# Cultivating Belonging in Clackamas County

*A Research Justice Study*

CITATION

Coalition of Communities of Color. 2024. Cultivating Belonging in Clackamas County: A Research Justice Study. Portland, Oregon: Coalition of Communities of Color.

# Table of Contents

# Table of Contents Cont.

# Tables and Figures

*Wilsonville Railroad Bridge. Wikipedia*

# AUTHORS' NOTES

Language, in the form of written words, is not neutral; it is informed by the positionality of writers and how they are situated in the world. We, the authors of this report, have been careful and intentional about the language we use, particularly in relation to how we write about communities of color. We have made choices that reflect our understanding of how language can further marginalize communities of color; we have learned about how we can use language to lessen harm. In this note, we explain our choices.

**On the capitalization of categories:** We capitalize Black, Indigenous, Native and Native American, Asian, etc., because these categories refer to some shared ethnic, racialized, and/or cultural experience. We especially want to recognize the reason we capitalize Black by citing the words of Lori L. Thompson, Associate Professor of Journalism at Temple University:

> *This is about identity and respect. With a mere slash of a copyeditor's pen, my culture is reduced to a color. It seems silly to have to spell it out, that black with a lower case "b" is a color, whereas Black with a capital "B" refers to a group of people whose ancestors were born in Africa, were brought to the United States against their will, spilled their blood, sweat and tears to build this nation into a world power and along the way managed to create glorious works of art, passionate music, scientific discoveries, a marvelous cuisine, and untold literary masterpieces.[1]*

We also recognize that these categories are reductive – they do not capture the diversity of ethnic groups, Tribal and sovereign affiliations, nationalities, and linguistic groups that are lumped together in these categories. However, despite their shortcomings, it is essential that, through the practice of capitalization, we do not perpetuate the marginalization of communities of color.

This brings us to why we do not capitalize white when referring to white people. The history of whiteness in the U.S. is about wielding the idea of white as superior and using this as a foundation to build a system of institutions that oppresses

those deemed not white. White people, therefore, do not share the experiences of discrimination that people of color do. Further, the capitalization of white is a tactic used by white supremacists to advance their racist agendas. It is only at the beginning of a sentence or in direct quotations throughout the report that readers may notice that white is capitalized or that communities of color are not capitalized.

**On the use of "Latine":** We also use the term "Latine'' instead of "Latinx." In 2004, the term "Latinx'' was introduced into the mainstream, as national and international movements advocated for gender and LGBTQ+ inclusive language. However, critics of Latinx say that the term erases Spanish language norms and is difficult to pronounce. The authors of this report have chosen to use the term "Latine'' because it is gender inclusive and the use of -e has linguistic precedent in Latin American contexts. While Latinx or Latine are far from being widely adopted by Spanish-speaking people in the U.S. – with generational differences often dictating patterns of new language adoption – we use Latine throughout the report as a reflection of our deference to the needs and desires of those advocating for the inclusion and visibility of the most marginalized.

**On the capitalization of county and County:** We use the capitalized Clackamas County when referring to the government entity. We use Clackamas county when referring to the geographic region and jurisdiction contained within the county's borders. Capitalization may differ in cited works, such as in the Indigenous Task Force's Land Acknowledgment.

# ARTIST'S STATEMENT

**About the Report's Cover Art:**
As someone who grew up in Clackamas, the opportunity to work on this cover was a special one for me. It meant a lot to illustrate features of Clackamas's nature and community that were landmarks of my childhood. The photo reference for Mt. Hood was taken from the driveway of my childhood home, and I fondly remember driving past Christmas tree farms on my way to my high school job. I'm proud to be supporting a project that uplifts narratives of committees of color in Clackamas, especially as a child of immigrants who made a home here for myself and generations to come!

*– Annie Hoang*
*Instagram: annie.hng*

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We begin with an acknowledgment of the land we occupy, written by the Clackamas County Indigenous Task Force.[2] We then express our gratitude to the leaders and supporters who made this research possible. We conclude by recognizing the robust and intersectional communities who desire an inclusive and thriving Clackamas county in which to live, work, play, and worship.

## Land Acknowledgment, Clackamas County

There are many Indigenous communities that have a historical, cultural, and spiritual connection to what is now Clackamas county. The Willamette Valley and surrounding areas – from the mountain range to the ocean – were honored by Indigenous groups for their diversity, beauty, and abundance. This is what drew people here for generations prior to colonization. We will never be able to name every tribe that visited or lived upon this land, because these communities frequently traveled for trade and other reasons. The Indigenous people lived, traded and navigated along great rivers and tributaries presently named the Clackamas, Molalla, Pudding, Sandy, and Willamette. Many of the original inhabitants of this land died from disease, brought by early European settlers and French fur trappers. Those that survived fatal diseases and other conflicts were forcibly removed and relocated by the United States Government because of the land's value. Today, descendants live on, carrying on traditions and cultures, honoring their ancestors.

We honor the Native American people of Clackamas county as a vibrant, foundational and integral part of our community here today. We respectfully acknowledge Wy'east, also known as Mount Hood, and Hyas Tyee Tumwata, also known as Willamette Falls, as sacred sites for many Native Americans. We thank those who have connection to this land and serve as stewards, working to ensure our ecosystem stays balanced and healthy.

Acknowledging the original people of the land is a simple, powerful practice that demonstrates respect by making Indigenous people's history and culture visible. It is also a small step along the path toward reconciliation and repair. Please join us in taking this opportunity to thank and honor the original caretakers of this land.

## The Leaders and Supporters

We dedicate the report to the Clackamas county community members who fought so hard for this report to be actualized and taken seriously, along with all voices from the community. Many leaders from communities of color across the county and various jurisdictions championed this research. We begin by acknowledging the 10 adult and five youth steering committee members who spent 12-18 months working with the Coalition of Communities of Color  to develop the research ques-

Saves – and County Administrator Gary Schmidt. Thank you to the Clackamas Education Services District for their support of our BIPOC youth organizing efforts. And thank you to current and former elected officials who spent time getting to know us and this project: Joe Buck, Libra Ford, Annessa Hartman, Denyse McGriff, Desi Nicodemus, Karin Powers, and Kathy Wai.

Lastly, we thank our colleagues who persisted with us through the years it took to complete this study. At the Coalition of Communities of Color, we extend our gratitude to current and former co-workers including Marcus Mundy, Jenny Lee, Joliana Scipio, Jen Samperio, Taren Evans, Nikita Daryanani, Santi Sanchez, Lucero Valera Brambila, Damon Motz-Storey, and Sol Mora. Thank you to Savina Money for designing the report and Annie Hoang for creating the beautiful cover art.

In over four years of engagement in Clackamas county, we built relationships with so many more people than those acknowledged here. We are grateful to you all. What is presented in the report is a testament to your work and the work of those named here to ensure the county is a place where everyone can thrive.

## Community Desires

Our final acknowledgment is to all of the county residents and workers who took the time to speak with us, share data, and tell us about their concerns, experiences, and desires for Clackamas county. We engaged over 400 residents and workers throughout this process. It has been an honor to hear your truths and desires for the future.

Before closing this section, we must address the current political climate at the County level and how that might impact the work that communities of color in the county, along with many others, seek to advance. A majority of current County Commissioners voted to remove the Equity and Inclusion Office, all aspects of equity on the website, our past work in the 2020 Environmental Scan,[3] and a land acknowledgment prepared by the Clackamas Indigenous Taskforce. While the Coalition of Communities of Color has had strong support from County leaders, as you will read throughout this report, we would be remiss not to mention that over the course of four years, we've moved from a place of deep commitment to equity and justice to one of erasure. We hope this report, led by the community and our calls to action, will spark recommitments to equity and justice in a place where it is acutely needed, as evidenced by the data and stories in this report.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the winter of 2020, the Coalition of Communities of Color (CCC) began engaging with Clackamas County leadership to conduct a research justice study that centers and positions communities most marginalized as the leaders of all aspects of the research study (see CCC's website for examples of similar past work.)[4] We began by conducting a countywide Environmental Scan, which led to support for the study from all five County Commissioners in spring 2021 and a host of county-based public agencies, institutions, and utilities (see the full list of funders listed at the beginning of the report). Work began on the study in the fall of 2020 with the launch of the now closed Equity and Inclusion Office. Working closely with the Office, Leaders for Equity Diversity and Inclusion Council (LEDIC),[5] and community and student leaders from across the county, we engaged community-based organizations (CBOs), public agencies, institutions, and utilities, and Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) employees from across the county. We attended 18 community events, conducted 10 case studies, and collected and organized large amounts of quantitative and geospatial data.

The objective of this research is to demonstrate the needs, truths, and desires of communities of color in Clackamas county to support the cultivation of belonging in the county. The study utilized a community-based participatory action research (CBPAR) model that supports the goals of a research justice study (see Chapter One for details). This process was led by a 10 member community steering committee along with a smaller student steering committee that guided a separate but concurrent research justice study on BIPOC youth experiences.

Early on in the research process, and in collaboration with both steering committees, we identified belonging as the central concept that would guide the research, its questions, data collection, and the analysis. We developed two original belonging frameworks  – the Dual Belonging Framework and (Be)Longing Assessment Framework – that represent and reflect the values and goals of the communities involved in this research (see Chapter Two). With our steering committee members leading data collection – and CCC supporting with creation of data collection instruments (e.g., surveys, interview protocols) and data analysis – we used a multiple case study approach, which details 10 different cases that capture the nuanced and sometimes shared experiences of BIPOC communities throughout Clackamas county (see Chapter Six). These data were then compared across all case studies to develop the calls to action. Each call to action is paired with recommendations for types of support dominant institutions – for example, Clackamas County government agencies, school districts, city governments, foundations, and universities and colleges – can provide and which domi-

nant institutions are best positioned to provide support (see Chapter Seven). We end the report with guidance on how community members can begin organizing around any of the calls to action (see Chapter Seven). Table i below summarizes the calls to action.

**TABLE i –** Calls to Action

## BIPOC HISTORIES AND FUTURES

Tell the truth about BIPOC contributions in Clackamas county in schools, museums, and libraries through permanent curricula, collections, and programs.

Recognize and address the ongoing legacies of historical injustices and invest in community desires for the future.

Create BIPOC solidarity through cross-cultural sharing of histories, current experiences, and desires for the future.

## DIVERSE WORKFORCE AND LEADERSHIP

Conduct organization-wide equity audits of hiring, retention, and contracting processes to determine how and where bias operates and implement strategies to reduce bias in these areas.

Provide people seeking jobs with resources about careers at all levels using trusted, accessible, and culturally and linguistically-specific channels.

Recruit people into staff and leadership positions who reflect the diversity of communities in Clackamas county.

## COMMUNITY EVENTS AND RESOURCE SHARING

Leverage available space for cross-cultural community building and sustaining connections.

Build long-term partnerships with institutions (e.g., schools, libraries, parks) to help facilitate cultural events.

Support community organizers with institutional capacity around logistical, administrative, and technical assistance, as well as resource sharing.

## PEER-TO-PEER SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Fund mentorship opportunities for BIPOC community members specific to business and education.

Host regular convenings with BIPOC small business owners to share resources, information, and opportunities.

Fund and resource BIPOC-led networking and convening opportunities that promote culturally and linguistically specific sharing of information, services, and events for employment, services, spaces for community events, and more visibility of BIPOC thriving in the county.

## STUDENT DESIRES FOR CHANGE

Training for administrative staff and teachers on racism and equity.

Funds to access and visibilize culturally specific spaces, gatherings, and resources.

Funds for culturally responsive mental health resources for students and staff.

Recruitment and retention of BIPOC teacher workforce.

## INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND INCLUSION: COMPLIANCE, DATA, AND HARM REDUCTION

Build capacity to maintain compliance with federal funding pathways including Title 2, 6, and 9.

Collect, track, and publicly share data about population shifts, community needs assessments, and implementation of community feedback.

Support and train leaders to coordinate harm reduction efforts in the workplace.

Commit to and invest in becoming familiar with the histories of BIPOC communities in Clackamas county.

## SUPPORTING COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Fund new CBOs that provide culturally and linguistically-responsive services.

Fund existing CBOs to expand their capacity and build up their culturally and linguistically-specific services and programs.

Coordinate with other institutional partners to create a countywide funding strategy for CBOs.

Convene CBOs to guide jurisdictions on decision-making, particularly regarding funding and contracts.

Streamline contracting in ways that support CBO capacity instead of depleting it.

Throughout the chapters of this report, readers will be able to find:

- Research study approaches, methodologies, and methods
- Definitions of belonging from multiple perspectives, approaches to measuring belonging, and frameworks for guiding equity work that fosters belonging implementing and measuring belonging and other key understandings
- County- and system-wide (e.g., legal, housing, food) statistical data by demographics
- Geospatial data and maps that distinguish Clackamas county's urban, suburban, rural, and wild regions
- Discussions on race, racialization, whiteness, and attempts to address racism in the United States
- Historical accounts of Indigenous, Black, Chinese, and Latine communities in Clackamas county and Oregon
- Qualitative and quantitative data about experiences of communities of color throughout Clackamas county covering small business, employment, safety and wellness, building a community over time, Black histories, healthcare, education, and community events
- Information about the experiences of BIPOC employees, CBO leaders in the county, and student desires for safety and belonging
- Equity approaches for dominant institutions

**CHAPTER ONE:**

# RESEARCH JUSTICE IN CLACKAMAS COUNTY

*"Research Justice is a strategic framework that seeks to transform structural inequities in research. It centralizes community voices and leadership in an effort to facilitate genuine, lasting change."*

*— Data Center[6]*

---

*"One alternative to damage-centered research is to craft our research to capture desire instead of damage. I submit that a desire-based framework is an antidote to damage-centered research. An antidote stops and counteracts the effects of a poison, and the poison I am referring to here is not the supposed damage of Native communities, urban communities, or other disenfranchised communities but the frameworks that position these communities as damaged."*

*— Eve Tuck[7]*

*Bridge in the Wilamette Valley. Oregon Historical Society*

# Welcome, dear reader, to the first chapter of the "Cultivating Belonging in Clackamas County: A Research Justice Study" report.

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the study and is organized into the following sections:

- **Research Justice** – Why is research justice needed? What is research justice? What does a community-led and -centered approach look like?

- **Actors** – Who was part of the study and why?

- **Timeline** – What was the timeline of the research? How did it all come together over the last four years?

- **Methodology** – We describe our four main guiding frameworks for our methodology: 1) Research justice, 2) Community-based participatory action research (CBPAR), 3) Dual Belonging Framework and (Be)Longing Assessment Framework, and 4) Multiple case study approach

- **The Power of Qualitative Data** – What is qualitative data, and why is it devalued? We set the record straight on common inaccurate claims about qualitative data

- **Report Layout** – We finish with an overview of each chapter of the report

*Research justice is a much needed re-orientation to dominant research paradigms*

We hope that this chapter orients readers to the power and value of research justice and provides an understanding of what it means to do robust community-led research in the county. We end with a summary of what is included in each chapter of this report. The authors of and contributors to this study thank you for reading, and we hope the contents of this study will be an invitation to get into action by supporting and advancing racial justice efforts in Clackamas county.

## Research Justice

### Why Is Research Justice Needed?

Before understanding research justice, we need to talk about research oppression. Most research that is relied on for decision-making – by governments, non-profits, foundations, etc. – is done in ways that harm the people and communities being researched. This act of harming communities, whether intentionally or not, through research practices is what we call research oppression. And it can manifest in several ways:

- A few credentialed researchers control the entire process from research design, and data collection and analysis to publishing and sharing findings.

- Researchers often do not share the lived experiences of the communities they study and reproduce power differentials when entering those communities to extract data about people's lives. For instance, because it typically takes a PhD or master's to become a credentialed researcher, most already hold privileged positionalities like being white, middle- or upper-class, able bodied, cisgender, and heterosexual. Further, researchers are often affiliated with powerful institutions, have access to many resources, and are disconnected from the communities they study.

- Researchers conduct research on communities rather than with communities. This leads to extractive ways of gathering, analyzing, and utilizing data.

- Research methods and approaches to analysis value quantitative data over qualitative data. The favoring of quantitative research, or what we call "quantitative supremacy," often misses important and meaningful contextual and action-oriented data that emerges from narratives, stories, art, music, etc. Further, statistics tend to misrepresent or distort the realities of marginalized populations, often painting a deficit-based narrative about those communities, all while having a higher degree of reliability for dominant groups.

### What is Research Justice?

A response to research oppression is research justice, which recognizes that:

- Underrepresented and marginalized communities are the experts of their lived experiences and have the strategies and solutions to ensure the well-being of their communities and environments.

- Stories, narratives, and other culturally relevant modes of expression are valid and valuable ways of transmitting information across space and time. Research justice studies aim to elevate these diverse ways of knowing and sharing truths as important evidence for decision making.

- Communities lead the projects, not the researchers. To accomplish this, researchers must build relationships with community members to establish trust, and understand how to create processes where community members' truths can be captured and shared responsibility and meaningfully.

- Research takes time and a lot of effort, and those leading the work, as well as those participating in the research, must be compensated for their contributions.

- Research findings must be in the service of improving the lives of those most impacted by oppression and transforming systems so that they don't reproduce oppression. Research findings must be translated into clear calls to action that are vetted by and representative of community truths and desires.

Research justice is a much needed reorientation to dominant research paradigms. It calls for a community-led and -centered approach to the research life cycle – study

design, research question development, data collection, data analysis and inter-pretation, development of calls to action, and sharing research findings. It positions credentialed researchers, like the authors of this report, as facilitators, trainers, and peers throughout the process; we are, however, never the leaders of the entire process, nor do we assert control over it.

### *What Does a Community-Led and -Centered Approach Look Like?*

For this research justice study, while we are the main researchers, and while our organization holds the contract and funding for the research, we are intentional about co-constructing the various parts of the research life cycle with a steering committee. This is a group of BIPOC folks who are connected to Clackamas county in many capacities: as residents, educators, community leaders, founders of and staff at culturally specific community-based organizations, elected officials, and small business owners. Together, we built this research from the ground up. It took us 14 months, meeting nearly every month, to do the work.

During our time together, we co-constructed the bigger research questions we wanted the study to address; we designed meaningful approaches to data collection that honored each steering committee member's interests and lived experiences; we analyzed the data together; and we co-developed the final calls to action together. Throughout this collaborative process, we, the CCC researchers, facilitated monthly meetings with the steering committee. During these meetings, we:

- Guided steering committee members through the research process via training and discussion.

- Learned about steering committee members' experiences of living in Clackamas county.

- Asked for steering committee members' feedback on any data-related work we had prepared in between monthly meetings.

We want to impress upon readers that this was truly a community-led and -centered research process. It took over four years to accomplish because, at its heart, research justice is about building, sustaining, and committing to relationships. The work produced by the steering committee for this study is exceptional as it is invaluable. Even though the authors of this report spent over three years establishing and building relationships in Clackamas county, we could never have the depth of networks and connections that our steering committee members have in the county nor the lived experience they have of being people of color living and working in Clackamas county.  It is not an exaggeration to say that this research justice study could not have happened without members of the steering committee.

# Actors

### Who Was a Part of the Study and Why?

There are three main groups of actors who were a part of this study: project funders; researchers at the Coalition of Communities of Color; and BIPOC residents and community-based organizations that support those populations across Clackamas county. Below is a description of each group of actors, their role in the study, and their reasoning for contributing.

1. The **project funders** included Clackamas County and a host of county-based public agencies, institutions, and utilities. Many project funders were engaged throughout the process. Researchers at the Coalition of Communities of Color shared project updates and held focus groups to learn about what was most important for funders to know about communities of color living and working in the county. In addition to funding the project, the County Equity and Inclusion Office (EIO) – which closed in 2023 – and Clackamas Community College played essential support roles throughout the project. The EIO supported CCC researchers with County updates, connecting us with County leaders, organizing focus groups with funders and employees, and being thought partners throughout the process of the study. Clackamas Community College supported CCC researchers by hosting various case study engagement events, the Step Up Clackamas event, and the report launch event.

2. The **Coalition of Communities of Colo**r,[8] and more specifically the Research Justice Institute (RJI),[9] facilitated and led parts of this research process. The CCC's mission is to address the socioeconomic disparities, institutional racism, and inequity of services experienced by our families, children, and communities. The CCC organizes our communities for collective action and social change; we desire a future for communities of color that ensures self-determination, wellness, justice, and prosperity. The RJI is housed at the CCC and supports and advances research and data at the local, regional, state, and national level by working with BIPOC serving CBOs and dominant institutions.

   The division of RJI's work – between CBOs and dominant institutions – is framed by our understanding of the differences between equity and justice. Our work with dominant institutions (e.g., governments, universities, health systems, foundations) focuses on advancing equity within organizations so that BIPOC communities are better represented and served. Our work with BIPOC-serving CBOs supports justice efforts, which centers building capacity and community power on the terms of communities of color. This research justice study honors both approaches: We lead with justice through community-led research, and we support equity by guiding dominant institutions in advancing their goals with the knowledge of community needs and desires.

3. **Black, Indigenous, and people of color**, communities of color, and people of color are the terms used throughout this report to describe the third group of actors who contributed to and participated in this research justice study. These terms refer to those who belong to racial and ethnic groups and/or are citizens of sovereign Tribal nations. BIPOC can include members/citizens of Tribal nations, but should not be conflated with the Nine federally recognized Tribes of Oregon. We recognize that, as with any attempt to categorize and classify, these terms are insufficient and lump together a vast diversity of peoples, experiences, religions, nationalities, etc.

However, what these large groupings or categories point to is one important shared experience: that of being "othered" in a context where whiteness and white supremacy are the dominant modes of organizing social, political, cultural, and economic life. People of color share the experience of being racialized as "not white," albeit in different ways and with different outcomes. These groups are negatively impacted by racism and xenophobia, which systematically impacts their livelihoods. As a result, racial and ethnic minorities disproportionately experience poverty, health issues and mortality, and divestment. Although white Western European descendants also experience many of these hardships, racial minorities experience such outcomes at greater proportions compared to white communities.

We focus this research justice study on communities of color not only because we are the Coalition of Communities of Color, but also because we recognize that understanding the needs and desires of those most impacted by lasting systems of oppression and racialized violence will lead to addressing the needs and desires of all; it ensures that everyone is better off.

## Timeline

The Coalition of Communities of Color worked closely with Clackamas County leadership in the winter of 2020 to begin discussions about conducting a research justice study in the county similar to the CCC's past work in Washington county. 10 We began the process by conducting an environmental scan to make a case for the types of information a research justice study would provide. We, alongside the former Equity and Inclusion Office, under the leadership of Martine Coblentz, presented this to the County in the summer of 2020. With unanimous support from the County Commissioners and all of the funders, this study was launched in 2021. In Figure 1.1 on the following page, we present a timeline of milestones achieved during this research justice process.

**FIGURE 1.1 —** Research Justice Study Timeline

**Jan. 2020** — Discussions begin with Clackamas County leadership about conducting a research justice study in the county

**May 2020** — Work begins on the environmental scan; CCC begins building relationships with Clackamas county community members

**Nov. 2020** — CCC publishes "Environmental Scan: Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) Experiences, Community Organizations, and Government Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Efforts within Clackamas County"[11]

**May 2021** — The research justice study is launched; CCC continues collaborating with the Office of Equity and Inclusion at Clackamas County and building relationships with Clackamas county community members and interested and affected groups

**Feb. 2022** — CCC forms the adult steering committee; members embark on a 18 month research justice process with CCC

**Mar. 2022** — CCC forms the youth steering committee; members embark on a 12 month research justice process

**Sep. 2022** — Data collection period: interested and affected groups (e.g., funders, CBOs, BIPOC employees); community members engaged across nine case studies; quantitative data, interviews with data actors, mapping, and observations of community events

**Apr. 2023** — CCC, guided by the youth steering committee, hosts Step Up Clackamas at Clackamas Community College

**Sep. 2023** — Calls to action are created with the guidance of the adult steering committee

**Sep. 2024** — The report is launched

# Methodology

Directly translated, *methodology* means the study of research methods. However, it is most often used to describe a research study design that guides how the research will be conducted: *which methods will be used to answer the research study question, why those methods are chosen, and what philosophical assumptions come with those chosen methods.*

Methodologically, we relied on four approaches that guided how the study was conducted:

1. Research Justice

2. Community-Based Participatory Action Research

3. The Dual Belonging Framework and (Be)Longing Assessment Framework

4. A multiple case study approach

This methodology was co-constructed specifically for this study by members of the steering committee and the researchers at CCC at the beginning of and throughout the process of the research study. Below, we detail each methodological approach.

## 1. Research Justice

Relying on Research Justice to guide this study meant having a group of Clackamas county community members of color, what we call our steering committee, lead this research and develop methods that help gather the truth about the experiences of their communities and their desires for change. We remind readers that research justice is an approach that goes beyond extracting information and collecting a needs assessment of groups. It recognizes that those who are a part of underrepresented and marginalized communities are the experts in their lived experiences and have the strategies and solutions to ensure the well-being of their communities and environments. Research justice means that communities lead the projects, not the researchers. To accomplish this, researchers must build relationships with community members – not only to gain their expertise, but to establish trust. Marginalized communities have a long history of being exploited by researchers for their knowledge with little to no compensation, input in the process, or control over outcomes and data.

## 2. Community-Based Participatory Action Research

Using a CBPAR approach provided a model for how to realize a co-constructed research process – including study design, objectives, data collection methods and analysis, and calls to action – between CCC researchers and all research actors. This research is a place- and people-based project, which means that it seeks to have a clear understanding of the experiences, needs, and desires of people based on their identities and where they live. We are collaborating with those who represent

the different regions of Clackamas as well as different communities. Our collaborators include cities, Community Planning Organizations (CPO), education systems, elected officials, private sector, community members, and leaders throughout Clackamas county. The communities we are focusing on are people of color who live in or interact with urban, suburban, rural, and wild regions in Clackamas. We understand that the needs and experiences of someone living in a rural area are very different from those of someone living in an urban or suburban area. We want to be respectful of these differences and make sure we have representation from all community types.

### 3. Belonging Frameworks: Dual Belonging and (Be)Longing Assessment

While research justice and CBPAR give us the community-led and community-centered orientation of how to conduct this research, the notion of belonging is at the heart of what this study is about. We developed two belonging frameworks that guided this process, from how we constructed research questions to how we analyzed and wrote up the research findings. Belonging is central to understanding BIPOC communities' experiences in Clackamas county, to call for changes, and finally, to organize for change. Chapter Two is dedicated to a deeper discussion of belonging. We also present the two frameworks in Chapter Two.

### 4. Multiple Case Study Approach

Lastly, a multiple case study approach helped to center the power and value of qualitative data and was used to help us consider how smaller examinations of varying cases (e.g., migration processes, memory of Black community in the county, immigrant experiences of seeking employment) can be taken into account together to develop a robust set of calls to action and mobilization. This approach also allows the most flexibility in which methods are used to collect evidence and knowledge for the study's outcomes.

## The Power of Qualitative Data

We hope by now it is abundantly clear that this research justice study seeks to center and uplift the experiences, knowledge, wisdom, and truths of BIPOC communities in Clackamas county. To do this type of study in a way that is robust, rigorous, and with integrity requires that we rely heavily on the power of qualitative data. In other words, this study fundamentally understands and treats narratives and stories as reliable and trustworthy evidence for decision-making. We do realize, however, that because of the dominance of quantitative data and its supremacy, there are widely held misconceptions about qualitative data. We wish to reveal some truths about qualitative data and its power.

### What Is Qualitative Data and Why Is It Devalued?

Qualitative data is any systematically collected information presented as words, stories, narratives, art, or sounds that expresses meaning about our experience of the world. However, qualitative data is not valued as highly as quantitative data (numbers). The devaluation of qualitative data needs to be addressed in any data equity

effort. Figure 1.2 below shows a triangle representing the current hierarchy of knowledge that situates some knowledge (i.e., mainstream) – primarily quantitative – as having more political power than other knowledge (i.e., experiential, cultural, and spiritual) – largely qualitative. With a more flattened and circular image, the right side represents the vision of data equity, that all forms of knowledge have equal political power and legitimacy.

**FIGURE 1.2**
Defining Knowledge
that Matters
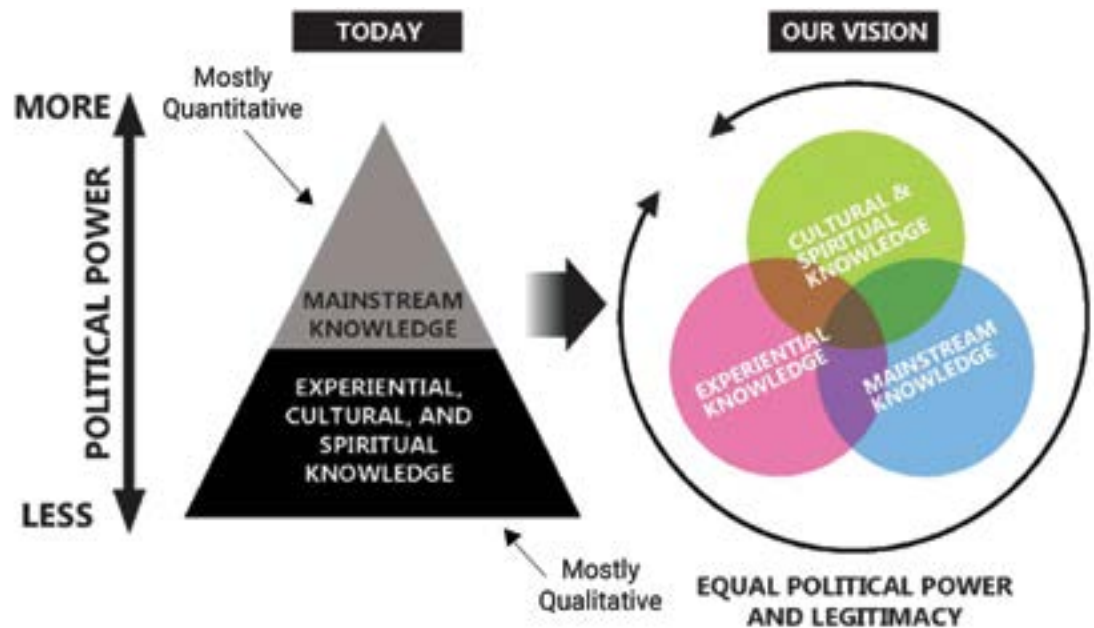


*Adapted from: DataCenter*[12]

How did we come to value quantitative over qualitative information and data? The trajectory of how we got here is long, complex, and beyond the scope of this report. But we will say that the devaluation of stories, narratives, art, and other qualitative ways of knowing is deeply entangled in the overlapping histories and legacies of colonialism, white supremacy, and capitalism. All of these are "civilizational" projects because they continue to advance a very particular vision of "civilized" by centering certain ways of knowing the world rooted primarily in white, property-owning, cisgender man, and able-bodied experiences. These projects not only decenter but have sought to exterminate ways of knowing that do not align with their vision of "civilized."

One mainstream or dominant and highly trusted way of knowing the world is statistics. It quantifies relationships and provides methods for ascertaining how confidently we can claim that A is associated with some outcome, B. But the methods of social statistics were birthed out of a desire, in the 19th century, to prove that "race science" – the measurement of differences between so-called "superior and inferior races" – was objective and unquestionably true. Statistics were used to "prove" quantitatively that, for instance, Black, Indigenous, and Asian people are less intelligent or capable of being civilized than white people.

Even though the use of statistics to justify these kinds racist and eugenicist claims

is frowned upon today, the legacy of using quantitative data to validate a particular worldview is still with us. The most persistent narrative that is confirmed by statistics is that racialized groups are defined by deficits. For instance, when we continuously see reports that a high percentage of American Indian and Alaska Natives have substance abuse disorders, this becomes a "fact" about that group, and the narrative that "Native Americans are alcoholics" becomes viewed as "true." Quantitative data has the power to reduce groups to certain "facts" that can be proven by its own, often flawed, methods.

The multiple "civilizational" projects – colonialism, white supremacy, and capitalism – that shape our society have created the conditions under which we are taught to believe and trust that numbers and statistics convey objective facts. But working toward data equity means that these inherited "truths" need to be unlearned and challenged. Candice Lanius puts it best when she writes in "Fact Check: Your Demand for Statistical Proof is Racist":

> Perhaps statistics should be considered a technology of mistrust – statistics are used when personal experience is in doubt because the analyst has no intimate knowledge of it. Statistics are consistently used as a technology of the educated elite to discuss the lower classes and subaltern populations, those individuals that are considered unknowable and untrustworthy of delivering their own accounts of their daily life. A demand for statistical proof is blatant distrust of someone's lived experience.[13]

Working toward a vision where experiential, cultural, and spiritual knowledge – forms that are largely qualitative – has power and legitimacy requires that we challenge "quantitative supremacy" so as not to reproduce harm. It also requires that we truly understand the value of qualitative data in order to challenge the skeptics. The next section will help us move in this direction.

### Responding to Common Claims about Qualitative Data

There are many claims about qualitative data that undermine the ability of institutions to rely on them to move toward equity. These claims also reinforce the adoption of insufficient and potentially harmful data practices (see Claim #5 below for a discussion of harmful data practices). We summarize the most common claims and responses to them in Table 1.1 on the following page. This is followed by a detailed discussion about how these claims serve to devalue qualitative data and why they are misrepresentative of the power of qualitative data.

**TABLE 1.1 –** Summary of Claims and Responses about Qualitative Data

| | CLAIM | RESPONSE |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Subjective not objective | Yes, and that is its strength |
| 2 | Not generalizable | Generalizing = harmful > useful |
| 3 | Lacks representativeness | Quality, not quantity = better holistic data is actually more representative |
| 4 | Anecdotal | The personal reveals the structural; it is grounded in truth |
| 5 | Insufficient evidence for decisions | Lived experience is evidence |
| 6 | Time consuming | Gets to better, lasting outcomes faster |
| 7 | Too expensive | Same cost or cheaper overall |

**Claim #1: Qualitative data is subjective, not objective**

Response: Yes, and that is its strength. This claim is fueled by the premise that subjectivity results in bad or unreliable data because too much of ourselves is in the data. In other words, qualitative data is too biased. But, when working with both qualitative and quantitative data, we need to differentiate between positive and negative bias.

- Positive bias is when we acknowledge that we come to the data – whether we're collecting, interpreting, or using it – with perspectives shaped by our own lived experiences and biographies, or what feminist scholars call "standpoints."[14] For example, in this research justice study, the standpoints of steering committee members influenced the questions they asked and how they desired to address them. Positive bias strengthens the quality of the research and ultimately results in better data.

- Negative bias can be introduced at any stage of the data process (e.g., collection, analysis, sharing) when there is no transparency about the influences that different standpoints bring to the data. When we assume, as we often do, that the numbers speak for themselves (i.e., quantitative claims of objectivity), we are actually creating the conditions for less reliable and more negatively biased data.

To sum it up, all research and data approaches are biased and subjective, and stronger research and data are upfront about both. Weaker research and data claim objectivity and avoid detailing how the study or approach is biased and subjective – highly typical of quantitative approaches. Good qualitative research and data own this and demonstrate how the bias and subjectivity make the data even more reliable.

**Claim #2: Qualitative data is not generalizable**

Response: It should not have to be in order to be considered valid. Generalizability is a so-called "gold standard" of quantitative research and data. Generalizability means something that is relevant in one context should be similarly relevant in another con-

text. But this gold standard should not be used to assess the validity of qualitative data, which seeks to understand, with nuance and detail, the specifics of a context and/or experience. For example, a qualitative study of Black residents' experiences of Oregon City's public libraries should not have to be validated by whether Black residents of Detroit have similar experiences of their public library system. Oregon City and Detroit are exceptionally different contexts and can be evaluated on their own terms. Further, oftentimes, making generalizable claims about places and communities is more harmful than useful. <u>More fundamentally, qualitative data should never be evaluated by the standards used to evaluate quantitative data.</u>

**Claim #3: Qualitative data lacks representativeness**

<u>Response:</u> Again, this claim is common because we are in the habit of evaluating qualitative data by the standards of quantitative data. The aim of qualitative data is to understand the richness and depth of human experience, not to turn it into a number or statistic that seeks to quantify broader trends. To meet the aim of qualitative data, we rely on methods to get us closest to the experience we want to understand, like observation, interviews, and using nonverbal ways to access experience, like art and mapping. Taking surveys, the most relied on method to gather quantitative data, is actually a less effective method for qualitative data collection. All this is to say, we don't need to meet some arbitrary threshold of representativeness or talk to some "statically significant" number of people to get meaningful qualitative data, because it doesn't try to make broad, generalizable claims about some issue. Good qualitative data is about the quality of exposure to people whose lived experiences can give us insight into the conditions in which they live. But this requires being clear about our purpose and what methods and questions will best achieve our purpose. Unlike quantitative studies that use statistical methods to determine representativeness, there is no such formula for qualitative studies. To ensure we have trustworthy qualitative data – to get the highest quality of exposure – we need to be thoughtful, intentional, and collaborative about what it is we want to learn, how we want to learn, and who can best teach us. Having a strong response to these questions, as we present in this study, helps to support an understanding that the data presented does represent certain groups of people well and goes beyond what numbers or statistics can say about them.

