



# SAN FRANCISCO REPARATIONS

**SF Human Rights Commission**  
**Eric McDonnell, AARAC Chair**  
**Tinisch Hollins, AARAC Vice Chair**

Presentation to SF Board of Supervisors | March 14, 2023

# ANCESTRAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We honor the gifts, resilience, and sacrifices of our Black ancestors, particularly those who toiled the land and built the institutions that established this city's wealth and freedom, despite never being compensated nor fully realizing their own sovereignty. We acknowledge this exploitation of not only labor, but of our humanity and through this process are working to repair some of the harms done by public and private actors. Because of their work, we are here and will invest in the descendants of their legacy.

# United Nations' Conditions of Reparations

“...measures to redress violations of human rights by providing a range of material and symbolic benefits to victims or their families as well as affected communities.”

## Compensation

Provide for any economically assessable damage, loss of earnings, loss of property, loss of economic opportunities, moral damages.

## Rehabilitation

Medical and psychological care, legal and social services.

## Restitution

Restore the victim to their original situation before the violation occurred, return property, reinstate employment, etc.

## Satisfaction

Public apologies, commemorations, truth-seeking, guarantees of non-repetition; institutional reform

# **Background of Work**

- **SF NAACP first advocated for Reparations locally; Sup. Walton crafted the legislation to establish this Committee and create a Reparations Plan**
- **The HRC was designated the city agency to provide support staff to the AARAC**
- **Focus of AARAC is both public and private sectors**
- **DKI vs. Reparations**

# AARAC Members



**DR. JAMES LANCE TAYLOR**

**SEAT 1**

An individual who works for a media outlet that principally serves the African American community, is a storyteller of African American stories, or is a historian with expertise in African American history



**NIKCOLE CUNNINGHAM**

**Seat 6**

An individual who has experienced discrimination in the workplace



**ANIETIE EKANEM**

**Seat 11**

A person who works in the technology industry with experience in the field of technological equity



**TINISCH HOLLINS  
(Vice Chair)**

**SEAT 2**

An individual who has been displaced from San Francisco due to gentrification



**GLORIA BERRY**

**Seat 7**

An individual who has experienced or is experiencing homelessness



**STARR WILLIAMS**

**Seat 12**

A person who is between the ages of 14 and 24, inclusive, with experience working with community groups serving the African American community



**ERIC McDONNELL (Chair)**

**SEAT 3**

An individual with expertise in private equity, venture capital, or fundraising in the financial industry



**DANIEL LANDRY**

**Seat 8**

An individual with expertise in the impact of redevelopment activities in the Fillmore District and the Western Addition on Black communities



**SHAKEYLA O'CAIN**

**Seat 13**

A person representing the sectors served by the Office of Economic and Workforce Development (construction, building and trades, hospitality, and medical sectors) with experience working in predominantly African American communities



**REV. DR. AMOS BROWN**

**Seat 4**

An individual who is 65 years of age or older and who has lived in a predominantly African American community



**TIFFANY CARTER**

**Seat 9**

An individual with experience as a small business owner principally serving the African American community



**LATICIA ERVING**

**Seat 14**

An individual with experience as a parent or caregiver of a child or children experiencing barriers to or disparate treatment in education



**OMEREDE 'RICO' HAMILTON**

**Seat 5**

An individual who has been incarcerated



**GWENDOLYN BROWN**

**Seat 10**

A person who is employed by or in a leadership position in a charitable, social service, or religious organization principally serving the African-American community



