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# A Time of Opportunity

By Angela Glover Blackwell

Editor's note: *A Time of Opportunity* is adapted from the keynote address given during Race at the Forefront: Sharpening a Focus on Race in Applied Research, the inaugural conference of the Collaboration on Race, Inequality, and Social Mobility in America, at Washington University on March 28, 2019.

Hello, good morning. It is such a pleasure to be here. Such a pleasure, because I am a native St. Louisan and this is the most beautiful campus in the world. I always have thought that Washington University is just a fairy tale of what a campus should look like.

But I did grow up in St. Louis, and I have come to understand that my experience is really the stuff of legend.

When I grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, things were really different than they are now. I grew up on the 4900 block of Terry, between Kingshighway and Euclid. I understand that it's referred to as North St. Louis now. We referred to it as our neighborhood. We didn't have those kinds of labels.

But here's why I say it's the stuff of legend: When my parents moved into this house on the 4900 block of Terry, they were the second Black family to move into that neighborhood. The first family moved in the day before. And within 2 years, all of the White people moved out.

I always tell people, I knew I came from a powerful family.

How many people can do that? Make everybody in the block move someplace else. It was a lovely neighborhood. Beautiful homes, brick houses, hardwood floors,

stained glass windows, sloping lawns, beautiful trees on both sides of the street. It was a neighborhood full of amenities. There were grocery stores that we could walk to in several different directions, there was a wonderful drug store—a family-owned drug store that even had one of those fountains where you could get a soda. It had playgrounds and parks that were always well kept. Everything worked beautifully. I did not know that there was any other way to live.

But it was all Black. It was all Black during the time of legal segregation. It was all Black during the time when legal segregation was abandoned. And it was a time in which people who were Black were locked out of the mainstream.

But the Black adults there did everything they could to make sure that the children were protected from the sting and burn of racism and could take advantage of all the magnificent things St. Louis had to offer without having to experience the sting and burn of racism.

Like being able to go to the outdoor opera. Oh, I saw them all. Being able to go to the St. Louis Museum when there was something special and having our own private docent to take us around. Being able to experience anything that St. Louis had to offer. And I can remember, without knowing what was going on at the time, we would go to that outdoor opera. The adults would sit around the perimeter, shooting stares at us, making sure that we didn't do anything to embarrass them or ourselves and that nobody could make us feel we didn't belong there. And it worked.



I tell people that when I grew up, the Black adults created a scaffolding that allowed us to climb up and reach any place we had to go while we were locked out of the mainstream.

I went to Sumner High School, a place of extraordinary excellence. I am a lawyer, so I know about separate and equal. And I know that, in places like Mississippi and Alabama and other places, separate and equal was just a complete fantasy. But I will tell you, in St. Louis, Sumner was separate and equal.

It had an Olympic sized swimming pool, and we all took swimming. We had band. We had classical quartets. We had theater. We had musical productions. We had art. We had all of the sports. We had anything you could possibly imagine. We had Latin. We had French. We had Spanish. And everybody, I think, had to take Latin at the time because that was the basis of learning the other languages. Our teacher who taught us journalism was a photographer for the *St. Louis American*. My teacher who taught us Spanish was an international Spanish expert. She went to a Spanish-speaking country every summer and brought us things back. My English literature teacher was a man named Dr. Thompson. He had a PhD in literature from Columbia University.

In other times, they would not have been at Sumner High School. They would have been scientists and journalists and senators. But they were all right there helping us to use that scaffolding to climb up and be whatever we wanted to be.

I say it was a time of legend because I know that's not the Sumner High School you know. I know the 4900 block because I have visited it myself. The 4900 block of Terry now is nothing like what I have just described. And the Black businesses and all that just lined the area, they are all closed up and gone.

But it is important to know that that happened. It is important to know that that existed. It is important to know that the Black community at that time in the development of the history felt it could do anything.

Even though racism was stark here, the Black community was moving forward. They were creating the next generation, and they were creating a pathway that they thought would serve those who came behind forever. And we all ought to be really scratching our heads, doing our research, taking histories of people who are still here to find out what the hell happened from then to now. It is an extraordinary thing.