**Claim #4: Qualitative data is anecdotal**

<u>Response:</u> We hear this all the time. The definition of anecdotal is "not necessarily true or reliable; based on personal accounts rather than facts or research." To generate qualitative data means systematically collecting and interpreting information presented as words, stories, narratives, art, and sounds that expresses meaning about our experience of the world. When we uncover how people make meaning of the world they experience every single day, we learn about how the world functions and how it creates the conditions for them, their family, and their community to thrive or not. In other words, what we learn about the personal via qualitative data reveals a great deal about the impacts of social structures, historical legacies, and how people live within them and resist and transform them. Qualitative data is reliable evidence; it is not anecdotal.

**Claim #5: Qualitative data is insufficient for decision-making**

Response: Relying only on quantitative data is insufficient for decision-making, because it paints a partial picture, often a point in time, of an issue. Further, it is often unknown to what extent survey respondents have a lived experience in what they are being asked about. This partial picture, often comparing various groups of respondents to others, perpetuates harmful narratives of deficit and represents people's experiences of the world in terms of disparities. Further, quantitative data rarely offers actionable solutions grounded in contextually specific lived experiences. It is good at generalizing certain understandings over a large population. Qualitative data, on the other hand, gives rich insight into an issue that quantitative data sheds light on. And provided that good open-ended questions are asked, qualitative data generates insights into the desires of people and communities, which can facilitate decision-making based on strengths rather than deficits.[15] In other words, often, quantitative data gives us a bird's-eye view of a problem, and qualitative data gives us more details about the problem and a pathway for solutions grounded in lived experiences. Yet because of the persistent devaluing of qualitative data by the claims discussed here, it is rarely considered for decision-making. Both quantitative and qualitative data are necessary for decision-making.

**Claim #6: Qualitative data requires too much time to collect and analyze**

Response: Qualitative data can access the richness, depth, and complexity of human experiences. Time should be invested into gaining this understanding so that a more complete picture is painted rather than a partial one that results in poorer decisions and outcomes. Many quantitative approaches ask the same questions year after year, which can help detail how things shift over time but rarely ever helps us understand the best and fastest way to address the issues at hand. Investing the time into thoughtful and meaningful qualitative data approaches will ultimately result in better outcomes faster.

**Claim #7: Qualitative data is too expensive**

Response: Prioritizing investment into qualitative data means reaching better outcomes faster at an overall lower cost. Qualitative data does not have to be a costly endeavor, and its scale and scope can be tailored to particular needs. Compared to administering a quantitative survey, which can cost tens if not hundreds of thousands of dollars (and this is an underestimate, as most survey respondents are not compensated for their time) and lack details of how to actually change outcomes, qualitative data can be more cost effective in reaching solutions faster.

## Report Layout

In **Chapter One** of the report, we set out to describe how we approached this study from a research justice perspective and what that entails. We provide an overview of our methodological orientations, or the approaches and ways of thinking we relied on to design this research and move it through its various stages. We end the chapter with a discussion of the power and value of qualitative data, since this research justice

study necessitates uplifting and centering the lived experiences of communities of color in Clackamas county. This cannot be accomplished without qualitative data.

In **Chapter Two**, we offer a detailed discussion about belonging, as this has been the central concept guiding this research justice study. We begin by presenting a concise review of academic scholarship on belonging, followed by some examples of attempts to measure belonging. We conclude the chapter by sharing two belonging frameworks that emerged from the data gathered during this research process. The first is the Dual Belonging Framework, which was co-constructed with the steering committee. It demonstrates how we approached belonging from two distinct perspectives: How can BIPOC communities create the conditions for belonging in Clackamas county, and how can dominant systems and institutions create and support the conditions of belonging in Clackamas county? The second framework presented in this chapter is the (Be)Longing Assessment Framework. This framework is designed to guide organizations – community-based and dominant – in operationalizing belonging by tracking it at three levels: 1) Be – understanding and assessing the current realities of Clackamas county residents; 2) Longing – understanding and assessing the future desires of Clackamas county residents; and 3) (Be)Longing – implementing processes, especially at the decision-making level, that account for both "be" and "longing."

In **Chapter Three**, we present a synthesis of publicly available quantitative data about Clackamas county from the perspective of race and ethnicity, and language and geographic diversity. We include important data points about how people of color are faring as they encounter various dominant systems, including the criminal and legal, housing, education, health, employment, food, and business systems. Throughout the chapter, we are clear that while these data are important for illuminating population-level disparities, they are not reliable for illuminating the lived experiences and desired solutions of communities of color. Their "reality" shows up in these data as deficits, as if they are problems or "bad actors." We end the chapter with some narrative data from Clackamas county residents who speak to how they experience some of the disparities represented as statistics in dominant data.

The next two chapters provide critical background context needed to understand the realities, desires, and truths of BIPOC communities today. In **Chapter Four**, we discuss how the process of "othering" in the United States has shaped the histories and current realities of communities of color. Othering has been foundational to notions of race, processes of racialization, and the project of whiteness in the United States. This chapter sets out to clarify these three aspects of othering. It also discusses how attempts to address racism in the U.S. have fallen short.

In **Chapter Five**, we take a step back to consider how race, racialization, and whiteness have influenced the histories of BIPOC communities that have been connected to Clackamas county, particularly Indigenous, Black, Chinese, and Latine communities. While othering has been a continuous historical reality for people of color in the region, the chapter challenges the widely held belief that communities of color played

an insignificant role in shaping the county's story and provides an understanding of how communities of color have connections to the county and their visions for the future. The chapter ends with a conversation with an Oregon-based historian about her work in unsettling the dominant white pioneer framing of Oregon's history and how we can raise public awareness about BIPOC histories.

The last two chapters of this report present data collected by our steering committee members or data collected during engagements with the community and dominant institutions. These data are presented as 10 case studies in **Chapter Six**. Each data collection effort focused on a topic that steering committee members had deep experience with or on a topic of interest to members. Eight of the case studies present data collected by engagements led by steering committee members, including the student steering committee. Two additional case studies are presented in the chapter that reflect the steering committee's interests in collecting data on:

1. Organizing meaningful and culturally relevant events in Clackamas county
2. Experiences shared by leaders and staff working at community-based organizations in the county

Data for these case studies was collected and analyzed by CCC researchers. The case studies are grouped into the following categories:

| NEWLY ARRIVED | ALWAYS BEEN HERE |
|---|---|
| **Memory and Migration**: Voices of Latine Communities from Mt. Hood | **Conditions for Safety**: Native Communities Desires for Belonging |
| **Immigrants Seeking Employment**: Chinese and Latine Communities' Challenges with the Job Search | **Black Histories and Visibility**: Strategies of Black Historians and Communities |
| **Ambition and Small Business Ownership**: BIPOC Immigrants Doing Business and Building Community | |

| NAVIGATING ESSENTIAL INSTITUTIONS | DOMINANT INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY BELONGING |
|---|---|
| **Teaching and Equity**: Supporting ELL, BIPOC, and LGBTQ Families | **Meaningful Community Events**: Engaging and Centering BIPOC Communities |
| **Amplifying Youth Voices**: BIPOC Youth Desires for Harm Reduction in Schools | **Removing Obstacles for CBO Providers**: Supporting Culturally Specific and Responsive Care |
| **Talking about Health and Wellness**: Black and Native Reflections of Health Systems | |

While the majority of case study data are qualitative (words), we also include various quantitative (numbers) data points throughout the case studies to further demonstrate the realities that community members are uplifting and desire to see change.

In **Chapter Seven**, our analysis of the multiple case study findings comes together

to offer a set of calls to action, created directly by both steering committees. Calls to action are an essential part of a research justice study, since the goal of conducting a community-led and -centered study is to catalyze changes that reflect the priorities, needs, and desires of communities. The seven Calls to Action are organized into the following themes:

- BIPOC Histories and Futures
- Peer-to-Peer Support Systems
- Diverse Workforce and Leadership
- Community Events and Resource Sharing
- Supporting Community-Based Organizations
- Institutional Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion: Compliance, Data, and Harm Reduction
- Student Desires for Change

Finally, we repeatedly heard from community members and our dominant institution partners that they didn't want a list of actions without some guidance on how to begin implementing them. Therefore, we pair each call to action with recommendations for how dominant institutions – for example, Clackamas County government agencies, school districts, city governments, foundations, universities and colleges, and foundations – can support and which dominant institutions are best positioned to provide support. We end the report with guidance on how community members can begin organizing around any of the calls to action.

## A Note about Equity and Inclusion at Clackamas County

The battle for recognition is a tiresome endeavor that is often experienced as "two steps forward, two steps back." The County Commissioners' 2023 decision to dissolve the County's Equity and Inclusion Office feels like a "step back" moment to many. The Commissioners argued that the Office was no longer necessary and its values caused further divisiveness in the county. They framed equity work as causing harm rather than being a powerful way to address it and ensure that everyone belongs. The County's backtracking on equity was felt by many community members as a form of institutional betrayal and a devastating reversal of commitments designed to make the county a better place for everybody. Community members expressed how their elected officials were failing to recognize the deeply harmful everyday forms of "othering," discrimination, and erasure experienced by communities of color and other minoritized groups in Clackamas county. The attack on equity has left many feeling hopeless and that the County is not a place that cultivates belonging.

Since the closure of the Equity and Inclusion Office, community members have regrouped and organized to keep the work moving despite the lack of resources and support provided by the former Equity and Inclusion Office. Communities will continue to fight for equity with care and generosity and this report provides pathways for how powerful institutions, like Clackamas County, can support them. We encourage all readers to get into action and to work in collaboration to set the conditions for equity and justice in Clackamas county.

# LEADING WITH BELONGING

*"Belonging is not just about finding a place but about creating it. We shape our communities by our very presence and by the love we bring to them."*

— Zadie Smith[16]

———

*"We belong through our actions, through the ways we support one another and fight for a world where every person's humanity is recognized and celebrated."*

— Leanne Betasamosake Simpson[17]

*A portion of the historic McLoughlin Promenade in Oregon City, Oregon.*
*Ian Poellett*

# This study is fundamentally about belonging.

Throughout our work with community members in Clackamas county, it became clear that belonging was at the heart of what many people of color shared with us: a desire to live in a place they felt connected to, where they could thrive and build community. Additionally, as we built relationships with people working in dominant institutions in Clackamas county – government agencies, health systems, universities, etc. – we observed that belonging was articulated as central to doing equity and inclusion work. It had reached buzzword status.

In this chapter, we want to think more deeply about belonging. How has it been defined in academic scholarship? What are examples of belonging efforts in the U.S.? What models and approaches have been developed to measure and assess belonging? These are the questions that guide the first part of the chapter.

In the second part of the chapter, we step back from the formal literature on belonging and let this research justice process and the learnings we gathered over four years of doing this work lead us in defining belonging. We present two frameworks for belonging – the Dual Belonging Framework and (Be)Longing Assessment Framework – that were informed by our close collaboration with community members and steering committee members. We hope these frameworks help create an understanding of belonging and how it can be applied in ways that honor community desires and advance dominant equity and inclusion efforts in Clackamas county.

## Defining Belonging in Academic Scholarship

The academic study of belonging is quite vast. Here, we highlight some of this work in an effort to orient readers to the multiple and nuanced ways of thinking about belonging. One of the foremost academic spaces for the study of belonging is the Othering and Belonging Institute (OBI) at the University of California, Berkeley. This work is guided by the extensive scholarship of john a. powell, the Institute's director. OBI defines belonging as:

> *Having a meaningful voice and the opportunity to participate in the design of political, social, and cultural structures that shape one's life – the right to both contribute and make demands upon society and political institutions.*[18]

This definition is further elaborated on by presenting four big ideas:[19]

- Belonging is the solution to addressing "othering" in its many forms. Othering is one of the biggest issues of our time.
- Belonging is both aspirational and practical. We must imagine what a world of

belonging can look like as well as put forth tangible ways to foster belonging.

- Belonging includes everyone.
- Belonging is a felt experience that is shaped by one's relationship to structural systems.

The work of OBI and, broadly, the scholarship on belonging spans various disciplines, including psychology,[20] sociology,[21] education,[22] urban education,[23] medicine,[24] public health,[25] economics,[26] design,[27] and political science.[28] Other disciplines such as ethnic studies, geography, anthropology, and biology, also have their unique contributions to the study of belonging. The result is a large body of knowledge seeking to understand the many influences that shape a sense of belonging, including culture, land and physical space, organizational settings, an individual's sense of self and home, governments, and social interactions.

Here, we present a concise overview of some of this literature in order to demonstrate the diversity of perspectives on belonging. We focus on describing belonging from three perspectives: meeting our basic biological needs, meeting our health and sociocultural well-being needs, and a spatial perspective on belonging.

Beginning with the biological, research shows that humans' brains are hardwired to seek out social alliances. Support from a social group feeds our brains with oxytocin (good feelings stimulus), and when leaving or being disappointed by a group, our cortisol levels increase (bad feelings stimulus), which includes feelings of being threatened, stressed, worried, hypervigilant, etc.[29] Both oxytocin and cortisol are needed for human survival, to be sure, but what is most important is that both ultimately lead us to seeking social trust in group settings. Even Maslow's hierarchy of needs recognizes that belonging, which is placed third on the needs list behind basic physiological needs and safety, is an essential human need that must be met before we ever reach a sense of self-worth.[30] Others even describe belonging as being on par with needing love.[31]

Equally as important as meeting our basic needs as humans, belonging also plays a large role in our health. Psychologist Geoffrey L. Cohen (2022) lays out many of these health implications:

> *Belonging isn't just a touchy feely construct. It's actually something that has hard consequences. It's associated with physical illness, early death, cardiovascular disease, and also vulnerability.*[32]

Although most of us know what it feels like to be excluded or question our belonging, Cohen says we don't do the greatest job of recognizing that feeling when it happens to others. In fact, we often threaten other people's sense of belonging. And both are having serious effects on our well-being. Brene Brown, who has studied belonging for over a decade, uplifts the differences between belonging and fitting in:

*The thing is that we are wired to be a part of something bigger than us so deeply, that sometimes we will take fitting in as a substitute, but actually fitting in is the greatest barrier to belonging because fitting in says, "Be like them to be accepted." Belonging says, "This is who I am. I hope we can make a connection."[33]*

Considering Brown's concerns, fitting in sounds a lot like the desired U.S. strategy often communicated to newly arrived immigrants: "Learn our ways; work hard, keep your head down, and you'll be fine." This shows up, for example, in the experiences of Palestinian youth in Chicago, who learn about what it means to be American in school but feel like they will never fit into these idealized and often dominant, white-centric versions of being American.[34] Like Cohen says, this can have very tangible consequences. Education scholars show how across gender, race, and class, students' sense of belonging – social support, connection with affinity groups and the larger campus community – is critical for their academic success as well as their physical and psychological well-being.[35]

According to Brown, fitting in is actually not belonging at all. Belonging is both an inside job, being true to and authenticity ourselves, and outside one, where the conditions in which we live should support or even allow us to show up this way. Consider gay and trans people living in Florida who cannot mention the word gay in school or received gender-affirming care from their medical provider due to policies in place. Such a context cannot foster belonging because it coercively severs the inside work of belonging from the outside work.

Let's move on to thinking about spatial perspectives on belonging. Writers of color from the American South explore the connection between understanding themselves and where they belong as deeply interconnected with their communities, land and physical space, and the meaning and feelings of home.[36] This is often more complicated than one would expect, especially if you're a person of color and immigrant in this country: belonging can often be an exercise in negotiating what's most important. Do you want to live in a particular place at the expense of hiding your religious practice or sexual orientation? Are you prepared to navigate feelings of affirmation by your community on the one hand and then feeling alienated by others in the community within the next hour?

This scholarship visibilizes the complex and, at times, confusing dynamics that people of color and immigrants often encounter when trying to make a place – one that may not be welcoming – a home where they belong. This could look like loving your home and wanting it to be an even better place to live, while also making visible a history of harm and erasure and working toward being fully seen as part of the community. If you are an immigrant and live in the diaspora, the struggle often is finding community and connecting with folks from your cultural background locally yet being thousands of miles away from home. The most confusing part of belonging in the U.S. is that this country has always been a place shaped by transnational peoples, cultures, and traditions, yet people living in those truths are often perceived as threatening to domi-

nant white culture. Belonging to a place, to a community, can be a messy experience.

## Assessing and Measuring Belonging

Belonging is notoriously difficult to assess and measure, as it can be experienced differently from one context to the next. In this section, we share three methodologies that have been developed to assess and measure belonging.

1. **Belonging in the workplace:** National-level research on belonging conducted by the nonprofit [Coquel (formerly known as the Center for Talent Innovation)](#) demonstrates four aspects of for-profit workplace cultures that can be quantified and lend themselves to creating a sense of belonging.[37] Using a 10-point scale over the four aspects (see below), the authors analyzed over 4,000 survey responses to assess belonging and why it matters.[38]

1. Seen – When you are seen at work, you are recognized, rewarded, and respected by your colleagues.

2. Connected – When you are connected at work, you have positive, authentic social interactions with peers, managers, and senior leaders.

3. Supported – When you are supported at work, those around you – from your peers to senior leaders – give you what you need to get your work done and live a full life.

4. Proud – When you are proud of your work and your organization, you feel aligned with its purpose, vision, and values.

2. **The Belonging Barometer**: The [American Immigration Council](#)[39] created [The Belonging Barometer: The State of Belonging in America](#)[40], which is probably the most comprehensive quantitative assessment of belonging in the U.S. The Council began by developing a belonging scale from exclusion to ambiguity to belonging. While the quantification of belonging has its merits, when it comes to understanding the importance of belonging on a local level (e.g., towns, cities, suburbs, and rural areas), it can be challenging to quantitatively capture who is 1) welcomed and included, 2) emotionally connected, and 3) valued for themself and their contributions. The authors found that local belonging is associated with some key features that are hard to control for in their barometer. These local-level needs of belonging included:

· Trust in neighbors, other residents, local government, and other Americans

· Civic engagement

· Belief that citizens can affect local change

· Feelings of marginalization (feeling like a stranger, being left behind, excited for new changes, treated as less than by others)

- Openness to neighborhood demographic change

Three findings from this work are important to highlight regarding local community levels of belonging:

- **Local belonging is associated with wanting to get to know people different from oneself.** Compared to the strongest exclusion scores, the strongest belonging scores are associated with a greater inclination to get to know people of a different socioeconomic status, national origin, religion, or political affiliation (37% vs. 71% for strongest exclusion and belonging, respectively, a 34% gap). While this pattern holds with respect to getting to know locals from a different race or ethnicity, the gap falls to 20%, demonstrating the particular challenge and importance of addressing racism in America.

- **A sense of community belonging, as well as resident interactions characterized by dignity and equality, is associated with less anxiety about the future.** Local nonbelonging, and separately, feeling treated as "less than" in local interactions (such as interactions with law enforcement or local officials, or while voting or shopping at local stores) are associated with "feeling like a stranger in my own community" and "worry that I or my family will be left behind" due to demographic change.

- **Local belonging is associated with thinking that increased diversity in one's neighborhood would be a good thing.** When asked whether increased diversity in their neighborhood would be a good thing or not, strong local belonging scores indicated residents who were considerably more likely to agree.

3. **OBI's quantitative and qualitative approaches to belonging:** The Othering and Belonging Institute (OBI) produces various metrics and methodologies for capturing the elements of belonging. These metrics are designed to assess how different communities, states, and countries are doing when it comes to fostering belonging. However, OBI also recognizes that "belongingness" is very difficult to measure:

> *Belongingness is a feeling that cannot be easily measured empirically. The concept of belongingness goes beyond equity and inclusion, and is at the heart of understanding human experience and how different groups can participate and contribute toward shaping policies and institutions. While both equity and inclusion are equally important, belongingness encompasses both these concepts and is a true reflection of how we feel valued and contribute toward creating an inclusive and sustainable society. Belongingness has a psychological component that is subjective, and the response of an individual or a group depends on their situatedness.* [41]

As a workaround, OBI has developed a quantitative model to measure inclusiveness,

which, according to them, "can provide insights into the degree of belongingness and can serve as a proxy."[42] The Inclusivity Index includes six domains that can provide insight into levels of inclusivity or marginalization.[43] These domains are out-group violence, political representation, income inequality, anti-discrimination laws, rates of incarceration, and immigration or asylum policies. The Index measures how various demographic groups – selected by gender; LGBTQ populations; people with disabilities; and racial, ethnic, and religious subgroups – fare across these domains. Currently, the Index includes only data that compares countries and U.S. states.

Of course, there are many limitations of a solely quantitative approach to understanding belongingness. It is equally, if not more, important to understand people's everyday lived experiences of belonging and othering and have an analytical approach that connects these experiences to structural and systemic issues. For example, OBI has partnered with Santa Clara County's Office of Immigrant Relations[44] on the Immigrant Belonging Project.[45] This work includes gathering information shared by people living in Santa Clara county who are born outside of the U.S. and identifying priorities across immigrant communities. To do this, OBI's methodology includes gathering a range of data through interviewing local experts, immigrant service providers, and community leaders; a survey to reach immigrants living in the county; and community conversations with specific immigrant communities to further explore key issues.[46]

## Two Belonging Frameworks: A Research Justice Approach

The approaches to belonging represented in the two frameworks below reflect our learnings from this research justice process. They have been created based on data collected throughout the four year study and represent the values of both the community (i.e., BIPOC communities engaged in this study) and the dominant (i.e., government partners engaged in this study).

We first present the Dual Belonging Framework. It was co-constructed with steering committee members and vetted with other project partners throughout the course of the four-year process. The framework guided our research by distinguishing the following:

- What kinds of data collection should be community-led in order to understand desires for belonging.

- What topics of data collection should be done in partnership with the dominant in order to understand how equity and inclusion strategies can foster belonging.

Although the framework served to guide this research, it can be used as a model for understanding how belonging is both a community-led effort and a dominant-led effort, and often, collaboration between the two is critical. It also can be used to identify areas that require community-led processes and those that require dominant-led processes.

We then present the second framework, called the (Be)Longing Assessment Framework. Again, this framework is based on what we learned from the data collected in this study. It serves as a model that can be used to guide leaders of organizations to track, assess, and be transparent about how they are taking belonging seriously.

### The Dual Belonging Framework

The Dual Belonging Framework emerged through close collaboration between CCC researchers and the steering committee. We began the process by asking steering committee members to come with a list of questions relating to their desired changes for Clackamas county. Members came up with over a hundred questions. The next step was to distill these questions into themes and then identify specific topic areas that steering committee members wanted to investigate further. With our short list of themes and topics, we began to notice an emerging pattern: The notion of belonging was an overarching desire, whether from a community perspective or from a dominant institution perspective. This became the two parts of the framework, each with its own guiding question:

How can this research help illustrate the ways BIPOC communities create the conditions for belonging in Clackamas county?

How can this research illustrate the ways that dominant systems and actors create and support the conditions for belonging in Clackamas county?

Table 2.1 on the following page presents the Dual Belonging Framework and demonstrates how it guided this research.

The community side of the Dual Belonging Framework consists of topics with which the steering committee members have deep lived experience and desire to see changes (e.g., health, safety, education, etc.). Each committee member developed questions that were meaningful for each topic. They were then paired up to design a case study that engaged Clackamas county community members whose experiences and desires could address the needed changes. Each case study relied on various methods, such as focus groups, surveys, interviews, community events, gatherings, and discussions. The steering committee also wanted to engage with and better understand the role of CBOs and cultural events in the county. This relied on data collection led by CCC researchers and included methods such as interviews, focus groups, and observations at CBO convening and cultural events in Clackamas county. CCC researchers also facilitated a year long student-led steering committee to focus on BIPOC student experiences of what it means to belong, feel welcomed, and feel safe. The effort resulted in us co-organizing an entirely student-led event called Step Up Clackamas, which featured BIPOC student art and speakers.

| BELONGING PERSPECTIVE | TOPIC | DATA COLLECTION METHODS | DATA LEAD | COMMUNITIES/PEOPLE ENGAGED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **[Community]**<br><br>**How can BIPOC communities create the conditions for belonging in Clackamas county?** | Health | Community event, focus groups | Steering committee members | Black and Indigenous providers and patients |
| | Employment | Survey | | Chinese and Latine jobs seekers |
| | Black histories | Interviews | | Black historians |
| | Migration and networks of care | Interviews | | Latine community members |
| | Education | Focus groups | | Latine educators and parents |
| | Safety | Community dinner, discussion | | Indigenous community members |
| | Small business | Community dinner, discussion | | BIPOC small business owners |
| | Student experiences and desires | Community event, interviews | | BIPOC students and youth, teachers |
| | Cultural events | Observations | CCC | N/A |
| | County CBOs | Focus groups, discussion, surveys | | Leadership and staff at CBOs serving Clackamas county |
| **[Dominant]**<br><br>**How can dominant systems and actors create and support the conditions for belonging in Clackamas county?** | BIPOC employees | Focus groups, discussion, surveys | | BIPOC employees working in dominant institutions |
| | City and County DEI efforts | Focus groups, discussion, surveys | | Mayors, City Managers, C4, Metro and PGE staff, public school educators and administrators |
| | County demographics | Secondary research | | N/A |
| | Geography | Secondary research | | N/A |
| | BIPOC histories | Secondary research, interview | | Oregon-based historian |

The dominant side of the Dual Belonging Framework consists of topics influenced by the steering committee as well as by topics of interest expressed by other "interested and affected groups" (IAG) 47 that supported (dominant institutions) and/or participated in the study (BIPOC employees). Steering committee members wanted to better understand how impactful the dominant approaches were on communities of color (e.g., experiences of BIPOC employees, DEI efforts, housing, govern-

ment-community relations). Dominant institution leaders wanted to understand how their equity approaches could be more effective at understanding what the community wanted. To address these topics and questions, we hosted a series of engagements with government partners and BIPOC employees working at the County. We asked the questions created by the steering committee and tried to understand what information would help them support the community. We also did extensive secondary research about BIPOC histories in the county; we collected publicly available quantitative data (local, regional, state, and national) on county demographics and geographies; we added any relevant quantitative data to the steering committee-led case studies; and we produced maps to represent geospatial realities of the county.

To conclude, the Dual Belonging Framework assumes that there are some efforts that the dominant should be leading and making while there are others that should be led by the community. In other words, both dominant and community approaches are needed to create the conditions for belonging in Clackamas county. While different belonging efforts are led by different constituencies (community and dominant), collaboration between both community and dominant institutions is often critical.

### (Be)Longing Assessment Framework

While the Dual Belonging Framework presented above articulates guidance for how to understand belonging, we also recognize that it is important to operationalize this understanding. In other words, what guidance can be provided to leaders of organizations – dominant and community based – to track, assess, and be transparent about how they are advancing equity outcomes that foster belonging? We know that this is difficult to pursue, but we wanted to provide a model for assessment that builds on the learnings from this research justice process. We propose that belonging, as a concept to be assessed and utilized for equity outcomes, be taken in three parts: 1) Be, 2) Longing, and 3) (Be)Longing. We present our (Be)Longing Assessment Framework on the following page in Table 2.2, followed by an explanation of its three parts. While this framework is primarily intended for dominant institutions and organizations interested in assessing belonging, we encourage community members to use it as a tool to hold dominant institutions accountable for how they do or don't acknowledge, track, and address community needs and desires.

#### BE

We begin by taking the first two letters of belonging, which focus on what it means to be – to be who you are, to be seen and heard, to be a full person. A county focused on belonging takes seriously that its residents, workers, and visitors can exist in a place as their authentic selves, as long as they are not harming or restricting others. This means that everyone is able to freely and comfortably exist in multiple and diverse identities and social categories that they are seen through (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, religion, etc.). It means they are able to have their needs met in ways that are relevant to them. Currently, the majority of folks we engaged in this process struggle with being who they are in Clackamas county. They often have to leave the county to be themselves, to see themselves in others, to be seen by others, and to get many of their needs met.

### TABLE 2.2 – (Be)Longing Assessment Framework
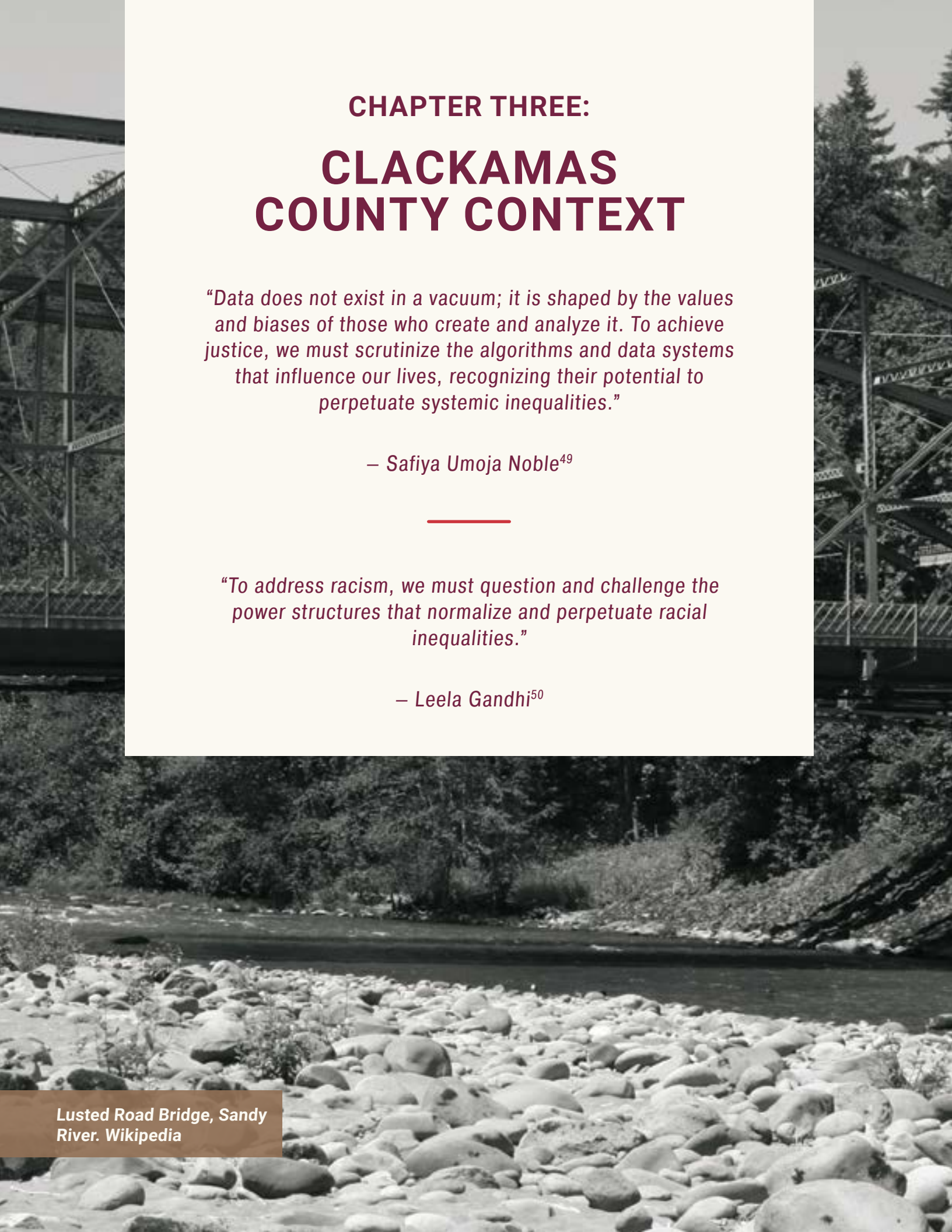
| BE | LONGING | (BE)LONGING |
|---|---|---|
| Accounting for present realities and needs | Accounting for future desires | Implementing Be + Longing |
| Track: Who are Clackamas county residents? What social, cultural, linguistic, and other needs do they have? What are the barriers or challenges in meeting those needs? | Track: What are the desires of Clackamas county residents? What do they want changed or improved? What does thriving and being cared for mean to them? | Track: How can existing decision-making processes accommodate what is known from "be" and "longing"? How do decision-making processes need to change so that "be" and "longing" are better addressed? How is community apprised of learnings and decision-making? |
| **What can operationalization look like?** | | |
| Collecting and reporting disaggregated demographic data<br><br>Funding community steering committees, advisory councils, and research and data groups<br><br>Collaborating with community to identify needs | Collecting and using qualitative data<br><br>Funding and supporting culturally specific community-led needs assessments<br><br>Funding and supporting community-led approaches to care and thriving | Building and updating a registry of community engagement data<br><br>Creating transparency around "be" and "longing" are a part of decision-making<br><br>Communicating and getting feedback on approaches that address current realities, needs, and desires. |
| **What spaces, programs, approaches, and policies need to exist to ensure each part is being met?** | | |

## LONGING

Taking the second part of this word seriously means that in addition to folks being who they are, they also get to express what kind of world they long for. Assessing longing for something different means clearly understanding the desires of all communities. A desire-based approach is especially needed when creating the conditions of belonging for communities that have been historically marginalized. These communities have been typically understood from a deficit-based approach, whereby they are framed as lacking or as problems.48 While organizations may not be able to address every desire of community members, they can certainly track, attempt to understand, and do what feels possible to enact some of those desires. And it is important to recognize that not all desires are in the service of equity – desires to marginalize and erase certain communities are not a part of this framework.

## (BE)LONGING

Lastly, we put "be" and "longing" together, which reflects how desires for the present and future interact and can be realized. What conditions are needed for community members to be themselves and also have their desires for the future taken seriously? How can dominant institutions like the County and cities track and be accountable for fostering belonging? What processes are needed to ensure that present and future desires do not produce harm? Again, it may not be possible to enact every one of these desires, but understanding what they are, what they mean, and what it would take to actualize them is the goal of belonging.

# CHAPTER THREE:

# CLACKAMAS COUNTY CONTEXT

*"Data does not exist in a vacuum; it is shaped by the values and biases of those who create and analyze it. To achieve justice, we must scrutinize the algorithms and data systems that influence our lives, recognizing their potential to perpetuate systemic inequalities."*

— *Safiya Umoja Noble*[49]

---

*"To address racism, we must question and challenge the power structures that normalize and perpetuate racial inequalities."*

— *Leela Gandhi*[50]

*Lusted Road Bridge, Sandy River. Wikipedia*

**Before we share the community-led research conducted for this study, it's important to set the backdrop of how CCC came to understand the county at large from the perspective of race and ethnicity, but also geography, language, and other demographic perspectives.**

We hope this chapter will prime the reader to consider more meaningfully the needs and power of the calls to action.

## Clackamas County's Diversity by GeoRegions

Clackamas county is one of 36 counties in Oregon. It spans an area of 1,883 square miles, bordered by Happy Valley, Milwaukee, and Lake Oswego in the northwest; by Government Camp and Mt. Hood National Forest in the northeast; by the Warm Springs Reservation in the southeast; and by Wilsonville in the west.[51] This makes Clackamas county over four times larger than Oregon's smallest county (Multnomah), about five times smaller than Oregon's largest county (Harney),[52] and nearly the same size as the entire state of Delaware.[53]

According to the 2023 U.S. Census population data, 423,173 people live in Clackamas county.[54] The Census divides Clackamas County into a total of 87 census tracts. We further categorized each tract into four geographic regions ("GeoRegions": urban, suburban, rural, and wild) based on a combination of population density and housing density, which is more fully described on the website: Exploring U.S. Census Data in Clackamas County, OR.[55] According to the 2020 Census data, most tracts in Clackamas county are considered to be urban (41.2%) or suburban (39.1%), while nearly one-fifth of the tracts are rural (16.1%) or wild (3.5%) (see Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1** – Clackamas County GeoRegions Census Tracts

| CENSUS TRACTS | URBAN | SUBURBAN | RUAL | WILD | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Number of Tracts** | 36 | 34 | 14 | 3 | 87 |
| **Percent of Total** | 41.2% | 39.1% | 16.1% | 3.5% | 100% |

Based on the 2020 Census data, those identifying as people of color make up nearly a quarter of the county's population (23%). A total of 96,040 people of color reside in Clackamas county, and they live in all four GeoRegions (see Table 3.2). The percent of BIPOC folks living in each GeoRegion ranges from 13% to 27%.

## Table 3.2 – BIPOC Population by Clackamas County GeoRegions

| GEOREGION | TOTAL POPULATION | BIPOC POPULATION | % BIPOC / TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Urban | 188,028 | 50,454 | 27% |
| Suburban | 149,613 | 31,686 | 21% |
| Rual | 78,606 | 13,240 | 17% |
| Wild | 5,154 | 660 | 13% |
| Total | 421,401 | 96,040 | 23% |

Aside from English, 19 unique languages are spoken in Clackamas county; for data reporting purposes, these are grouped into 12 language categories (see Table 3.3). Across these languages, Spanish speakers account for the largest percentage of the county's total population (5.24%), while speakers of Arabic (0.21%) and other unspecified languages (0.14%) account for the smallest percentages of the county's total population. As shown in the table below, speakers of all 12 language categories live in urban, suburban, and rural regions within Clackamas county. In contrast, people living in wild regions of the county speak only languages within four of the categories (i.e., Spanish, German, Russian/Polish/Slavic, and other Indo-European languages).

