect deeply on what the words Black Lives Matter meant for them and others in their professional sports organizations during Summer 2020, what these three words mean now, and what they will mean in the team's or league's future.

As an individual person, what do I do in my daily actions to meaningfully affirm that Black Lives Matter?

How many deep, substantive friendships do I have with Black people outside of my workplace?

Would Black people who work with me be surprised to see a Black Lives Matter poster in my office? Might any of them perceive or experience me as racist or contradictory? Do I really care what they think?

Would white people who know me well be surprised to see me wearing a Black Lives Matter t-shirt?

Everyone has implicit biases. What are mine, and how do I know what they are? What unconscious racial biases do my colleagues bring with them to work? How do these biases show up? What do we do to address them? Have we done anything else besides a one-time implicit bias training?

What do we do when someone in our organization does or says something that is undeniably racist?

Could racist emails or text messages written by someone here be discovered and engender embarrassment for our organization, and more importantly, greatly disappoint our players and fans?

How do we talk about race, racial justice, and racism in our meetings? What, specifically do we talk about? Who does most of the talking? Who rarely or never contributes to these discussions? Were we talking about the lives of Black people before Summer 2020?

How many Black people work here, and primarily at what levels? How many are in managerial and leadership roles? How many actually have power and authority? Relative to others at their levels, how big are the budgets that Black leaders oversee?

Why are there so few Black assistant coaches and even fewer Black head coaches and Black executives in our organization? What are we going to do about it?

Do Black people enjoy working here? How do we know? When was the last time we did a formal, comprehensive assessment of the racial climate in our organization? What did we do with the results? Have we subsequently made measurable progress on challenges and opportunities the climate survey revealed?

In comparison to their counterparts across other racial and ethnic groups, are there higher rates of turnover among Black employees? If so, why?

How do Black players and Black employees feel about our team's and league's demonstrated commitment to racial justice broadly, and to the improvement of Black people's lives specifically? How do we know what their feelings are? What is our external reputation as it pertains to the consistent and serious demonstration of our organization's commitment to racial justice? Does our local community believe us? Does the nation believe us? How do we know? Do we care?

What, specifically, do we do for our local Black community? Is it enough? Says who? What is stopping us from doing more? What more can we do?

Numerous structural and systemic forces disadvantage predominantly Black K-12 schools, as well as Historically Black Colleges and Universities. What are our team and league doing about this? What more can we do?

How do we leverage our brand, power, convening authority, and influence to illuminate injustices against Black people? How can we unite with celebrities, foundations and philanthropists, corporations and business leaders, elected officials, activists, and other influencers in our fan base to collaboratively pursue racial justice? How can we work across teams, throughout our league, and across leagues?

Would we have done all that we are doing right now had George Floyd not been murdered? Will it take more murders of unarmed Black people for us to do more?

Why hasn't our team or league done as much as some other professional sports organizations over the past 20 months?

How can we bring people together to heal racial divides in our city and across America?

Will our team and league still be declaring that Black Lives Matter in 2025, or are we only doing so now because it seems fashionable?

What will we do between now and 2025 to not only declare that Black Lives Matter, but to also demonstrate it through substantive anti-racist actions? What is our racial justice strategy? What are our racial justice goals and key performance indicators (KPIs)? How will we hold ourselves accountable as individuals and as a professional sports organization? How will we systematically assess and communicate our progress? How will we sustain momentum?

When are we going to remove Black Lives Matter and other social justice messaging from our endzone, courtside, jerseys, and equipment? Why would we? How will we know it is time? Will it ever be time? Who will make the decision to do so? How will our Black players, Black employees, and Black fans feel about it?

Some of our white fans probably feel this all is too much – they just want our Black players to entertain them without using their platforms to disrupt white supremacy and speak about our nation's racial issues. Those fans are entitled to their perspectives. Notwithstanding, what can we do to educate fans and raise public consciousness about the persistence and pervasiveness of racism in America? As a team or league, do we have a corporate social responsibility to engage our fans and the broader public in this way?

## Racial Justice Continuity Framework and Principles

This engagement and action framework is designed for teams and leagues that are serious about using pro sports to

advance racial justice. It

is inclusive of persons

and groups who are

involved in the ecosystem of pro

sports. "It Takes

All of Us," was

the NFL's brand

campaign for

the 2020 season.

Those words

continued to appear

in endzones throughout

the League. This framework

was constructed with a similar

recognition of what continuous and

sustainable anti-racism requires.

Ten principles accompany this framework.