But that was the St. Louis I knew. I saw it decline. My parents continued to live here until 1996, and I continued to come home for visits. I saw that block

go down, but it was nothing like what it is now. I saw it go down, but it was nothing like it is now. The people who were there—my parents' generation—they were able to hold on. My father and Mr. Cook alternated as the president of the block association for 50 years, I guess. Either my dad was it, or Mr. Cook was it. And they protected that block. Because one of the things that the Black middle class

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was able to do was to be a buffer for people who didn't have the kind of connections that they had, who were Black. I remember the last thing that they were able to do was to stop Domino's pizza from moving in on the corner, because—I don't know if this is still true, but when Domino's first started, their claim to fame was they could deliver a pizza anyplace in 30 minutes. That meant they had to go tearing down somebody's block. And Mr. Cook and Mr. Glover said, “Not the 4900 block of Terry.” And they organized to be able to go to the city council and make sure that would not happen. But as they left—that buffer left—the disinvestment continued. It ended up as it is now.

Race matters. Race matters. Race matters all the time. Race matters in everything that happens. And my story is one about the Black and White paradigm because that was the St. Louis I knew.

## The Black–White Paradigm and a Shifting Landscape

We’re in a different time now, and while the Black and White paradigm continues to be defining, embedded, and continuous, it is also inadequate to fully understand what is happening.

One of the things that we have been doing at PolicyLink is really looking at the demographic change. Because there are three things that define the world we are operating in right now if you live in the United States of America. And that’s the conversation about race that you’ve been hearing people talk about. We are having a national conversation about race. Whether we want to have it or not, we are having it. Every place you go, people are talking

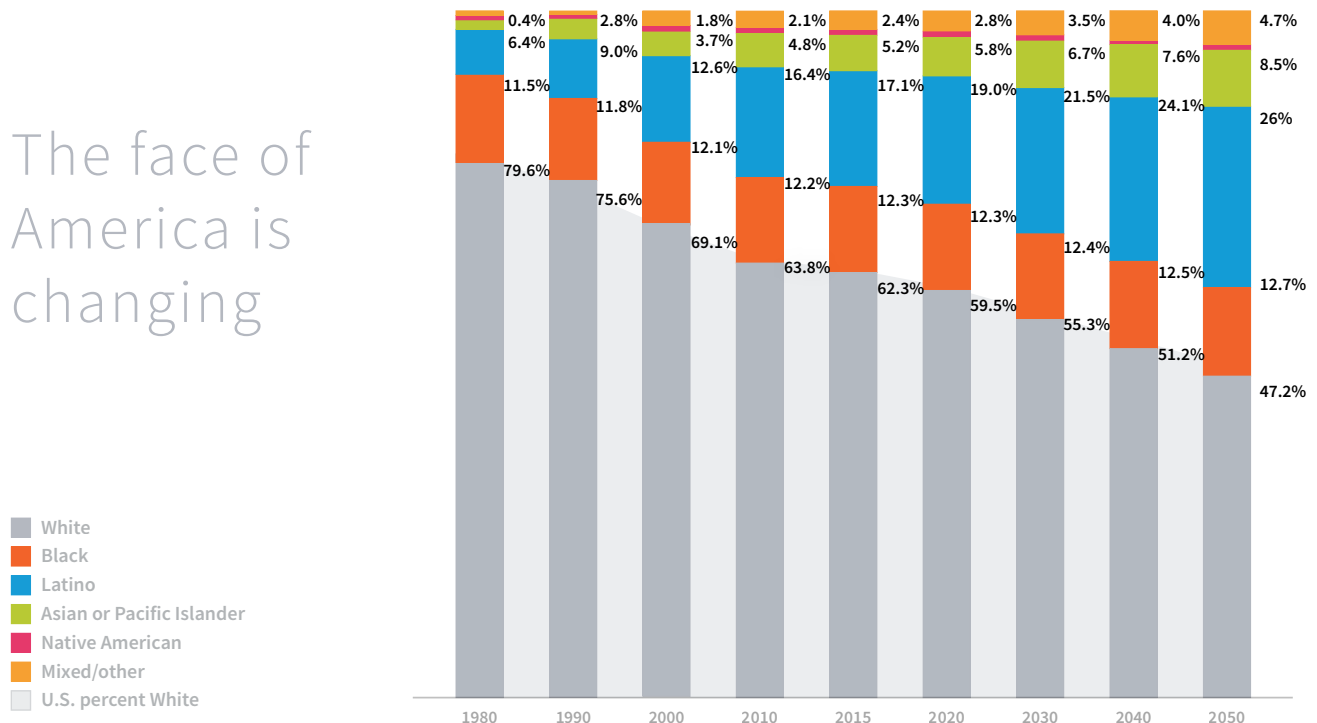
about race. It is so welcome. I will tell you: I grew up in a household in which every conversation was about race. Which is why I think, if people want to talk about race, it is so important to have Black people in the room. Because we know how to talk about race. It is not new to us.