## Table 3.3 – GeoRegion by Language*

| GEOREGION | SP. | FR./ HAIT./ CAJUN | GER. | RUS./ POL./ SLAV. | OTH. INDO EURO. | KOR. | CHIN./ MAND./ CANT. | VIET. | TAGAL./ FILIP. | OTH. ASIAN / P.I. | ARABIC | OTH./ UNSPEC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urban | 10,788 | 327 | 834 | 3,409 | 2,917 | 1,195 | 2,010 | 1,315 | 825 | 1,934 | 647 | 349 |
| Suburban | 7617 | 714 | 722 | 889 | 1,317 | 212 | 1,145 | 363 | 319 | 1,205 | 196 | 160 |
| Rual | 3624 | 55 | 116 | 1,455 | 294 | 7 | 146 | 168 | 175 | 444 | 50 | 85 |
| Wild | 68 | 0 | 57 | 33 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 22,097 | 1,096 | 1,730 | 5,786 | 4,562 | 1,414 | 3,301 | 1,846 | 1,319 | 3,583 | 893 | 594 |
| % of Total Population | 5.24% | 0.26% | 0.41% | 1.37% | 1.08% | 0.34% | 0.78% | 0.44% | 0.31% | 0.85% | 0.21% | 0.14% |

*Note: Abbreviations for Languages Spoken – Sp. – Spanish; Fr./Hait./Cajun – French/Haitian/Cajun; Ger. – German; Rus./Pol./Slav – Russian/Polish/Slavic; Oth.Indo Eur. – Other Indo-European; Kor. – Korean; Chin./ Mand./Cant. – Chinese/Mandarin/ Cantonese; Viet. – Vietnamese; Tagal./Filip. – Tagalog/Filipino; Oth.Asian/ P.I. – Other Asian/Pacific Islander; Arabic – Arabic; Oth./Unspec. – Other/Unspecified

When reviewing data on those who do not speak English well or at all, or have limited English proficiency, Clackamas county has an average of 4.19% residents compared to Oregon's 6.84%. The map below in Figure 3.1 shows that those with limited English proficiency exist across the entire county.

**Ability to Speak English "Not Well" for the Population 5 Years and Over by Census Tract in Clackamas County:**

This Census tract has a population of less than 100 people and can cause some of the Census data to be misleading

Speak English "Not Well" Percentage of Total Population

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020

Created by: Matthew Foley, 2022
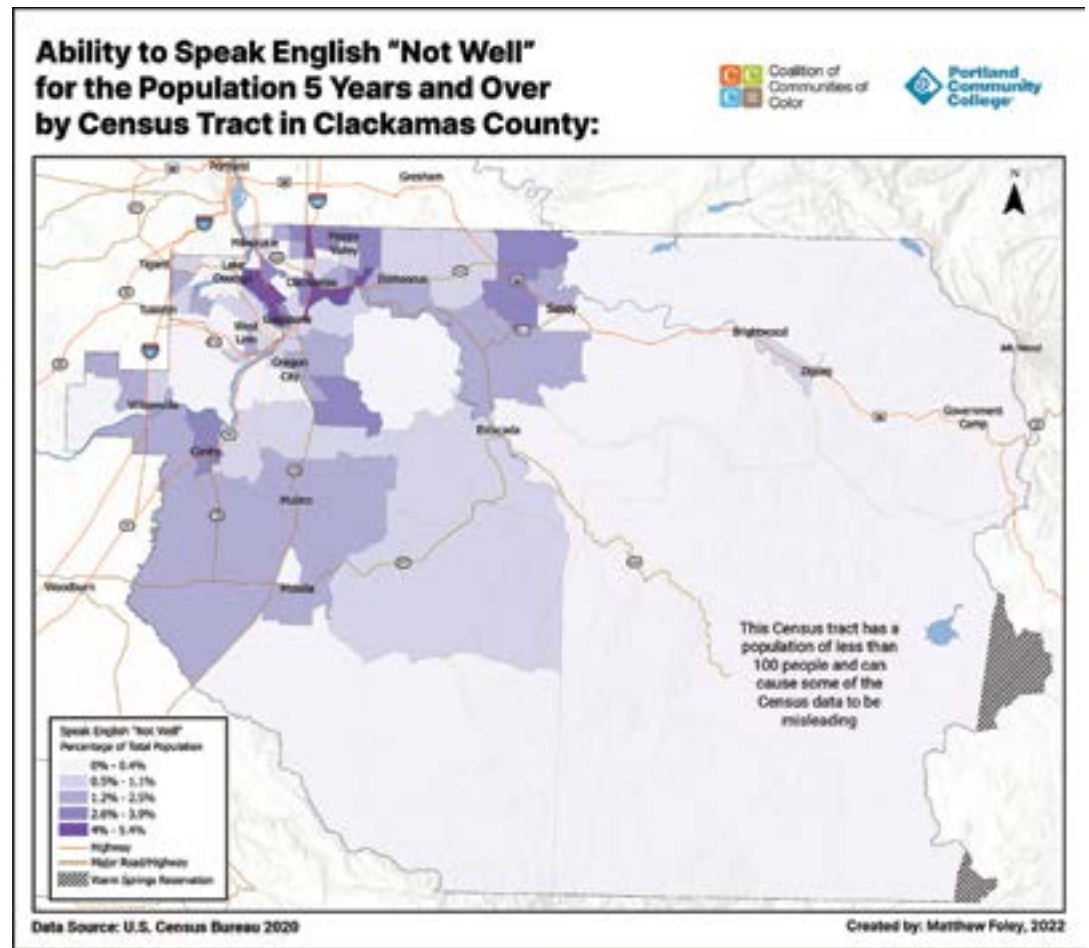
It is also important to note that, as of 2022, 96.5% of Clackamas county residents were U.S. citizens.56 Although this percentage is higher than Multnomah, Washington, Hood River, and Yamhill counties, there is a not insignificant portion of the population who are noncitizens. These truths matter because the jurisdictions are legally bound to serve all residents, regardless of immigration status.

It is critical for this study to highlight that BIPOC communities exist throughout the county and not just in the more urban areas. Beyond identifiers of race and ethnicity, we use language spoken to demonstrate the rich cultural and linguistic diversity that exists in the county. We hope this research will demonstrate how communities of color and immigrant populations are also county residents who must be served and included in decision-making for its future.

# Social Realities in Clackamas County

Drawing on population-level quantitative data, we demonstrate that disparities continue to exist between racialized groups in Clackamas county. Population-level data is the aggregation of information provided by individuals about various aspects of their identities or realities (e.g., race, gender, language(s) spoken, geography, etc.) into larger groupings. Due to large sample sizes, population-level data is used to make broad claims about groups and used to illustrate disparities between groups. In this section, we highlight population-level data that demonstrates disparities, largely between racialized groups, in the domains of housing, food systems, and transportation.

The reason we chose to write data profiles about these three domains in this chapter is simple: Our steering committee members selected topic areas in which to gather data that did not include housing, food systems, or transportation. Their data collection efforts, which eventually became the case studies presented in Chapter Six, focused on the following domains: health, education, criminal and legal system, employment, safety, and small business. Population-level quantitative data about these domains are found throughout the case studies, as well as in Appendix A. However, we knew that we could not write a complete account of BIPOC realities without including data profiles on housing, food systems, and transportation.

## *Housing*

Let's say you, the reader, have recently moved to Clackamas county. You are from another part of the world and, in the midst of finding your footing in a new culture, you are also trying to support yourself and likely your family back home. Your priority is finding a place to rest your head and hold your belongings. In Clackamas county, having sustainable and safe housing is an ever-present concern for its residents. According to the 2022 American Community Survey (ACS), 71.1% of those living in Clackamas are homeowners and 28.9% are renters. For Clackamas renters, there is a high cost burden; over half of renters spend more than 30% of their yearly income on rent.[57] This makes securing housing challenging for U.S.-born residents; navigating the housing market comes with immense hardship and struggle for those just arriving.

As the cost of living in Clackamas rises, so does the risk of homelessness. Although high rates of homelessness are associated with the Portland metro area, many Clackamas residents need help finding housing resources and access to safe and stable housing. As of 2023, 410 people in the county were experiencing homelessness, a significant reduction from the previous year (537).[58] Demographic data for 2023 is currently not available, but according to the 2022 Point in Time report, BIPOC residents have disproportionately experienced homelessness, especially in Black or African American and Native American communities.[59] The Point in Time reports are helpful in understanding houseless trends broadly. However, it is important to note that they are an undercount of individuals and families experiencing the full breadth

of housing insecurity, especially if they live outside of shelters.[60] In focus groups conducted by Unite Oregon, Clackamas county residents noted that housing services lack the capacity to support all of those in need.[61] For those who need language support, like newly arrived immigrants, most information regarding available programs and services is only in English, especially in rural areas.[62]

Among those receiving housing resources, most white folks (77.9%) are served by housing services provided by Metro.[63] Among BIPOC people, Latine (7.8%) and Native American (7.8%) communities are using Clackamas housing services the most.[64] Clackamas County's Coordinated Housing Access (CHA) data shows that there is a high need for housing services among Black and multiracial groups. In 2019, 513 households were waitlisted for services.[65] For those who just arrived, the few resources that do help prevent eviction exclude immigrants without legal status.[66] Black immigrants are among the most at risk for housing insecurity.[67] According to focus group attendees, immigration status was the main reason many were denied or did not seek housing services.[68]

### *Food Systems*
In Milwaukie, Oregon, a mural stands prominently kitty-corner to the Water Tower Park. The mural depicts three people: Ah Bing, a Chinese foreman whose namesake is one of Oregon's most famous cherries, and Dorothy and Hurtis Hadley, the proud owners of Milwaukie's first Black-owned bakery. Like so many, Bing and the Hadleys were formative to Clackamas county's history, but their contributions have been largely unrecognized.[69]

People of color have been deeply connected to our food systems while being marginalized from them. Despite their contributions, BIPOC people tend to have the least access to food. According to trend data from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Black and Latine households have been vulnerable to food insecurity.[70] In 2022, Black households (22%) had the highest percentage of food insecurity, followed closely by Latine households (21%).[71] These trends in food insecurity are reflected locally as well. In Clackamas county, there are 15,829 residents living in households with Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), or cash public assistance income in the past 12 months.[72] Among BIPOC residents receiving food stamps or SNAP benefits, those who identify as two or more races (9.0%) have the highest percentage of assistance, followed by Latine residents (4.8%).[73]

Government assistance programs like the SNAP are essential for addressing racial disparities in food security.[74] It is, however, important to note that SNAP benefits are unavailable for those who are undocumented or Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients.[75] This is especially relevant for farmworkers whose incomes ranged from $20,000 to $24,999 annually in 2019, but only 13% are utilizing SNAP.[76] Farmworkers – migrant, seasonal, and permanent – are essential to Oregon's food systems. It is estimated that in the Willamette Valley there were 90,000 farmworkers

in 2013.[77] In Clackamas county, of the 12,296 agricultural workers, over half were estimated to be migrant and seasonal farmworkers.[78] Many farmworkers are unable to access the very food they are essential to producing because they are prohibited from or too afraid to receive food assistance.[79] This furthers the urgency and need for healthy, culturally specific foods in Clackamas county and beyond.

Agriculture is a $22 billion industry in Oregon, but despite BIPOC people's labor and contributions, they are not reaping the benefits.[80] There are 4,156 farms in Clackamas county; however there are far fewer BIPOC producers compared to white producers (see Table 3.4).[81]

**TABLE 3.4 –** Race and Ethnicity of Farmworkers in Clackamas County

| RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS | # OF PRODUCERS | # OF FARMS OWNED |
|---|---|---|
| **American Indian Alaskan Native** | 45 | 38 |
| **Asian American** | 92 | 72 |
| **Black or African-American** | 12 | 12 |
| **Latine** | 12 | 9 |
| **Native Hawaiian / Other Pacific Islander** | 190 | 167 |
| **More than One Race** | 71 | 71 |
| **White** | 7,816 | 4,111 |

There are many barriers that new farmers face that prevent success in Oregon. Sixty percent of farm owners, part-time owners, or tenants in Clackamas county have an additional occupation.[82] Land is a limited resource, and farmers need a specific amount in order for their endeavors to be lucrative.[83] This is becoming a greater issue, especially as the urban boundaries grow and the demand for land from other industries increases.[84] Agritourism and short-term housing is a growing and increasingly powerful industry in rural places. These businesses often outbid new farmers or fracture farmland, which makes it less profitable and unable to be used for farming again.[85] This practice also drives up land prices and adds an additional barrier for new and existing farmers. Courts are beginning to prevent land use for short-term rentals, but more resources need to be available for BIPOC farmers to have equity in the agricultural industry.[86]

### *Transportation*
In Clackamas county, the vast majority of residents are driving to get around, especially to work.[87] Most commuters work in the county (75.4%), but some travel outside the county (21.5%) to get to work.[88] Transportation accessibility is vital in order to connect residents with their livelihoods; changes to transportation must lead with equity. In 2020, the Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) proposed adding tolling to the I-205, one of the major interstate highways connecting cities in Clacka-

mas county to the I-5.[89] The proposed toll was to be placed on the Abernethy Bridge, between Oregon City, West Linn, and Gladstone (see Figure 3.2).

Given that the majority of Clackamas residents use vehicles to get around Clackamas, residents voiced their concerns about the toll's impact. ODOT community engagements found that the majority (71%) of community members strongly disagreed with the goals and purpose of the toll project. There was dissent especially among Black and American Indian and Alaska Native communities, who drove the most in the region.[90] The participants in the engagement had many concerns regarding the project, including its impact on low-income residents.[91] The project was supposed to be completed in 2025, but in light of strong community dissent, it has been paused by Gov. Kotek.[92]

In Clackamas county, there are few public transportation options, especially in the more rural areas (see Figure 3.3). However, many residents still rely on available public transit. In the county, 16% of Latine and 15% of Mutliracial residents use public transit to get to work.[93] With the help of funding provided by the state legislature in 2017, Clackamas county has made moves to develop their transportation systems with BIPOC and rural residents in mind.[94] The Transit Development Plan was approved by the County Commission in 2021, and its goal is to increase transit options throughout the county.[95]

**FIGURE 3.3**

Current Public
Transit Route in
Clackamas
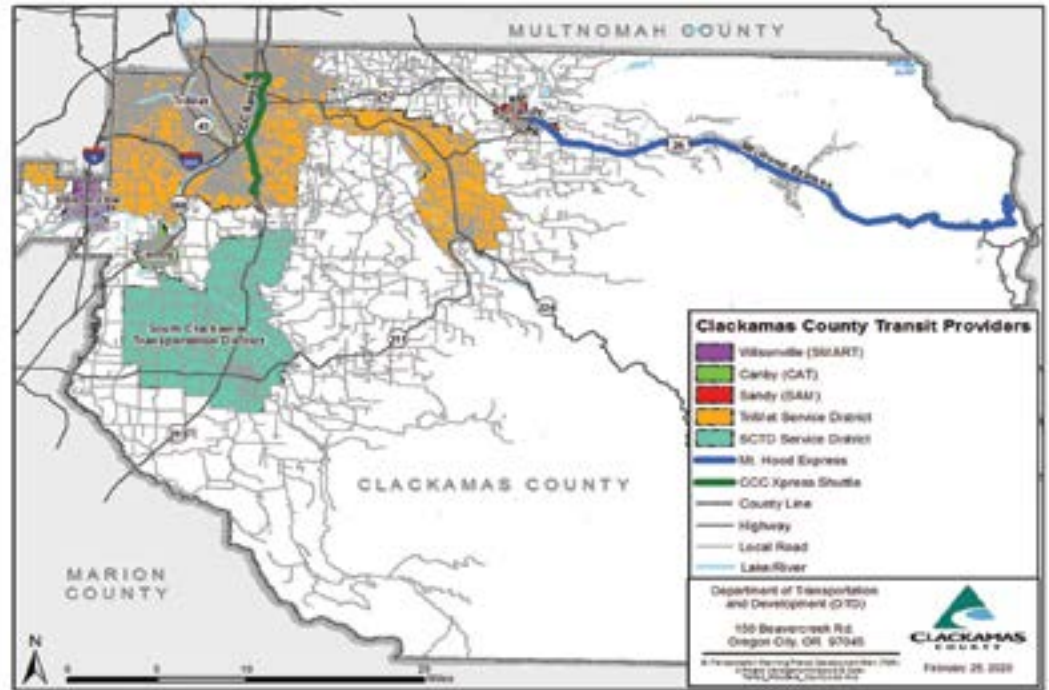
Clackamas County has conducted multiple transportation-related community engagements including a survey, advisory committees, small group listening sessions, and targeted outreach to community planning and Latine-serving organizations.[96] These engagements are demonstrating how community knowledge and feedback can make services more equitable and inclusive.[97] Although equity has seemed unwelcomed in Clackamas county, it remains an important part of how changes like the toll and expansion of public transit are considered and enacted (or not).

## Focusing on Systems Change and Community Experiences

So far, we have provided information about Clackamas county and its BIPOC residents from the perspective of quantitative disparity data, or information that shows "a noticeable and usually significant difference or dissimilarity"[98] for some groups over others. While these data can point to significant inequities between groups and give us a population-level understanding of certain issues, they do not give us the path toward addressing those issues. Further, most disparity data comes from administrative databases that are meant to track how individuals interact with systems rather than provide insights into why the inequity exists or how to address it. Unfortunately, decision-makers often rely on the presumed reliability of numbers to guide them in decision-making. Quantitative disparity data in particular is most often presented as the most trustworthy evidence.

It is our intention to share disparity data here and throughout the case studies in order to demonstrate that inequities continue to exist. These data show us that BIPOC com-

munities living in Clackamas county experience a different reality than white folks. These differences in realities and outcomes are systemic rather than individual. This means that disparities are not reproduced because of "bad actors" in communities of color and irresponsible behavior of people of color; inequity continues to be reproduced at the institutional level and therefore impacts entire populations. Our systems have a racism issue, meaning they treat and impact folks differently based on race. We explain more about how this has been a part of the historical legacy of the U.S. and Clackamas county in Chapter Five; the case study data in Chapter Six provides further evidence of these truths.
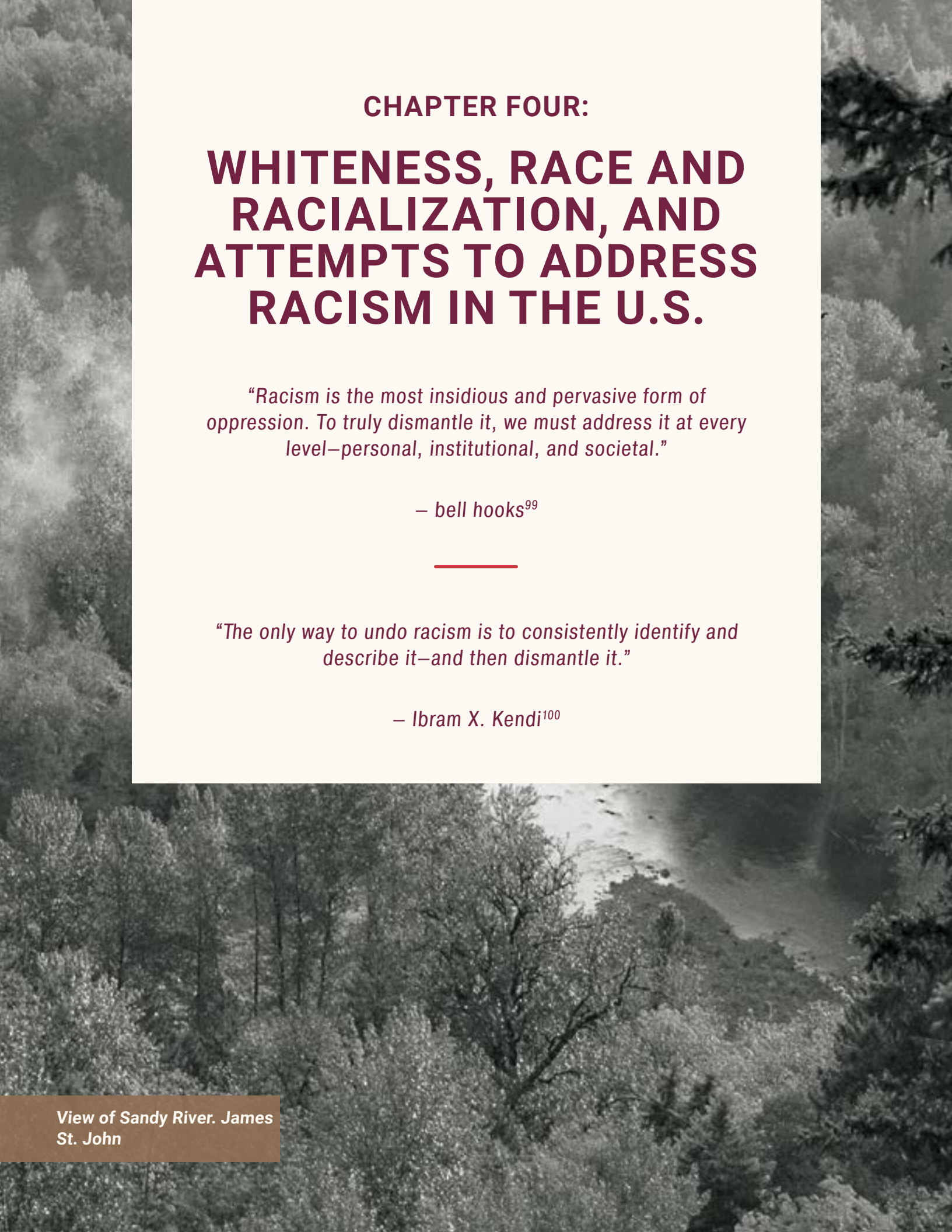
The good news is that as we become more aware of how systems perpetuate racism – and the mechanisms that fuel racism, like laws and policies – we have the power to change these systems. While individuals also reproduce racism and do harm, our efforts will be far more effective if we focus on the systems. No matter how far we get individually, little changes if our systems remain the same.

Finally, we want to be clear that we do not center disparity data in how we define, measure, or assess justice. Instead, we turn to community experiences and desires, like those captured in this report, for the most meaningful solutions to inequity in the county.

We end this chapter with some key insights that were deeply felt and heard from community members throughout this research justice process. We spent nearly the entire first year of this research building relationships – meeting with organizations, businesses, groups, and individuals from across the county. In the process of recruiting members of the steering committee, who led and guided the bulk of the research process, we spoke with over 100 BIPOC residents and learned a great deal about their experiences living in the county. During this period, we heard many of the following narratives from BIPOC community members, and these truths guided our research approach and understanding of the county at large. We share them here so readers will keep them in mind throughout this report. BIPOC community members choose to live in Clackamas county for many good reasons, but overwhelmingly, they want it to be an even better place to live, work, worship, and play.

- "I do not know anybody who lives in Clackamas from my community [South Asian], and I've lived here for 20 years"
- "We worship, play, eat, and connect with our community [Indonesian] outside of Clackamas county"
- "We are only invited to the table when they benefit from it and then after we share our experiences we never hear back from them"
- "We want to better support and be inclusive of communities of color, but we don't know how or where to begin"
- "I've worked in the county for 18 years and never met another Native person here until today"

CHAPTER FOUR:

# WHITENESS, RACE AND RACIALIZATION, AND ATTEMPTS TO ADDRESS RACISM IN THE U.S.

*"Racism is the most insidious and pervasive form of oppression. To truly dismantle it, we must address it at every level—personal, institutional, and societal."*

*— bell hooks*[99]

———

*"The only way to undo racism is to consistently identify and describe it—and then dismantle it."*

*— Ibram X. Kendi*[100]

*View of Sandy River. James St. John*

# In Chapter Two, we laid out how the concept of belonging led to the vision for this research and the methodology that guided it.

Chapter Three presented data that demonstrated the depths of inequities that we are up against. How can a focus on belonging address these inequities? In order to answer this question, we need to grasp how perceptions of who does and does not belong emerged in the U.S. In the next section, we discuss how ideas around belonging and its counterpart, othering, have worked to reinforce each other throughout U.S. history. We move on to unpack the concept of whiteness and how it is implicated in perceptions of belonging and othering. We then discuss the meanings of race and racialization, as these are critical – but often misunderstood or misrepresented – to understanding people's lived experiences and how institutions have been organized to perpetuate harm. Finally, we end this chapter by reviewing some of the attempts to address racism and why they have fallen short.

*In the U.S., those who are deemed white or who support the project of whiteness are centered*

## Perceptions of Belonging and Othering in the U.S.

The concept of belonging has been central to the discussion of the U.S. American identity since the founding of the U.S. nation-state in the 1700s. Who belongs, or who is "American," historically speaking, has most often been used to other certain groups perceived as "undesirable," dividing "us" from "them," reinforcing narratives about who is "truly" American, and supporting varying types of exclusionary policies that have caused generational trauma, loss of wealth, and a distrust of the U.S.

For example, during the Great Depression (1930s) in the U.S., racism, xenophobia, and anxiety propelled a strategy to create jobs for "real Americans" (code for white people) by forcefully removing two million Mexicans and Mexican Americans, up to 60% of whom were U.S. citizens. This effort was called Mexican Repatriation.[101] A decade later, during World War II, fear and anger after the bombing on Pearl Harbor led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 9066. This ultimately led to the forced removal and incarceration of 122,000 Japanese adults and children (approximately 70,000 were U.S. citizens) to internment camps. This resulted in the loss of all personal liberties, businesses, and other property, estimated at $1.3 billion, with net income loss at $2.7 billion.[102] Fast-forward to September 11, 2001, when the World Trade Center and Pentagon were attacked by hijacked passenger planes. This tragedy led to a slew of anti-Muslim stereotypes, misconceptions, property damage, hate crimes, curbing of civil liberties, and policies that still exclude and harm millions of Muslim Americans today.[103] According to a Pew Research Center study, in 2002, most Americans (73%) did not see Islam as an inherently evil religion, compared to 2020, where 73% of Republicans saw it as such.[104] Changing beliefs and attitudes about who does or does not belong in this country have always served to marginalize

and harm, often communities of color, through the act of "othering" – treating some-one or a group of people as different, not part of the larger group.  At the same time, deciding who belongs and who is othered has been fundamental for understanding the U.S. experience. The role of whiteness in particular is central to this process.

## Whiteness

In the U.S., those who are deemed white or who support the project of whiteness are centered. Those who are not white or do not subscribe to whiteness, mostly people of color and immigrants who are not deemed white, are in constant danger of being othered or rejected as not American. We use the term American here specifically to refer to the way in which whiteness or white people have become synonymous with the label of American, or a U.S. national identity. In this section, we explore how the category of white was formed, how that impacted the lives of newly arrived immi-grants, and how these newly arrived immigrants responded – desiring to be lumped into a white dominant group and distancing themselves from Black folks, in particular. Following this section, we move on to discuss the concept of race, how racialization works, and its impact on structural realities.

The process of creating whiteness and who does and does not get to belong to it is well studied and documented. Between 1790 and 1952, "free white persons" were the only group allowed to be naturalized as citizens in the U.S.[105] While European and Mexican immigrants were categorized as white under the law, by 1930, 80% of North-ern and Western Europeans and 60% of Southern and Eastern Europeans were nat-uralized compared to only 9% of Mexican men. This demonstrates that regardless of what the law states, there are other social and cultural forces at play that dictate who does or does not belong in the U.S. Much of that determination has to do with who is deemed white. How some groups achieved the status of "free white persons'' while others did not was due to the degree of political and social alignment with white elites and the degree of distance from, in particular, Black people. In other words, Black-ness has been positioned, throughout U.S. history, in opposition to whiteness; the process of racialization has been one of placing groups either in proximity to white-ness or in proximity to Blackness. Power and privileges are afforded accordingly.

Historians have detailed these processes across various groups throughout U.S. his-tory. David Roediger (1991) explores whiteness as a social construct and source of privilege through the experiences of European immigrant workers in the 19th cen-tury.[106] He demonstrates that a "white" identity was partly forged as a strategy for Northern workers to align themselves with their bosses and political elites. Psycho-logical and ideological mechanisms coalesced into the development of white work-ing-class racism. Mechanisms as broad ranging as the consumption of blackface culture, the language used to describe working-class folks, and racist practices in the workplace and in everyday life all served to position white workers – many of whom were European immigrants – in opposition to Black people. Other historians also provide similar analysis of ethnic groups arriving as workers in the U.S. navigating

race, learning how to align and assimilate themselves with whiteness to be treated fairly, and distancing themselves from Black folks to avoid being othered.[107] Loewen (1987) demonstrates that Asians, who were considered nonwhite, found ways to align with whiteness but not quite achieve it, holding a middle position between white and Black.[108] This is why the "model minority" trope, which typically applies to Asians, is so harmful and anti-Black: It positions Asian minority groups as "model citizens" because of their supposed aspirations to emulate and be in proximity to whiteness, while distancing themselves from Blackness. There are so many instances throughout U.S. history and today when non-Black and especially immigrant communities find themselves in a racialization process where they align themselves with "white ethnics" so as not to be othered and treated or seen the same as Black folks.[109] This is not to demean the real and harmful experiences of prejudice and discrimination experienced by many white and nonwhite immigrant groups in the U.S., but to emphasize the fact that many of them avoid even further harm by adopting and not challenging anti-Blackness.

Our discussion so far has focused on what scholars call the racialization process. In the next section, we unpack the meaning of race and racialization.

## Race and Racialization

Race is and is not real. On the one hand, race is not real because genetically (e.g., DNA), as humans, most (94%) physical variation exists within so-called racial groups (e.g., Black-Black) and not between them (6%) (e.g., Black-white).[110] In other words, Black folks are more genetically different from each other than they are from white folks. So ideas of white and Black folks, or any other pairing of racial groups, being genetically different is not accurate. On the other hand, race is real because throughout history, there have been social and cultural processes of racialization – the assigning of racial meaning to relationships, social practices, and groups.[111] In other words, race is not biological, and inequalities premised on race exist because of the social and cultural realities that made them and continue to reproduce them. This means that racialization is an active process that happens in all sorts of contexts and has been baked into and continues to thrive in U.S. social institutions (e.g., disparities and discrimination across race and ethnicity in education, health, food, media, religion, the justice system, agriculture, etc.) and cultural beliefs (e.g., "Black men are thugs or gangsters"; "Latinos are the hardest workers ever"; "Asians are the model minority").

Racism, a byproduct of racialization, is not simply about prejudice or discrimination against dark-skinned bodies; this is called "colorism" and exists within and between racial and ethnic groups across the globe, and even has before European colonization.[112] Instead, racism encompasses prejudice, discrimination, and the uneven distribution of resources based on categories of perceived or assigned racial status. So it's not just about applying bias to those who have darker skin, but also about the racial status assigned to groups and how individuals – personally and through inter-

actions – organizations, and institutions treat these groups differently. Perceived or assigned racial status lumps people from various cultures, backgrounds, religions, languages, and unique histories into racial categories. Especially in the U.S., disparities can be seen in how these groups of people have different experiences and realities due to that racialization. In the United States, there is a long history of creating these distinctions, and our systems (e.g., housing, transportation, education) are built and maintained in ways that perpetuate inequities for some groups and not others. Therefore, we cannot fix racism by only working hard individually to not judge people of a certain skin tone. While this is an important aspect of addressing racism at the individual level, it changes little about the organizations, institutions, and environments that perpetuate racialization. Race is even more important in the U.S. than in many other nations because whiteness was created as a national identity and social distinction that developed over centuries of immigrants arriving in the U.S. and going through processes of becoming American.

In the next and final section of this chapter, we present a concise history of attempts to address racism in the U.S.

## Attempts to Address Racism

If racism is essentially made through a racialization process that implicates individuals, organizations, and institutions, how do we unmake it? Many of the strategies to combat inequity among groups of people are outlined in this report and can be achieved by considering how to make a neighborhood, city, a county, or a country a place of belonging for all and not one where some belong and the rest are othered. To work toward belonging for all with integrity, it is instructive to understand how past attempts have fallen short of addressing racism, so as not to reproduce the same logics and efforts.

The passage of several civil rights laws in the 1960s – the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, for instance – signaled a monumental culmination of decades of anti-racist mobilization and protests led largely by Black people in the South and supported by white allies and other communities of color across the country. With the outlawing of discriminatory employment and voting practices like literacy tests, as well as the explicit banning of redlining and other exclusionary housing practices, the prevailing popular sentiment was that racism in the U.S. had been addressed through the law.

But as important as these laws are, they didn't stamp out racism. In the decades since their passage, the U.S. has had an exponential rise in housing and educational segregation, Black and Latine communities have been ravaged by the war on drugs, and there has been a dramatic disproportionality in the rates of Black and Brown people who are incarcerated compared to white people, with a long history of Black folks getting harsher and longer punishments compared to white people for the same crimes.[113] The disparities continue, and study upon study shows that it is racialization,

not educational attainment or level of income, that is consistently a predictor of these disparate outcomes.[114]

So why did these laws that were meant to protect everyone's civil rights fall short of addressing racism? According to Ibram X. Kendi, it's because they failed to account for the past; in other words, the laws did not consider how injustices committed in the past accrue in the present, like compounding interest, to produce outcomes that continue to reflect those injustices.

> *The 1964 act ended up principally outlawing "intention to discriminate" in the present. Intent – not outcome – became the preferred proof of discrimination. Evidence of intent to create the racial disparity – like the "white only" sign – became the principal marker of discrimination, not the racial disparity itself, nor the absence of people of color.*[115]
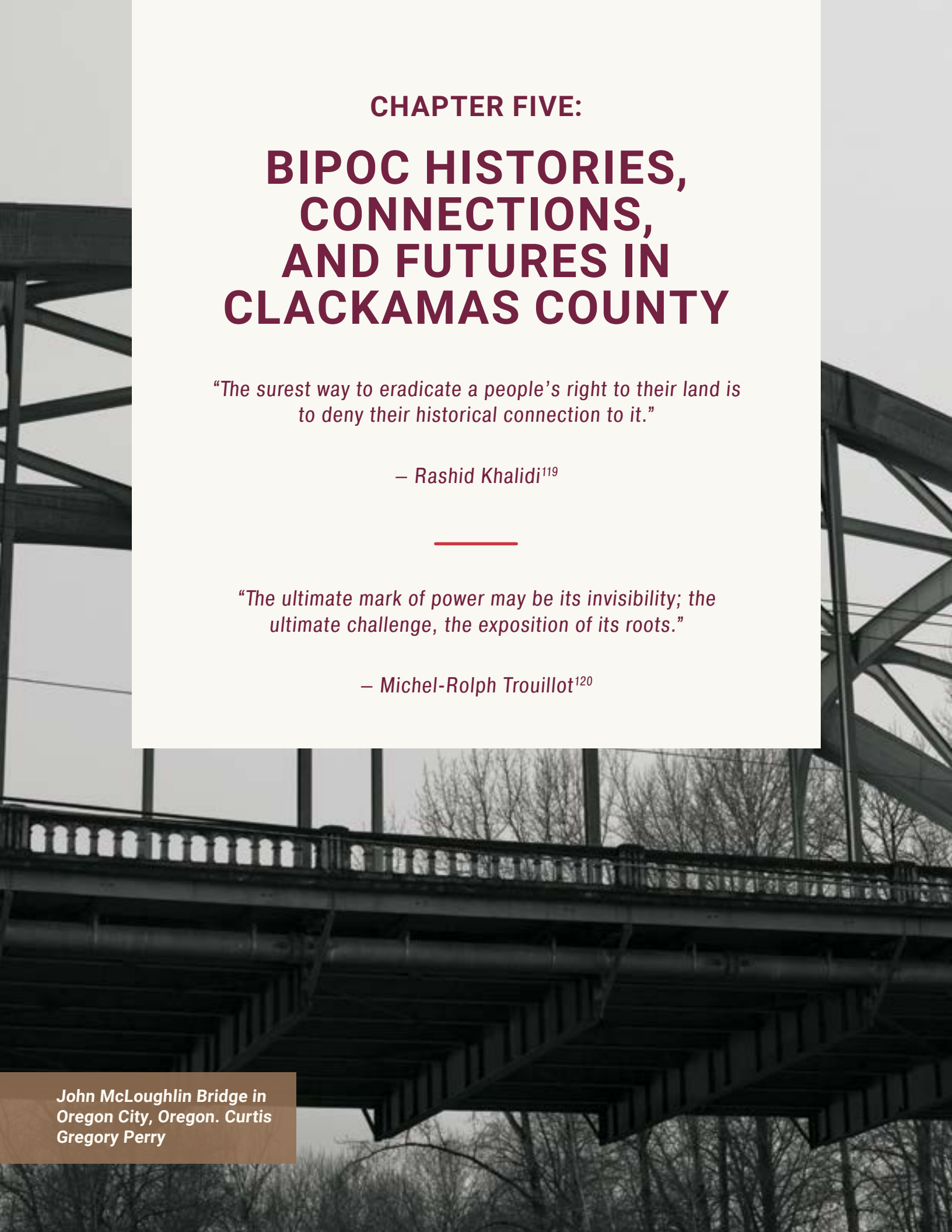
Instead of collectively recognizing the limitations of the law and pursuing more historically reparative forms of justice, the U.S. population has been steered ideologically toward "colorblindness." This meant that children were raised not to see race, or to claim that race does not play a factor in how they treat people. While at first this idea seems powerful in mitigating interpersonal racism, and especially meaningful for white people who wanted to distance themselves from centuries of overt racism, scholars argue that racial colorblindness in fact mostly supports a new way to deny that racism exists at all and furthers more subtle forms of discrimination.[116]

Most recently, we've witnessed racial colorblind ideology influence the reasoning behind rolling back many civil rights era gains, especially affirmative action. This was a policy designed to actually take stock of and correct the historical harms inflicted on women and people of color who had, for centuries, been denied access to universities and colleges because of their gender and race. However, for decades, the courts have been challenging whether affirmative action is constitutional, often leaning on the fallacy of "reverse racism," or that affirmative action discriminates against white people. Instead, the argument goes, everyone, regardless of race, should be admitted based solely on their merits and achievements. This is how racial colorblindness, under the guise of "fairness," erases any recognition of how injustices of the past continue to resonate in the present. How can admittance be based solely on merits and achievements when structurally our society does not offer everyone a fair start or access to opportunities that allow anyone from any background or location in the country to be competitive at the same level?[117]

Instead of cultivating a culture of anti-racists fighting against racist ideals, laws, businesses, processes, and organizations and institutions, we have become a country that collectively believes that racism is over because we mostly all agreed to not see racism anymore. Denying the very existence of racism, and in particular its structural components (e.g., organizational and institutions), is alive and well. Presently, we have come to a point where attempting to redress harms experienced by any mar-

ginalized group – whether people of color, gender and sexual minorities, women, and religious minorities, for example – is seen as an attack on the very core of "American-ness" led by the so-called "woke mob."