They should be used in the design

and delivery of racial justice

statements, programs,

and policies. They are

intended to inform

strategic actions

that individuals

and groups

throughout the pro

sports ecosystem

take in their

serious pursuits

of racial justice.

Moreover, these 10

principles should be

used to ascertain the rigor,

depth, integrity, intensity, and

continuity of existing and future anti-

racism activities and investments.

CONTINUOUS
PURSUITS OF
RACIAL EQUITY
AND JUSTICE

community

engagemen

# 1 Reparations

Aim to understand the numerous structural and systemic forces that have long disadvantaged people of color. Recognize that addressing present-day racial inequities requires investing into the undoing of centuries of harm, negligence, and violence

# <sup>2</sup> Financial Investment

Earmark dollars in annual budgets to specifically address racial inequity. While broad "social justice" funds are necessary and appropriate, racial justice has to be explicitly named and financial resources must be specifically directed to it.

# Deep Impact

Engage in efforts that will meaningfully, materially, and measurably improve the circumstances of people of color and communities in which they live. Resist photo ops and one-time or occasional activities that do too little to achieve racial equity and justice.

# 4 Multidimensionality

Maintain, yet go far beyond youth mentoring initiatives, afterschool programs, and charitable donations to social justice groups. Couple those efforts with a comprehensive strategy that is as complex and dynamic as a championship team's playbook.

# 5 Inclusivity

Tackle anti-blackness and white supremacy while simultaneously working to dismantle racist structures and systems that have historically and contemporarily harmed Asian American, Indigenous, Latinx, Middle Eastern, Multiracial, and Pacific Islander people in the U.S.

# 6 Intersectionality

Resist the erasure of girls and women of color. Highlight how racism, sexism, classism, sizeism, heterosexism, transphobia, and Islamophobia (to name a few) converge in ways that uniquely and especially disadvantage them within and beyond sport.

# 7 Bidirectionality

Aim to dismantle racism in our society and in the pro sports workplace. Refuse to presume that locker rooms, team and league offices, and other spaces in which players and industry professionals interact are exempt from racial inequities and injustices.

## 8 Collaboration

Leverage the team's or league's convening power to bring a diverse cadre of committed stakeholders to the table. Without tokenizing them, respect that people of color seated at the table are most expert on the needs and realities of their communities.

# Sustainability

Create strategic partnerships and initiatives that will endure. Do not wait for the next racial crisis; keep anti-racism at the top of the agenda. Also, appreciate that centuries of racism require remedies that outlast five-year or decade-long "social justice" programs.

## (10) Communication

Use the team's and league's expansive media resources to raise public consciousness about systemic racism and racial injustice. Also, update employees and the public on the status of previously announced racial equity commitments and on new racial justice goals.



use their power to demand demographic change in their leagues.

## Recommendations for Teams and Leagues

Presented here are strategies, approaches, and activities for teams and leagues that are serious about advancing and sustaining racial justice. These definitely are not the only actions that pro sports organizations can or should take. And to be sure, the recommendations offered here, on their own, will not undo centuries of systemic racism and other forms of harm that contemporarily disadvantage people of color within and beyond pro sports. Nonetheless, I am confident they will make some meaningful difference.

disparities in the city where the pro sports team is located. More importantly, these centers often maintain trustworthy partnerships and long-established relationships that were authentically cultivated with people of color. Teams and leagues should partner with these centers to jointly design and deliver programs that are evidence-based and responsive to the needs of diverse peoples in the local community. Experts from these centers can also offer advice on where to make financial investments that will help correct racial inequities in the local context.

Practical ways to engage the five stakeholder groups that are reflected in the Racial Justice Continuity Framework are articulated on the next few pages. One or more of the ten principles are embedded into each recommendation.

**COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT** 

Every team and league should have a racial equity advisory council that is comprised of 20-30 community leaders, people who work in community-based and youth-serving organizations, activists, and educators and student-athletes from local schools, to name a few. Ideally, this group would be convened at least quarterly. Council members can help the pro sports organization more deeply understand the needs, conditions, realities, and expectations of local people of color. They can also provide feedback on the depth, appropriateness, and responsiveness of the team's or league's racial justice activities. Additionally, the council can offer advice on where to invest financial resources. Leaders from the pro sports organization must frequently provide substantive updates on racial justice efforts to council members.