**(Vacant)**

**Seat 15**

An individual who has lived or is currently living in public housing

# AARAC Subcommittees



**ECONOMIC  
EMPOWERMENT**



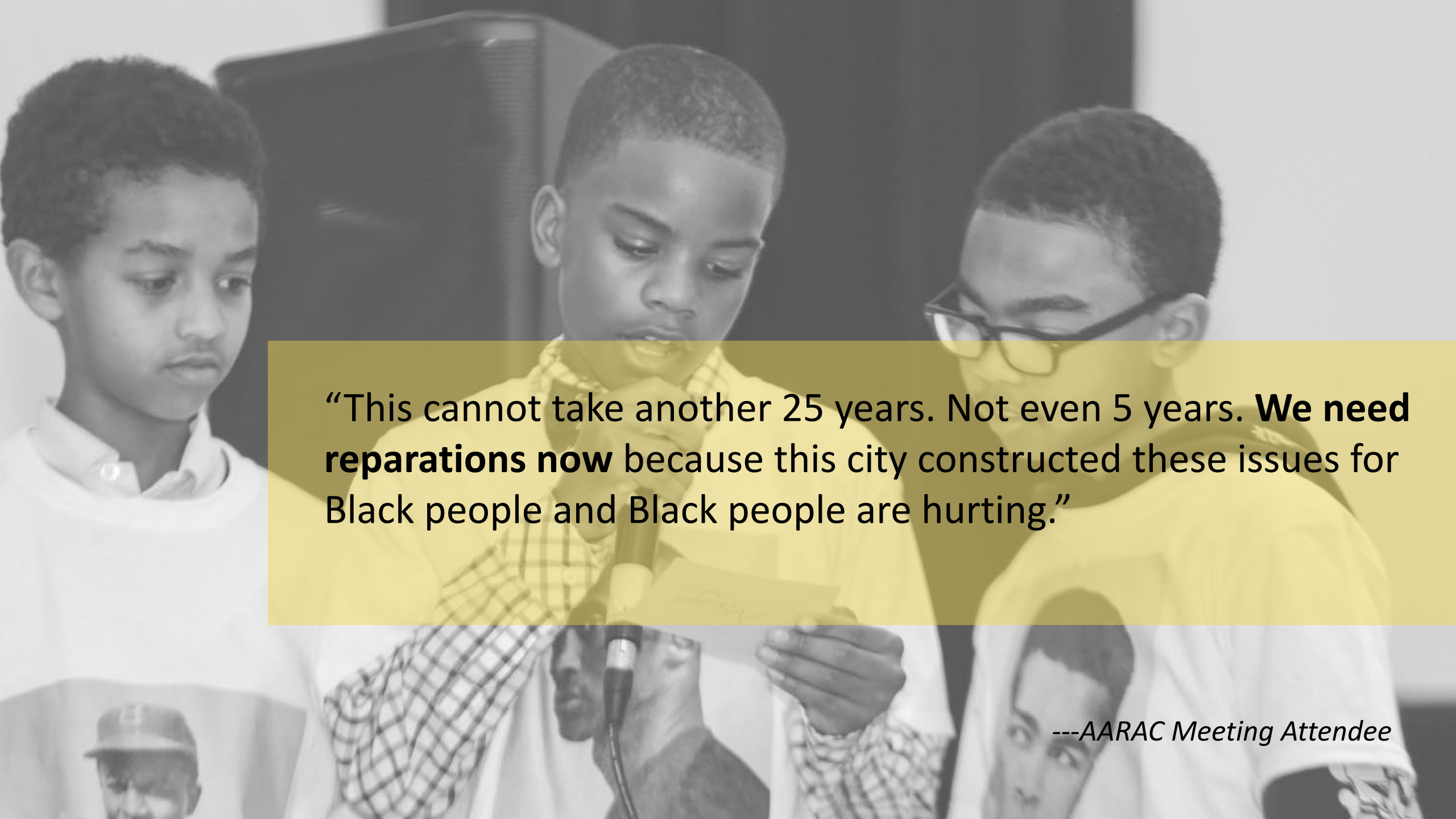
**EDUCATION**



**HEALTH**



**POLICY**



“This cannot take another 25 years. Not even 5 years. **We need reparations now** because this city constructed these issues for Black people and Black people are hurting.”