Those who believe that the core of American identity is being threatened have weaponized legislation to push through abortion bans, anti-trans bills that target gender-affirming care, anti-drag bills that recycle old tropes about child abuse, and anti-Shariah bills that generate hysteria and moral panic about unfounded claims that Islamic law is infiltrating the U.S. These tactics all share a willful "unseeing" of the legacies of historic oppressions and therefore do not believe in the repair work needed to address their legacies in the present. This is why belonging is a powerful goal to work toward: It challenges and resists the cultural rigidity that shapes why those in power feel threatened by even proposed or theoretical advancements of people they consider "other." Belonging peels away the layers to get to the core of why certain groups get to be fully American and why others do not.[118]

# CHAPTER FIVE:

# BIPOC HISTORIES, CONNECTIONS, AND FUTURES IN CLACKAMAS COUNTY

*"The surest way to eradicate a people's right to their land is to deny their historical connection to it."*

— Rashid Khalidi[119]

———

*"The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots."*

— Michel-Rolph Trouillot[120]

*John McLoughlin Bridge in Oregon City, Oregon. Curtis Gregory Perry*

# Introduction: Communities of Color Are Foundational to Clackamas County's History

If one day, dear reader, you decide to visit some of Clackamas county's historical sites, you'll have many options available. Your itinerary could begin at Willamette Falls and Oregon City; you might venture farther east and visit Sandy; you could end your tour by heading southwest to Molalla.

At Willamette Falls, you'll peer over the lookout to see the vast remnants of factories and other industries that benefited from the second most powerful waterfall in the country. As you take in the view, you'll encounter a historical marker that reads:

> *Was early the site of an Indian salmon fishing village. The falls furnished the power for a lumber mill which began operation in 1842, a flour mill in 1844, a woolen mill in 1864 and the first paper mill in the Pacific Northwest in 1867. The first long distance commercial electric power transmission in the United States was from this area to the City of Portland in 1889.*

*This chapter is our humble attempt to grapple with questions of power concerning the history of Clackamas county and, at times, Oregon*

At Oregon City, you'll be welcomed by a sign that reads "End of the Oregon Trail Historic Site," and you may spend some time visiting the McLoughlin House, the residence of John McLoughlin, founder and mayor of Oregon City. In Sandy, you may stop at the Sandy Historical Society, which is situated on the original Barlow Road, an overland extension of the Oregon Trail that helped clear the way for thousands of people to go farther west. In Molalla, you could take a self-guided tour of historic homes, churches, and commercial buildings dating back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

This modest itinerary is merely a taste of historical preservation and memorializing efforts in Clackamas county. They are definitely impressive. And it is essential to acknowledge that the most prevalent and well-resourced historical accounts about Clackamas county are the stories of white pioneers or settlers, a history that begins in the 19th century when the Oregon Territory was established. This dominant history tells us that the early white pioneers who settled in Oregon were hearty and brave, having endured the treacherous journey out west. They were resourceful and willing to risk so much for a piece of freedom. Their entrepreneurial spirit advanced industry by harnessing the abundant natural resources of the land. This is largely the history you'll learn about in your tour of Clackamas county.

What you'll hear less about – if at all – is the history of systematic land theft from Indigenous nations and broken treaties, all of which ensured that millions of acres of land were "freely" available to predominantly white settlers. There may be a nod here and there to the precolonization presence of Indigenous peoples, as in the historical marker stating that Willamette Falls "was early the site of an Indian salmon fishing

village." On your tour, you'll likely not learn that Jacob Vanderpool, a Black business owner living in Oregon City in the 1800s, was expelled from Oregon under the state's Black exclusion laws. There will be little mention of rampant anti-Chinese violence in the late 1800s, much of it centered in Oregon City, due to white nativist perceptions that Chinese people were taking their jobs and causing economic instability. Your journey through Clackamas county history may give you the impression that not much of consequence was happening in the region prior to white settlement in the 1840s. In fact, an official government video published on the #ClackCo YouTube channel states that "the county has a rich history dating back to 1843."[121] You may not learn that prior to 1848, Mexico's border extended to just south of current-day Ashland, Oregon, and that Mexicans were part of an extensive multiethnic and multilingual trading network that existed in the region for centuries.

Why is there so little knowledge and awareness about this history across Clackamas county and across Oregon? To answer this question honestly, we need to unpack how power operates. As Trouillot reminds us, "The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility,"[122] but we can learn about its workings by carefully observing its footprints. Our awareness of history – whose stories are being told and what is deemed worthy of remembering – occurs because of the multiple and tangible ways that power manifests. This can include:

- How funding is accessed and allocated, and by whom

- How school curricula are designed and taught, and by whom

- What books and articles get published, and by whom

- How the archives are organized and accessed, and by whom

- What is publicly displayed in museums

- What is considered "legitimate" recounting of history

This chapter is our humble attempt to grapple with questions of power concerning the history of Clackamas county and, at times, Oregon. While we don't directly address how power operates in all the ways listed above – several of the calls to action later in this report do – we try our best here to present those histories that are not being told, the implications of this erasure, and what can be done to make these histories more visible.

### *Writing History Means Making Choices – These Are Ours*
The histories presented here rely largely on formal, documented accounts; this is a limitation, and we want to be transparent about it. This limitation means that we made the decision to focus our historical accounts on four communities of color: Indigenous, Black, Chinese, and Latine. But just because a written account about a community is not available or accessible does not mean that the community has no history in or connection to a place. For instance, we know there is a history of Native Hawaiians settling in the region, at least as far back as the late 1800s. Although we

have not been able to access much historical documentation of Native Hawaiians' story in Clackamas county – nor other Pacific Islander histories – we do know that they were explicitly excluded from laws that granted land at no cost to white settlers in Oregon (as were Black people).[123] We know that despite these racist laws, Native Hawaiians were able to build livelihoods for themselves in the region. This lack of historical knowledge and representation should be seen as a call to action for more awareness about BIPOC histories in Clackamas county and more support and resources for organizations and individuals who are doing the hard work of uncovering these histories.

Next, we want to remind readers that this chapter is one part of a larger research justice study. This study, grounded in the everyday lived experiences of people of color in Clackamas county, was not intended to be a historical study of communities of color. But we very quickly realized that narratives about Clackamas county – namely, that it is a predominantly white county – needed the historical context to understand why this reality exists. We chose to write these historical sections to emphasize that people of color have deep connections to this place and that their relatively small numbers is by design. The history of Oregon cannot be told without accounting for the power of white supremacy. It shaped laws and policies designed to make Oregon a white-only state and positioned people of color largely as threats to white possession of land, rights, and freedom. It legalized the dispossession, exclusion, punishment, and exploitation of people of color. Is it any wonder that Oregon is so white?

Finally, the histories presented in this chapter are not meant to be exhaustive or even authoritative. While they are thoroughly researched and cited, they are meant to be a starting point for understanding the connections and presence that many communities of color have had to Clackamas county for a very long time. These histories are written to help us better understand how white supremacy and institutional racism – the laws and policies fueled by white supremacy – have impacted communities of color, how they continue to reverberate today, and what is being done to address these historic harms. We recognize that in the space of this chapter, we cannot comprehensively write the histories of so many people and communities who call Clackamas county their home or have a deep connection to the place. There are many organizations and individuals doing the excellent work of making BIPOC histories visible and accessible; we wish to recognize and acknowledge this work here and provide resources for readers to learn more about these histories.

### Chapter Road Map

We want to take you on a different historic tour of Clackamas county, one that centers the stories, histories, and legacies of communities of color in the region. The chapter is divided into four historical profiles that highlight Indigenous, Black, Chinese, and Latine connections to Clackamas county. The fifth and final section is a conversation with an Oregon-based historian on unsettling the white pioneer narrative and how to raise public awareness of BIPOC histories in Oregon. The five sections of this chapter are:

*Willamette River Falls at Oregon City, Clackamas County, Oregon, 1968*

# Indigenous Histories in Clackamas County: Navigating Colonial Systems and Reclaiming Rights to Willamette Falls

## Connections to the Land Since Time Immemorial

It is critical to understand and recognize the depth of connection that Indigenous communities have to what is today referred to as Willamette Falls. Native people say they have been on this land since "time immemorial," but what does this mean? Time immemorial refers to a time so unimaginably long ago that it is beyond any kind of formal documentation or written account. It is a notion that challenges the way time is understood from a Western, Eurocentric perspective. The latter is rooted in accounting for the linear passage of time through a series of documented events, with each event building toward "progress." This ensures that the very concept of history is the trajectory of progress whereby Europeans and their descendants are positioned as the primary drivers of innovation, culture, and civilization.

Whereas dominant, Western, Eurocentric understandings of history focus on the progression of what is directly recorded, time immemorial presents an understanding of history by what is not directly recorded. Indigenous people's claim to the land since time immemorial means that they have not only been connected to the land for tens of thousands of years (based on the most recent archaeological evidence), but also that this connection to land through deep time and deep place-making persists generation after generation through stories, myths, and ceremonies that constitute worldviews centered on how to be in good relation with the land. In Aileen Moreton-Robinson's book *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*, she writes in the chapter called "I Still Call Australia Home,"

> *The ancestral beings created animals, plants, humans, and the physiographic features of the country associated with them. They also established the Aboriginal ways of life: a moral code for its social institutions and patterns of activity. Ancestral beings provided the rules for what can and cannot be done through both good and bad behavior. Ancestral beings are immortal. They are creatures of the Dreaming who moved across the country leaving behind possessions, which designate specific sites of significance.* [124]

The era of "Dreaming" represents time immemorial for Indigenous people in Australia. This deep history of place-making is passed down through stories, songs, ceremonies, and paintings and other art forms. However, these elements – stories, songs, ceremonies, and art – are not considered "factual" or "objective" accounts of the passage of time or history by white dominant culture. Yet, the knowledge of home

and sense of belonging is deeply rooted in the connection between time immemorial, the present, and the future.

In Oregon, the federally recognized Indigenous nations with cultural, economic, and political connections to the Willamette Falls since time immemorial include the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, the Nez Perce Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, and the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde. These sovereign nations represent the diversity of peoples who have long-standing relationships with this region and for whom the falls are essential for shaping a sense of belonging to this place.

> *Willamette Falls is a place of immense importance to Northwest Tribes since time immemorial, as an economic, social and cultural gathering place for fishing and harvesting lamprey eels and cultural activities.*[125]

However, the more recent history of the Willamette Falls is one of possession and ownership by white settlers for the purposes of extracting natural resources, supporting the expansion of settlements, and generating profits and concentrated wealth. In addition, Indigenous nations and communities have been removed from their lands to far-off reservations, and in some cases, their sovereign status has been terminated. Furthermore, a history of broken treaties between Indigenous nations and the U.S. government[126] has led to the marginalization of Indigenous ways of practicing belonging and connecting to the falls.

## Colonialism and Institutional Betrayal

Since the 1800s, the falls have been a source of industrial growth and expansion, "providing energy to power lumber, flour, woolen and paper mills, and a brick-making operation. In 1889, it was the site of the world's first long-distance electrical power transmission line."[127] This expansion was fueled by the influx of white settlers who were given land at no cost by the U.S. government.

The 1850 Oregon Land Donation Act was one of the most consequential laws that enabled the settlement of vast amounts of lands in Oregon. However, the law was clear about who could be given land: white men and married white women. Land could also be acquired by so-called "American half-breed Indians" who were citizens or intended to be; this category was created to further dispossess Native people and to incentivize assimilation into white society. In terms of how much land was to be given, the 1850 law states the following:

> *That there shall be, and hereby is, granted to every white settler or occupant of the public lands, American half-breed Indians included, above the age of eighteen years, being a citizen of the United States, or having made a declaration according*

*to law, of his intention to become a citizen, or who shall make such declaration on or before the first day of December, eighteen hundred and fifty, and who shall have resided upon and cultivated the same for four consecutive years, and shall otherwise conform to the provisions of this act, the quantity of one half section, or **three hundred and twenty acres of land, if a single man, and if a married man, or if he shall become married within one year from the first day of December, eighteen hundred and fifty, the quantity of one section, or six hundred and forty acres**, one half to himself and the other half to his wife.*[128]

It's important to understand that this 1850 law is part of the settler colonial governing structure that was, and in many ways continues to be, premised on several ideological commitments by the U.S. government and white settlers, including:

- Indigenous people are savage and uncivilized; the so-called "Indian Problem" could only be addressed by forced assimilation, removal from their lands onto reservations, or extermination

- Most of the land is empty, uninhabited, and belonging to no one (terra nullius)[129]

- Western European Christians, and especially those who are racialized as white, have a God-given right to occupy and own the land. This ideology was captured in the doctrine of discovery[130] and Manifest Destiny[131]

These ideological commitments set the foundation for much of the history of Indigenous dispossession, treaty-making and -breaking, and ongoing conflicts around defining and reinstating Indigenous rights to and sovereignty over the land. In particular, the fishing and hunting rights to "usual and accustomed" land – the language typically written in treaty agreements between sovereign Tribal governments and the U.S. government – has been a source of contention between different Tribal nations, including the rights to the Willamette Falls.

For example, the four "Columbia River Treaty Tribes" – Nez Perce, Umatilla, Warm Springs, and Yakama – entered into a treaty in 1855 with the U.S. government. The terms of the treaty included ceding millions of acres of land to the U.S. government in return for peace and, among others, "reservation of particular rights...the tribes held prior to the treaty...One was the right to harvest fish in all the tribes' usual and accustomed areas...both on and off their reservations."[132] One of the traditional fishing areas claimed by these nations as "usual and accustomed" is Willamette Falls. However, this is not a universally accepted claim. The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, a confederation that includes many tribes from the Coast, Willamette Valley, and Southern Oregon areas, does not agree with the claims of the Columbia River Treaty Tribes. This dispute has come to a head recently; we will discuss this in the next section. Here, it is important to understand the tumultuous history of Grand Ronde and how the U.S. government, through its colonial laws, has consistently betrayed

the Tribes – a common experience for most Tribal nations across Turtle Island.

In 1855, the federal government negotiated the Coast Treaty, which created a reservation for Tribal nations from western, southern, and coastal Oregon – many of which would confederate into the Grand Ronde nation. The treaty was never ratified by Congress but, nevertheless, Native peoples were still removed from their lands on to temporary reservations. The removal intensified after Native peoples resisted further encroachment of white settlers in Southern Oregon. Their resistance is called the Rogue River Indian war. About 27 Tribes were displaced and relocated to the Coast reservation. Among Native peoples, this traumatic displacement is called the "Trail of Tears" and remembered in this way: Tribes left behind "the bones of parents, grandparents, and ancestors, ages-old villages and fisheries, and a way of life well-tuned to the rhythms of a beautiful land."[133]

The negotiated boundaries of the reservation were never honored and, by 1875, the reservation shrank significantly, eventually ceasing to exist. Native peoples were removed once again away from the Coast to either the Grand Ronde or Siletz reservations. Then, in 1954, Congress passed laws that terminated federal recognition of Indigenous nations across the country, including 61 Oregon Tribes. The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde and the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians were two of the nations terminated under this law. Termination meant that "tribes were ordered to distribute their land and properties to their members and dissolve their governments, and federal benefits and services were terminated."[134] It took until 1977 and 1983 for the Tribes to be restored and federally recognized again.

It is critical to understand that maintaining connection to lands, including the places where fishing and hunting was "usual and accustomed," like Willamette Falls, is inherent to the struggle for Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. These are the kinds of rights that the federal government has historically attempted to diminish at best, eradicate at worst. As one Tribal citizen states, "Federal policy has always been to diminish the tribal land base."[135] We must also recognize and reckon with the fact that "treaties weren't negotiations by any stretch of the imagination, it was essentially Indian people being compelled to sign this with a promise that no harm will come your way; don't sign it and all bets are off."[136] Widespread institutional betrayal was the governing strategy of the U.S. federal government for centuries. And treaty agreements, whether ratified or not, have created the conditions for inter-Tribal conflicts, especially about land use rights, which are intensified when "ownership" becomes a legal requirement for access to land.

Next, we discuss strategies and conflicts that are currently at play over Indigenous rights to Willamette Falls.

# Ownership of and Conflict Over Willamette Falls

One of the consequences of industrial growth and ownership of property along the falls is that access to the Willamette Falls is blocked for the general public and has been for generations. For instance, to reach the falls, "you first need permission from Portland General Electric, one of the landowners whose property lines the banks of the Willamette River."[137] However, Tribal rights of access to the falls have remained intact. As a courtesy, Tribes may communicate with the owners about use of the falls, but they are not required to.

In 2014, a private developer, Falls Legacy LLC, acquired the site of the Blue Heron Paper Company that had closed due to bankruptcy in 2011. After the purchase, Falls Legacy LLC negotiated an easement along the river to Metro for the purpose of building a public riverwalk. In 2015, project partners (Oregon City, Clackamas County, Metro, and the State of Oregon) initiated a public master planning process for the Willamette Falls riverwalk, which was adopted by Metro and the Oregon City Commission in 2018.[138] Partial funding for the riverwalk will come from Metro's Natural Areas Bond Measure, which was approved by voters in 1995 and 2006 and allows for public investment "to protect water quality, restore fish and wildlife habitat and provide opportunities for nature-based recreation across the region."[139] Other sources of funding include contributions from the City of Oregon City, Clackamas County, and Falls Legacy LLC.

In addition, in 2015, Willamette Falls Trust was established as the community engagement and fundraising arm of the Willamette Falls Legacy Project. In 2019, the Trust formally requested Tribal representation on its Board of Directors and, in 2020, expanded the board to include representatives of five Tribes. Currently, the Willamette Falls Trust's Tribal Leadership is "composed of representatives from Yakama Nation, Siletz Indians, Umatilla and Warm Springs, with seats held for other nations with an interest at Willamette Falls, including a seat held for the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde and the Nez Perce Tribes."[140]

In 2019, the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (CTGR) purchased the former Blue Heron paper mill site. This shift in power, with CTGR becoming a property owner and major project partner, led to some conflict and contentiousness regarding how to proceed with the riverwalk development. More specifically, it appears that CTGR felt that because they are the property owners, they should have a greater say over the plans for the public easement than the other Tribes. Further, CTGR disputes claims by other Tribal nations regarding their historic connection and rights to the falls. In response to the latter, in 2021, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) commissioned a "Traditional Use Study of Willamette Falls and the Lower Columbia River"[141] that drew on oral histories, traditional knowledge, and documented ethnographic and historical sources to demonstrate their long-standing connection with the falls. The CTGR responded to the study with skepticism and criticized the historical accuracy of the CTUIR report in their own publication called

"[Rewriting History: An analysis of the 'Traditional Use study of Willamette Falls and the Lower Columbia River by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation.](#)"[142]

In 2023, the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife (ODFW) granted CTGR the rights "to issue its own hunting and fishing licenses to tribal members for subsistence and ceremonial harvest only."[143] This was seen as a form of government recompense for the historical harms done to the CTGR. While this was a cause for celebration for CTGR, several of the Columbia River Treaty Tribes disagreed with the decision and felt it would threaten their access to the falls, including fishing rights and quotas. Warm Springs Chairman Jonathan W. Smith stated that "It's clear this agreement would impact our rights on the Willamette and lower Columbia, and they were not considered by ODFW in their decision."[144]

It would not be appropriate for us, the authors of this report, to adjudicate one side over the other; we are not citizens of any of the nations involved in these disputes, nor are we indigenous to these lands. Instead, our role is to take the knowledge and perspectives available to us and situate them within a broader understanding of the ways in which Indigenous place-making is not only complex and contested but also shaped by the institutions, and their historic betrayals, that carry the legacies of colonialism into the present day. In retelling these histories, one thing is clear: Determining Indigenous rights to land is always steeped in an ever-present relationship between sovereign Tribal governments and the U.S. government – a relationship that is dictated by the legacy of colonial institutions and broken treaties. In other words, "The conflict taps into more than 150 years of historical injustices perpetrated by state and federal governments' handling of treaty rights."[145]

## Looking to the Future

In this section, we wanted to highlight the ways in which place-making, especially in the context of continuing colonial relationships between the U.S. government and sovereign Tribal nations, has been an ongoing struggle for self-determination for Native peoples. Belonging, on the other hand, is not something that can be contested, but rather is something that can be deeply felt and recognized by Indigenous peoples, as they are the First Nations to be connected to the land since time immemorial. This deep sense of belonging is present for many despite the efforts of the settler state to remove, displace, and assimilate Native peoples. This deep sense of felt belonging is beautifully captured in the following statement:

Once you've been 10,000 years in one place, and your culture and your genealogy is a part of that place, you have a better understanding of that place than anybody else, and everything you do is going to resonate with the land around you. Our cultures resonate with this place because we learned to live with it; we're a part of it. The forests, the rivers, the coastline, the mountains – we're a part of all that. Our people are from there. Everything we do in our culture resonates with that.[146]

While the rights over Willamette Falls continue to be debated, what is clear is that more Indigenous-led stewardship and care for the land needs to be centered and enabled. Oregon's government agencies need better processes in place to allow for government-to-government agreements with Tribal nations. What the ODFW decision made apparent – giving Tribal representatives only one hour to discuss the agreement, when full Tribal consultation is the norm – is that state agencies are not well versed in Tribal government protocols or how to engage with those governments. More Native and Tribal representatives need to not only be consulted on decisions and agreements that harken back to treaties, but Native people need to be leading the way in creating pathways for self-determination.

As for the future of the Willamette Falls, it is our hope that all parties involved can ensure the materialization of the vision of the Willamette Falls Trust:

The Trust hopes to make Willamette Falls a gathering place once more, with a series of walkways flowing alongside of the river, the falls towering overhead. Architectural mockups envision Native teaching gardens that will offer first foods and first medicines to be harvested by local tribes. Native art and designs will adorn the path, telling stories about the falls' cultural and ancestral significance. There will be spaces to gather for ceremony and powwows. Above all, there will be direct access to the river.[147]

# Black Histories in Clackamas County: From Exclusion to Reconciliation

Over the course of our four years' research and engagement in Clackamas county, we consistently heard Black/African American community members express sentiments such as "There are so few Black people in Clackamas," and "If we want to find Black community, we need to leave Clackamas county." These sentiments point to a deeply felt crisis of belonging, a crisis that is often experienced as not finding and being within one's culturally specific communities. Not being able to find or connect with your community, especially culturally specific, doesn't tend to register, especially for white people, as a belonging issue. In a personal correspondence with Taylor Stewart, the founder of the Oregon Remembrance Project, he recounts a very similar experience in Southern Oregon. In his own words:

> As I work in the Medford, Grants Pass, and Ashland area, I hear sentiments such as "Medford has such a great Juneteenth event. Do we need to have one ourselves in X?" I hear this sentiment mostly from white people who register that people who want to go to a Juneteenth event will probably just go to Medford. However, it doesn't register for them that 1) having to leave your home community to find your cultural community hinders feelings of belonging in your home community, 2) a segment of Black folks would go to a Juneteenth in their own community but may not make the longer trip to go outside their community, and 3) something intrinsic happens to the identity of a community that makes it more inclusive when members of that community work together to put on an event like Juneteenth.[148]

Finding community close to home and being able to access services and participate in events that are relevant to your community without having to travel far is essential for fostering belonging. What's more, the lack of culturally specific community and community-based connection to Clackamas county must be understood as an issue of racial inequity. These experiences tend to be dismissed as the norm for Clackamas county, with "Clackamas county is very a white county" being a common statement. But there is rarely any further inquiry about why this is the case.

Here, we attempt to explain why. We draw on the work of scholars, researchers, activists, and community members to unpack how history can help us understand why, today, Clackamas county's Black residents experience isolation and a lack of community. Situating the present in an understanding of history helps us not fall into the "a historical fallacy"[149] that tries to convince us that history is of little consequence to redressing today's injustices. We are already dealing with the implications of not knowing, and therefore not teaching, these histories. Historian Carmen Thompson recounts her experience of public education in Oregon: "Our general curriculum is not designed to teach Black history…it is designed as misinformation."[150] Similarly, Sarah Sanderson, whose family has generations-long connections to Oregon and

Clackamas county, recounts her experience:

> *The version of American history that I learned in school might best be called American History Lite (or, perhaps, American History: White). The entirety of all necessary facts I remembered from my public school education about the history of racism in America could be summed up in two statements: (1) In 1865, Abraham Lincoln ended the slavery problem, (2) In the 1960s, Martin Luther King Jr., ended the segregation problem."*[151]

Awareness about Black histories in the region is a first yet crucial step in fostering a culture of belonging and moving toward justice as historical reconciliation, or the work needed to bring awareness to our relationship to history.[152] Recent efforts to ban or limit the teaching of certain histories and the ongoing legacies of racism in this country will only hinder efforts to move toward historical reconciliation. Contrary to the rhetoric of its supporters, restricting access to knowledge about our past is not divisive. Rather, knowing the history of injustice allows us to collectively build strategies that do not reproduce the harms of the past; it allows us to seek meaningful repair for past harms. Knowing history is the first step in building futures where everyone is cared for and feels like they belong.

To begin this process of reconciling with our past and to better understand why many Black people today feel a sense of isolation and disconnection as residents of Clackamas county, we first present a concise history of how anti-Blackness has been rooted in one of the most iconic places in the county: Oregon City, famous for being the end of the Oregon Trail and the first capital of the Oregon Territory. We then move on to discuss the history of some of the first Black settlers in what is now Clackamas county. This history has surfaced relatively recently thanks to the work of historians, archivists, and community members, and it speaks to the deep connections that Black people have to Oregon and the ways racism operated to exclude them from this place. The third and final section uplifts current work being done to move toward reconciliation in Clackamas county. This last section can be read as a companion to the case study on Black histories and the call to action titled "Black Histories and Futures."

## Anti-Black History at the End of the Oregon Trail

To understand why the Black population in Clackamas county is relatively small, as well as to understand the roots of this felt crisis of belonging and why it is a racial inequity issue, we need to situate these experiences in Oregon's history of anti-Black racism. To recount this history, we return to Oregon City as one of the anchors for understanding Black stories and connections to Clackamas county. Oregon City is most well known in history as being the end of the Oregon Trail, the route that brought thousands of white settlers to the region in the 1840s. As such, it holds a prominent place in the collective imagination of Oregonians as a city built by white settlers and

their descendants, and ultimately as a place where they have connections and a felt sense of belonging. What's less understood is how the institutions that grew up in Oregon City – and Oregon more broadly – served to make the place only for them. In other words, the very institutions that set the conditions for white belonging in Oregon City created laws and policies that explicitly excluded Black people from settling there.

Between 1848 and 1852, Oregon City was designated the first capital of the Oregon Territory. It was here that the first Black exclusionary laws were conceived and codified to punish and exclude Black people from making their homes in the territory. "Oregon was the only state that entered the Union with a clause in its constitution forbidding Black people to live here."[153] A "Lash Law," which had been introduced prior to Oregon joining the Union, enforced this constitutional clause; any Black person in Oregon would be subjected to public whipping every six months until they left.[154]

The language included in the 1844 exclusionary law was unwavering in its clarity and message: Black people are not welcome in Oregon, and the law will be wielded to ensure their departure and punish them for failing to leave. For instance, section four reads:

> That when any free negro or mulatto shall have come to Oregon, he or she (as the case may be), if of the age of eighteen or upward, shall remove from and leave the country within the term of two years for males, and three years for females from the passage of this act; and that if any free negro or mulatto shall hereafter come to Oregon, if of the age aforesaid, he or she shall quit and leave the country within the term of two years for male and three years for females from his or her arrival in the country.

Section six lays out the explicit punishment for Black people who do not comply with the law:

> That if any such free negro or mulatto shall fail to quit the country as required by this act, he or she may be arrested upon a warrant issued by some justice of the peace, and, if guilty upon trial before such justice, shall receive upon his or her bare back not less than twenty nor more than thirty-nine stripes, to be inflicted by the constable of the proper county.

An 1849 exclusionary law legally prohibited Black people from settling in Oregon, effectively attempting to legislatively make it the sole white-only territory and later state. Section one of the law begins with:

> Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oregon that it shall not be lawful for any negro or mulatto to enter into, or reside within the limits of this Territory.

This law also explicitly prohibited any Black person who arrived by ship from leaving the port without permission from the "masters and owners" of the vessel. Further, they were legally required to leave the port by ship within 40 days of arrival. This law essentially acknowledged that many Black people arrived in Oregon by ship, as we will learn more about through the story of James D. Saules in the next section.

The Oregon Constitution, which was ratified in 1859, also had a clause that prohibited any new settlement of Black people in the state. It states:

*No free Negro, or Mulatto, not residing in this state at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall come, reside, or be within this state, or hold any real estate, or make any contracts, or maintain any suit therein; and the Legislative Assembly shall provide by penal laws, for the removal, by public officers, of all such Negroes, and Mulattos, and for their effectual exclusion from the state, and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the state, or employ, or harbor them.*

Although this clause was repealed in 1926, the language remained in Oregon's constitution until 2001. These laws firmly established Oregon as a state where only white people were welcomed and belonged. Similar in intention and effect to the laws that removed Native people to undesirable locations and, in some cases, terminated sovereign Indigenous nations entirely, Oregon's anti-Black laws were designed to ensure that no Black person would encroach onto the "God-given" (thanks to Manifest Destiny) spaces and places meant for white people.

Three points should be abundantly clear and uncontested:

1. Systemic racism – the operationalization of ideologies committed to entrenching racial hierarchies by creating laws and policies – explicitly ensured that Black people were not welcome.
2. Oregon's whiteness is rooted in the history of institutionalized Black exclusion.
3. It is entirely by design that relatively few Black people live in Clackamas county.

The need to unearth more stories and life histories of Black people in the state and county is essential; these stories act as powerful counter narratives to claims that Black people – and people of color in general – were not part of the fabric of Oregon's history. Recovering this history is a critical part of reclaiming belonging and engaging earnestly in a reconciliation process.

In the next section, we share the stories of earlier Black settlers to Clackamas county that are lesser known. They tell us that Black people have been here for a long time and help us rethink why statements like "Clackamas county is very a white county" should not be taken as a given fact or for granted.

# Black Settlers in Oregon City

There is an assumption that the presence of Black folks in Oregon begins in the 1930s and 1940s, at the time of World War Two when wartime industrial production was ramping up and in need of labor. While the exclusionary laws of the mid-1800s certainly impacted whether Black people settled and were able to stay in the state, the relegation of Oregon's Black history to the larger migration patterns of the mid 20th century is not an accurate representation.

The work of making visible the history of Black settlers, who are sometimes referred to as Black pioneers, disrupts the narrative that Black people are insignificant to the formative story of the area. The extensive archival and oral history work done by organizations like the Oregon Black Pioneers,[155] the Oregon Remembrance Project,[156] and the Clackamas County Historical Society[157] is testament to the fact that Black people did call Oregon and Clackamas county their home as early as the 1800s. This work is also testament to how Oregon's racist laws and policies made life difficult or impossible for Black settlers, many of whom migrated from the South to escape enslavement and exploitation.

The next section recounts the stories of two Black settlers, James D. Saules and Jacob Vanderpool. By the mid-1800s, Saules had settled near the Willamette Falls and Vanderpool settled in Oregon City. Their time in Oregon took different trajectories, but their fates were entangled: Saules' presence in Oregon influenced the creation of Oregon's anti-Black laws, and Vanderpool was the first Black person expelled under these laws. We share these stories to demonstrate the promise of early Black settlers in Clackamas county, to challenge the dominance of Oregon's whitewashed history, and to convey the betrayal experienced by Black folks due to systemic and institutionalized racism.

## James D. Saules

Before the influx of white settlers via the overground Oregon Trail in the 1840s, Oregon was already a multiethnic and multilinguistic place. The region was inhabited by many Indigenous nations, who spoke different languages; Spanish-speaking people who mostly arrived from Mexico, whose border at the time was just south of the Oregon Territory; and French and English-speaking people, to name some of the diversity. For a long time, Oregon had a thriving network of trade, so much so that there existed a "unique regional trade language ('Chinook wawa') composed of a patois of Chinook, French, and English"[158] that was widely spoken.

Much of this diversity of peoples and languages was due to maritime trade, since the Oregon Coast and the Columbia River were fairly well-visited port destinations. Maritime trade was so important that the period from "the mid-16th (or mid-15th) to the mid-19th centuries" was known as the Age of Sail.[159] Significantly, by the early 1800s, the U.S. maritime industry "was the largest employer of [B]lack men."[160] Many free Black men and those who escaped enslavement found work on ships. For

many, ships were a refuge from the oppressive conditions in the eastern and southern United States and provided opportunities for wages, travel, adventure, and possible permanent relocation.

> The [B]lack sailors involved in overseas commerce and exploration in the Age of Sail stood apart from the rest of the US population; many traveled remarkable distances and experienced a variety of cultures in an era in which most Americans never ventured far from their hometowns. [161]

Ship crews were also multiethnic environments, and seamen, regardless of race or ethnicity, were equally paid based on rank, albeit wages were still quite low.[162] While racism persisted on ships, it tended to take a backseat to other, more established hierarchies that were specific to the ship and the maritime industry (e.g., class, knowledge, and ability).

In 1833, James D. Saules joined the crew of a whaling ship in New Bedford, Massachusetts. The ship would sail all the way down to Cape Horn on the southern tip of South America and to the Pacific Ocean. It was a four-year voyage. At the time, this was where the most lucrative whaling was done, since the Atlantic Ocean was already significantly depleted. As a consequence, many sailors spent considerable time in South America, some even deserting their ship and settling there. The high turnover of crew members meant that as sailors left the ship, others joined at various ports along the route. This made for a very ethnically and linguistically diverse crew, which Saules would have experienced. It is recorded that Saules was a highly skilled seamen and "probably would have commanded white men in addition [B]lack, Native, Cape Verdean, and Pacific Islander sailors."[163]

Saules did not remain on this vessel for the duration of its voyage. It is likely that he jumped ship in Peru, where he lived for a couple of years. Saules was mentioned again when he joined the crew of a U.S. Navy ship sailing out of Peru. On this ship, he worked as a cook. The mission of the Navy ship was to conduct surveys and engage in expeditions, which it did in places like Fiji and Hawaii. Exploring Oregon was also part of the ship's mission. Saules was likely aware of the goals and intentions of the U.S Navy's endeavors and tactics and likely supported them. "Saules identified and aligned himself with the colonizers over the colonized. His labors supported the surveying, claiming, and naming of geographic spaces, and he was apparently involved in brutally violent expressions of imperial power."[164] Throughout his lifetime, Saules would be confronted with the tensions of aligning with colonial agendas that provided him with many economic opportunities, while also being subjected to its oppressiveness as a Black man.