Many urban colleges and universities have centers like mine that conduct research on race, racism, and racial equity. They often have data on the condition of local communities of color and racial

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Like some pro sports organizations, hundreds of businesses pledged unprecedented amounts of money to racial justice initiatives all across America following Derek Chauvin's murder of George Floyd. Bank of America, for example, announced the investment of \$1 billion into supporting local

communities in addressing racial inequities over four years. A few weeks later, PNC Bank also committed more than \$1 billion "to help end systemic racism and support the economic empowerment of Black Americans and low- to moderate-income communities." Pro sports teams and leagues should partner with these two banks (including their local branches) and the numerous other businesses that put racial justice funds on the table in Summer 2020. Many of these dollars while pledged, remain uncommitted and unspent.

Together, pro sports organizations and companies can help fund a community-generated, multidimensional racial equity action strategy such as the one described on Page 11 of this report. The racial equity community advisory council, as well as experts in university-based racial equity research centers, can advise local team/league/business coalitions on where to invest their joint funds.

#### PLAYER ENGAGEMENT

Players have tremendous power and agency. They have the power to engage in activist activities that lead to the hiring of more coaches and executives of color in their leagues. "There Would Be No NFL Without Black Players," is the title of an article I published in the

Washington Post in 2018. Four years later, that remains the case. In 2015, Black studentathletes at the University of Missouri threatened to forfeit a football game (which would have resulted in a \$1 million loss) if swift action was not taken to correct longstanding racial problems at the institution. That week, the president of the Mizzou system and the chancellor of the main campus both were fired. In a Washington Post article I published two days later, I argued that Black football and basketball players are the most powerful people at universities with

major revenue-generating sports programs. The same is true in pro sports, especially in leagues with critical masses of athletes of color. It is time for them to engage themselves and collectively demand racial equity within their teams and leagues. But they have to do it together. Such an effort will be less effective and the career consequences will be more severe for those who attempt to do this alone. Collectivism and coordination will move the ball.

Athletes of color cannot and ought not be expected to speak on behalf of all people of color. However, they can speak for themselves. Occurring at least twice annually, players of color should be convened in focus groups and invited to reflect on racism they have experienced firsthand inside and outside of their workplace, say what their team and league can do to better support them, and offer some recommendations for deepening the pro sports organization's racial equity efforts. These players can also offer advice on where to invest racial equity impact funds. When there is head coach turnover or a front office leadership vacancy, executives should convene these same groups to invite their input on potentially recruitable persons of color for those roles. In addition to conducting these focus groups at the team level, leagues can also

convene people of color across teams. Moreover, players associations and existing groups like Black Players for Change (an independent organization consisting of more than 170 Major League Soccer players, coaches, and staff working to bridge racial gaps in society) can be leveraged for feedback and input on anti-racism actions pro sports organizations take.

Pro sports teams and leagues made several compelling, inspiring television commercials throughout the 2020 summer of racial reckoning. This should continue. Current and former players should be given the financial and media resources required to produce videos for use in traditional and social media. They should be able to use their

voices to call global attention to racial injustices about which they care most – police brutality, educational inequities, the erasure of Indigenous and Asian American communities, health disparities, violent attacks on trans women of color, wealth inequities, environmental racism, etc. Teams and leagues must stand by these players when racist fans and others endeavor to suppress their advocacy for racial justice.

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#### **LEADER + STAFF ENGAGEMENT**

Teams and leagues that publicly declared "Black Lives Matter" and who participated in the movement to "Stop Asian Hate" often did so without engaging their Black, Asian, and Asian American colleagues. Executives and leaders of color, no matter how few there are, are indeed people of color. So too are the professionals of color who work in custodial, secretarial, food service, transportation, equipment handling, and groundskeeping roles. The point here is that persons of color in the organization, regardless of their position or level, ought to be consulted for input, advice, and feedback on racial justice efforts. They should not be tokenized or expected to speak on behalf of all members of their racial groups. But failure to invite their perspectives will surely engender doubt about the seriousness of whatever the organization is doing in the name of racial justice. Furthermore, the authenticity and effectiveness of the initiatives will suffer from the lack of input from people who are most proximal to the experiences about which the team or league claims to care.

Administering anonymous workplace racial climate surveys is another important way to engage all employees, including whites. Broad, raceless "employee experience" surveys are insufficient. A pro sports league or team that externally communicates a commitment to racial equity must also gather data about how safe, inclusive, and equitable its internal workplace is, and how appraisals and experiences might vary across racial groups. Here at the USC Race and Equity Center, we have administered climate surveys to nearly 2 million people since 2019. I always tell executives that assessing the climate is only part of the exercise. More important is using the results to engage employees (especially leaders and managers) in serious conversations about what is necessary to improve the workplace racial climate. Survey data should also inform the organization's internal strategic racial equity action plan.