When I was under the table as a toddler, it was about race. When I was able to sit in a booster at the table, it was about race. And when I was finally able to join the conversation as a teenager, it was about race. We were always talking about race. But we are having a national conversation about race.

The second thing that’s going on is our economy is in turmoil. Inequality has become toxic. Inequality may always be with us in some form or another, but it has become toxic. It’s hollowing out the middle class. It’s baking in poverty. It has stalled economic mobility. That is where we are now.

And the last thing defining where we are is the shift in demographics. And I want you to just look at this (see Figure 1). This is the shift in demographics

**Figure 1. Racial/ethnic composition: United States, 1980–2020**



Courtesy of PolicyLink.  
 U.S. Census Bureau; NHGIS; Woods & Poole Economics, Inc.  
 PolicyLink/PERE National Equity Atlas, [www.nationalequityatlas.org](http://www.nationalequityatlas.org)

“ You **tell me your zip code**, and I know way more about you than I ought to.... It even tells me **how long you’ll live.**”

in the nation from 1980 to 2050. The gray line is White people. This isn’t a particular place. This is the nation. And you see where we’re going to be by 2050: 47% of the population will be White, down from 80% in 1980. You also see that the Black population will have grown numerically; it even will have grown proportionally a little bit. But the Latino population, that is the story of the demographic shift taking place in this country. And when you look at where we’re going to be in terms of the majority being people of color, that is going to be the defining nature of the nation as it goes forward.

Either we’re going to deal with the problems that we have had, in terms of leaving people behind, and we will be a shining beacon for the world as we learn how to have a democracy and diverse society, or we’re not going to deal with it. The fate of the nation is dependent on the very people who have been systematically left behind.

And so when we think about race, we think about a term that once only referenced the Black-White paradigm. We have to understand that we now have to expand our notions. We have to understand that, but we can’t forget that the Black-White paradigm has really been defining in this nation. The relationship between Black and White people, the racism that represents, it predates the founding of the country—and in many ways, because Native Americans were slaughtered so and isolated. That interaction between people who were Black and White established the protocol of oppression. Because people had to interact with each other. So you can’t put it aside and act like, just because the demographics are changing, the Black-White paradigm isn’t still important, because it is defining, but it’s also embedded.

If you think back to 1996, I think it was, when we reformed welfare. When we reformed welfare—we

actually as a nation, we reformed welfare on the image of a Black woman with children being irresponsible. That was the image. It was baked in. It was embedded in a policy development. But if you are a White woman or a Latina, and you come to a community, and you are low income, and you end up having to go on welfare, you enter a system that was reformed on the image that had to do with the Black-White paradigm and all those stereotypes. There are many other things you can talk about in that sense. It is embedded. But it is also continuing.

It is a sad fact that most hate crimes and most housing discrimination continue to happen against people who are Black in this nation. But that recognition is inadequate because the journeys of people who are Latino, Native American, Asian, and Hmong—all of those journeys, all of those relationships—have to be taken to account. So we have to expand our notion. Race matters. It matters always. But place matters too.

## Place Matters

One of the things that all of us at PolicyLink say is that where you live in America is a proxy for opportunity. You tell me your zip code, and I know way more about you than I ought to. I know, if you happen to own a home, whether you can pull any value out of it if you want to start a business or respond to an emergency, whatever might come up. I know what the chances are that your children go to a good school. I know whether or not you will live in a natural job network, which is how people get jobs. If I ask you all to raise your hand—how you got your first job, you knew somebody. Somebody said, “Come on down with me. They’re hiring.” Or, “You know, your uncle so-and-so works over there. See if he can help you.” Or, “You know, I have a colleague who’s looking for a bright young person.”

If you don't live around people who work, you are not part of a natural job network. Your zip code determines that. It also will determine whether or not, if there are opportunities in your region, you can get to them through a public transit system.