Saules arrived in Oregon in 1841.[165] He ended up deserting the U.S. Navy mission and took odd jobs along the Columbia River. He married a Chinook woman, and together, they settled on a plot of land near Oregon City, close to the Willamette Falls. It was during his time in Oregon City that he sympathized and aligned himself with Native-

led resistance to the influx of white settlers in the 1840s. This alliance would not only dramatically change the trajectory of his life, but also that of Oregon. According to a profile written by the Clackamas County Historical Society:

> *Saules was then later accused of inciting violence towards a pro-slavery resident and was told to leave the Willamette Valley by Elijah White, the subagent of Indian Affairs. White would infamously describe Saules and his fellow Black Americans as "dangerous subjects" in a letter to the US Secretary of War.*[166]

It is important to note here that the possibility of multiethnic alliances and coalitions struck immense fear in white society. Many decades before westward expansion, white plantation owners in the South were particularly threatened by such prospects. In 17th century Virginia, one such multiethnic rebellion, an alliance between Black enslaved people and white indentured servants, set the stage for the legal codification of "white" and "Black" as distinct categories of people.[167] This codification was essentially a "divide and rule" tactic. This codification meant that significant advantages and benefits accrued to people categorized as white, whereas being categorized as Black legally equated to perpetual enslavement and inferiority. In other words, to dampen the threat posed by multiethnic alliances – created based on shared lived experiences between people of European and African descent – those categorized or racialized as white would, over the course of U.S. history, be formally granted access to benefits that were denied to Black people. This is what W.E.B. Dubois (1935) called the psychological wage of whiteness: being white was akin to having valuable currency.[168] However, having this currency also meant being fearful that it will be taken and protecting it at all costs. This fear resulted in what has been termed "the psychological rage of whiteness," or:

> *Contempt for minoritized peoples who represent a conscious or subconscious perceived threat or fear that they will take away or deny White people something of value that only in-group members, other people identified as White, deserve or are entitled to possess. This entitlement derives from the belief that White people are the sole architects, builders, caretakers and benefactors of US civilization. White entitlements include but are not limited to God, power, employment, freedom, wealth, land, guns, health, all women's bodies, education, culture, marriage, etc. When minoritized groups represent a perceived threat to these entitlements, White Americans unleash an unrelenting rage. The psychological rages of Whiteness lead to criminal behaviour with impunity. Rationalized as necessary under the guise of collective safety, these nefarious acts, as they are designed to do, result in the controlling of other populations and the maintenance of in-group (White) power.*[169]

When Elijah White described Saules as a "dangerous subject," he was enacting the psychological rage of whiteness. What Saules did, as a Black man making alliances with Native folks, was perceived as an existential threat to the white presence and

interests in Oregon. White's response pointed to a desire to protect the wage of whiteness with an extreme proposition: In a letter to the U.S. Secretary of War, White "inquired about instituting a ban on Black Americans in the territory. One month later, on June 26, 1844, Oregon would pass its Black Exclusion Law."[170] Such measures were likely well received by white newcomers to the Oregon Territory, whose sense of unfamiliarity and discomfort with encountering a diverse, multiethnic region created a desire to maximize "the homogeneity of their new homeland."[171]

Saules was apprehended and placed in federal custody. As punishment, Saules was ordered to leave the Willamette Valley. It is recorded that he stayed in the region for a few years, settling in Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia River. However, after that, little else is known about his whereabouts or his fate.[172]

Through a reading of Saules' story, we can better grasp how Oregon became a place that sought to deny belongingness to Black people, a place where they were relegated to being "dangerous" to the interests of white settlers. Saules' story also reminds us that Oregon was not always like this. The region existed for millennia with a diversity of peoples, customs, languages, and economies; first with the presence of many Indigenous nations and later, with the advent of large-scale, global maritime trade, Oregon hosted thriving and diverse communities that co-existed for centuries before any exclusionary laws were created.

Next, we recount the story of Jacob Vanderpool, a Black businessman living and working in Oregon City in the mid-1800s. The trajectory of Vanderpool's life was shaped by the larger context of Oregon being founded as both an anti-slavery and anti-Black state. We discuss how these two positions were not contradictory and in fact created the conditions that viewed Black people as "dangerous subjects." For Vanderpool, the consequences were devastating: He was the first Black person expelled from Oregon under its anti-Black exclusionary laws.

### Jacob Vanderpool

An important aspect of Oregon's history is that it was founded as both an anti-slavery and anti-Black state. As white settlers arrived in Oregon, many from slave-owning states who had not reaped the economic benefits of land ownership, they understood slavery as a threat to their economic interests. They did not want Oregon to be a slave-owning state; the forced and uncompensated labor of enslaved people would compromise their livelihoods. This reasoning was extended to any free Black person who lived in the region: "Oregon pioneers viewed African Americans not as the help but as the competition – a competition they wanted to eliminate. Historians estimate the population of Black residents in the Oregon Territory in the 1840s at around fifteen. For some White settlers, it was fifteen too many."[173] As Walida Imarisha states, "The folks who had an economic interest in industrialization, and white working class folks who were being told that the slave system was the reason they were being exploited, were anti-slavery and anti-Black. This is the birth of Oregon: being anti-slavery and anti-Black."[174]

This historical context is important for understanding the experience and fate of Jacob Vanderpool, one of the few Black business owners in Oregon. The first mention of Jacob Vanderpool in Oregon City was in 1851. Vanderpool grew up in the West Indies, likely the son of a Dutch plantation owner and an African enslaved woman. He became a sailor[175] and before moving to Oregon City, he lived in New York City with his wife Eliza and three children: four-year-old twins Amelia and Jane, and an infant son, Martin.[176] While in Oregon City, he opened a hotel that was called the Oregon Saloon and Boarding House. Vanderpool advertised his business weekly in the local newspaper and so was a known and visible member of the community in Oregon City (see Figure 5.1 image of the ad below).

**FIGURE 5.1**
Jacob Vanderpool's advertisement for his hotel[177]



There is very little written documentation about the life of Jacob Vanderpool beyond these few facts. Yet despite the lack of historical record, we do know about a series of events that quickly led to a very historic outcome: He was expelled from Oregon and became "the only person in the history of the United States ever convicted and punished solely for the crime of being Black." These are the events that led to this devastating outcome:[178]

• Another hotel opens near Vanderpool's that is owned by a man named Theophilus Magruder

• Magruder makes a formal complaint to the Supreme Court of the Territory of Oregon

• Vanderpool is arrested the next day

• The judge who presided over Vanderpool's case, Thomas Nelson, has been a guest at Magruder's hotel

• Nelson's ruling establishes precedent for using Oregon's anti-Black laws, which were designed to prohibit Black people from settling in Oregon, to expel Jacob Vanderpool

• Vanderpool is given 30 days to leave. He never returns to Oregon

One could reasonably conclude that Magruder perceived two indiscretions that could not be overlooked: Vanderpool's hotel was in direct competition with his own, and Vanderpool was Black. Neither were desirable, and thus Vanderpool had to be

stamped out. In other words, the story of Jacob Vanderpool can be summed up as follows:

Jacob Vanderpool lived in Oregon City and he is the only known person expelled from Oregon under the state's Black exclusionary laws. He was a business owner and was forced to leave Oregon after a competing white business owner reported him to authorities… His crime? Being Black in the state of Oregon.[179]

The Vanderpool case proved to be a powerful catalyst for other lawsuits against Black folks who were still living in the Oregon Territory. Vanderpool's case was also a powerful deterrent for Black people who wanted to settle in the Territory. The law worked as it was designed.

## Toward Justice as Reconciliation: The Oregon Remembrance Project

*"We need not be powerless to the stories of historical injustice because we have the power to rewrite the endings to these stories."*

*—Oregon Remembrance Project*

Imagine, for a moment, if no Black exclusionary laws existed. Imagine if James D. Saules and Jacob Vanderpool had been able to stay in Oregon City. How many other Black people and families would have moved to Oregon City and started businesses, farmed, and built communities and connections to this place? Could Oregon City have been a hub for thriving Black businesses and commerce, similar perhaps to "Black Wall Street" in Tulsa, Oklahoma, or other concentrations of Black prosperity?[180] Imagine if Oregon City and Clackamas county were considered safe places for Black people, and other people of color, to settle. What other histories would we be writing today? Tragically, the laws, and the people and institutions that enforced these laws, precluded this possibility.

However, while history is certainly instructive, it doesn't have to be prescriptive. We do not have to reproduce the tragedies of the past. Instead, we must ask ourselves: What does a commitment to reconciliation and restorative justice look like? How can we learn from history and advance a path forward where everyone is able to thrive?

Luckily, learning from Oregon's history is an endeavor that some committed people and organizations are beginning. The hard work of recuperating the stories of Black people and making them widely accessible needs to be encouraged and supported. Here, we want to especially highlight the work of the Oregon Remembrance Project, which began as an effort to memorialized Alonzo Tucker, "Oregon's most widely documented African American victim of lynching."[181] The project has expanded into Clackamas county, and Oregon City in particular, to begin the work of memorializing the life of Jacob Vanderpool.

It is important to emphasize that realizing justice as reconciliation means setting the conditions for its success. For the founder of the Oregon Remembrance Project, Taylor Stewart, this entails first remembering and engaging in "the requisite truth-telling."[182] This is followed by repair, which for Taylor and the authors of this report means ensuring that the legacies of racism and injustice are not reproduced today. For example, there is a direct line between the lynching of Black people and the extremely unjust and immoral fact that Black people are today more likely to be incarcerated and punished by the death penalty.[183] Repair requires that we be honest about how racism continues to operate in our institutions and to acknowledge that even laws like the 1964 Civil Rights Act are insufficient for addressing continued harms. We need to diversify our strategies for repair with an understanding that some strategies will need to be tailored to local contexts and designed and led by those communities most impacted by injustices, while others will need to be more expansive.

There are so many strategies for repair that need to be supported. These strategies are often best fostered within institutions by sustaining equity initiatives and supporting the people who are most committed to advancing them. We need advocates within Clackamas County, the cities, our regional government, and our utilities and transportation agencies that, for instance, understand the value of and advocate for better recruitment and retention of Black employees and what it means to foster a welcoming workplace where Black people do not have to experience racism and other aggressions on a daily basis. Furthermore, "recruitment and retention" should be understood as a commitment and practice beyond the workplace. What would it mean for Clackamas county to be a place where Black people desire to live and remain? How can the county add new chapters to the story arcs of Saules and Vanderpool whereby strategies of repair lead to "contemporary acts of justice" that add to their stories?[184]

# Chinese Histories in Clackamas County: Organized Abandonment and Community Resilience

Being a person of color in a predominantly white region is often experienced through the contradiction of being both visible and invisible. We become hypervisible when we step foot in public: riding the bus, visiting a park, eating at a restaurant, going grocery shopping, and seeking out healthcare, for example. When we are the few Black, Brown, and visibly "other" people in these spaces, we are inevitably scrutinized. This scrutiny can be in the form of extended stares or curiosity. Many people of color share the experience of being asked, "Where are you from? No, but where are you really from?" Scrutiny can also manifest in more dangerous ways: being followed in shops or other public places, being targeted and stopped by police and immigration officers (i.e., racial profiling), and being the victims of hate crimes. This experience of hypervisibility is essentially coded as "You don't belong here." In addition, the history of labor and work in this country is highly racialized. This means that people of color are more visible in certain jobs, many of which are devalued by white dominant society (e.g., domestic work, agricultural work, custodial work).

While people of color become highly visible in some aspects of social life, they are also made invisible by and to dominant white society. Invisibilizing communities of color is often an explicit choice made by people doing the work of dominant institutions. The intentional invisibilizing is what Ruth Wilson Gilmore calls "organized abandonment" – an institutional tactic of divesting from communities of color that leads to their segregation from white society and the associated "disappearance of safe housing, reliable jobs, clean water, healthy food, and a social safety net."[185]

The clearest example of this tactic in the 20th century was redlining, or the collusion between government and financial institutions to exclude largely Black and Latine communities from obtaining home mortgages. Redlining was a form of organized abandonment; it created the legal and policy framework for the wholesale segregation of communities of color and associated divestment in education, healthcare, employment, and transportation infrastructure, just to name a few. Legalized segregation is, by its very nature, the imposition of invisibility through systemic divestment.

Organized abandonment is not only a tactic of the 20th and 21st centuries. In Oregon during the 19th century, land theft from Indigenous nations and Black exclusion laws were essential to the large-scale invisibilization of communities of color. This invisibilization was necessary to fulfill Manifest Destiny – a mandate bestowed on Western and Northern Europeans (who would become racialized as white) and legitimized through Christian doctrine that entitled them to conquer and possess the land and peoples of the non-European world in the name of "civilizing." Organized abandon-

ment, in other words, is the mechanism of marginalization; it is also the mechanism that produces isolation, fear, and distrust among communities of color.

The process of organized abandonment is often a violent one. In order to "make them invisible," people of color become targets of genocide, mob violence, and policing and surveillance. Thus, the irony of the desire to make people of color invisible is that they become hypervisible to white society. This process of making people of color both invisible and visible lends itself, again, to the general sentiment of "You don't belong here."

We introduce organized abandonment to frame the duality (yet interconnectedness) of visibility and invisibility, which helps us understand the history of Chinese communities in Clackamas county in the 19th century. This history is the story of how Chinese communities have been hypervisible in the minds of white Americans as threats and how this visibility results in violence against Chinese communities. This history is also about how institutions respond to the perceived threat by introducing laws and policies that seek to isolate, segregate, punish, and restrict Chinese people, effectively using the tactic of organized abandonment to invisibilize/marginalize Chinese communities. What's more is that, as we'll see next, organized abandonment serves to legitimize Chinese communities as threats, which leads them to become highly visible targets of more violence.

To tell this history, we focus on:

- The prevailing anti-Chinese history on the West Coast, which sets the context for the trajectory of one man's life: Ah Bing, who cultivated the famous Bing cherry in Milwaukie, Oregon.

- The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and how restrictive immigration policies are a manifestation of organized abandonment.

- The violence experienced by Chinese communities in Oregon City and its implications for the community's visibility, safety, and resilience.

## Anti-Chinese Racism and the Story of Ah Bing

Not much is known about Ah Bing, despite his contribution to the history of agriculture. To understand the story of Ah Bing, we first need to set the stage for what was happening on the West Coast at the time of his arrival in Oregon around 1855. The story begins with the California gold rush of the mid-1800s, which was a potentially lucrative prospect for not only white settlers but also thousands of Chinese men (mostly) who took up jobs in gold mines. These men sailed from China to California; many were fleeing due to massive crop failures in southern China.[186] "By the end of the 1850s, Chinese immigrants made up one-fifth of the population of the four counties that constituted the Southern Mines."[187] With the relatively rapid increase of

Chinese miners, it was only a matter of time that white people felt that their interests, safety, and livelihoods were being threatened. As a result of prevailing anti-Chinese sentiment, California passed the Foreign Miners Tax that was targeted at Chinese miners, as well as laws that prevented Chinese people from testifying in court (along with Black and Native people). As violence against Chinese communities increased and conditions worsened, many decided to leave California for Oregon.

However, Oregon was just as unwelcoming. "Although many [Chinese people] were able to find employment in mining and other industries, unfortunately, they encountered a political and social climate in Oregon that was not much better than California's."[188] By the mid-1800s, Oregon had set its course to be a "white-only" state, with the introduction of the Black exclusion laws and the forcible removal of Indigenous nations and seizure of their lands. Then, in 1959, an anti-Chinese clause was added to the Oregon constitution, stating that "any non-resident from China was forbidden ownership of mining claims and real estate"[189] as well as being barred from citizenship and the right to vote.[190]

Ah Bing arrived in Oregon at a moment when anti-Chinese laws were being written and anti-Chinese sentiment was high. Despite these barriers, Bing made a life for himself for 35 years, most of which was working as a foreman on the Lewelling family fruit orchards in Milwaukie. Since little is known about Bing's life, we include here a short piece written about him on the website of the Museum of Chinese in America:

> *Ah Bing was a 19th century horticulturalist and credited as the cultivator and namesake of the popular Bing cherry. Bing migrated to the U.S. around 1855 and worked as foreman in the Lewelling family fruit orchards in Milwaukie, Oregon. Bing's Manchurian background and commanding stature at 6'2" distinguished him from other Chinese immigrants, who were mostly recruited from Guangdong for work on the Transcontinental Railroad; his employer was atypical too, a pro-abolition Quaker farmer who opposed the increasing anti-Chinese discrimination and violence of the times. During Bing's 35 years as a foreman at the Lewelling Orchard, he managed a crew of thirty men and worked closely with farm owner Seth Lewelling on grafting and propagating the trees. In 1875, Bing was credited (to varying degrees) with cultivating a delicious cross-breed graft, which Lewelling named after Bing. The groundbreaking cherry went on to win prizes and sell for $1 per pound ($25 per pound today).[191]*

Sadly, Bing's time in Oregon was cut short. After visiting family in China, Bing was refused re-entry into the United States following the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. While much of Bing's life is either buried in the archives or in yet to be uncovered artifacts and oral histories, his contribution to agriculture has been recently memorialized outside the old city hall in Milwaukie. On December 6, 2023, Oregon artist, Tyler FuQUa, installed a "shiny 300-pound art piece with mesmerizing crimson coils and a stem"[192] that replicates a Bing cherry. In 2020, Milwaukie also unveiled a mural created by Jeremy Okai Davis that features Ah Bing, along with

Hurtis and Dorothy Hadley, owners of the first Black-owned bakery in the city and in Oregon (see Figure 5.2).[193]

While this memorialization brings attention to Ah Bing's contribution, it also should encourage us to reflect on the racist violence and institutional betrayal that also shaped Bing's life. Reconciling with this history, bringing more public awareness to it, is an essential part of working toward racial justice. In the remainder of this chapter, we discuss the Chinese Exclusion Act, the conditions that led to its passage, and its implications for Chinese communities in Clackamas county and Oregon broadly.

## Organized Abandonment as a National Strategy: The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882

Well before 1882, laws and policies across the West Coast were institutionalizing anti-Chinese racism and legitimizing white fears about Chinese people being threats to their safety and livelihoods. Oregon and California had already passed these kinds of laws and policies.

Organized abandonment as an institutional tactic of marginalization was in full force already. White anger and fear was most clearly articulated in the "Immigrants are taking our jobs" slogan. Of course, the slogan was a manifestation of white supremacy and fed into the "Yellow Peril" hysteria of the time, which was most clearly seen in media portrayals of Chinese people as villains, malevolent, and undesirable.[194] But the nativist slogan was also a response to worsening and uncertain economic conditions. The 1870s experienced the "Long Depression," felt most acutely by the working class. The mining and railroad boom was waning, and competition for jobs was more intense. It was easier to blame "the foreigner" than to point to the system of capitalism that was causing much of the economic instability.

Ultimately, it was this context of racism, fear, and uncertainty sown on the West Coast that catalyzed a national response. "Because of animosities toward Chinese in the far western states and partly because of protests by white workers, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882."[195] The Act essentially did what California and Oregon

had already passed as law. The following were included in the 1882 Act:[196]

- An absolute 10-year ban on Chinese laborers ("skilled and unskilled") immigrating to the United States.

- The requirement that Chinese people already living in the country had to obtain certification to re-enter, which stated their status as either "laborer, scholar, diplomat, or merchant."[197]

- Barring Chinese people from obtaining citizenship.

The Chinese Exclusion Act was the first of its kind to federally restrict an ethnic group on the premise that they "endangered the good order of certain localities."[198] The 10-year ban was renewed under the Geary Act and remained an exclusionary immigration policy until it was repealed in 1948. The Act also set a precedent that continues to shape immigration policy today:

*The Chinese Exclusion Act not only affected Chinese individuals but also shaped American immigration policy significantly. It marked a turning point where the US started restricting its borders more, legalized xenophobia on a large scale, and created the concept of illegal immigration, labeling those falling into this category as criminals.[199]*

Restrictive immigration policies, like the Chinese Exclusion Act, are manifestations of organized abandonment. They are designed to "disappear" those people and communities deemed to be threatening or undesirable by denying them rights and access to resources; these policies and laws result in an extreme form of divestment. At the same time, they put a target on the backs of these same people and communities and foster violence against them. Targeted communities exist in conditions of both invisibility and hypervisibility. We discuss the consequences next.

## Expulsion and Resilience in Clackamas County and Beyond

Following the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, anti-Chinese racism and violence increased, especially along the West Coast. In 1885, Seattle and Tacoma were the sites of some of the most violent and widespread expulsions of Chinese residents. In Tacoma, hundreds of white residents marched through the city's Chinatown and forcibly expelled Chinese business owners and residents, sometimes giving them 48 hours to leave and at other times forcing them to go to the train station immediately. Some members of this white mob were indicted, but never brought to trial. Several ended up becoming influential in local politics.[200]

In Oregon, attitudes toward the Chinese population wavered from a desire to exploit

their underpaid labor to segregating them from white people or expelling them out-right. As already mentioned, "Yellow Peril" representations that portrayed them as unassimilable, foreign threats were legitimized by the passage of local and federal anti-Chinese legislation. In 1886, in Oregon City, the pendulum swung to expulsion as a solution to the "threat." In February of that year, forty white men gathered at the present-day site of the McLoughlin House, a prominent historical site in Clackamas county, which was then the Phoenix Hotel, and voted to expel the city's Chinese pop-ulation. Following the vote, the sequence of events went as follows:

> *The men marched to the Washington Hotel, where Chinese mill workers slept, wrested the men from their beds, and marched them to the Willamette River. Between forty and fifty-five workers were forced aboard the steamboat Latona, which carried them to Portland. Twelve men were arrested for the expulsion. None were brought to trial.*[201]

The aftershocks of this violence were felt in the Chinese community in Clackamas county and throughout Oregon. Over decades, the community strategically isolated itself and chose "to stay less visible, because if you're less visible you're safer."[202] This was a strategy of survival and resilience, with Chinese communities remaining insular while building their own economies and institutions. "Back then, the white government didn't really care for us, so we had to take care of our own."[203] This state-ment captures how community self-determination and resilience can be powerfully wielded to resist the harms of organized abandonment.

There remains a great deal of awareness that needs to be raised about Chinese com-munities in Clackamas county, including their histories, their contributions, and their acts of resilience. What more can we learn about Ah Bing? Who were the Chinese mill workers expelled from Oregon City? What were their lives like in Oregon City? Exca-vating these histories will honor the lives lived and lost, as well as their contributions to making Clackamas county.

# Latine Histories in Clackamas County: Work, Mobilization, and Placemaking

So far, we've presented the histories of Indigenous, Black, and Chinese communities in Clackamas county through a place-based story that has focused on Willamette Falls, Oregon City, and Milwaukie. Connecting the history of these communities to the heart of some of Clackamas county's most famous and well-known sites is deliberate. We aim to counter the widely held belief that people of color have little connection to the county and that their imprints on the county are insignificant to its story. We hope that what we've presented so far encourages readers to challenge their assumptions about the county's history and who has contributed to it and catalyzes a deeper reading of and awareness about the many diverse people and communities that are connected to the region.

In this section, we present, as best we can, the history of Latine communities in the county. This will take a different approach because it has proven difficult to anchor this history to a singular place of significance. This difficulty, we argue, is not simply an anomaly; it is directly linked to the history of labor. This story is connected to the demands for labor of the lucrative agricultural and railroad industries that grew and expanded considerably in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Oregon. These industries depended on migrant workers mostly from the U.S. Southwest, Mexico, and Central America. Agricultural industries in particular depended on labor being seasonal, low paid, and transient, which ensured that workers would find it difficult to settle or be connected to any particular place.

Yet despite the desire of employers for transient, temporary workers, and despite the laws and policies that bolstered the impermanence of the labor force, Latine migrant workers did eventually establish communities throughout Clackamas county. Today, generations of Latine communities have been living in Canby, Wilsonville, Molalla, Estacada, and Welches. This section tells the story of how the demand for labor brought many Latine people to the county, and especially to the adjacent Willamette Valley. While much of this labor was connected to the booming agricultural and railroad industries, it is important to note that Latine folks also entered other areas of work dating back centuries. More recent Latine migration to the region continues to be connected to agriculture but also other industries, including the retail, restaurant, construction, tourism, and domestic/household industries. This diversity of labor is exemplified in a case study later in this report called "Voices from the Mountain." This case study draws on first-person narratives to tell the stories and histories of Latine migrants who settled in the Mt. Hood area and mostly worked in the tourism industry.

To understand the history of Latine communities in Clackamas county, we break down the story into the following pieces:

- The close and historic connection between Oregon, Mexico, and Spanish-speaking peoples.

- Why labor was in such high demand and how institutionalized racism, and its influence on laws and policies, ensured the precariousness of migrant labor. This, especially, set the conditions for Latine communities to be simultaneously in many places and hidden from white dominant society. It wasn't until the 1980s that a substantial number of migrant workers began establishing longer-term and permanent communities throughout Oregon

- How efforts to overcome institutionalized racism and the marginalization of Latine communities resulted in the creation of one of the first farmworker unions in the country. With more access to rights, safety, and better conditions, unionization was an important part of more permanent Latine settlements in Oregon and Clackamas county.

## Mexicans in Oregon and Clackamas County: A Story Spanning Centuries

The story of James D. Saules, the Black sailor who settled in Oregon City in the mid-1880s, reminds us that Oregon had a bustling trade infrastructure that fostered a multiethnic and multilinguistic cultural context. At the time, the Mexico border butted up against the border of the Oregon Territory, just south of present-day Ashland. For centuries, the region was host to Spanish-language speakers, largely due to it being a destination for Spanish explorers and maritime voyages. In her book *Mexicanos in Oregon: Their Stories, Their Lives* (2010), Erlinda Gonzales-Berry writes:

*A cursory glance at a map of the Oregon Coast alights on names such as Cape Blanco, Cape Heceta, Cape Sebastian, Cape Ferello, and Cape Falcon. These names attest to the many voyages of exploration carried out in the waters and along the coastline of the Pacific Northwest under the aegis of the Spanish Crown beginning in the sixteenth century, and it is worth keeping in mind that many of the sailors involved in these explorations were mestizos born in what today is known as Mexico...This fleeting overview unequivocally establishes an early Hispanic presence in Oregon, a presence that although recognized by Anglo-centric historians has only in recent years received significant attention.[204]*

With proximity to Mexico, Oregon was an established destination for many Mexican skilled workers, including mule packers, miners, and vaqueros, or horsemen and cattle herders. These skilled trades were in high demand because they contributed to the trade infrastructure of the region and the burgeoning ranching industry. And many of the newly arrived white settlers did not have these skills. Regarding mule packers, miners, and *vaqueros*, Jerry Garcia writes:

*Mexican mule packers and miners were descendants of generations of Spanish Mexicans who learned their trade in Mexico, the Southwest, and California, moving supplies from distribution points in northern California to areas as far north as the Illinois Valley in Oregon...Because of their skill, vaqueros were hired by American cattlemen to help with cattle drives to the Oregon Territory.[205]*

Mexican mule packers were recruited and relied upon by the U.S. colonial military in the Oregon Territory, and, according to Erasmo Gamboa (1991), their skill was valued during the tumultuous Rogue River War with Indigenous peoples.[206] Further, much of U.S. cowboy culture is inherited from and influenced by *vaqueros*. "The Spanish and Mexican vaqueros taught American cattle workers how to manage livestock. The traditions are still alive and well in the American West."[207] Further, vaqueros were essential for feeding soldiers and other workers at the time, including railroad workers.[208] By 1860, there was a record of people living in Oregon who were born in Mexico, which at the time could have included California and the Southwest as their place of birth, as these regions were part of Mexico until 1848. In the Census of the same year, "these individuals list the following as their occupations: miner, mule packer, washerwoman, seamstress, laborer; and they resided in Oregon City, The Dalles, Fairfield, Salem, Rogue River, and Josephine County."[209] Further, in the last decades of the 1800s and before the U.S. joined World War I, Mexican labor was critical to the work of expanding the railroads. "Just before World War I, the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, the Union Pacific Railroad, and the Oregon Short Line recruited Mexicans to work as laborers."[210]

By the mid- to late-1800s several important events made both the supply and demand for Mexican labor even more urgent. The first was Mexico's devastating loss of land after the Mexican-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo



*Migrant workers harvesting onions in the Willamette Valley, Oregon, 1962*

in 1848. This incredibly consequential event resulted in the dispossession of many Mexicans from their traditional lands, meaning that many were not anchored to a place and needed to migrate to sustain a livelihood. We discuss this in more detail next. The second event was the rising anti-Chinese and anti-Asian sentiment that resulted in the "curtailment of Chinese immigration in 1882 and the signing of the Gentlemen's Agreement, which put an end to the immigration of Japanese,"[211] which we discussed in the history of Chinese migration to Clackamas county above. So even before the larger migration of Latine workers that occurred in the early 20th century as the U.S. entered World War I, we see a much longer historical trajectory that connected Latine communities to Oregon.

## We Didn't Cross the Border, the (U.S.) Border Crossed Us: Institutional Racism and Immigration Policies

The slogan "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us" has long been "a rallying cry of the Mexican/Chicanx immigrant rights movements in the United States."[212] Before the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, Mexico extended up to Oregon's current southern border. Following the war and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico annexed over half of its territory to the United States and lost more than half of its territory. The U.S. annexation of land included much of California, the Southwest, and Texas. Many people living here were Mexican citizens.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ensured a transfer of property rights to Mexicans who opted for U.S. citizenship (90% opted in). Of course, only Mexicans who were racialized and counted as "white" – namely, those of Spanish or mestizo descent – were granted citizenship and the property ownership rights that come with citizen-ship.[213] However, even citizenship could not protect many Mexicans' rights over their property. In 1851, Congress passed the California Land Act (CLA), which "placed the burden on landowners to prove their title,"[214] despite the guarantee of Treaty of Gua-dalupe Hidalgo to protect "all property rights for Mexican citizens."[215] The passage of the CLA and the breaking of the Treaty ensured that many Mexicans were dispos-sessed of their land due to political pressure to open up lands for white settlers.

Following the Mexican-American War, many Mexicans were allowed free move-ment across the border according to seasonal growing patterns and to fulfill labor demands. But this freedom would erode with the introduction of increasingly strict immigration policies, which disrupted long-established trade and migration routes, divided Indigenous lands and connections, and set the conditions for an increasingly militarized U.S.-Mexican border. The phrase "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us" serves to make clear historic "claims to territory, citizenship rights, and cultural legacy that predate the current boundary between Mexico and the United States."[216] It also makes clear that the ongoing legacy of racism, and the policies upheld by racism and colonial desires for land for white settlers, has been the driving

force shaping many of the shared experiences of Latine people and communities.

The issue of borders, and by extension immigration policy, is central to the story of Latine Oregonians, as is the fraught relationship between the need for labor and the long-held desire to keep Oregon a "white-only" state. While the state has relied on Latine labor for centuries, it has also participated in campaigns to deport Latine communities, especially during times of national economic hardship when anti-immigrant sentiment is strongly articulated.

With the U.S. involvement in World War I and the resulting agricultural and industrial labor shortages, Oregon needed to recruit more workers, and thousands of Mexicans migrated to the state. By the 1930s, the Great Depression catalyzed a wave of nativist and anti-immigrant sentiment and policies; the most devastating for the Latine community was the policy of deportation. During this period, nationally, "500,000 Mexicans, 250,000 of them U.S. citizens of Mexican ancestry, were either forced to leave the country or were deported to Mexico.''[217] In Oregon, many Latine families retreated to rural parts of the state to avoid deportation roundups.[218]

This cycle would be repeated during World War II, when, again, Mexicans were recruited as workers to meet wartime labor shortages via the Bracero Program, and "Oregon imported over 15,000 laborers from Mexico between 1942 and 1947"[219] as farm and railroad workers. Many braceros settled in Oregon, but, because of their undocumented status, many were targets of yet another deportation campaign called "Operation Wetback." The city of Woodburn, Oregon, in particular experienced some of the highest number of raids during this time: "The city of Woodburn and other places where Mexican workers live were punctuated by the presence of sweeps through local farms and roads that picked up undocumented workers."[220] Over the following decades, there was a steady rise in the number of Latine communities establishing roots in Oregon. The 1980s in particular saw a rise in immigrants from Central America, and Guatemala especially, settling in Oregon to flee civil war and political violence and seek economic stability.[221] However, the continuous stigmatization of Latine communities and disruptions rooted in racism, xenophobia, and harsh immigration policy have, over decades, created economic insecurity. Unsurprisingly, economic insecurity of entire communities makes them desirable as workers, because employers can exploit their labor with little fear of being met with resistance or collective workplace organizing. Without workers' rights and immigration reforms that clear a path to citizenship and the rights and stability conferred with that status, Latine communities in Oregon will continue to be excluded from economic stability.

## Mobilizing Latine Workers in Oregon

Clackamas county is one of the most agriculturally productive regions in the United States. The county is a top exporter of Christmas trees and hosts a large number of nurseries. Furthermore, because of its proximity to the Willamette Valley, many Latine communities live in the county and work in the valley. These realities have

made Clackamas county a top destination for migrant workers; however, for many decades, agricultural workers have moved around according to seasonal growing conditions, staying in one place for a few months and then relocating, often to places near the Columbia Gorge or up into Washington.

The transient nature of this work and the threat that immigration policies create for permanent residence status have made it difficult for Latine communities to establish a sense of belonging in any one place. However, this is not to say that they do not experience belonging in other ways. For decades, familial connections and networks have been critical for recruiting workers, and they are also critical for creating a sense of belonging. Thus, the process of belonging to any place, no matter how long one stays there, is captured by the notion of "lived placemaking,"[222] or the everyday ways in which people create a sense of belonging – through, for example, family connections, informal gathering spaces, and recreational and faith-based activities. This is different from the dominant ways of fostering belonging, termed as "facilitated placemaking,"[223] which is created through formal processes that rely on dominant systems such as civic engagement, laws and policies, and gatherings in sanctioned spaces.

A tension that often arises is when facilitated placemaking strategies attempt to disrupt lived placemaking. This is most clearly demonstrated by the ways laws and policies are used to reinforce and uphold a sense of threat from communities that practice lived placemaking. For instance, one such tactic that uses governing approaches to disrupt lived placemaking is what Nicholas DeGenova (2002) calls "regimes of deportability."[224] Through media scaremongering and racist policy-making, this regime works to create a generalized fear of detention and deportation that "renders undocumented migrant labor a distinctly disposable commodity."[225] Disposability, then, becomes one of the most powerful operating features of how the dominant tries to disrupt efforts to create belonging among Latine communities.

How have Latine communities fought against attempts to disrupt their efforts to belong? One of the most effective forms of collective action has been to secure workers' rights through unionization. Farmworkers' unions in particular have been at the forefront of building power among Latine communities. One such union in Oregon is Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN). Being a direct representative of migrant farmworkers, PCUN's bottom-up mobilization fosters and supports lived placemaking that is so critical for Latine communities' sense of belonging. As opposed to dominant facilitated placemaking, which occurs through already established channels of power and is often done in top-down ways, PCUN's work is culturally specific and acts to counter dominant institutional power that has historically disrupted Latine efforts to build wealth, safety, and a sense of home in Oregon. When workers have access to affordable housing, fair employment practices, and living wages, they are able to become more embedded in their communities and create the conditions for well-being for themselves and for future generations.

# A Conversation with Johanna Ogden: Unsettling the White Pioneer Narrative and Raising Public Awareness about BIPOC Histories

The goal of this chapter has been to demonstrate the long-standing and deep connections that communities of color have had to Clackamas county and to Oregon. We hope that it contributes to the growing understanding and recognition of these connections and uplifts the lesser-known stories of people of color who have lived in the region. We were also intentional about contextualizing these stories by clarifying how racism operates and curtails the aspirations, desires, and lives of people of color. Without being honest and clear about this context, we rob ourselves of the possibility of moving toward racial justice with integrity.

In Oregon, we are in a moment of reckoning and reconciling with our past. For too long, the history of Oregon has been told from a powerful but limited perspective: that of the white pioneer. The power and danger of this perspective is that it creates and perpetuates the narrative and belief that the "American West" was a largely empty place that was civilized by and belongs solely to white settlers. This long-entrenched narrative is, however, being disrupted. Particularly in the last 15 years, histories are being uncovered and written that add nuance and complexity to the "white pioneer" narrative and challenge its dominance.