*---AARAC Meeting Attendee*

# Where Are We in the Process?

**February  
2020**

SF BOS Sup.  
Shamann  
Walton  
introduces  
AARAC  
legislation

**December  
2020**

SF BOS  
officially passes  
legislation  
forming the  
AARAC

**June  
2021**

AARAC holds  
first meeting

**December  
2021**

AARAC submits a  
report to the  
BOS, Mayor and  
HRC summarizing  
their research  
plan, outreach  
and other efforts

**December  
2022**

AARAC submits  
Draft Report and  
Recommendations  
to BOS, Mayor and  
HRC

**June  
2023**

AARAC submits  
Final Reparations  
Plan and  
Recommendations  
to BOS, Mayor and  
HRC

**January  
2024**

The AARAC will  
sunset, having  
completed their  
work



## **Since June 2021, this community-driven process has yielded:**

- **22** monthly meetings + dozens Subcommittee meetings with ~500 unique attendees
- **>11K** unique website visits; **>18k** page views
- **200+** survey respondents
- **8** community engagements
- **38** international media publications
- **1** public hearing

“We need better **access to data from the health department and the police department.**”

“Policies were created for other communities to make sure they have economic stability and were able to make their own **commercial districts**, but there aren’t comparable policies for our communities.”

“Our communities were ineligible to get mortgages while white and other communities got land for pennies on the dollar because of **restrictive covenants**”

“We’ve told our stories so much and people are like ‘enough already.’ **We need to see some movement now!**”

“The information with the harm is readily available and documented. **When do we get on with it?**”

“I’ve owned a business, I’ve paid my taxes, **I’ve been displaced from San Francisco.**”

“Black families in San Francisco have been destroyed by the foster care system and [victims] **deserve compensation.**”

“**San Francisco has been a sanctuary city for everyone except for us.**”

## Selected Community Feedback




# Current US Reparations Landscape



Source: African American Redress Network

+		
-		
Death Penalty	Discrimination	Historical Misrepresentation
Land Loss	Lynching	Mass Incarceration
Massacre	Medical Experimentation	Murder
Police Brutality	Race Riot	Segregation
Slavery	Theft of Labor	Wrongful Incrimination and Execution

\*Note: CA efforts in Los Angeles, Palm Springs, Sacramento, San Francisco, Vallejo and statewide are not reflected on this map

A grayscale photograph of two women standing on a grassy field, possibly a sports field, with bleachers and buildings in the background. Both women are holding black t-shirts with yellow text that reads "IT'S BLACK HISTORY MONTH BEYOND28". The woman on the left is wearing a patterned face mask and a jacket. The woman on the right is wearing sunglasses, a beanie, and a jacket with a large white letter 'Z' on it. A semi-transparent yellow banner is overlaid across the middle of the image, containing a quote.

“Black people were not only displaced [from San Francisco], they were stripped of resources. They paid taxes for public benefits they couldn’t even access. **We need an accounting for the stripping of Black wealth.**”

---AARAC Meeting Attendee

# **Black Migration to San Francisco**

- **Explosive population growth from 1940-1950 with WWII**
- **Black American migrants fled racial white terrorism for the West**
  - Response? First CA Ku Klux Klan was established in SF
- **Coordinated exclusion from home/business ownership or socializing in “desirable” areas**
- **Strategic and aggressive land dispossession through eminent domain**

THOMAS BROS.  
Map of the  
CITY AND COUNTY  
OF  
SAN FRANCISCO



**SAN FRANCISCO REPARATIONS**  
RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP

— LEGEND —

A - FIRST GRADE	D - FOURTH GRADE
B - SECOND GRADE	SPARSELY SETTLED
C - THIRD GRADE	INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

PREPARED BY  
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
OFFICE OF THE APPOINTED REPAIRS COORDINATOR  
APRIL 18, 2021

# Why Reparations in San Francisco?

Targeted repair for targeted actions led by San Francisco government

Redress for hostile anti-Black policies with ongoing harm

Moral imperative to right historical wrongs

Closing racial wealth gap for Black San Franciscans will help all marginalized groups

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Moral  
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Closing racial  
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# Why Reparations in San Francisco?