And it determines how well you will live while you'll live: whether you are more likely to be saddled with diabetes, hypertension—those kinds of issues. And it even tells me how long you'll live. In the Bay Area, where I live, people in the Flat Lands of Oakland live on average 15 years less than people who live in the hills of Berkeley, a distance of a couple of miles.

You know place matters. But every one of the things I've mentioned is because race is baked into place. You don't have any equity in your home because, if you are Black and living in a zip code like the one that I grew up in—if that is the case, it is because of redlining. It is because of redlining that people couldn't get loans for their homes. It's because of decisions that were made about development. The businesses that used to be there to serve the community were destroyed during the urban renewal effort. All of those things—race matters!

When you talk about how long you live and how well you live while you live, it's hard to get fresh fruits and vegetables if you live in a disinvested community because there are no grocery stores. That's because of race. It's not because there are no people. It's not like the people don't eat. So why are there no grocery stores? It's because people made decisions based on stereotypes and false information.

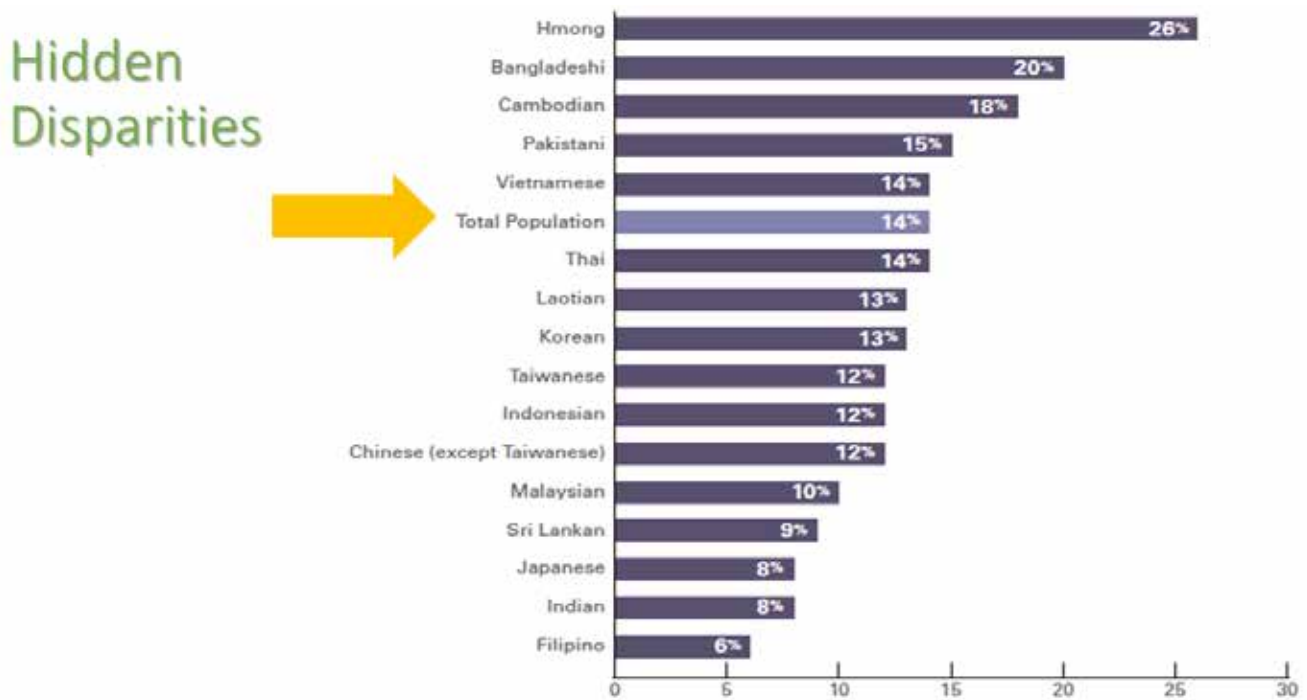
If your children don't get to go to a good school, if your school is underfunded, it's because the property taxes have moved someplace else. It's because the political clout to get schools has moved someplace else. It's because the region has decided that the region is more important than the city. And all of that is based on race.

I will tell you another quick story about growing up in St. Louis. I told you that we moved in and all the White people moved out. Not quite true. One family stayed, across the street. And they had a daughter who was my age. And one of the myths that has now been exploded: People don't think it's true anymore that all girls like to play with dolls. All girls don't like to play with dolls. And I'm here to tell you that most girls don't like to play with dolls because I liked to play with dolls and it was hard for me to find anybody else who did. This White girl across the street, who was my age, loved to play with dolls. So we had a natural bond.