In this final section, we focus on the perspectives of one Oregon-based historian doing the work of unsettling the white pioneer narrative and centering the lives of people of color in the region. Johanna (Jo) Ogden has been gathering oral histories for years and visiting archives throughout the Pacific Northwest – in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia – to uncover the history of Punjabi communities. In 2012, Jo published a groundbreaking article in the Oregon Historical Quarterly called "Ghadar, Historical Silences, and Notions of Belonging." In 2024, Jo published her first book, called *Punjabi Rebels of the Columbia River: The Global Fight for Indian Independence and Citizenship*.[226] Through meticulous research, Jo uncovers the early 20th century Oregon origins of one of the most important anti-colonial movements – the Ghadar Movement – that challenged British rule in India. She breaks the silence about this community and contextualizes it within the rampant anti-Asian violence they experienced all along the West Coast and their oppression in India. Even Clackamas county figures into this story: In Boring, "an Asian Indian man was shot to death on Halloween 1907, the victim of a hate crime."[227] The Boring attack resulted in the West's first known trial and conviction of those who attacked Indians. Despite the racist violence, Indians settled in Oregon in its wake. Five years later, they organized a political movement and mobilized their community along the Columbia River – from

Astoria to The Dalles – forming a movement that spread to the world.

On May 16, 2024, Mira Mohsini interviewed Jo about her work, how she became interested in telling these stories, and how to raise awareness about BIPOC histories in Oregon. Our phone conversation was not recorded, and Mira took notes. What is presented below is an edited synthesis of our conversation, which includes some edits made by Jo.

**Mira:** Hi Jo! Thanks for doing this call with me. I'd like to start with asking you about the state of historical research in Oregon specific to BIPOC communities.

**Jo:** I've been involved with historical work for a number of years. I began as a volunteer in the historical community and then at PSU [Portland State University] studying Oregon history, including Black, Chicano, and Latinx history, public history, and later as a graduate student in British Columbia. Through all of this, I came to realize that the history of people of color in Oregon was terribly underrepresented. When I returned from B.C., however, I was and continue to be heartened by some of the changes… especially in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. But in many places and ways, we've really seen a shift away from the white pioneer narrative that had been so dominant. A lot of people have contributed to this shift besides the Oregon Historical Society. Events like "Race Talks" have been important. We've seen more awareness about Black exclusion in Oregon and the history of Chinese settlement. So many things have been part of cracking the egg open. And challenges continue, especially around diversifying the archives. If the archives aren't diverse, then our stories are not diversified. There's tons more work to be done, and there are a lot of people contributing excellent work.

**Mira:** Can you share more about what led to these shifts in the last decade?

**Jo:** From my perspective, Eliza Canty-Jones taking the helm of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* is notable. "Race Talks" and Walidah Imarisha's work out of Portland State University has been important in asking and answering the question, "Where's Oregon's Black history?" Carmen Thompson and Darrell Millner's individual work and their guest editing of *OHQ's* white supremacy issue was incredible. We've seen the growth of museums, like the Chinese, Jewish, and Japanese museums. Jennifer Fang's published work in *OHQ*, and also her work at the Pittock Mansion, of all places. PSU Professor Katy Barber's writings and training of public historians has been extremely influential. Vanport Mosaic's work. The folks behind the podcast and book *It Did Happen Here*. These are just a few – there are so many people contributing.

**Mira:** How can the white pioneer narrative, which is so central to telling the story of Oregon, be decentered or disrupted?

**Jo:** Bite down hard! You have to have a commitment, a reason for doing it. You also have to have a way to enter it, too. For me, 9//11 was pivotal. It was clear we need to do

more historical work about people from the Arab and Muslim world, and more to examine how people become othered in the blink of a political eye, as happened after 9/11. It wasn't until grad school that I was able to circle back to that idea. A scholar of Muslims in America suggested I look at Sikhs in early 1900s Oregon – which I did and was flabbergasted. So it was my own interest and a lot of luck that story ended up being my entry point.

I started by doing research in Astoria, which was a center of Punjabi life in Oregon in the early 20th century. I read newspapers and microfiche, and began to see the outlines of a much bigger story. Because I was in grad school at the time, I had a powerful library card and could access historians in India and elsewhere. I also traveled up and down the Columbia River, going through microfiche records in small towns – this was right before things became digitized. It's a lot of work trying to find people, thanks to white supremacy. I think it's important to understand that white supremacy is not a conspiracy; it's deeper than that. It is a dominant outlook that acts as a powerful filter about who counts and who doesn't. You can see it operating in the archives: excluding, limiting, and categorizing. But it's not that there aren't any records; there are, if often thin. One task of historians is excavation and that's profound, important work.  We all have to deal with how exclusion and subjugation has been integral to the American project.

**Mira:**  How can public awareness be raised about the histories and contributions of communities of color in Oregon?

**Jo:**  There are a bunch of ways. There are, of course, museums, and not just the flagship ones like the Oregon Historical Society, but important ones around the state. The *Oregon Historical Quarterly* journal is popular and rigorous. Public programming of all kinds is also effective. For example, Astoria city officials, the Sikh community, and I organized a three-day commemoration of Ghadar in Astoria in 2013 that brought people together from across the West and spread the word about Oregon's ties to this history far beyond the region. The Astoria event never would have happened without the OHQ publishing my research in 2012. So I think there's an important relationship between writing history and having it take root. There's also an important permeable membrane between the history we write and what gets picked up in the street, and vice versa.  The synergy between the 2020 Black Lives Matter movement here in Portland and *OHQ's* near-coincident white supremacy issue I think is an example of that. The journal deepened the understanding of some of the people in the streets and also of thousands of sympathetic onlookers. One small example of this dynamic between formal and street history was a two-block long BLM graffiti piece that appeared on the streets of St. Johns that summer.  Each letter included bits of Oregon BIPOC history, including about the 1910 anti-Indian St. John's riot I had recently written about.

Part of what writing history does is that it gives us a way of talking about who we are with a longer lens. On the flip side, seeing yourself and your community represented in and integral to our collective history gives you a toehold, an understanding that

you've been here and belong. That's one form of resistance.

**Mira:**    Thank you so much, Jo. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

**Jo:**    This place has always been much more diverse than most of us believe. We have to be careful about how we talk about a lack of diversity, because without care, it can further erase [BIPOC communities]. When you say things like "Oregon is the whitest state in the country" without understanding the complications of that, you can inadvertently reinforce it. Whiteness is and has been an active process; it's not an abstraction, but an action against a lived reality. Oregon has been a place of many peoples for many, many years and continues to be. We need to continue to ask how active whiteness is essential to Oregon history and complicate our stories accordingly.

# CHAPTER SIX

# CASE STUDIES

*"The stories people tell are deeply entwined with their sense of justice and belonging. To understand these narratives is to engage with their struggles for justice."*

— *Lila Abu-Lughod*[228]

———

*"The story of a people is the story of their struggle. Through storytelling, we understand the injustices and seek to overcome them."*

— *José Martí*[229]

*Wildwood Recreation Site.*
*Bureau of Land Management*

# We welcome you, dear reader, to the heart of this research justice study.

In this chapter, we take you on a tour of Clackamas county from the perspectives of people of color who live, work, worship, and play there. Similar to our historical tour of the county in Chapter Five, where we uplifted lesser-known histories of the connections that communities of color have to this place, here, we uplift their present-day lived experiences.

The 10 case studies presented in this chapter are grouped into four themes:

- Newly arrived
- Always been here
- Navigating essential institutions
- Dominant involvement in community belonging

Each case study involved some form of community engagement, whether it took the form of hosting a community gathering, circulating a survey, or conducting interviews. Each case study follows a similar format – purpose, setting of the engagement, reality, strengths and challenges, and solutions. These case studies set the context for issues important to steering committee members and their communities. They focus on a particular area and population(s) to understand their concerns and desires. Further details about each case study, including study-specific quantitative data points, can be found in Appendix A and B. The questions asked during data collection for each case study can be found in Appendix C.

# NEWLY ARRIVED

The three case studies included in "Newly Arrived" illuminate the experiences of immigrants who settle in Clackamas county. Although immigrant communities have diverse experiences of arriving and settling in the county, they often share a strong desire to find stable work. However, finding employment, especially if English is a second (or third or fourth) language, can prove difficult. Further, those immigrants who become self-employed and start their own small businesses face multiple challenges navigating bureaucratic systems. The three case studies in this section are about: (1) Latine communities migrating to and working in Mt. Hood; (2) Chinese and Latine community members seeking employment in the county; and (3) immigrants of color opening small businesses in the county and, more broadly, BIPOC experiences of small business ownership.

# Memory and Migration: Voices of Latine Communities from Mt. Hood

## Purpose

When people think about communities of color in Clackamas, they tend to assume these communities largely live in suburban and urban locations surrounding the Portland Metro area. However, communities of color, especially Latine communities, span the landscape and are found even in the most remote areas presumed to be primarily white. These communities make a home in these unlikely places in part out of necessity, fleeing conflict, or to find economic opportunities. The media has paid extra attention to the immigration rate in the past few years. However, we know from previous sections of this report that migration in Clackamas and Oregon is not novel but has occurred throughout history in waves that match the ebb and flow of need and opportunity. Because of this history, those who have migrated to rural communities have established roots there for decades, and their families have shaped the landscape of Clackamas into what it is today. Cristina (Cris), one of our steering committee members, came from a community with such roots at the base of Mt. Hood.

Cris's grandparents came to Mt. Hood from Mexico, and since then, she, her family, and the community have watched the environment change. She and her sister are co-founders of Mt. Hood Unidas, a nonprofit organization that empowers Latine folks in the Mt. Hood region through resources and community building. Cris is a quintessential community leader, and her dedication to those living near the mountain has been felt since the beginning of our time together. Cris was initially apprehensive about participating in our project due to our association with the Clackamas County government. This apprehension was rooted in an all-to-common fear that the County would exploit the voices and experiences of those she holds dear. Not only did we understand her apprehension, but we also respected her unwillingness to have her community misrepresented and put in danger. We are so grateful that Cris entrusted us with her community's stories. Her project is a love letter to the community she has dedicated her life to uplifting and illustrates a part of Clackamas county we were privileged to see firsthand.

## Methods

Cris conducted 10 interviews with community members who live near Mt. Hood. Many of the community members she interviewed have been living in the area for decades. Interviewees had migrated to Clackamas for a variety of reasons. Some were the first to build the Mexican community in the 1960s as young adults, while others arrived later, during childhood. Despite their differences, each story tells us what creating a community entails in Clackamas county.

During the interviews, community members were asked about their experiences arriving in Clackamas county, what contributed to their feelings of belonging, and what prevented a sense of belonging. As these were semi-structured interviews, Cris often let the interviewee veer off into storytelling or making connections in their own

ways. This is an excellent way to gather rich and robust data about lived experiences that may otherwise be missed if, for instance, a survey was administered instead. Interviews lasted anywhere between 30 minutes and an hour. Cris received permission to audio record her interviews. We at the CCC analyzed interviews using qualitative data software and shared our analysis with Cris to confirm our interpretation.

### Reality

In Clackamas, there are over 35,000 immigrants, and 30% of them were born in Latin American countries.[230] Pathways to arrival are as numerous as the reasons for migrating to Clackamas. Some folks in the Mt. Hood community followed already established families, reuniting with a family member or other families settled there. Some folks brought other community members to the mountain on their journeys or met up with folks along the way. Many community members remember traveling from Mexico to Oregon via many modes of transportation. Others experienced arrival with the help of smugglers, also known as "Coyotes." Few community members believed Mt. Hood was going to be their long-term home. They were there due to a short-term job opportunity that became a long-term job. At the same time, others decided to settle permanently for family or because their employers sponsored them.

Regardless of the mode of transportation and reason for settling, the next step for all was to find a steady income. In the Mt. Hood area, most community members had jobs in the restaurant and resort industries. Across Clackamas county, the majority of Latin American immigrants are employed (72.9%), and over half are working in service or maintenance occupations (e.g., construction).[231] The Mt. Hood community members' experiences working in rural Clackamas were wide-ranging. Many had positive experiences; they made friends quickly among their co-workers and were treated like family by their employers. Sometimes these favorable conditions didn't last long, especially when management would change and the workplace became toxic. The work they found was not without hardships. Those working in resorts were met with a physically demanding and dangerous trek up the mountain, which became even more risky for those doing late night shifts. Nationally, Latine immigrants have the highest number of fatal workplace injuries, especially those working in construction.[232]

For those individuals who lacked documentation, their immigration status created profound challenges to settling in Clackamas. Community members without documentation needed to find informal ways of making money. Many had to support themselves by selling goods under the state's regulatory radar. These community members had to live in fear of the state shutting them down, being evicted by landlords, and, at worst, removal and deportation of themselves and their families. This fear forced community members into difficult positions, such as moving back and forth between Clackamas and Mexico. Others were forced to live in difficult conditions out of necessity to remain imperceivable by the state. This fear was compounded by the constant difficulty of finding housing and staying housed, a reality shared by many living in rural Clackamas county. We know from data collected via focus groups[233] that

BIPOC residents share concerns about the lack of affordable housing options; this is worsened by the lack of rent caps in rural areas.[234] Furthermore, we know that rental units are often poorly maintained.

Community-Desired Solutions

One of the shared sentiments that emerged from interviews is that belonging is a sense of home and feels like being part of an extended family. Today, there are generations of Latine families that call the mountain their home and have contributed immensely to the community we see there today. There is a sense of continuity: The early migrants of the 1960s have since had children and grandchildren; they continue to be anchors of the community and continue to support their families. When others arrived in later decades, many were welcomed by a large community of majority Latine neighbors. The community at the foot of the mountain provided community care and a sense of home to newcomers. They extended their friendships and shared their culture despite language and cultural differences between neighbors outside of the Latine community.

In Clackamas, 11.2% of the population speaks a language other than English.[235] Language barriers prevent many from feeling like they belong. Many community members had to learn English upon arrival; those who could not, especially older community members, felt a distinct sense of isolation. Some community members blocked the memories of not being able to communicate in English. Those who did remember recount how alienating it was to feel behind compared to their classmates. Many Latine youth across the county may be experiencing similar feelings of alienation. There are an estimated 4,733 youth (ages 5 - 17) who speak Spanish, and 6.2% of these youth have limited English.[236] Learning English should be fun and provide positive memories for youth and adults. More supportive teachers are needed to help community members learn English while encouraging belonging and acceptance.

We learned from community members that belonging is not necessarily a fixed, point-in-time experience ("Now I belong") but can change throughout a person's life. One participant shared that they felt welcomed by the Latine community when they arrived as a kid. Still, as a teenager, they wanted to fit in with white people but never did, and later in life, they reconnected with the Latine community. Others experienced similar changes in their sense of belonging throughout time. For some, belonging took years, while others experienced less belonging over time. Others found belonging in unsuspected communities (not Latine or white), while others felt disconnected from everyone. Overarchingly, for interviewees, belonging is about acceptance of differences, including language differences. Further, belonging is something that feels like being part of a family; it is a form of kinship. While not all community members directly experienced belonging in all of these ways, there was a sense of agreement among interviewees that the notion of belonging does consist of certain common components.

With belonging experienced as a deep feeling of connectedness akin to family – both biological and nonbiological family – experiences of disconnection and forced

assimilation often prevents the fostering of belonging. When it came to building con-nections with the white community living in Mt. Hood, many Latine community mem-bers shared similar challenges. Not all Latine community members felt connected to or welcomed by their white neighbors. Interviewees shared that white residents had negative stereotypes of Latine people and their neighborhoods. Community members noted feeling a savior complex toward the Latine community from their white neighbors, which caused further division. These differences in culture and class made it uncomfortable for Latine members to venture out of their communities. Other community members noted that they desired to be closer to whiteness as they aged. For example, they would change their names to more English-sounding versions. For Latine and BIPOC communities, it is expected to assimilate into the white dom-inant cultures to be accepted. However, assimilation does not lead to the belong-ing they desire and contributes to alienation from the Latine community. There are many positives to embracing diversity rather than excluding communities or forcing assimilation. To encourage thriving rural communities, it is essential for white com-munity members to make space for different cultures and be curious and respectful of differences rather than expecting others to fall in line with the dominant culture. We have models from across the country of predominantly white rural communities being welcoming to newly arrived immigrants and how this has led to the communi-ty's growth.[237]

# Immigrants Seeking Employment: Chinese and Latine Communities' Challenges with the Job Search

### Purpose
Finding employment is essential for belonging, and the ever-increasing cost of living makes it more difficult for residents to settle and remain in Clackamas county. Emily Cooper has been a longtime resident of the county and intimately knows the social and economic challenges of being an immigrant. During our time together, we had many conversations about how alienating Clackamas county can be, especially with the pressure to assimilate. To be a nonwhite American in Clackamas county has its difficulties, but that has never deterred Emily from building and bettering the com-munity around her.

Emily serves as a long-standing member of the Leaders for Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Council (LEDIC) in the County, a group with a long history of examining what Clackamas County could be doing better for its diverse residents. Emily was working in the County during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. She was one of the many people of color across Oregon that the government relied on to reach non-English speaking, rural, and immigrant communities in efforts to get them infor-mation, personal protective equipment, and vaccines. At the beginning of our work together, jobs like these were being phased out, and Emily was looking for employ-ment. Like other counties, Clackamas is well practiced in hiring, firing, and rehiring

BIPOC people as crises oscillate. This practice unequally benefits governments while disadvantaging those like Emily, whom the county depends on. Through this experience, Emily designed a survey to capture other immigrants' experiences searching for and securing work in Clackamas county.

## Methods

The survey was disseminated in November 2021 to Latine and Asian community members. Emily and her colleague, Pillar, sent the survey link throughout their networks via social media and word of mouth. The survey consisted of quantitative and qualitative questions to ascertain the challenges experienced by unemployed and employed community members when looking for jobs. The CCC researchers conducted the quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis was conducted by Dr. Angie Carter, whose reflections are present in this case study. There were 142 participants; 88 indicated they were employed, and 54 indicated they were unemployed.

We did not ask for immigration status in the survey, as is our practice for the safety and security of our community members. However, we know that most participants (60.6%) had been in the United States for 10 or more years. For this case study, we will focus on the experiences of respondents who indicated they are currently employed or unemployed.

**Characteristics of Unemployed Participant**

Among unemployed community members (n = 54), 74% were employed within the last year and were in the market for another position fairly recently (see Table 6.1 for time since previous employment). Most (81%) of these community members had applied for jobs within the past year.

Table 6.1 – Time Passed since Last Employment

| TIME SINCE LAST EMPLOYMENT | NUMBER | PERCENT |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Less than one month | 8 | 14.8 |
| One year | 20 | 37 |
| 1 - 2 years | 12 | 22.2 |
| 2 - 5 years | 11 | 20.4 |
| 5 - 10 years | 2 | 3.7 |
| 10 years or more | 1 | 1.9 |

During the time this survey was administered, there was a record-breaking number of job vacancies, the highest in the past seven years.[238] Most of the vacancies were in the leisure, hospitality, health care, and social assistance industries.[239] On average,

unemployed participants applied to three to four jobs last year. However, the number of jobs they applied to ranged from one to 10. Among the few community members who had not applied to jobs in the past year, there were very specific barriers to job applications. Some did not have the correct paperwork; others had personal problems, or had difficulty locating a job that fit their needs. Most said that childcare needs, especially during the pandemic, prevented them from applying for jobs.

Unemployed community members shared that they are seeking employment in a variety of areas. Below is a table showing the job types that respondents applied to (see Table 6.2).

**Table 6.2** – Applications by Job Type

| JOB TYPE | NUMBER | PERCENT |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Accounting / finance | 11 | 20.4 |
| Administrative | 1 | 1.9 |
| Architecture / design | 3 | 5.6 |
| Construction / facilities | 1 | 1.9 |
| Customer service | 4 | 7.4 |
| Domestic care (family caregiver) | 2 | 3.7 |
| Education / training | 5 | 9.3 |
| Engineering / computer | 7 | 13 |
| Healthcare | 4 | 7.4 |
| Hospitality / travel | 3 | 5.6 |
| Law enforcement / security | 1 | 1.9 |
| Manufacturing / labor | 7 | 11.1 |
| Marketing / advertising | 7 | 13 |
| Retail / sales | 7 | 13 |
| Transportation / logistics | 5 | 9.3 |
| Upper management / consulting | 2 | 3.7 |
| Other: please specify | 1 | 1.9 |

**Characteristics of Currently Employed Participants**

Among employed community members, 65% had been employed at their current job for five years or less (see Table 6.3).

**Table 6.3** – Length of Time Employed

| TIME EMPLOYED | NUMBER | PERCENT |
|---|---|---|
| Less than one year | 23 | 26.1 |
| 1 - 2 years | 17 | 19.3 |
| 2 - 5 years | 25 | 28.1 |
| 5 - 10 years | 12 | 17 |
| 10 years or more | 7 | 8 |
| Missing data | 1 | 1 |

Employed participants were asked what role they held in their current position. The vast majority were in entry-level (59.0%) or manager positions (28.4%) (see Table 6.4). Employed community members had jobs in a variety of sectors (see Table 6.5).

**Table 6.4** – Current Role in Organization

| ROLE IN ORGANIZATION | NUMBER | PERCENT |
|---|---|---|
| Entry level | 52 | 50.1 |
| Manager | 25 | 28.4 |
| Senior management | 2 | 2.3 |
| Executive director | 8 | 9 |
| Other | 1 | 1.1 |

## Table 6.5 – Current Employment by Job Type

| JOB TYPE | NUMBER | PERCENT |
|---|---|---|
| Accounting / finance | 8 | 9.1 |
| Administrative | 4 | 4.5 |
| Architecture / design | 1 | 1.1 |
| Construction / facilities | 2 | 2.3 |
| Customer service | 6 | 6.8 |
| Domestic care (family caregiver) | 3 | 3.4 |
| Education / training | 10 | 11.4 |
| Engineering / computer | 7 | 8 |
| Government | 3 | 3.4 |
| Healthcare | 6 | 6.8 |
| Hospitality / travel | 4 | 4.5 |
| Law enforcement / security | 1 | 1.1 |
| Manufacturing / labor | 6 | 6.8 |
| Marketing / advertising | 6 | 6.8 |
| Retail / sales | 13 | 14.8 |
| Transportation / logistics | 7 | 8 |
| Upper management / consulting | 4 | 4.5 |
| Other: please specify | 5 | 5.7 |

### *Reality*

### Employment is necessary to stay in Clackamas

The desire to work and live in Clackamas County was high for those seeking employment and currently employed. Community members felt that Clackamas county had much to offer regarding nature, outdoor recreation, and easy access to quiet spaces. Community members enjoyed Clackamas county's diversity of people and beliefs, and noted that it was a great location to start a family. Many wished to stay in the area for these reasons and to stay close to their extended families who had been residents

for a long time. These community members noted how much they enjoyed contributing to the Clackamas community. However, among community members, 76% said getting a job in Clackamas county was essential for them to stay there.

These community members sought to earn enough income to afford to live in the area, while also having access to the high quality of life they valued. In addition, for many it was important to remain in Clackamas county because it would save them time in commutes and allow them more time with family. However, immigrants and BIPOC folks have specific barriers to searching for and securing employment in Clackamas.

**Social networks are necessary for employment in Clackamas**
Among the community members who were able to find employment, most found their jobs through their social networks: friends (33), family (one), and networks specific to their cultural groups, e.g., Chinese Service Center (one), Chinese newspaper (one) or Taiwanese network (one). Community members identified the importance of social networks in developing the practical strategies needed to navigate the job market and the emotional support to continue job searches. For those for whom computer or English language skills were not strong, family and friends were especially valuable in job searching. Some community members (33) noted using online websites such as Monster, LinkedIn, Indeed, etc. It is essential to remain cognizant of the digital divide in Clackamas county; publicly available data for Asian and multiracial groups in the county shows that over 1,200 do not have access to the Internet, and 1,000 do not have a computer at home.[240] Many participants noted needing support from friends and family when using online searches or websites. There are still significant barriers to the job process for those with and without social networks.

Social networks are always crucial in a job hunt, especially for those unfamiliar with or new to seeking jobs in the area. It is said that 80% of jobs are secured via personal connections.[241] Social network barriers for BIPOC people are well documented nationally. White prospective employees often have access to social networks through family relations or alumni networks that BIPOC people do not.[242] When BIPOC people have networks with people in their desired industry, it does not mean they will have the same access to job opportunities. A 2019 study researching the difference in the networks of Black and white prospective employees found that their utilization of social networks was the same. Both participant groups had social networks strategically placed in the company, meaning they knew someone familiar with the employer or the company. However, Black participants were ultimately disadvantaged because those in their social networks were less likely to advocate for them on their behalf.[243] Although social networks are helpful, BIPOC people and immigrants need more support to have an equal chance in the job market.

*Challenges*
Participants were asked to describe the challenges and resources needed in the hiring process, including four stages: job search, application, interview, and post-interview. In the analysis, three types of challenges to the hiring process were identified:

- **Personal challenges** (those unique to applicants' situations/experiences),
- **Cultural challenges** (those that stemmed from not understanding expectations or norms in the industry or U.S. job searches), and
- **Institutional challenges** (those embedded within the hiring process itself).

**Personal challenges**: Among community members, job location, education, and English language proficiency requirements were the most mentioned personal challenges. As mentioned above, our community members need to stay in Clackamas, but many job opportunities are located in places requiring a long commute and with no remote or part-time options. This is especially difficult for those with family responsibilities, like finding childcare. Many community members mentioned education level as a barrier to hiring for a position. Some positions are biased toward those with a college degree or require specific certification. Others mention needing more knowledge or experience in the field they are interested in. Those continuing their education noted challenges in time management between work and school.

English proficiency was a significant barrier for community members at every hiring process step. Community members found barriers in the English-only applications and cover letters, needed help communicating during the interviews, and needed help communicating with co-workers if they were hired. From the survey, 14% of the community members said they could have spoken better. Even among those with higher English proficiency, communicating their experience or answering technical questions effectively took time and effort. Resources and support are needed for job applicants with lower English proficiency. And data shows that this need is present throughout the county. The map below draws on 2020 Census data and shows the percentage of Clackamas residents who indicated their ability to speak English is "not well" (Figure 6.1). There are several areas where over 4% of the population (darker purple) cannot speak English well. The map shows that linguistic needs are present throughout Clackamas, beyond just urban areas.

**Cultural challenges**: Many community members faced cultural challenges that acted as barriers to securing a position. Some challenges were mentioned during and after the job interview. Community members sometimes struggle to connect with the interviewer. Some found it difficult to answer questions or understand what the interviewer was looking for in their answer. Others had difficulty understanding the interviewer when they used irony or sarcasm. Post-interview, members did not know if or when it was appropriate to follow up. Those who did secure the job still found it challenging to make a personal connection with co-workers.

The U.S. has a specific interview and job culture vastly different from others and poses a unique challenge to those who immigrate. For example, some participants needed guidance on when it was appropriate to ask for feedback after interviews or felt confused during the interview questions.

FIGURE 6.1

Residents with Lower English Language Proficiency in Clackamas County*



**Ability to Speak English "Not Well" for the Population 5 Years and Over by Census Tract in Clackamas County:**

This Census tract has a population of less than 100 people and can cause some of the Census data to be misleading

Speak English "Not Well" Percentage of Total Population

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2020

Created by: Matthew Foley, 2022
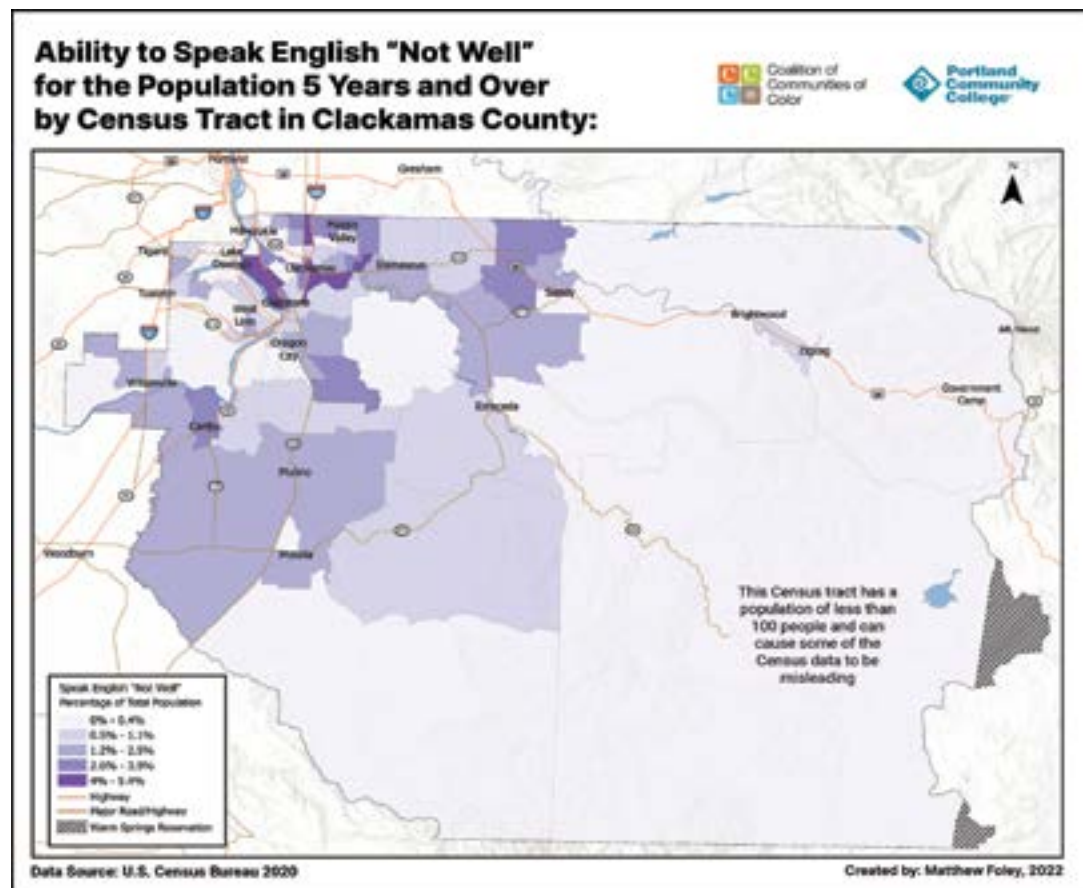
*This map also appears in Figure 3.1.

**Institutional challenges**: In addition to asking about the barriers community members faced during the job process, we asked them to describe any experiences of unfairness. Although 43 respondents noted that they did not experience unfairness, many respondents noted some form of discrimination – ageism, sexism, racism (and specifically, anti-Asian racism), sexual orientation discrimination, bias against non-citizens or English as a second language speakers – during the job process.

Most respondents did not give specific examples as to what this discrimination looked like in practice but instead made broad statements such as "Asians have fewer interview opportunities" or "The company is sexist." One respondent did note a specific discriminatory practice but did not note with which employer this occurred, just noting that in the interview, the interviewer "asked about sexual orientation." It makes sense that applicants would be unlikely to report incidents or inappropriate questions or to single out specific employers since the respondents are in a vulnerable position as applicants needing jobs.

Intersectionality had an impact on the experiences of community members, especially among Asian women. They expressed that they are not viewed or have the same privileges as white women, and do not receive the same resources as women in other minoritized groups. For example, one respondent explained, "A general perception

would be that as Asian women, we are not considered people of color or females that actually need the kind of help that other people of color and other women of color would need. Sometimes I feel like I should be proud, sometimes sad, and sometimes mad about this." Similarly, one respondent said, "I've been to the Portland city job fair for minorities, handed out a couple of resumes, never heard back. Would suspect because I'm an Asian woman and not other colors," and another noted, "Diversity seems not to favor Asians."

Other biases create challenges for BIPOC communities that originate from institutional barriers. Community members felt discriminated against based on their education level or lack of college degrees. Other factors include bias toward being a single parent, having children, and marital status. Community members felt that employers preferred locals or those with degrees from English-language institutions, which was present throughout the job search process and then again when starting and keeping jobs.

It is important also to consider how discriminating practices show up even in what are assumed to be neutral parts of the job hiring process. During the survey, community members mentioned several ways the job application infrastructure prevents them from applying for and securing positions. One community member noted that the online application forms often do not allow for international phone numbers that immigrants or those with international work experience must enter for former employers and/or references. This puts such applicants at an unfair disadvantage and may mean their applications are not moved forward. In addition, community members explained how the lack of transparency in job descriptions causes them to waste their time on jobs that do not fit their needs. Employers should be instructed on the importance of clarity in job descriptions, listed salaries, and whether remote/hybrid options can be negotiated. Participants also needed flexibility in scheduling for childcare/eldercare, and some online job information in job banks is inaccurate. Unlike the previous institutional challenges, these challenges can be fixed by employers.

*"I grew up here and went to school here, and I have always been attracted to the beautiful scenery and friendly people. It is a great place to raise a family, and I enjoy living here. There are many things that I like about living in Clackamas county, but the most important thing is having a job so that I can support my family."*

*- Survey respondent*

### Community-Desired Solutions

To address the barriers to BIPOC folks finding and securing employment, resources must be available for those seeking jobs, and changes must be made among employers. For resources, community members need opportunities to deepen their skills in all aspects of the job application process. These included training in basic computer skills, conducting online searches, developing their profiles on professional websites (e.g., LinkedIn), preparing application materials (e.g., tailored resumes and cover letters), practicing interviewing, and practicing negotiating compensation. These classes need to be accessible and flexible with community members' schedules by having trainings offered online and being downloadable. All resources must be offered in multiple languages.

Among those employed, strategies for finding and securing a job included engaging their social networks of family, friends, and colleagues to identify opportunities and finding mentorship in the job searching process. These strategies helped on a number of fronts: Tailoring resumes and cover letters, developing strong application materials, preparing for interviews through researching the companies, doing practice or mock interviews, developing questions to ask during the interview, and ensuring that thank yous and requests for feedback were sent to interviewers. However, those newly arrived residents who do not yet have robust social networks recognized that they were at a disadvantage.

The county needs to provide avenues for mentorship and peer-to-peer support for those seeking employment. Having a short course on conducting a job search online and then tailoring job application materials to highlight applicant strengths while addressing the keywords and requirements in the job posting helps job applicants feel they are less in the dark and not wasting their time. A follow-up course could include preparing for and succeeding in interviewing or creating online accounts on LinkedIn and other networking sites. These could even be recorded as a webinar and put online, though this still wouldn't reach those who need help with their online skills. Employers also need to be aware of the culturally specific networks that BIPOC community members use to share positions, such as the Chinese Service Center, Chinese newspapers, and the Taiwanese network. Posting open positions on these platforms will ensure all Clackamas residents know about the available opportunities.

Training for employers needs to be offered so they understand and can fix the ways their systems discriminate against BIPOC community members. For example, one community member shared that providing phone numbers for references or past employers is hard when these numbers are international numbers requiring more than 10 digits. Still, the online forms have space for only 10 digits. Making it a standard policy to post job salary or hourly compensation ranges in postings and keeping currently open positions updated in online portals would help applicants save time applying for positions that pay too low for them or that are no longer open. These are some of the many solutions proposed by community members that would make the job search process more accessible and make it easier to make a home in Clackamas.

# Ambition and Small Business Ownership: BIPOC Immigrants Doing Business and Building Community

## *Purpose*

Two steering committee members, Chomba and Kalkidan, hosted this engagement. Chomba is an immigrant from Zambia and owns Energy Iz Everything LLC, a business focusing on organizational capacity building consulting. He works closely with community-based organizations in Clackamas county and the Clackamas County Public Health Division. Kalkidan Ezra is an immigrant from Ethiopia and has been an adult foster home provider serving people with developmental disabilities for the last 14 years. She has been working closely with the County's Developmental Disability Department and is one of an estimated 130 providers. Both Chomba and Kalkidan's passion for communities of color has been palpable from our first project meeting together. Watching them gather community together and become good friends as they worked together was a joy.

The event occurred in Portland's city center, and the theme was "Luxury." A local Ethiopian family catered food for the event, and a "balloon wall" was beautifully decorated to emphasize a spirit of community and joy (see Figure 6.2). We spent a long time discussing where to hold this event for people who have a complicated relationship with the county and often feel they need to be more appreciated. The event and theme were chosen to provide an experience away from Clackamas County, work, and responsibility. The setting was beautiful, with sprawling views of the city, an intricate balloon sculpture, delicious Ethiopian food, and deep conversation. It was a perfect space to host an event and bring people together for an evening of dreaming of a better Clackamas.

**FIGURE 6.2**
A Community Gathering of BIPOC Small Business Owners

*"One of the reasons some of us do business is because we know what is best for us and want more for our families and communities. It is also true that as much as we might love doing business, sometimes it can seem like a lonely path, a journey where we are always busy working and not connecting much with others in our communities…. We are inviting you to an evening of networking and conversations about what it means to be a BIPOC business owner, particularly in Clackamas County"*

*- Chomba Kaluba and Kalkidan Ezra, Letter to Community Members*

## Methods

The data was collected in a focus group-style discussion facilitated and recorded by the researchers. The attendees were asked six questions about their business experiences in Clackamas county and what they would like to see changed. Most attendees were in the developmental disability foster care industry, but others had worked elsewhere or owned other businesses in Clackamas. The attendees' areas of work ranged from consultants operating a non-profit to engineering. The data below reflects what was learned through these discussions.