Targeted repair for targeted actions led by San Francisco government

Redevelopment intentionally targeted >12k residents for displacement. 98% were Black.

Redress for hostile anti-Black policies with ongoing harm

Redlining, restrictive covenants, and Urban Renewal targeted Black people to limit housing choices and wealth opportunities

Moral imperative to right historical wrongs

Govt actions and inactions created conditions that led to Black population's consistent decline since 1970 census

Closing racial wealth gap for Black San Franciscans will help all marginalized groups

SF has systemically prevented Black people from accumulating, sustaining, or passing down wealth and has actively destroyed Black wealth



**“We are a great people who know how to make a way out of no way. We are going to keep fighting in spite of the hell that’s been thrown at us.”**

*---AARAC Member*

# **OUR PROCESS**

- 1. Community Outreach + Engagement**
- 2. Research + Draft Report/Recommendations Development**
- 3. Fact Witnesses + Other Issue Experts**
- 4. Refining Recommendations**

# COMMUNITY OUTREACH AND ENGAGEMENT

- Sup. Walton led community meetings and crafted the legislation to establish this Committee
- Surveys, focus groups, listening sessions, community meetings
- Ongoing efforts with HRC and local faith-based, academic, and arts institutions and others to share work of AARAC
- Ensure that Black San Franciscans know about this work and have an opportunity to give input

Committee members defined and led recommendations development. HRC captured, catalogued, and researched what AARAC members and community shared in meetings + listening sessions

## **RESEARCH AND DRAFT REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION DEVELOPMENT**

# **FACT WITNESSES + OTHER ISSUE EXPERTS**



- **Listening to lived experience**
  - Current residents, new and long-term
  - Displaced community members + descendants
  - Individuals with no connection to SF
- **Data analysts**
  - Capture economic theft through parcel analysis
  - Map displacement, land acquisition by CCSF
- **Academic Institutions**
  - USF
  - Stanford
- **Economics experts**
- **Legal experts**

- Tailor redress to the nature of the initial harm
- Continue to work with experts to define and quantify harm
- Authentically address San Francisco's history of broken promises for Black people
- City emphasizes its positions against slavery, discrimination, and anti-Black racism through hundreds of resolutions, ordinances, research papers, and hearings without action

## **REFINING RECOMMENDATIONS**



# POLICY DRIVEN DISCRIMINATION

## 1. Hostile housing policies

- Planning code was/is used to target Black communities for exclusion, marginalization, disruption and displacement. Housing element 2022 acknowledges this history and the need for repair
- MOHCD programs underserve Black residents

## 2. Workforce discrimination

- Police and fire department consent decrees (1979 and 1988, respectively)
- 8 hearings on CCSF Black employee disparities with limited change
- Ongoing contracting disparities

## 3. Education discrimination

- 1983 consent decree to desegregate SFUSD led by NAACP
- SPED and IEP overrepresentation

## 4. Over-policing

- Arrest disparities
- Pretext stops
- Failed War on Drugs

# DRAFT SAN FRANCISCO REPARATIONS PLAN

**111 Recommendations** that cover the UN Conditions for Reparations, including:

- Issue a formal apology for past harms
- Tailor redress to eligible individuals directly harmed by San Francisco government’s documented targeted, racist actions against Black community members
- Commit to making substantial ongoing investments in Black communities to address historical harms
- Establish an independent Office of Reparations to execute the Reparations plan
- Create and fund a committee of community stakeholders to provide oversight and ensure continuity in the implementation of relevant policies