And while she went to the school on the corner—Benton Elementary School, it was all White—I went to Cupples six blocks away because it was all Black. So I walked six blocks. She walked there. We were in kindergarten and first grade, but on the weekends, we played with dolls together. Sometimes at her house, sometimes at my house. We were old enough that, in 1954, we understood what it meant. I guess her parents had explained it or my parents had explained it. And I literally remember us in the front, grabbing hands and doing that little jig that little girls do, because we were going to go to the same school.

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Figure 2. Poverty rates by ethnic group, United States, 2007–2009



Courtesy of PolicyLink.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007–2009 American Community Survey, 3-Year Estimates.

Credit: Chart created by Tina Kauh, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

Note: Chart contains data for all individuals living beneath the federal poverty line, not family poverty.

Come September, Benton Elementary School, which had been all White in May, was all Black. All Black. And my friend across the street was bussed to the suburbs. I never spoke to her again. That was the end of that.

I mention it because that was the beginning of the disinvestment in the public schools. That was the beginning of that disinvestment. So if you live in a certain district, a certain neighborhood, a certain zip code, you don't have access to the good schools, and the schools you do have access to are often underfunded and neglected.

I could go on and on about all the ways in which race impacts place, but there's another thing that we have to think about now. Before I go to it, though, I want to go back for one second.

What Figure 2 shows you is the Asian community disaggregated. It's not enough to say, "Black, Latino, or Asian," because it makes a difference within. You will see here the population in poverty: 14% of Asians live in poverty, but it's 26% of

Hmong and 6% of Filipino. It is so important to disaggregate.

We did this work with support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation because, as they have focused their attention on health equity, they have realized that once you go from data to solution you have to disaggregate data even more to get at solutions.

But I wanted to go from talking about race to talking about place to talking about the economy, because that's the other part of what I mentioned: the economy.

## People Being Left Behind

Inequality has become toxic. The problem of poverty, the problem of people being left behind, has become so embedded in our society that a couple of things are true.

One, we can't just talk about who lives below the poverty level. You at least have to talk about people

who live at 200% of the poverty level or below. Because you don't have to be an academic to know that just looking at those living with incomes below the poverty level does not capture the people who are at risk of being totally left behind. It doesn't tell you the stories you need to know about what it means to struggle in America. It doesn't explain the opioid crisis. You know, we really have to look at who's locked in and being left behind. You at least have to go to 200% of poverty.

And we have to understand that the disappearance of the manufacturing jobs, the vast increase in service jobs, the emergence of advanced industries—all of these things can be talked about in the context of place.

We're doing a study at PolicyLink, funded by the MasterCard Center for Inclusive Growth, and what we're looking at is the 150 largest regions in the country. And we're using a typology to actually look at the economic prospects. So we're looking at three things: We're looking at places that are having an increase in advanced industries, we're looking at the decline in manufacturing, and we're looking at the quality of service jobs. We know place matters, but the economy is actually causing us to think about places differently. You don't have to do anything but travel the country to see that St. Louis is a city, Philadelphia is a city, and Charlotte is a city, but very different things are happening in those places. Very different things are happening.

Using that typology, we were able to group them and look at the ones that are roaring and look at the ones that are promising. Those are the ones where you see the emerging and the roaring of advanced technologies. Then we looked at the

ones that are kind of steady, struggling, and at the ones that have been passed over. It's interesting to note the ones having a—really, just an explosion of advanced technologies. In those cities, manufacturing jobs are decreasing but more slowly. In those that are having an explosion of advanced technologies, the service jobs are also growing very fast, but the quality is high. Isn't that interesting? Advanced technologies are influencing the things that are negative factors, like declining manufacturing and everybody being in service jobs. The service jobs are better, and the manufacturing is roaring. And we actually—manufacturing is growing so much in fact that we separated out advanced manufacturing from other manufacturing to be able to really see what was going on there.

We then realized that it was not enough to do that typology and to put them in categories, so we did visits and case studies with three: Charlotte, because it was in the first category; Philadelphia, because it was in the middle; and Stockton, California, because it was one of those at the bottom.