## Realities

Attendees had been working and living in Clackamas county for between six and 20 years, and many of them were influential in helping other business owners in their communities get started in the county. Peer-to-peer relationships were invaluable for building and sustaining successful businesses in the county. Business owners often share resources, mentorship, and networking opportunities, and offer emotional support for aspiring business owners. Without this support, many new business owners who participated in this engagement would not have known where to start. Yet, all of the work that these established business owners do is entirely uncompensated. Why do they do it? The main reason is to provide their community members with opportunities, but they also do it because the County does not provide this kind of information or support. The overall sentiment was that due to a lack of organized resources from the County, it is the responsibility of BIPOC business owners to usher in the next generation of entrepreneurs.

Becoming a business owner offers freedom, but it also comes with a myriad of challenges. These challenges are particularly taxing as an immigrant in Clackamas county. For starters, the County provides few resources, and information (e.g., resources for licensing) is primarily offered in English. In Clackamas, 1.15% of adults (age 18-64) speak a language other than English,[244] and 4.2% of all households speak limited English.[245] Residents who do not speak English will need help with utilizing the County's English resources. New business owners need support in understanding what is legally, physically, and mentally required to run their own business.

Then there are the challenges experienced by established business owners. Not only do they need more resources, but they also need help with the demands of everyday tasks like bookkeeping and compliance requirements. Both require a capacity that is not accessible to many small businesses. The County provides no training or resources to address these barriers, and those who do not comply are financially punished. In addition, finding a brick-and-mortar location in Clackamas county is exceedingly difficult, with few options. Finding a location is essential for registering a business in the county, and it can be a months long process.

Established business owners are often sources of jobs and services to BIPOC communities. This can also put them in a position to be good mentors and community stewards. In 2018, BIPOC small business owners employed 7,152 Oregonians.[246] BIPOC business owners provide additional support in their communities in Clackamas, such as youth education opportunities. These business owners value the specific skills people of color bring to their business that other establishments may see as filling only a temporary need. For instance, one business owner in developmental disability foster care hired a bilingual employee and kept this employee even after their client was no longer using their services. Instead of the County referring another client, they advised this business owner to terminate their employee. However, this business owner chose to keep them, despite it being an extra cost to the business, because she valued this employee's livelihood and knew they could have non-English-speaking clients in the future. This business owner prioritized the employee and the community over a dominant institution's recommendation.

Many of these businesses could provide more services and economic value if more funding opportunities were available to them. In Clackamas county, BIPOC businesses are not given the same funding streams as nonprofit organizations, despite serving similar communities. The lack of opportunities given to BIPOC business owners is not an issue only in Clackamas county. The 2023 State of Oregon Disparity Study found that statewide government agencies failed to provide avenues to work with minority-owned and women-owned business owners due to the costly and competitive nature of the procurement process.[247] With more funding, accessible resources, training, and general support from the County, more BIPOC businesses would be able to flourish in Clackamas.

BIPOC business owners are dedicated to serving their communities because they wish to see them thrive, even as they are aware of the lack of support from institutions.

During the engagement event, business owners discussed the barriers that discourage BIPOC folks from starting and operating businesses. The process of starting a business in Clackamas is cumbersome. There are few resources for getting started and fewer resources for those who are immigrants and non-English speakers. In Oregon, there are an estimated 31,058 immigrant small business owners.[248] Although established BIPOC business owners offer support, there are not enough role models for those who are just starting. There need to be better institutional infrastructure and programs to support and collaborate with immigrant and BIPOC business owners. This is a clear need expressed by the attendees who work closely with the County in Disability Services and Programs.

During the engagement event, attendees all agreed that navigating the foster care provider system came with confusion and frustration. Many attendees articulated their passion for providing for those in need, but they expressed concerns about how the County's actions made this a difficult endeavor. Providers shared that they do need support from the County (e.g., loans and funding), especially regarding capacity, improving access to information, and dealing with racist clients. However, when a need is expressed, the County offers no support or acknowledgment. Attendees said the County often treats them punitively and paternalistically. For instance, rather than addressing the problem, the County punishes the business owner by removing the client – often to the determinant of both the business owner and client.

*"Even though we do so much for the County, we don't feel appreciated, and we feel it's because we're Black."*

*-Attendee*

In addition, consistent and helpful communication with the County can be tricky for providers. Monthly meetings are established, but they lack the relevant resources needed by providers. With the tendency to treat BIPOC providers punitively, the relationship continues to be strained. This is worsened by the lack of action taken by the County to fix these issues, and worse, by the fact that when individuals speak up, they are punished. Collective power is also discouraged by the County, and it is difficult to collaborate with other providers. Unions were a previous strategy used to aid BIPOC providers, but those in the unions were making an unsustainably low income compared to those not affiliated, and the unions dissolved. The power dynamic between the County and providers is evident in how easy it is for the County to control providers' livelihoods. It is well known among the attendees that the County heavily favors white established businesses when referring clients. It is clear to providers that diversity and inclusion training is needed among the County staff.

### Community-Desired Solutions

The attendees were asked: What would make Clackamas County more hospitable for BIPOC and immigrant businesses? There was consensus on the need for more accessible resources to all people, not just English speakers. Among these resources, a manual or training needs to be offered for new or prospective business owners. Additionally, all attendees wanted business owners to have a network to gather, share experiences, and connect for peer-to-peer support. Business owners who offer mentorship need to be financially compensated for the time and energy spent supporting the next generation of business owners.

Providers called for more County transparency about its operations (e.g., the referral process). In addition, the County needs to reinstate training for providers to continue their education and receive resources. Again, this training needs to be offered in multiple languages. Meetings and communications with the County must include more relevant and accessible information. Regarding improving the County's relationship with all business owners, the attendees called for increased accountability and commissioner involvement in their concerns. Immigrant BIPOC business owners demand to be recognized for their contributions to the County. For this to happen, their communities and values must be adequately represented and reflected in decision-making.

Newly arrived folks have always been essential in building our communities but have not always been supported and welcomed institutionally. To foster belonging among our immigrant and BIPOC communities, more culturally and linguistically relevant resources are needed upon their arrival. There must be resources on starting the visa or citizenship process and what jobs are available. There also need to be more training opportunities for community members to improve their skills for the workforce or the hiring process (e.g., interviews, cover letters, resumes). In addition, BIPOC and immigrant communities need to have resources and training to start their business ventures and know how to begin the process and operate a business in the long term.

Equally importantly, BIPOC and immigrant communities need more avenues to connect. Mentorship is helpful for those who have just started their businesses or are looking for employment and can also help them find community upon arrival. Finding pathways to make these resources available demonstrates that Clackamas county is where immigrants are welcomed and belong. When BIPOC people and immigrants are supported, it makes Clackamas even stronger.

# PART TWO:

# ALWAYS BEEN HERE

———

The needs and desires of communities of color that do not have a history of recent immigration to the county are highlighted here. In particular, we focus on Native and Black communities that, despite being the targets of racist policies, laws, and practices, and violent forms of erasure for centuries, have continued to remain connected to the county. The two case studies in this section focus on (1) how Native community members desire spaces for safety and belonging and (2) how Black community members desire to create strategies and spaces that visibilize their histories and connections to the county.

# Conditions for Safety: Native Communities' Desires for Belonging

### Purpose

Trish Jordan and Annessa Hartman are both Native American women who have been serving their community in Clackamas county for decades. Trish is Creek and the co-founder and Executive Director of Red Lodge Transitional Services, a nonprofit that supports Native women exiting incarceration and provides culturally specific treatment and rehabilitation. She has been working with women in prisons since 2000 and is dedicated to making sure her community in and out of incarceration is not abandoned. Annessa is a member of the Haudenocaunee, Cayuga Nation, and Snipe Clan and is the third Indigenous person elected to the Oregon State Legislature. She serves the people living in Oregon City, Gladstone, Johnson City, Jennings Lodge, Oatfield, and other parts of unincorporated north Clackamas County.

*"You are invited to meet and visit with other Native Americans of Clackamas County for an evening of dinner and conversation.*

*It's never been more essential to create and build a supportive, safe, and inclusive culture."*

*- Flyer from event*

Both women are working toward a vision of Clackamas county that honors Indigenous peoples. Together, they organized and hosted a community engagement event that brought Native community members together to collectively envision what safety for Native people truly looks like in Clackamas county.

The event took place on the property of Red Lodge Transition Services, a beautiful space situated in rural Clackamas county (see Figure 6.3). The event was held over the summer. When walking throughout the property, there is a distinct sense of still-ness. The creeks and vibrant vegetation frame a bright red house. Walking up to the house in the warm summer evening, the sound of people greeting each other and engaging in conversation grew louder. The house was bustling with Native folks – young and old – seated or standing throughout the first floor. A home-cooked meal was being prepared, with salmon being the main dish.

As the group conversation began, it was notable that many in the room were meeting for the first time. One attendee shared that they had been employed by Clackamas County for upward of 18years and never knew they had other Native colleagues. Others shared that Clackamas county can be a difficult place to find your community; this is especially poignant for peoples who have been systematically pushed away from their community and off their land. As outside researchers, we felt particularly honored to witness this community gathering in a space designed for healing. There was a palpable feeling of relief and joy in the house; there was a feeling that this was a safe space to connect through ceremony, history, and storytelling, and a sense of hopefulness that events like this will be more common in the future.

### Methods

Data was collected through a series of intentionally sequenced conversations that built upon each other. The first was to distinguish the conditions for safety. Partic-ipants did this individually at first by listing words they associated with safety and then shared their list with the whole group and had a discussion. Then researchers

**FIGURE 6.3**

Event Flyers for
Native Engagement

co-constructed categories from these lists to prioritize the most relevant aspects of safety. Lastly, participants listed the ways that Clackamas had, or had failed to, set the conditions for safety. These details were discussed, and we co-constructed ways community and dominant institutions in Clackamas county could support aspects of safety identified by the group.

An essential aspect of this engagement was creating time and space for storytelling during data collection. Native people, like many communities of color, are storytellers, and excluding their stories necessarily means erasing their realities and lived experiences. It was noted that dominant institutions in particular do not take into account the value of and truths that emerge from stories or how to use them for decision-making. We hope this case study helps to demonstrate one way to honor this desire.

## Reality of Unsafety: Insights from Dominant Data

Before describing what participants in the engagement event shared about their experiences of and visions for safety, we provide a bit of context about what unsafety looks like for Native communities (as well as other communities of color). First, we present dominant, quantitative data that speaks to what attendees said were their most pressing concerns when thinking about what contributes to feeling unsafe: income insecurity, housing insecurity, missing and murdered relatives, and police violence.

**Income insecurity**: U.S. Census Bureau (2021) data reports that almost 13% of all adult Native people in Clackamas county, including people who self-identified as

Native American in addition to one or more other races, are earning below the poverty line. Native women are particularly vulnerable to income insecurity; they are typically paid just 55 cents for every dollar paid to white, non-Hispanic men.[249]

**Housing insecurity**: Housing market data from private brokerages shows that the median home sale price in Clackamas has risen year-over-year: "in July 2024, Clackamas home prices were up 14.0% compared to last year, selling for a median price of $695K."[250] Rental prices, as well as the proportion of income people are allocating toward rent, have also been increasing throughout the county. According to the 2019 Census ACS survey, renters in Clackamas County paid over 20% of their median household income toward monthly gross rent, which is the highest fraction recorded since the Census included this series of data in 2005.[251] Further, the 2022 Homeless Point-In-Time Count conducted by Clackamas County found that over 4% of respondents identified as Native American/Alaska Native, despite representing only 1.1% of the county's population.[252] Additionally, culturally specific providers continue to remind us that this point-in-time data collection method undercounts, and therefore underserves, homeless BIPOC communities.[253]

**Missing and murdered relatives**: 2016 National Vital Statistics System (NVSS) data from the Centers for Disease Control shows that homicide was the third-leading cause of death for Native American men ages one to 44 in the U.S., as well as the sixth leading cause of death for Native American women in the same age category.[254] However, many reports, including the 2020 Oregon State Police Report on Missing and Murdered Native American Women, suggest that the actual number of missing and murdered women is much greater than the numbers reported to and by law enforcement for a number of reasons,  including lack of interagency communication, inconsistent reporting protocols, and institutional distrust.[255] For example, in 2016, the National Crime Information Center listed 5,712 reports of missing American Indian and Alaska Native women and girls through the federal missing persons database, though the National Missing and Unidentified Persons Systems (NamUs) logged only 116 of those cases.[256]

**Police violence**: The Centers for Disease Control's 2020 data on "legal intervention deaths,"[257] after adjusting for population, reports that Indigenous and Alaska Native men were killed by police across the U.S. at the highest rate – six times higher than white men. This has been a persistent trend for over a decade.[258] In fact, researchers at the Penn Medicine Center claim that fatal police shootings are so prevalent for people of color across the U.S., they constitute a public health emergency and significantly contribute to poor health outcomes for these communities.[259] Even more alarming, a meta regression study compiled in 2019 of the available data on U.S. police violence suggests that NVSS did not report over 50% of all deaths attributable to police violence.[260] High rates of fatal police violence in communities of color have been linked to factors such as increased police presence in racialized communities, heightened police contact due to more frequent traffic stops, and racist perceptions of threat by police officers.[261]

In addition to understanding what the dominant data can tell us about unsafety, it is essential to understand how Native people experience unsafety, in their own words, and in turn, safety.

## Participants' Ideals of Safety and Unsafety

Native participants in this case study define safety by sharing Native values, worldviews, and desires to indigenize (to make our lives more aligned with Indigenous ways) our society. From the engagement, five areas emerged as critical for understanding the perspectives of Native participants. We learned that safety looks like **the presence of** (1) relationships and reciprocity, (2) honoring Indigenous cultures and knowledge, (3) stability, (3) authentic representation, and (5) community power. Unsafety, on the other hand, looks like and is experienced when these elements are lacking. We explore each of the five elements through Indigenous teachings and scholarship. We then present data collected during the engagement event to elaborate on what, from the perspective of participants, safety means when the element is present and what unsafety means when the element is lacking.

We begin with the concepts of **relationships and reciprocity**. All things are of and from the land; therefore, we are all equally related to each other (human, animal, and rock), part of a larger tapestry of relationships that is required for the world to function.[262] The health of the world and the diversity of existence within it depends on the maintenance of these relationships. Being in relation to each other and the world is the bedrock of reality. One way to understand how we maintain good relationships is by ensuring reciprocity – a belief in and practice of maintaining a mutual relationship between receiving and giving, respecting our relationship with all life.[263] In other words, when things interact (human to human or human to other beings), an exchange of energy, care, support, etc., is essential. While the specifics of reciprocity

| Safety Looks Like Relationships & Reciprocity | Unsafety Looks Like the Lack of Relationships & Reciprocity |
|---|---|
| Neighbors who look out for each other | Not knowing my neighbors |
| Sharing resources, including time and energy | Abusive relationships |
| Friends becoming family | Division |
| Creating the conditions for gatherings, connections, and togetherness | Alienation |
| More community events | Disconnection from nature and beauty |
| Helping others (i.e., volunteering) | Receiving threats |
| Mutual respect | Experiencing racism and sexism |
| Feeling a sense of belonging | Questioning my presence in public spaces |
| | Not being believed |

are culturally specific, and often sacred, the sentiment is what matters most. Participants in this study helped us understand how relationships and reciprocity are ways of being mindful of integrity and are essential to maintaining safety.

Here, we begin to understand that being in good relationships means looking out for each other, relying on neighbors, sharing resources, building deeper bonds than just being neighbors, having mutual respect and feeling a sense of belonging. These are essential forms of safety, and their exchange is the reciprocity desired from participants.

Next, participants saw their safety through how their ***Indigenous cultures and knowledges*** are honored. Due to colonization and the domination of Western thought, many non-Native or non-Indigenous peoples in the U.S. might consider Indigenous cultures and knowledge as relics from the past, which makes them more susceptible to being defined, categorized, and compared.[264] However, there are thousands of Tribes on these lands, and their cultures and knowledge vary and are intact, operating, and continually growing today. Further, these cultural values help us to counter the damage of white settler colonialism.[265] The participants in this study detailed that it's not important to narrow down these values and knowledges to a set of definitions or category that allows them to be more understandable to non-Indigenous ways of knowing and being, but rather to foster a sense of curiosity and desire to understand different realities and ways of knowing and living in the world that can transform our current systems and realities. To this end, participants expressed the many ways they felt that their culture and knowledge is challenged and unwelcome; they also shared what honoring their diverse cultures and knowledge means.

| *Safety Looks Like Honoring Indigenous Cultures & Knowledge* | *Unsafety Looks Like Not Honoring Indigenous Cultures & Knowledge* |
|---|---|
| Accurate portrayal of history<br>Cultural awareness for adults and children<br>Practicing traditions and ceremonies<br>Creating welcoming cultural events<br>Having access to traditional foods<br>Being in a right language relationship<br>Having Native pride | Not being allowed to practice traditional ceremonies in certain places (e.g., smudging)<br>Erasure of Native histories and contributions<br>Centering "pioneer" histories<br>Lack of school-based curriculum about Native histories and present realities |

Feeling a sense of belonging and safety in Clackamas requires, at the minimum, some truth telling about Native peoples and their cultures and knowledge. This is not the case when your history is missing from school curriculum, when Native contributions and histories are erased and instead a narrative of pioneers dominates and thrives. Beyond these minimums, Native folks are here and thriving, and their rituals, foods, and teachings should play a role in how communities come to understand the

land, the histories of this place, and current and future generations who desire healing, community, and abundance.

While culture, knowledge, histories, and relationships and reciprocity are key for safety, participants were clear that one cannot feel safe if their lives lack **stability**. When understanding U.S. history from Native perspectives, it becomes clear that the U.S. government has repeatedly created the conditions for instability for Native communities. Land theft, broken treaties, removal and resettlement onto reservations, and policies of assimilation and banning the practice of language and culture has resulted in a breadth of economic, social, cultural, ecological, and political instability. These realities, as outlined above in the quantitative data section, have ensured generational instability for Native folks. While these are realities, Native folks are strong, loving, holistic, and enduring people who work hard to honor their ancestors and their future generations by securing stability for their people.

| *Safety Looks Like Having Stability* | *Unsafety Looks Like the Lack of Stability* |
|---|---|
| Financial freedom | Financial insecurity |
| Access to affordable housing | Unaffordable housing and rent |
| Bills are paid | Unaffordable healthcare |
| Access to opportunities | Unemployment |
| Feeling comfortable | Lack of job mobility |
| Having a full pantry and kitchen | Inability to help houseless and housing-insecure neighbors |
| Abundance | Gentrification |
| Neighbors are housed | Living with trauma |
| Access to healthcare and traditional medicine | Living with illness and/or addiction |
| Healing | Incarceration |
| Having my own vehicle | |

Stability is key for anybody to have a sense of safety. These desires are not just for Native folks, but for all people. Natives in this study made clear that a security that works to ensure these rights for all is the work of ensuring safety.

The final two elements that contribute to safety are **authentic representation** and **community power**. When there is Native representation at decision-making tables in our society, they lead the way toward self-determination; they build sustainable futures for generations to come; they protect lands, waters, and animals; and they make communities safer, healthier, and more collaborative. In other words, everyone benefits when Indigenous leadership is centered in all realms of decision-making. Authentic representation is essential for building community power. Participants described community power as being able to have autonomy over one's body and decisions, but also to be responsible and accountable to and creative with each other

in order to build the world we want to live in and protect for years to come. They also described how community power is diminished when certain groups continue to be advantaged over others and meaningful community-led processes are not supported.

| *Safety Looks like Authentic Representation* | *Unsafety Looks Like the Lack of Authentic Representation* |
|---|---|
| My whole identity is seen and understood<br>My people are represented<br>Spaces for all<br>Respecting differences<br>Including everyone | Neglect<br>Not being included or invited<br>Going too fast without regard for impact<br>All white spaces<br>Hate speech<br>Children harmed in school |

Participants expressed frustration with being continuously neglected and actively harmed by institutions in the county, without regard for the various ways Native people are impacted. Experiencing hate speech, seeing children harmed in schools with no accountability, and not having Native representation in positions of power were all areas of desired improvement of safety.

Community power requires authentic representation, but it is not only about representation. Community power is fundamentally about having sovereignty and freedom to be and act in ways that foster not only survival, but a thriving community now and for generations to come.

| *Safety Looks Like Community Power* | *Unsafety Looks Like the Lack of Community Power* |
|---|---|
| Speaking up for myself<br>Freedom to making decisions about my health and body<br>Having decision-making power<br>Being responsible and accountable to each other<br>Community ownership<br>Holding space for change<br>Self-determination<br>Sovereignty<br>Creativity | Continued everyday impacts of and encounters with colonialism and white supremacy<br><br>Rules that only benefit certain groups<br><br>Electeds, Commissioners, and other people in power asserting control over communities (i.e, "power-over")<br><br>Electeds, Commissioners, and other people in power hoarding power |

### Community-Desired Solutions

During the engagement, we asked participants to share what solutions would foster the conditions for safety. The solutions presented below cut across all five areas discussed above and were categorized into three areas: funding, representation, and repair work.

| SOLUTIONS | STRATEGY | EXAMPLES |
|---|---|---|
| **FUNDING** | Unrestricted funds for culturally specific events, organizations that meet culturally specific needs, and access to spaces for general community gathering needs<br><br>Native teachers and educators providing cultural/traditional knowledge and spirituality | Events: Indigenous People's Day, Powwows, ceremonies and storytelling<br><br>Culturally specific needs: mental health, housing, youth and elders, workforce development, traditional foods, and rest homes (e.g., expansion of NAYA and NARA's work)<br><br>Healing justice work<br><br>Indigenous public outdoor education (e.g., farms/conservation work) |
| **REPRESENTATION** | Support and training for Native people to run for office – school board, city, county, sherif, and state<br><br>Better education about other cultures<br><br>Safe spaces in dominant institutions | Support Native-led organizing and training<br><br>Native specific affinity groups and spaces<br><br>Support countywide Library safe space approaches for all community members (e.g., Estacada Library) |
| **REPAIR WORK** | Raise awareness about lasting impacts of colonialism and work to address them<br><br>Support community defined approaches to food access<br><br>Training and accountability for police to do less harm, especially to Native and BIPOC communities<br><br>Moving forward, ensure inclusivity is a central value to all community approaches | Public education about past and present systemic Indigenous erasure and genocide<br><br>Honor sovereignty, treaties, and laws made to protect Native cultures and traditions<br><br>Land Back initiatives (e.g., Barbies Village in Portland)<br><br>Support Indigenous food sovereignty efforts<br><br>Tax breaks and other resource giving for Natives without conditions attached |

# Black Histories and Visibility: Strategies of Black Historians and Communities

### Purpose

There are plenty of assumptions about Oregon's Black communities. Most assume that Black communities only reside in the Portland Metro area and do not exist in the more rural parts of the state, like in Clackamas county. However, small does not equal insignificant. Despite histories of Black exclusion – discussed in more detail in Chapter Five – and ongoing marginalization, Black communities have been rooted in Oregon for a long time. This case study is dedicated to the histories, contributions, and desires of Black community members, which are unknown or rarely celebrated in Clackamas. Here, we center the stories of Black historians and community members who recount their knowledge and experience of being connected to this place. Tory Blackwell, steering committee member for this study, is a prominent Black leader in Clackamas county and is dedicated to creating opportunities for people of color in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) and through community building. He is originally from St. Louis, Missouri, but currently resides in Oregon City. Tory is also a professor of biology at Clackamas Community College. Tory's engagement with this project went beyond collecting data with Black historians and community members. The Blackwell family was integral in connecting us with Clackamas Community College and was active in helping us plan and execute various community engagement events. We thank the Blackwells for their support and participation throughout this research project.

### Methods

Tory conducted four interviews with historians and eight interviews with community members. Community members were asked about what they enjoyed about Clackamas, why they chose to stay, and their desires for the Black community. Historians were asked similar questions, with an additional question about Black history in Clackamas. The interviews gave us an understanding of what strategies Black folks use to connect to each other and what needs to change in Clackamas to promote a thriving Black community.

### Reality

Clackamas is home to a diversity of Black people who enjoy many aspects of the environment and opportunities found here. Black and African American people make up over 2% of the Clackamas population, but the vast majority are multiracial[266] (see Figure 6.4). The majority of those interviewed are longtime residents of Clackamas county. Some interviewees were born in Oregon, moved out of state, and then returned to support their community. Most were drawn to Clackamas from elsewhere. When asked why they moved to Oregon, some shared that they were following opportunities like a job or to continue their education. Others were drawn to the environment, not only the beauty but also the lack of pollution compared to other areas. Access to affordable housing, a closer-knit community, opportunity, and perceived safety for their families was also a draw. Many communities of color that move to the

county are drawn to it for these same reasons.

**FIGURE 6.4**
Diversity of the Black Community in Clackamas County, Census 2020
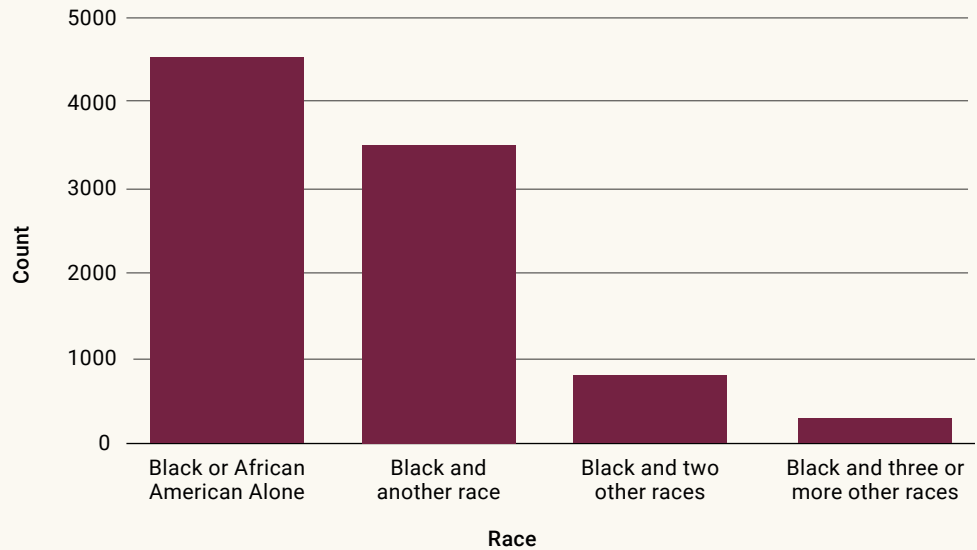


With a smaller Black community, relationship and community-building opportunities are important. When community members were asked how they connected with folks, most mentioned they built community through school, work, community service, worship, and activism. Many felt the community served them the more that they served the community. Community members became involved by participating in activism, sometimes traveling great distances to connect with other Black folks with similar life experiences. Historians built community by sharing the collective history of Black folks in Oregon, documenting where Black people lived, and showing the community how rooted Black people are in the most unexpected places in Clackamas and beyond. Others found community by giving back to the youth. These folks found connection by preparing the next generation for adulthood by having difficult discussions and addressing anti-Blackness in their neighborhoods. As one historian shared during an interview: "I just saw an opportunity with that, especially for youth students, to provide some kind of support that my generation didn't really have."

*"Sometimes it's a heavy burden because I know I can only do what's right in the eyes of those watching. Otherwise, I'm condemned..."*

*- Community member*

Black folks living in rural areas used more expansive and creative methods to find their community. They found connections in other cultures, such as the Latine community, while others found connections through business networks. However, many struggle with the disconnectedness of the BIPOC community in Clackamas county. Connecting with folks takes considerable effort, which makes community building more inaccessible for some. Those who were more introverted, unable to travel, or experienced other barriers had difficulty establishing connections in Clackamas. This disconnection is compounded by a lack of infrastructure and support available in Clackamas county that fosters community connection, contributing to feelings of isolation and stifling a sense of belonging. All interviewees noted that the Black community feels significantly fractured, and because of how small it is, there are

very few opportunities to connect with other Black folks. Many noted that community connection, acceptance, and, more importantly, familiarity are necessary to survive in Clackamas county.

There are safety concerns when Black folks become more visible in a predominantly white area like Clackamas county. The scrutiny is inescapable – whether Black folks are in the grocery store, the mall, or driving down the street, they are watched by white people. This is an ongoing materialization of racism, whereby Black people are over surveilled for existing in spaces in which they are presumed not to belong. What's more, pervasive anti-Blackness continues to reinforce the racist idea that Black people are dangerous and further serves to devalue Black lives. For many, hypervisibility, microaggressions, and discrimination are not just inconveniences; they can cost you your life.

The everyday experiences of racism shared by interviewees are made worse by the lack of awareness and empathy about Black experiences in Clackamas county. Incidents of racism and discrimination are rarely given the attention they deserve.

*"These other stories of historical injustice bear resemblance to what is happening today."*

*- Historian*

Clackamas county has an insidious reputation when it comes to the treatment of Black people. Many Black folks in other parts of the state refuse to interact with Clackamas county due to the fear of discrimination, and the data confirms their fears. The Oregon Criminal Justice Commission report (2020) found that the Clackamas County Sheriff's Office was the only police department to significantly overstop and cite Black and Latine residents and oversearch Latine residents.[267] This means that the Clackamas County Sheriff's Office would overpolice Black and Latine community members by more harshly citing them or searching them without success – meaning they didn't find anything to warrant probable cause significantly more than with those in any other racial group.[268]

Lake Oswego is a prime example of a city with a long history of making it an impossible place for Black people to live peacefully, as demonstrated by its long-held nickname, "Lake No Negro." The remains of Black exclusion laws, policies, and practices continue to haunt many places, including Lake Oswego. Some of the deeds to the houses still include language preventing their sale to Black people. A student documentary created by Mya Gordon (2020), "Lake No Negro," "shows how Black youth have been targeted in schools."[269] Lake Oswego is not unique; many cities, like Oregon City, Milwaukee, and other places in rural Clackamas, have a reputation for being unsafe for Black people, and youth especially. Although many of these cities have made some amazing steps toward positive Black visibility and appreciation, the fear runs deep, and the possibility of harm remains.

### Community-Desired Solutions

While it is easy to get caught up in the narratives surrounding Clackamas county, interviewees proposed many strategies for making the county more hospitable to a thriving Black community.

Community members called for more opportunities to build mutual understanding across cultures in Clackamas county. This means addressing internal bias against communities of color, recognizing the harms, and taking deliberate steps to reduce inequities. To do this, there needs to be more community historical awareness of racist policies and their impacts on the lives of Black people in Clackamas county. This includes having historical markers and accessible resources in public spaces (e.g., streets, parks, libraries) that commemorate the contributions of Black people and tell the truth about how their lives were impacted by racism. These markers, or as one of the interviewees described it, "touchstones of justice," will be a place where all communities can congregate to learn from the past and work toward a better future. Examples of these touchstones of justice are already happening in Clackamas via the Oregon Lynching Project, the Milwaukie mural, and the Willamette Falls Project.

In Clackamas, there is pride among those who have been in the county for generations, and there needs the same memorialization of BIPOC contributions as those of white settlers. Making these historical contributions more visible will foster community understanding and signal to other Black folks that their culture is welcomed in Clackamas.

Further to this point, there needs to be a place in Clackamas dedicated to visibilizing Black culture. Historians called for strategically utilizing certain spaces and groups that would be receptive, such as partnering with schools (K-12 and college), Black-owned businesses, or other public spaces (e.g., libraries). Community members and historians called for a Black-centered resource center or hub offering culturally specific events, mental health supports, assistance with meeting basic needs, and financial resources. This center or hub could be a physical space for Black folks to build community and collective power.

A physical space where Black people and other people of color can gather, support each other, and have fruitful discussions with the community requires intentional funding. Investing in a physical gathering space also fosters efforts that can support community mutual aid and mentorship. Further, there need to be more opportunities for community members to learn about the diversity of histories in Clackamas. There are many projects underway to uncover the truth, but Clackamas needs to take on the responsibility of showcasing those learnings.

To realize these desires, participants called for collaboration between the community and the County government. On the community side, they must facilitate, organize, and lead, creating mutual support efforts and inviting community-based organizations to collaborate. On the County side, there need to be funding and policy investments in the prosperity of Black people. This means funding collective power efforts and culturally specific resources. It means providing affordable housing so that diverse neighborhoods can be built for everyone. It means investing in reparations. It means recognizing how institutions have historically harmed Black people and other people of color and taking seriously their desires for safety and support beyond policing.

# PART THREE:

# NAVIGATING ESSENTIAL INSTITUTIONS

---

The case studies presented so far have demonstrated that, when we gather, talk to each other, ask pointed questions, and articulate our solutions, we expand our understanding of the issues and we forge paths toward addressing them. In this section, we continue to unravel different aspects of the everyday lived experiences of BIPOC residents in Clackamas county, with the same goals of learning from current realities and presenting community-desired solutions. Here, we focus on case studies that speak to how BIPOC adults and youth navigate two essential institutions: education and health systems. With regard to education, we present two case studies that illustrate how, first, bicultural and bilingual teachers and parents navigate the school system, and second, how BIPOC youth organize around anti-hate and harm reduction in their schools. The third and last case study in this section focuses on BIPOC patient and provider experiences of healthcare systems.

# Teaching and Equity: Supporting ELL, BIPOC, and LGBTQ families

### Purpose

Schools in the U.S. up until the late 1960s segregated white students from Black, Latine, and Native American students and were funded at overwhelmingly lower rates than white schools. While there have certainly been changes to this over the last 54 years, schools continue to be partially segregated and unfairly funded and resourced, mostly due to the financing system of public schools and school district boundaries and sizes.[270] School districts that are predominantly white receive $23 billion more than districts that are predominantly BIPOC,[271] and two-thirds of all students who identify as BIPOC attend schools that are predominantly BIPOC.[272] One study done by the Education Trust demonstrated this impact by calculating that school districts with the most BIPOC students receive around $1,800 less per student than those with the least BIPOC students; between low-income and high-income areas, funding differences are at $1,000 per student.[273] These resources impact school and classroom sizes, level of challenging curriculum, and teachers' education level, all well-researched factors that highly impact student achievement. These concerns are amplified for ELL students in the U.S., students who are not fluent in English, who in 2021 made up 11% of all students and 20% of nonwhite students,[274] are overrepresented in high-poverty schools and the fastest-growing group in the U.S. student body.[275] Not only are ELL students dealing with language barriers to communicating and to understanding course materials, and often have parents who don't speak English, they are also in a racialized school system that often lacks understanding of those impacts.

Ana (Milwaukie) and Janet (Canby) are Clackamas County residents and parents deeply committed to supporting their children, their schools, and the districts to ensure Latine students and their parents, regardless of their English competency, have the same opportunities and experiences as white students. Both Latinas, Ana is an elementary English language learner (ELL) teacher in the county, and Janet works for a community-based organization. During our time together during this project, they both expressed concerns based on their lived experience and that of their peers on how Latine students and their parents experience discrimination, exclusion, and erasure in schools across the county. Ana sees it first-hand as an elementary school teacher and Janet as a highly involved mother who organizes Latine families in Canby to support their community and be involved in the school district. Also, they deeply understood that these experiences were not unique to Latine students and parents and expressed concern for others from BIPOC, immigrant, and LGBTQ communities also sharing similar experiences.

### Methods

The goal of this engagement was to hear directly from teachers and administrators who identified as BIPOC and ELL teachers across the county to understand equity

and inclusion issues around curriculum, internal teacher supports, culturally specific training, translation and non-English language needs, and support for BIPOC, LGBTQ, and immigrant parents. Ana and Janet advertised throughout their networks, the contacts we generated over the course of this study, and with the support of online advertising and via listservs of the Clackamas County ESD (see Figure 6.5). They hosted a two-hour Zoom focus group with 31 participants from across the county covering three activities for data collection: A Jamboard exercise, survey, and small- and large-group discussion. Ana and Janet began the meeting by telling the group about their families and why this topic was so important to them. All participants were energized and eager to share their experiences and desires for the future.

### *Reality*

We begin with some numbers for a zoomed-out perspective on BIPOC, ELL, and LGBTQIA+ students in Oregon and Clackamas County. According to the 2021-2022 Oregon Statewide Report Card, BIPOC students make up 40% of Oregon's enrolled students, with the largest group increases since 2017-18 coming among those identifying as multiracial (10%), Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander (five percent), and Latine (three percent).[276] Oregon's "English Learners in Oregon Annual Report''[277] identified that as of May 1, 2023, 11% (n= 59,263) of all enrolled students are current ELL students, of which 76% have a home language of Spanish and about 2% Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabic, Chuukese, or Ukrainian (there is a total of 222 documented unique home languages).