Most professionals learned far too little (sometimes nothing at all) about race and racism in their schooling experiences. Their workplaces often afford them too few opportunities for deep learning, skill building, and rehearsal. This is not unique to pro sports – our center sees it in just about every workplace and

across every industry for which we design and deliver professional learning experiences. Employee engagement has to be deeper than a one-time implicit bias training or a mere conversation session. For a team or league to credibly claim to be anti-racist, all employees must be engaged in multiple rigorous, high-quality, evidence-based professional learning experiences that teach them how to be anti-racist and how to solve complex racial issues within their workplace.

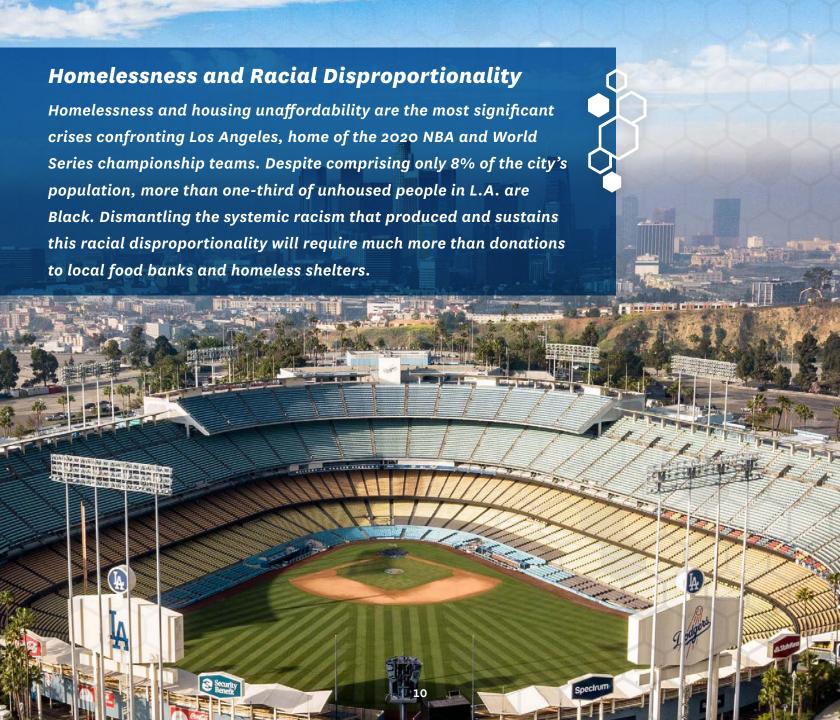
#### **FAN ENGAGEMENT**

Dodger Stadium here in L.A. seats 56,000 people. Surely, at least 1,000 Dodger fans (likely many, many more) care deeply about racial equity and communities of color. The same is true of other venues across the U.S. that welcome thousands of fans throughout a pro sports team's season. It is highly likely that fans would respond enthusiastically to an invitation to partner with their favorite team to meaningfully fight racial injustice. Opportunities to get involved can be advertised on jumbotrons during games, on television, and in radio ads. Teams should put links on their websites for people to sign up and indicate the specific racial equity interest area in which they would like to help make a difference. These fans can then be engaged as informants, subject-matter experts, spokespersons, and volunteers for the team's various racial justice efforts

#### **CROSS-LEAGUE ENGAGEMENT**

Summer 2020 was different. We saw coordinated campaigns and messaging across leagues. We need more of that, but not only in the aftermath of racial crises. A list of eight racial equity issue areas is furnished on Page 11; the list is not exhaustive. Teams within and across leagues should come together in specific issue areas and determine how to leverage their athletes, financial resources, media assets, and social networks in common pursuit of sustainable solutions to those vexing racial problems. This can occur within single cities with multiple sports teams, as well as nationally across leagues.

Pro sports organizations should also unite across leagues to honor, amplify, and financially support community leaders and groups who are advancing racial equity in their cities.



## A Replicable Racial Equity Community Action Approach

Between July 2022 and February 2023, the USC Race and Equity Center will convene 400 community stakeholders for monthly racial equity strategy sessions. We plan to do this in collaboration with one of the 11 professional sports teams here in Los Angeles and with the generous support of a corporate partner.