What we found in going to Charlotte was that while all those things were true about, really, excitement in terms of what's happening with advanced industries, not a lot of people of color are employed there. Interesting that manufacturing is declining more slowly. But the real impact was that advanced manufacturing really required more education, more training, not less. And the service industry was doing well when measured by income, by wages. But people of color were not in the service jobs that were paying well. And these Black and Latino people tended to be underrepresented. So once again, race matters.

“ The poverty level does not capture the people who are at risk of being totally left behind. It doesn't tell you the stories you need to know about **what it means to struggle in America**... who's locked in and being left behind.”

I'm not an academic. But when you think about the challenges, when you think—as an academic—about what we needed to know, we needed to go way beyond Raj Chetty. And I am so glad that Chetty has proven what we have always said to be true: Where you live is a proxy for opportunity. Been saying it for 20 years. He now says it, and people really listen.

But we need to go way beyond that, because we have to get into these communities. We've got to disaggregate. And we have to think about it in terms of place and what's going on.

I once did a lawsuit about challenging the requirement to purchase automobile insurance in order to keep your driver's license. I challenged it on the basis of a constitutional violation because it was a taking of property, your driver's license, without due process. There was no due process in terms of getting automobile insurance. It went all the way to the California Supreme Court. I argued the case—they were very interested in it—but lost it because poverty is not a suspect category. So they were discriminating against people based on poverty, and the law did not protect individuals from this. But what you have to understand is that these things are associated with place—that race is completely baked into them. You have to understand that these things are associated with the economy. Race is completely baked into them.

## Recognizing an Opportunity

So I've given you a way to understand what's happening. I want to leave you with a way to talk about it, because this sounds like a horrible situation to be in. And if you're living it, it feels like a horrible situation to be in. But I actually think that there's a very promising story here. And I think that we all need to get this story and start telling it, so that as we're having conversations about race, once we take people deep down, when they understand

how baked in it is, how structural it is, how destructive it is, they can see a way out.

And it is not just a way out for the people who have been beaten down. It's a way out for everybody. Because here's the story: This shift in demographics I showed you with Figure 1 represents a gift to the United States of America. Countries that this country competes with are wringing their hands because they have an old population. The population is aging. People aren't having enough children. They don't have enough young people.

The median age of the fastest growing group in the United States, Latinos, is 28. The median age for Whites is 42. That tells you a lot about how young the nation is going to remain. The median age for

people who are Black is 32—still in the childbearing years. The gift of having a young population when that is needed!

The other thing you want in a global economy is you want to be connected to the globe. And this is a world nation that we are

talking about. A world nation. The biggest nation. The biggest, wealthiest nation. The wealthiest nation is a world nation. It is connected to the globe through kinship, through language, through custom. And that is a positive thing. People who are Asian, Latino, and African American are three times as likely to start small businesses as people who are White. The explosion of entrepreneurship is the explosion of need. It is need. It is what your children need—what does your community need?

The baby boomers who are White and think that they are going to retire on the equity in their homes have a rude awakening when they understand that the people who need homes are people of color. That's who's having children. That's who's building homes. That's who's moving to the future. And they will be able to help provide what people hope for if they are able to fully participate in the economy.

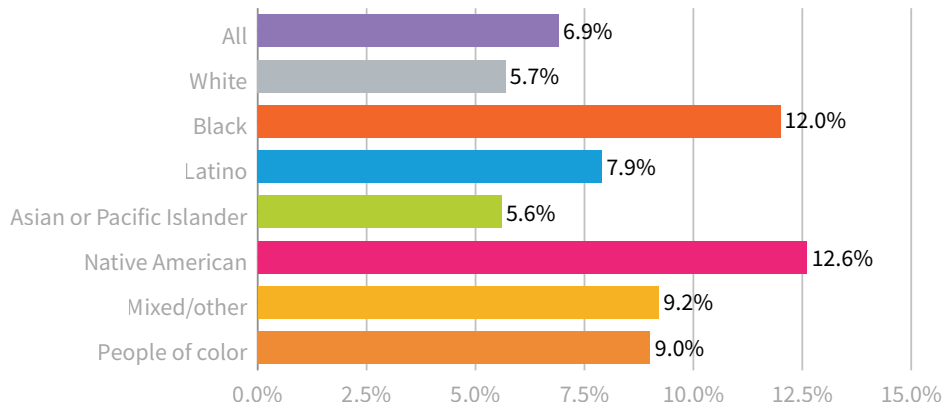
So we have a gift at the very time we need it. We say that equity—just and fair inclusion into a society in

“ We have a gift at the very time we need it.”