*“[The City] should feel very lucky that this is all we’re asking for.”*

*– AARAC meeting attendee*

# Economic Empowerment



**SAN FRANCISCO  
REPARATIONS**



**ECONOMIC  
EMPOWERMENT**    **EDUCATION**    **HEALTH**    **POLICY**

**Read the Draft Recommendations!**  
[bit.ly/AARAC-2022Report](https://bit.ly/AARAC-2022Report)

- Create a comprehensive suite of financial reparations that is made immediately available to those who qualify
- Ensure that all members of the affected community have access to affordable, quality housing options at all income levels
- Prioritize Black San Franciscans in local growth industries
- Support Black entrepreneurs and ensure that Black-owned businesses thrive in San Francisco

*“Our communities were ineligible to get mortgages while white and other communities got land for pennies on the dollar because of restrictive covenants.” –AARAC meeting attendee*

# Education

- Acknowledge the harm done to past generations of Black students in SF and take steps to prevent future harms
- Invest in educational infrastructure to ensure that all SFUSD students have equitable access to quality school buildings and resources
- Create an Afrocentric school that elevates and promotes Black history and culture, offering students a foundation of joy, excellence, and knowledge or self
- Create pathways for Black students to pursue both traditional and non-traditional educational opportunities and develop relevant skills for San Francisco's market

A black graphic with yellow and green elements. At the top left is a yellow circular logo with a hand holding a sun. To its right is the text "SAN FRANCISCO REPARATIONS" in yellow. Below this are four green circular icons: a dollar bill, a stack of books with an apple, a heart with a pulse line, and a group of people with a speech bubble. Each icon has a label below it: "ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT", "EDUCATION", "HEALTH", and "POLICY". At the bottom, the text "Read the Draft Recommendations!" is in yellow, and "bit.ly/AARAC-2022Report" is in white.

**Read the Draft Recommendations!**  
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*"We need restitution, rehabilitation and compensation for [Black students] who have endured San Francisco's education system." – AARAC Member*

# Health



**SAN FRANCISCO REPARATIONS**

**ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT**   **EDUCATION**   **HEALTH**   **POLICY**

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- Acknowledge the insult, assault and intergenerational harm caused by the City and County of San Francisco as it relates to the mental, physical and environmental health of Black San Franciscans
- Address and reduce health disparities by investing in structural, long-term solutions to the social determinants of health
- Create safer public spaces through improvements to the built environment
- Address persistent disparities in environmental and community health
- Reduce the ongoing burden of stress disparately endured by Black San Franciscans
- Free mental health for Black people

*“We’re still the sickest. We’re still dying earlier [than other communities]. We need holistic health centers.” –AARAC member*

# Policy

- Address the historical and existing state policies that have disproportionately harmed San Francisco's African American communities (*i.e. Proposition 209*)
- Enforce existing local policies that are ostensibly designed to address historical harms (*i.e. the Slavery Era Disclosure Ordinance*)
- Create a nonpartisan body and/or a new City agency to ensure the successful implementation of Reparations policy recommendations after the AARAC sunsets in 2024



**SAN FRANCISCO REPARATIONS**

**ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT**   **EDUCATION**   **HEALTH**   **POLICY**

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The graphic features the San Francisco Reparations logo at the top left. Below it are four circular icons: a dollar bill for Economic Empowerment, a stack of books with an apple for Education, a heart with a pulse line for Health, and a group of people with a speech bubble for Policy. The text "SAN FRANCISCO REPARATIONS" is prominently displayed in yellow. At the bottom, a call to action reads "Read the Draft Recommendations!" with a link to the report.

# Our Ask of the Board of Supervisors

- **Accept** the draft San Francisco Reparations Plan through the resolution before you
- **Attend** Monthly AARAC Meetings
  - Every second Monday, City Hall Room 400 at 5:30p or online via Zoom
- **Support** our demands for investments **this budget season**
- **Stop undermining our work**, directly, through the press, or through your staff, by making comments that pit communities against one another
- **Take** radical actions towards accountability, redress, and repair



*"Just do what you've done for others who were wronged."*

*—AARAC member*

**Questions or feedback?**

reparations@sfgov.org

**Stay Connected**

sfreparations.org | IG: @sfreparations