A different group of 50 stakeholders will be convened each month. Community leaders, youth activists, artists, elected officials, influencers, and professionals who are doing work in a particular racial justice issue space in L.A. are among the persons who will be invited. Each monthly session will be focused in one specific issue area for which racial disparities and injustices have been well-documented, yet solution-oriented action and investment agendas either remain unconstructed or are in need of revision.

Here are the eight issue areas, not necessarily in the order in which they will be independently tackled in the monthly strategy series:

- COVID-19 Vaccination and Recovery
- K-12 Education
- Higher Education
- Housing Affordability and Homelessness
- Policing and Carceral System Reform
- Health and Wellness
- Workforce Development
- Environmental Justice and Sustainability

The first hour of each strategy session will be devoted to reaching consensus on the undercurrents and enablers of racial disparities in that month's issue area. The second hour will focus on setting a multidimensional action agenda to address the issue. And the final hour will be spent determining what resources are needed to actualize and sustain the agenda. These monthly strategy sessions will be held at the offices of our local pro sports team partner. Following the monthly sessions, smaller subsets of each group will meet to continue writing and refining the multiyear action agendas in their respective issue areas; they will also invite feedback from the larger group as their strategy documents take shape.

In Spring 2023, our center will host a forum that includes players and leaders from our pro sports partner organization, athletes and leaders from the other 10 L.A. sports teams, every stakeholder who participated in one of the monthly strategy sessions, other community leaders, hundreds of philanthropists and foundation executives, our corporate partner and other business leaders, and journalists. A comprehensive racial equity action plan will be unveiled at this forum; hard copies of the action plan will be disseminated; and one person from each of the eight teams will make a concise presentation of the major action items in their respective issue areas. This event will occur in a sports arena, either on the USC campus or the one in which our collaborating pro sports team plays. Immediately following the eight presentations, each team will be available for attendees to stop by to ask questions; receive additional information; and most importantly, commit themselves and their resources to advancing racial equity in the various issue areas. We will create other ways for attendees to express their interest and commit themselves and their organizations' resources to issue areas during and after the event.

Center researchers will create racial equity indicators and systematically track progress in each issue area in the two subsequent years. In addition to conducting impact research, our staff will also leverage media resources from USC and the collaborating pro sports team to capture the success of programmatic efforts in each issue area. Various social and digital media platforms will be used to showcase successful racial equity efforts in L.A. over many years. Professional athletes all across our city – including, but not limited to those from our partner team – will be invited to serve as champions for various initiatives that emerge from the eight multiyear racial equity action agendas.

This approach could be adapted and implemented in other cities that have pro sports teams and high-capacity college/university-based centers like ours.

#### **About the Author**

Shaun Harper is one of the nation's most highly respected diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) experts. He is a Provost Professor in the Marshall School of Business and the Rossier School of Education at the University of Southern California. He also is the Clifford and Betty Allen Chair in Urban Leadership, founder and executive director of the USC Race and Equity Center, and immediate past president of the American Educational Research Association. Dr. Harper often advises CEOs and leaders on DEI strategy. He has spoken at and facilitated high-quality professional learning experiences for employees across all levels at more than 400 businesses, agencies, and educational institutions. Executives often seek and benefit from his expertise in moments of racial crisis. Professor Harper is author of over 100 peer-reviewed journal articles and other academic publications. His 12 books include Scandals in College Sports. Foundations have invested more than \$18 million into his research and DEI initiatives. The New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Sports Illustrated, Bleacher Report, HBO Sports, and hundreds of other media outlets have quoted or featured him. He also has been interviewed on ESPN, CNN, NBC News, Black News Channel, and NPR.

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#### **About the Center**

University of Southern California is home to a dynamic research, professional learning, and organizational improvement center that serves educational institutions, businesses, government agencies, and other organizations that span a multitude of industries across the U.S. and other countries. The mission of the USC Race and Equity Center is to illuminate, disrupt, and dismantle racism in all its forms. We actualize this through rigorous research, high-quality professional learning experiences, the production and wide dissemination of useful tools, trustworthy consultations and strategy advising, and substantive partnerships. While race is at the epicenter of our work, we also value its intersectionality with other identities, and therefore aim to advance equity for all persons experiencing marginalization. Our rigorous approach is built on research, scalable and adaptable models of success, and continuous feedback from partners and clients. Nike, Google, Princeton University, T-Mobile, United States Air Force, Los Angeles Unified School District, TIME magazine, Compton College, Anheuser-Busch, City of Portland, Stanford University, Zoom, Sempra Energy, NYC Department of Education, and Sun Life Financial are among the hundreds of organizations that have benefited from our services and work with center experts.

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