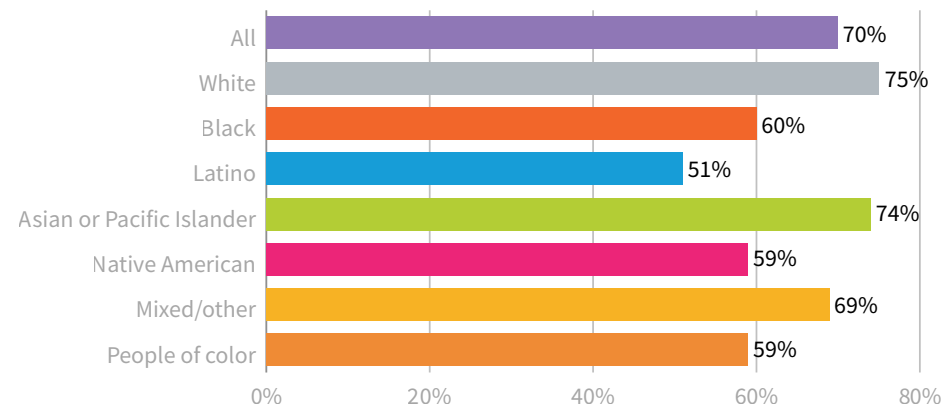
Equitable outcomes require targeted interventions

**Figure 3. Unemployment by race/ethnicity: United States, 2015**



Courtesy of PolicyLink.  
IPUMS  
PolicyLink/PERE National Equity Atlas, [www.nationalequityatlas.org](http://www.nationalequityatlas.org)

**Figure 4. Share of workers earning at least \$15/hour by race/ethnicity: United States, 2015**



Courtesy of PolicyLink.  
IPUMS  
PolicyLink/PERE National Equity Atlas, [www.nationalequityatlas.org](http://www.nationalequityatlas.org)

which all can participate, prosper, and reach their full potential—is the superior growth model for the nation. If we get it right for people of color, we get it right for the nation. That too requires us to disaggregate by race to understand how we get there.

But we have done another study at PolicyLink, and it can be found on our website: The National Equity Atlas.<sup>1</sup> In it, we look at the shifting demographics. Some of those shifts are illustrated in Figures 3 and 4. We look at 32 economic indicators disaggregated by race, and then we look at the equity dividend. All of these data, by the way, are for the United States, the 50 states, the 150 largest regions, and the 100 largest cities. We found that, in 2015, the gross

domestic product would have been \$2.5 trillion dollars higher if we had gotten rid of racial disparities in employment and income. It doesn't mean that everybody's making the same thing. It means that, with the bell curve, there are no racial disparities.

But you've got to disaggregate to fully understand what that means. Because what you will see here is that African Americans are much more plagued by unemployment than are Latinos. And Latinos are much more plagued by low wages—low, very low wages, not even \$15 an hour—than are people who are African American. So different things are going on. It's going to take different strategies. But equity is the superior growth model.

## Starting with the Most Vulnerable

The next thing that I just want to leave you with is that achieving equity requires that you focus on the most vulnerable. It requires that you focus on the most vulnerable. Whenever you ask how to go about this, you have to ask who is most vulnerable, who is being left behind. And that is where you start.

A lot of people think that you're going to neglect others if you start there. Well just think about it this way: If we had understood the crack epidemic, we would not have been caught flat footed with the opioid epidemic. Right? So you just have to know that starting with the most vulnerable benefits everybody.

I call it the “curb cut effect.” Those curb cuts in the sidewalk that are there because of advocacy of people with disabilities. People in wheelchairs with disabilities. That’s why they’re there. And yet, how many times have you been pushing a stroller and been so happy you didn’t have to pick up that contraption to go sidewalk to sidewalk? How many times have people doing work, pulling wagons, pushing carts had their burden lightened because of those curb cuts? They even save lives: Nine out of ten unencumbered adults cross the street at the corner because of the curb cuts. If you solve problems with specificity and nuance for the most vulnerable, you solve them for everybody. Once you know what you are looking for, you see the curb cut effect is everywhere.

Seat belts: Seat belts are worn because of the advocacy for children. When I was growing up in St. Louis and I was driving next to my mother, and she had to stop suddenly, her arm was all I had to depend on. I spent many a day on the floor. But seat belts are there because of the advocacy for children. Think of all the lives that have been saved.

Not smoking: It started because of the advocacy of flight attendants. Some of you will remember when they used to have a no-smoking section on planes. That didn’t really do anything for anybody. But it certainly didn’t do anything for the flight attendants. They joined up with Ralph Nader. That’s how we had the first rules against smoking on airplanes, which led to rules against smoking in public places. Think how many lives have been saved. Bicycle lanes: They are there because of the advocacy of the most vulnerable in traffic. But it has been proven in study after study that those bicycle lanes organize traffic and save lives. They stop accidents.

I tell people: The gold standard of the curb cut effect would be the G.I. Bill. And I have to say “would be” because it was administered in a discriminatory fashion. So it didn’t benefit Blacks the way it did Whites. However, it made the White

middle class. At the time that the 16 million veterans were returning from World War II, a couple of creative people thought that about 100,000 of them might have trouble getting integrated back into society, and they sketched out the G.I. Bill, thinking about 100,000 people would benefit. Turned out, eight million of the 16 million people took advantage of education, and many more

took advantage of the mortgage. We had 48 community colleges at the time of the war. Within 3 or 4 years after, we had 358. The G.I. Bill made the White middle class. You solve problems for the most vulnerable, you solve them for everybody.

So the good news is, equity is the superior growth model. We get it right for those who are being left behind, and everybody benefits. And all of the issues that we need to talk about—race, inequality—are on the table.

How do we make equity equitable? The way that we do it is to focus on the outcomes—the difference

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between a rights focus and an equity focus. And it has taken us a while to get to equity because we were all about rights. When we talked about race, we talked about rights. And in a country like this one, where people were denied rights, that was the right place to start. But a focus on rights, really, in the best of worlds, was trying to create a level playing field—trying to make sure that the inputs were the same. Equity asks what are the outcomes and backs into what the inputs have to be to get there.

And so, when you think about equity, the way that you measure it is to measure what the outcomes are. So in the education system, if equity means that all children can achieve at high levels, graduate, and go on to reach their full potential, it may be that children growing up in North St. Louis need a lot of input in order to get there, because of what’s happening with their schools, what’s happening with their place, what’s happening with their parents, what’s happening in terms of their voice and agency.

For people growing up in Clayton, perhaps all they need is a good school. But in other districts, just a good school where people are coming with so many other needs is not enough. So equity actually assumes that we’re going to get the outcomes that everyone needs because we’re going to understand where they begin, we’re going to look at where it is they need to be, and we’re going to make the investments. And when I talk about equity being a superior growth model, I’m trying to make the point that, not only do the people who are being left behind need it, but the nation needs it. The community needs it. Think what St. Louis could be

if it could really tap the full potential of everyone who is here. We have to realize that it’s an urgent moment. We know what to do. We just have to have the political will to do it.

I struggle with whether that includes changing hearts and minds. I like to think that we can make extraordinary progress without having to change hearts and minds. Because I don’t know how to change hearts and minds. I know how to change policy. I know how to measure outcomes. I know how to help people see their self-interests in doing the right thing. I understand power and organizing and the power of agency and getting people to really understand their power.

People of color in this nation have extraordinary power. We don’t empower. People begin to use the power that they already have. I like the labor movement. I like the civil rights movement. I like the women’s movement. I like the antiwar movement. All of those are examples of people who couldn’t change hearts and minds being able to understand their power and to use it to create a change that, once made, people understood: That’s not so bad. To have a union helps me to get a better thing. It’s not so bad to be able to tap diversity. You know, you can’t do anything now without diversity. You can’t operate in a diverse world without it. HR gets diversity before other parts of companies get it because they see where they need to go. So I like to think you can make extraordinary progress without changing hearts and minds. But I also have been influenced by the Kellogg Foundation and their racial healing work. And seeing what’s happened in New Orleans. And I think that might be happening here. And I have seen the transformation.

Transformation is powerful when it happens. And it can put equity, racial equity, on steroids when hearts and minds have been changed. So I don't know how to change hearts and minds. I know how to do policy. I know how to do power. I know how to do campaigns. But I have learned that changing hearts and minds is mighty powerful.

## Note

<sup>1</sup> The website for the National Equity Atlas is accessible at <http://nationalequityatlas.org/>.

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