In Clackamas County, the Clackamas Education Services District consists of 10 county public school districts that serve 10% of Oregon's students and supports Clackamas Community College. Unfortunately, they do



**FIGURE 6.5**
Event Flyer for Equity and Teaching Engagement

not offer analysis on aggregate racial demographics across their districts. However, according to the 2022-23 ODE At-A-Glance School and District profiles and accountability details, after aggregating data from each county school district, Clackamas county has roughly 7% (n=8,004) ELL and 34% (n=18,773) BIPOC students, and 12% (n=349) teachers of color. And these numbers are already out of date, as the Clackamas ESD has reported (2024) a total number of 66,000+ K-12 students attending their 10 partner districts.[278] North Clackamas School District 12 ranks eighth (n=2,160) on the list of Oregon's districts with the highest number of current ELL in 2022-23. It was
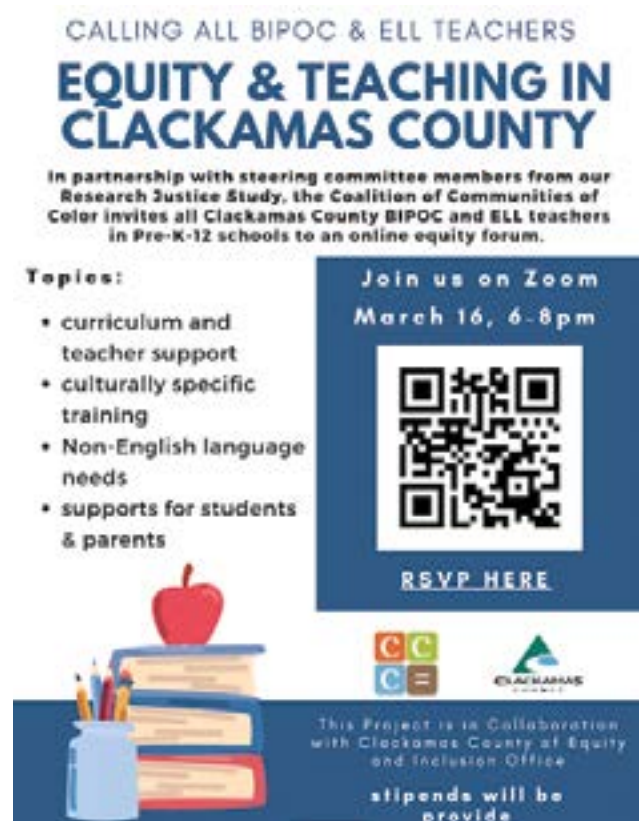
one of 11 school districts in Oregon that had 50 or more (n=78) students earning the seal of biliteracy – meeting all graduation requirements and scoring at the intermediate high level in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages.

The Oregon Health Authority (OHA)'s statewide Student Health Survey,[279] which is administered in every district in Clackamas county except for one, asks questions about sexuality and gender and found that of 11th graders in 2022, 69.6% (67.5% in Clackamas County) identified as straight/heterosexual, with the remaining students identifying somewhere along the LGBTQIA+ spectrum, not sure, or preferring not to answer.[280] In terms of gender, the survey found that 91.5% (90.7% in Clackamas County) of students identified as girl/woman or boy/man, with the remaining students identifying somewhere across various gender identities, not sure, or preferring not to answer.[281] These numbers are a reflection of sexual orientation and gender diversity (SOGI). Oregon does not have strong practices of capturing these data statewide as with race, ethnicity, and language. However, efforts like the Data Justice Act, which requires OHA to track SOGI data in the next few years, will support more accurate information about the numbers and trends of SOGI across our populations and geographies.

Overall, there are a great number of BIPOC, ELL, and LGBTQIA+ students in Oregon and Clackamas county, with the number growing each year. Understanding the ways in which these students are supported or not is key for both Oregon and Clackamas county's future. Next, we zoom back in to hear directly from teachers and administrators who are actually working toward creating more inclusive and welcoming environments for all three of these groups of students.

Many of the teachers we spoke with shared their appreciation of the various efforts happening in their schools or districts to support BIPOC, immigrant, and LGBTQ students. Some of those efforts include the growth of student and staff affinity groups (e.g., clubs organized around culture, equity, and anti-hate efforts), leadership conferences for various BIPOC groups, honoring different heritage months and cultural events like Día de los Niños (Kids Day), library books with authors from multiple BIPOC backgrounds, and initiatives to hire more BIPOC teachers, staff, and administrators to match the student population. One BIPOC educator reflected,

> *Our school district has a group for BIPOC educators. I was invited to join when I first [joined] the school district as certified staff. I embrace my culture and I am happy to open myself to join the group. This is a safe space for BIPOC educators. We have fun, we celebrate and we deal with tough issues too. We need to advocate for ourselves and we need to join together.*

These are critical and important steps toward providing safer, healthier, and more affirming schools, which these teachers and administrators work hard to support. Yet most explained that they were a mere starting place, with more support, resources, and follow-through needed to have a more meaningful impact.

The teachers we engaged questioned the impact of such initiatives, not because they did not see the importance of them, but because many of their schools lack inclusive, affirming, and diverse environments and feel contrary to environments where these initiatives can thrive. Their concerns lie predominantly with school administrations, boards, and districts. Participants expressed frustration and confusion about inflexible or unaccommodating policies and practices and not seeing follow-through when harm is done. One teacher said,

> *I don't know specifically how my school is practicing anti-racism. There was an incident where a teacher said a slur to a staff member. I don't know how it was dealt with or if it was ever dealt with.*

Experiencing racism at school and nothing being done about it was also heavily expressed by the students engaged for this study (read more about that in the next case study). Another teacher said,

> *My students still feel segregated and we, a group of teachers, are always trying to do things to ease this feeling but we don't feel as supported as we would like to by our administration.*

A third participant noted,

> *I don't think [school name]...is practicing anti-racism. There's racism, biases, ignorance that is not being addressed or even acknowledged. The district sounds like they have a strong stance on practicing anti-racism, but I don't know if they are aware of what is actually going on.*

Teachers explained that more is needed for these efforts to have a larger impact, namely, support with how to address racism happening in schools – student to student, staff to student, and staff to staff.

> *I feel we need administrators that care about equity concerns. ...I feel like administrators say they care about equity on the surface; they are counting numbers – student to teacher ratio – not diversity. Administrators have communicated that teachers should tell parents to protest for their rights and the rights of their children.*

While pressure from parents is certainly needed to move some schools and districts toward equity, not addressing racism, xenophobia, and anti-queerness is harming students and supporting a toxic learning environment.

Beyond feeling like nothing is being addressed, participants shared frustration that mostly conservative school boards and PTAs are highly influenced by the majority community and far-right thinking, seemingly due to their lack of diversity, and do not

understand the harm experienced by students, staff, and faculty and are not qualified to support these issues. These influences lead to districts hesitating to act or ignoring outright discrimination in schools. One teacher said,

> Our school board is quite scary…contrary to any people who are not like them. [I am] afraid that we will lose the whole board to people making radical decisions that do not respect many members of the community and especially those who are most marginalized."

Another teacher spoke directly, saying, "White people get defensive when racism is brought up… the district is too apologetic and doesn't want to upset white families."

There were some teachers who did feel supported by their administrators, noting that leaders of color are essential but hard to keep around. One teacher expressed that "our new administrator is Hispanic and that makes a huge difference; having a BIPOC administrator is huge to bring up issues of equity." Another teacher lamented,

> We did have an Asian principal, but then that person got pulled up and is being replaced with a white person. It's hard to speak up when colleagues are not taking info to heart about equity; we can do what we can in our own classroom, but that's not equitable for all the children.

Others explained that there has been training to address these issues but also questioned its effectiveness. They commented on training being surface level and feeling inadequate for supporting their most vulnerable students. One participant explained that,

> Some training is available, however not mandatory for all staff. Therefore, the ones who want to grow further can, but those who don't want to choose not to. This also depends on what school you teach at – [my school] is far ahead of all the other buildings.

Many of the trainings are ad hoc, and while some of the trainings are ongoing, participants expressed that they are not adding value. One participant explained that,

> We have a yearly districtwide Equity Conference, however, diverse representation and a deep focus on anti-racism/anti-bias is lacking. Some teachers attend the Building Academic Language training at Clackamas ESD, but not everyone, and it is not ongoing.

In the same focus group, others explained that they haven't had any support at all, or at least not any that felt meaningful. One participant said,

> "I haven't received any support on how to support BIPOC and ELL students. This

*is something that we long for. BIPOC teachers in my building collaborate in order to determine the best ways to support our students."*

Another mentioned, "Not at all, I have been very surprised that not in any of the PD [professional development] we have held the last couple of years these topics have been relevant." With little support from administration and beyond, teachers are often taking things into their own hands, feeling frustrated with the lack of time, resources, and overall possibility for any impact with so much on their plates. One teacher explained,

> *It starts to feel pointless...going into the conversation [about harm done at schools] knowing that it is not going to be addressed and acknowledged. There are some who will listen and follow through. There are others who don't even listen. Sometimes it feels like it is without compassion or concern for the issue.*

Beyond supportive teachers, staff, and administrators; inclusive school boards and planning committees; and meaningful equity training, participants talked about the importance of culturally diverse curriculum, translation, honoring various cultures, and supporting newly arrived populations.

One of the strongest concerns expressed by participants was about the lack of a culturally diverse curriculum. The majority of participants said their schools/districts do not offer a comprehensive curriculum on BIPOC communities. One mentioned that the district provided some information for Black History Month, but that it was very limited and felt insufficient to accurately talk about the experiences of Black people in the U.S. BIPOC teachers said they have to do their best to fit in some curriculum on their terms but feel really unprepared to do so, even when they come from those communities. One teacher explained that preparing for an immersion program means spending most of their prep time translating the curriculum that doesn't even cover BIPOC histories. These newcomer students are coming into schools with a lot of trauma and have little understanding of the histories of their own people in this country, and non-BIPOC teachers aren't taking these steps or providing newcomer students with this foundation. But even with the commitment to fill in the gaps, most educators are frustrated that they are not equipped with the skills to teach a more diverse curriculum or even feel that they can do it without getting in trouble. One BIPOC educator explained:

> *There is no authentic curriculum that focuses on BIPOC histories. I teach world history and we are told to not teach about non-white historical figures in a way that victimizes them. We have some curriculum information on Latinx and Black history but no tools on how to meaningfully teach them. It very much feels like checking the box.*

Teachers experience a lack of curriculum support, tools, skills, resources, time or money to plan over and beyond the social science standards to cover BIPOC histories

especially at different grade levels. They know many of their students are being left behind. One teacher shared,

> *Some kids don't know how to do school when they come in, so they're getting used to what school is. Social emotional learning is so important. The student needs to feel safe/welcome in order for the language to come to them. But we don't know what they had prior to coming to us.*

It was clear that participants desired more robust training for classroom teachers who work with English learners. English language development (ELD) teachers and classroom teachers need more time to work and train together to better meet the needs of their emerging multilingual students. However, even with more ELD teacher training, the expectation of supporting students with diverse linguistic needs should not solely fall on them. Another teacher said it clearly:

> *This year we have a significant number of newcomers from Ukraine, Russia, China/ Hong Kong. The training needs to go down to classroom level, not ELD specialists.  They need protocol so that they know what to do when there is a newcomer, especially in the middle of the school year. We need to help the students to transit to the new environment, culture, and access the content.  That is too much for a classroom teacher. They need support and training and appropriate tools.*

Beyond the classroom, teachers and administrators did mention that there is an honoring of different heritage months and bringing some representation into the schools. This was felt most during school family meetings, assemblies, and cultural celebrations and festivals (e.g., Asian and Asian American Cultural Festival; "Familias Unidas" parent meeting). Participants shared that there are many great ideas to interact and engage, and that many families who are there for pickup/drop-off are often seen meeting someone else who speaks their same language, and that's where they get their support/community. It's not a system or welcoming committee, which others said does happen at their schools. But it was agreed that it would be powerful to have a welcoming committee or support group for newly arrived people.

Another important area participants mentioned were around translated informational materials (e.g., emails, announcements, school board meetings, fundraisers) and communication strategies (text messages with translation option through app) to reach out to parents, detailing that they were not enough. One teacher explained that

> *Family outreach is hard to do; the district has resources for English and Spanish, but not other languages. The school has a high population of Chinese-speaking families; Google Translate is not very good for Chinese. It is possible to get a translator, but not an easy process – the secretary has to schedule it; it's frustrating. We need a translator specifically for Chinese families. The parent square app translates [Google] to language families listed as their home language, but*

*it's not accurate for some languages, like Cantonese or Mandarin. It's very confusing for the families*

Multilingual and multicultural communications are challenging, and the lack of interpreters or translators are few and stretched thin. One teacher explained:

*Spanish-speaking families only have two people in the whole district to be interpreters. …This year we have a Russian-speaking family and [they are] relying on Russian and Ukrainian translation services, and now they are very overwhelmed, so that's a challenge. We have access to a lot of Spanish translators [and] teachers at my school communicate directly with families.*

Translation and interpreting issues have ripple effects on supporting families for whom English is not their first language. One teacher mentioned that they have various partner support groups, but they are not really publicized, and when they are communicated, it does not seem effective. Beyond families, students struggle without having more language support in schools. Another teacher explains:

*[The] language barrier is a really big issue: kids from Russia, Semolina, one kid who spoke Spanish. We and other kids can't communicate with them. They can't focus as well. Need to practice the same routine every day and they get it, but some parts are hard to maintain. Not enough people on staff who are fluent; some don't speak the language at all.*

Participants expressed frustration that parents do not understand the information they are receiving and believe they are not participating because they don't know about the opportunities. The District is trying to improve, but even the most diverse and equity-driven still need a lot of work. One participant said:

*The… [school district] does have a BIPOC affinity group. They have meetings regularly, and it is a safe space to discuss what we are seeing in our school buildings/district. Outside of that, I don't see a lot of representation in certified staff. Our school is considered one of the most diverse schools and we only have four licensed staff who reflect a large part of our school population. At the elementary level I do not see a positive way for the LGBTQ community to feel welcomed. Parents have gone to the school board to complain about the books and lessons being taught in the classroom. There aren't a lot of opportunities for families to engage with our school unless they volunteer. We don't host many school events outside of contract hours. Yes, we have translation services in the district but it is not great. They make it very difficult to get a translator as a teacher. So I can't imagine how an immigrant family would be able to navigate and ask for help. Outside of Spanish, there are zero resources for other languages that we see at our school.*

Overall, participants easily identified inequities across the district and the distinctions

between newer and well-funded schools compared to others. They expressed specific support for BIPOC, ELL, and LGBTQ students and the departments, programs, and approaches that support those populations. Classroom teachers in particular expressed burnout and frustration with having to take on too many needs without the right support, resources, or buy-in from their administrations. One participate shared:

> As a classroom teacher I am asked to meet too many various needs. It feels like an impossible task at times especially with the behavior. We also need more support with the behaviors and trauma we are seeing.

### *Community-Desired Solutions*
The teachers and administrators we engaged offered some great recommendations for what needs to change moving forward:

Outreach and Engagement to Families
- More communication and engagements with families and communities, both social and informative about district/school/classroom equity goals
- Family and community outreach and education about what DEI actually is and its goals
- BIPOC-focused parent engagement and support
- Host parent/family night, community food drive, and start a paper or email newsletter
- Communicating goals for diversity in classroom to families

Training and Curriculum
- Training and support for refugee students
- Training for working with Emergent bilingual (EB) learners
- Equity training for students and staff
- Training for general education on supporting ELL for all teachers across district
- More cultural and linguistically diverse curriculum that is delivered authentically
- Talking about BIPOC history authentically, not simply ticking off a box during certain months
- Some curriculum that is well translated and culturally relevant to students

Support Services
- More mental health services in other languages and BIPOC counselors
- Welcoming committee/system or support group for newly arrived
- More affinity groups with deep support of them – have a clear presence on campus

- Accommodation for LGBTQ+ students

- Trauma support for our Ukrainian students and other students fleeing war zones

- Easy access to services and support for immigrant families

Diverse Workforce
- Hiring more support staff to enable better support for students

- More staff to support English language development (ELD)

- Need for a Latinx family liaison position

- A diverse and inclusive school board/planning committees that are not primarily influenced by the majority community and their far-right thinking

- More BIPOC teachers, staff, administrators, and board members (overall inclusivity)

Equitable Policies and Processes
- Administrators, school boards, families, staff and students are on board with DEI work

- Addressing racism happening in school

- Suspension and expulsion policies and process for hateful rhetoric and actions

- Pathways program to help racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse classified staff and students

Further, one administrator mentioned that the Oregon School Board Association has several policies that protect students and families, but they were unaware of which districts, schools, and staff are aware of them and following the recommendations. Teachers did not feel empowered to support the changes they know are needed. They want to better support their students but feel so completely depleted by all of the other expectations of teaching that engaging with families and going that extra mile feels impossible. One teacher said,

I'm pretty burnt out – capacity to engage with families is nonexistent. I put up strict boundaries for work and life balance, but the job is all consuming. I could do it non-stop. There is not enough bandwidth. I will reach out and send more positive emails than not, but interacting with families is above and beyond what I have capacity for. I wrestle with a lot of guilt, but give myself grace….Families can be soul sucking. I try to assure them that they're doing everything to support their child, but some families are unkind, very needy, feel like their child is so much more important than the others – hard to engage with. In year three, I feel very burnt out. I don't know how people have made it longer. The effects of the pandemic have made it even harder. I am often the only adult in the room; it's very hard.

It's clear that teachers are stepping up and filling in the gaps as much as possible, but without more support from the administrators/district, school boards, and committees to disrupt hate and harm between students, better support for families, and more cultural and meaningful experiences and environments, it won't change.

# Amplifying BIPOC Youth Voices: Desires for Harm Reduction in Schools

### Purpose

As we were building relationships with a wide range of folks in Clackamas county during the first year of this research justice study, we consistently heard from teachers, parents, elected officials, school administrators, and others that students were leading many racial justice efforts in their schools and local communities. We decided early on that we needed to include youth experiences in this study, so we invited a group of BIPOC high school students from across the county to join a separate steering committee. We worked with the student steering committee for over a year. The goal of the first few committee meetings was to better understand their experiences of organizing against hate and racism in their schools. We moved on to discuss how they would like to collect data about these experiences from other students and youth from across the county. They decided they wanted to host an event. The student steering committee led our research methods and established the vision and intention of the event, later named Step Up Clackamas (see Figure 6.6).

The goal of Step Up Clackamas was to create an event that centered on the experiences of BIPOC youth in the county. The steering committee desired to create an accessible and impactful event that would allow attendees to learn from each other and celebrate diverse communities, as well as provide youth an opportunity to share how Clackamas County could be a more welcoming place for everyone. The event included a morning testimony writing workshop, facilitated by Next Up (see Figure 6.7), and a student-led panel discussion in the afternoon (see Figure 6.8).

### Methods

For this case study, we collected a diversity of data throughout the process: data was gathered during all steering committee meetings as we planned the event, at the Step Up Clackamas



**FIGURE 6.6**
Flyer for Step Up Clackamas

event, and after the event. During the meeting phase, we took notes on the stories shared by steering committee members about what students might need across the county. During the event, we recorded a group of youth panelists who spoke and responded to questions about their experiences in Clackamas county. Lastly, we conducted post-event interviews with youth who participated in the event. All of these data were used to create a data story of what it is like to be a youth of color in Clackamas county, including their challenges, needs, and desires.

### *Reality*

The youth who contributed to the Step Up Clackamas event have strong roots in the community established by their families and by themselves. They shared the many benefits of growing up in Clackamas county. In particular, they noted the "neighborliness" of the community. They shared that there are several spaces in their neighborhoods where they find solace, including libraries, workplaces, student groups, culturally specific grocery stores, and gathering places. Youth mentioned how important it was to live in a clean place where you can move around freely and have family-centered activities. One youth panelist at Step Up Clackamas shared that "I spend a lot of time with my cousins and my cousin's friends who are from [David Douglas School District in Portland]. And I can't go out and go on a walk in that neighborhood, not the same way I can in my neighborhood."

Others shared that, in relation to other places in the tri-county area, Clackamas is an especially safe area to raise a family. Away from the unpredictability of the Portland metro area, Clackamas offers a haven, but more so for white upper-class residents. For the rest, there are specific challenges that stem from racism and white supremacy that prevent them from feeling fully welcomed.

As a BIPOC person in white-dominated spaces, you are constantly required to prove that you deserve to be in the community. Youth recounted stories of white neighbors, students, or other residents making them and their families feel like they did not belong by using hate speech, such as racist slurs and homophobic remarks.

According to the Department of Justice (DOJ) (2022), race, ethnicity, or ancestry (59.9%) was the highest bias motivation for hate crimes in Oregon, followed by sexual orientation (22.7%).[282] For youth and their families, there is no escape from these types of occurrences. Hate is experienced on their lawns, in grocery stores, and on social media. Hate in Clackamas is a recurring problem for BIPOC residents and causes fear among youth and their families. One youth panelist shared that,

> *As a child, to look up to your parents and see that look of just fear wash over their face is awful. And it's so difficult to have access to these spaces, but not having access to them.*

Being a BIPOC youth in Clackamas means growing up in an area with so much wealth and opportunity, while also being reminded that it is not designed for you.

The sense of a place not being for you is amplified when police violence against people of color happens and no one is held accountable. On August 5th, 2019, Clackamas County police assaulted a twelve-year-old Black boy at the Clackamas Town Center Mall.[283] The incident was terrifyingly similar to George Floyd's murder the year after, with video footage showing three police officers seemingly kneeling on the child as he was on the ground. Although the Sheriff's Department did not admit to any wrong-doing, the County agreed to a settlement.[284] However, there are many more incidents

**FIGURE 6.8**
Student-Led
Panel Discussion

that are not seen by the court.

Youth are acutely aware of Clackamas' privilege – youth who live there have access to educational opportunities that many do not. Clackamas schools, especially in the northern suburbs, have some of the best student resources, including multiple campuses, advanced placement (AP) courses, optimal teacher-to-student ratios, and access to state-of-the-art technology. We learned from youth that many of their classmates living outside of Clackamas commute to access the educational resources available in the suburbs. Wealth also contributes to the resources that are available in the infrastructure of the northern suburban areas. Youth who live here mentioned having access to good hospitals and farmers markets with nutritious food options. However, the racism and classism that have accompanied this wealth have led to experiences of discrimination, segregation, and further alienation of BIPOC youth in schools.

BIPOC youth recounted stories of the microaggressions, slurs, and hate crimes they have experienced while in school. Through these stories we learned that, in school, racism is primarily perpetrated by other students and sometimes by teachers. Youth are not the only ones impacted by racism in school; BIPOC teachers are also greatly impacted. The throughline to all of these stories was the lack of accountability taken by other teachers and administrators regarding addressing racism in school. White teachers and administrators are more likely to avoid discussions or solutions when racist events occur due to a lack of knowledge or understanding of what to do or their impact.

For BIPOC youth, the adults who offer the most support are BIPOC teachers. As one panelist put it, "Our teachers of color are really really important to us, but it's not fair for them to shoulder the burden of being the teacher of color." In addition to so much emotional labor – uncompensated, of course – falling on BIPOC teachers, they are also the targets of hate. One student recounted an incident at their high school:

*It's devastating to hear that the one Hispanic teacher quit after a year. Kids with Trump, MAGA, and blue lives matters would come to [the teacher], knowing it would threaten them. [The teacher] was making so many innovations to math, and they took that light and put it out.*

High rates of turnover are not uncommon for teachers of color, who often exist in white-dominant school environments and receive little support from white teachers and school administrators. This trend was certainly noticed by the youth who participated in the steering committee and who presented on the panel at Step Up. As one panelist stated, "If we can't stand up for our students of color, if we can't stand up for teachers of color, well, let me tell you this there's a very big reason why our teachers of color are leaving in droves."

Youth shared that experiences of exclusion and discrimination along race and class

lines are further reinforced by the way different high schools in Clackamas county are resourced. They shared the contrast, for instance, between Nelson and Clackamas High School. Nelson is recognized as the better resourced school, predominantly white, and with very few teachers of color. Clackamas High School, on the other hand, is referred to as "Crackamas" and "ghetto," and the students of color there are called "gangsters," all of which are highly racialized terms. No such terms are used to refer to Nelson or its students. One of the youth panelists shared that when they transferred from Nelson to Clackamas High School, a friend asked, "Why are you going back to the ghetto?"

We also heard that students are less encouraged to interact with each other across racial lines and are socially punished for doing so. This is worsened by the lack of accountability of adults when it comes to racism inflicted by students and teachers. When adults neglect to address racism, microaggressions, and hate crimes in their schools, perpetrators learn that it is acceptable behavior. Not only is this deeply detrimental to students and teachers of color, but also, the lack of accountability forces students to take on the uncompensated labor of mobilizing for change and creating a safe environment for themselves and other students.

### *Community-Desired Solutions*

Youth have been the leaders in racial justice in Clackamas county, and only in the last few years, as students have begun to organize, have adults started noticing. While it was clear that advocacy is a passion for the youth attending the Step Up Clackamas event, they stressed the need for the adults to be just as involved in their efforts. Clackamas has so much to offer, especially in its schools, but there needs to be a cultural shift to fully support BIPOC youth.

Youth desire community building in their school and community, and for the culture to be reflective of the diversity of Clackamas. The youth who were a part of the event were very involved in school leadership, yet they feel more tokenized than empowered. BIPOC youth leaders are not given the same leadership opportunities by school staff as their white classmates. In these instances, and many others, it is clear that adults are a part of the perpetuation of an environment that prevents youth from thriving. Therefore, adults need to take more ownership in racial justice alongside youth.

Youth called for a prioritization of culturally responsive support in schools for them and for teachers of color. Support for youth of color includes having teachers of color who are valued and supported in the school systems. Youth suggested having affinity groups for teachers of color across Clackamas as well as students. These groups would offer peer support and opportunities to mobilize and advocate for better schools.

There is a lack of mental health support in schools for students, and youth are not getting the support that they need. The shortage of counselors in general results in shortened therapeutic encounters and sessions. Furthermore, the mental health

support that is available in school does not have any multicultural components, which leaves BIPOC students needing to explain their cultural dynamics during already short sessions. Multicultural and bystander training is not only necessary for mental health care but will also allow the school staff members to better support students and teachers in the aftermath of racist incidents. Youth called for multicultural training for all school staff so they can comfortably lead conversations about race, racism, and privilege with the student body and have a protocol for when racist incidents occur. These skills not only prevent future violence against those of color, but also changes among the adults will filter to the student body.

## Talking about Health and Wellness: Black and Native Reflections on Health Systems

### *Purpose*

Iyesha grew up in Portland and is a dedicated health professional who lived in Clackamas county at the time of this study. Through her work, she is acutely knowledgeable of health systems and how they operate. As a Black woman raised in Oregon, she is intimately aware of how health systems fail BIPOC people throughout their lifetime.

Iyesha's ideas have always been bold and focused on gathering community stories. The goal of her engagement was to bring together Native and Black community members to discuss their experiences of working in and being served by healthcare systems in Clackamas (see Figure 6.9). Iyesha opened the discussion with a story of a familial experience of racial violence and resulting repetitive medical dismissal. Her intimacy with the failure of the health system created a trusting space for participants to share their experiences and have a frank conversation about how they too have been failed by their employers and their care providers. It was clear that this was a conversation that needed to happen. In the end, Iyesha's passion for systemic change invigorated everyone in the room, and we were able to understand what solutions were needed in order to create health systems that truly serve everyone.



**FIGURE 6.9**
Flyer for Health and Wellness Event

### *Methods*

Attendees were given a series of questions to respond to in writing. There were different questions for patients and providers. Afterward, Iyesha led a conversation, asking partic-

ipants to share their experiences. The data below reflects the written responses to those questions. In addition, throughout the event, there were large poster boards where participants could share their reflections in response to a couple of prompts:

**FIGURE 6.10**

Prompts about Healthcare Needs in Clackamas County
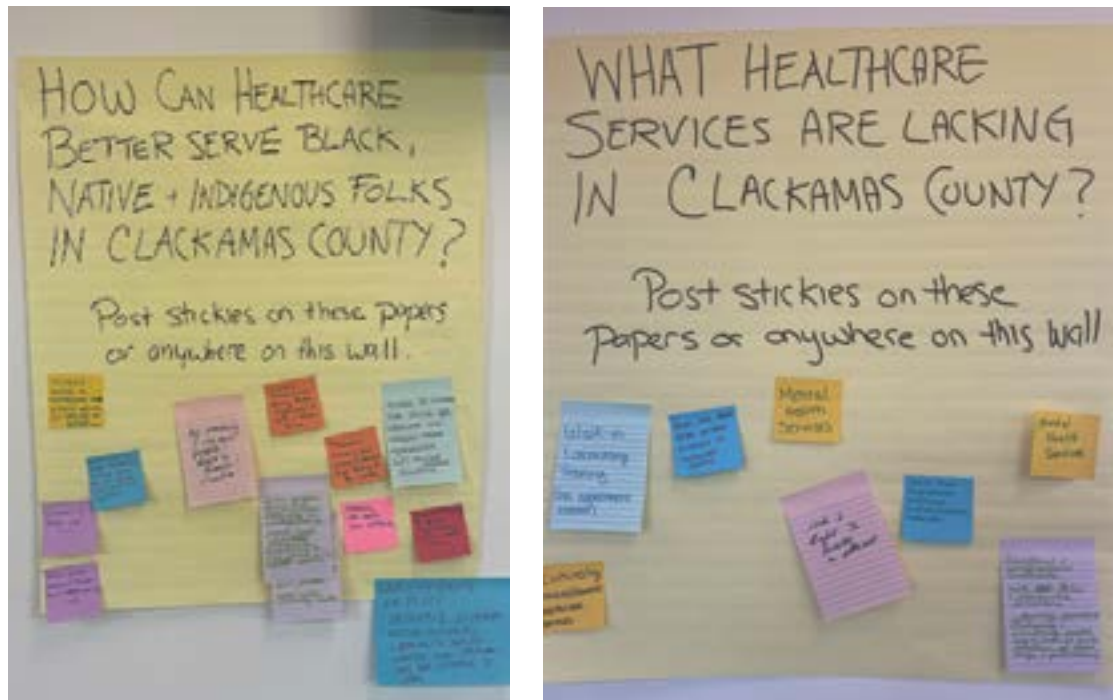


(1) How can healthcare better serve Black, Native, and Indigenous folks in Clackamas county? and (2) What healthcare services are lacking in Clackamas county? (see Figure 6.10)

*Reality*

Medical racism pervades the U.S. healthcare system and medicine in general. Research demonstrates that, compared to white people, Black and Brown people receive less treatment for pain, are less likely to get admitted after an emergency room visit, have higher rates of infant mortality after birth, and report significant experiences of discrimination in health settings.[285] When it comes to mental and behavioral healthcare, statewide research in Oregon conducted in 2021 highlighted BIPOC experiences of discrimination in care settings:

> *Of those who did experience discrimination sometimes, 44% experienced poorer service from their providers, and 43% experienced less courtesy due to their race or ethnicity...Of those who did experience discrimination most of the time, 19% said that their provider did not listen to them, 16% experienced less courtesy, and 16% said their provider presumed they were less competent due to their race or ethnicity. In addition, the majority of participants (52%) indicated that their mental and behavioral health providers were only somewhat considerate of cultural background.[286]*

Further, children of color also experience discrimination and racism in medical set-

tings. An analysis done by the Oregon Center for Children and Youth with Special Health Needs[287] in 2020 found that the institutionalized and personally mediated racism in healthcare settings inhibited Black and Latine children with special healthcare needs from receiving needed, appropriate care throughout the state. The American Academy of Pediatrics names "racism as a core determinant of child health."[288]

Clackamas county resident experiences with healthcare are not dissimilar to national and statewide findings. During the engagement, those who primarily had experiences as patients told stories of how they felt their medical concerns and experiences were disregarded by providers due to their race, age, or weight. Patient's experience providers neglecting to thoroughly examine them or conducting unnecessary tests to achieve a diagnosis. Patients were unable to be referred to appropriate specialists or would be referred to the wrong specialist, which would result in a delay in appropriate diagnoses and treatment.

The 2023 Blueprint for a Health Clackamas County Report recognizes that racism, discrimination, and bias cause trauma, and that offering culturally specific services and programs throughout the county to understand and support BIPOC folks builds resiliency and healing.[289] Blueprint's Disparities Dashboard further demonstrates the disparate health outcomes BIPOC folks face in Clackamas County. This indicator shows American Indian and Alaska Native residents of Clackamas County are more likely to be living with cancer, diabetes, and physical disability compared to white residents. They are also significantly more likely to be suffering from depression.[290] Blueprint data also tells us that Black Clackamas County residents are spending significantly more on health insurance as a portion of their total income than the overall average for residents.[291]

Patients, regardless of their identities, have a right to be respected and listened to in all healthcare settings. In these stories, patients expressed how their experiences with providers led to fear and mistrust. As a consequence of healthcare discrimination, which is prevalent in Clackamas health outcomes, Black and Native patients are prevented from healing.

Patient participants recounted how difficult it is to navigate Clackamas County Health Care System as a Native or Black patient. The healthcare system is not set up to serve them, as illustrated by how difficult it is to find providers of their cultural background, health resources, and affordable care. Lack of insurance often prevents BIPOC people from having adequate care options. According to Census data, 7% of people between the ages of 19 and 64 who identified as American Indian or Alaska Native alone lack healthcare insurance.[292] In comparison, nearly 20% of respondents in the same age bracket who identified as Black or African American alone are uninsured.[293]

It is vital for Black and Native patients to access resources and care in order to meet their needs. In the few situations where Black and Native patients did feel respected, they knew precisely the treatment they needed from providers. Patients value having their concerns directly addressed by providers who listen to them, can repeat back

what they say, are solution-oriented, and provide accurate information in chart notes and updates. Good providers were those who asked questions about the patient's religion, used the correct pronouns, and conducted trauma-informed care. These actions signaled to patients that their provider saw them as a whole person and could provide holistic care. Patients noted the importance of having BIPOC providers who reflect their own identities and lived experiences. According to a Oregon Health Authority 2022 report, most BIPOC communities – aside from Asian communities – are underrepresented in professional healthcare roles across Oregon. This trend extends to specialty groups, including primary care providers, oral health care professionals, and behavioral health care providers.[294]

Healthcare providers make up a significant portion of the workforce. Out of the 216,118 people over the age of 16 who are employed in Clackamas county, 13,689 or about 6% of them work as healthcare practitioners. An additional 8,109 community members, or almost 4%, work in healthcare support.[295] Clackamas county has just below the statewide ratio of primary care professionals and behavioral health professionals to Oregonians – at 14.1 and 14.8 per 10,000 Oregonians, respectively. However, Clackamas has a slightly higher ratio than the state average for oral health practitioners per 10,000 Oregonians, at 6.3.[296]

When it comes to the experiences of BIPOC healthcare providers, during the engagement, they shared that workplaces can often drive them away. One provider shared that "racism [in the workplace] also feels like dealing with a minefield of microaggressions." Black and Native provider experiences add context to why BIPOC patients feel unheard, disrespected, and discriminated against in healthcare settings. The culture of discrimination that is perpetuated in patient care settings is also reflected in the workplace. Microaggressions in the workplace can look like condescending language and constant targeting of BIPOC providers, which is incredibly isolating when they are the only BIPOC staff. Black and Native providers face more scrutiny and have to work harder than their white colleagues to prove their worth to leadership. We heard from providers that leadership will assert abusive power over providers of color. Providers cited making themselves smaller and stunting their professional growth to make their leadership feel comfortable around them. This minefield of racism causes a hostile work environment for providers that drains them emotionally and can force them to leave their positions. As one provider attested, "I was forced to leave a job I loved due to an ever-increasing toxic work environment."

Racism in the workplace is often perpetuated by leadership. Providers cited experiencing explicit racism, aggression, and inappropriate treatment from their employers and leaders. Other Native and Black providers receive very little to no support from their leadership, and their calls for racial equity are often ignored. Racism and discrimination are often brushed aside and unrecognized. In situations where there are "allies" in the workplace, their support does not lead to action, advocacy, or change. The few health equity initiatives available are either extractive of other BIPOC people or tokenizing. In some cases, when equity tools are implemented incorrectly, they can further reinforce racial stereotypes in patient care. One provider shared that "racism

at work feels like [we] all know targeted behavior is bad, but say nothing."

This widespread context of discrimination and racism manifests in two areas of concern regarding patient care:

1. Providers' lack of anti-racist and culturally responsive education, and their prejudice against BIPOC patients, leads to discrimination and worsens patient care.
2. BIPOC patients mistrust medical providers.

Both concerns hinder the advancement of health equity. Black and Native providers have witnessed their colleagues express harmful assumptions about BIPOC patients, including that BIPOC patients are unnecessarily seeking drugs and that poor BIPOC health outcomes are a consequence of individual shortcomings rather than systemic problems. These harmful assumptions, and subsequent poor treatment and care, reinforce the mistrust that BIPOC patients feel toward providers and the health system broadly. In addition, the lack of BIPOC providers in health systems further adds to the mistrust and mistreatment of BIPOC patients, an issue that is exacerbated among rural communities, migrant workers, and low-income patients.

Black and Native providers at the engagement shared that they are particularly concerned about the lack of timely emergency notifications for rural, migrant, and low-income people – fostering, again, mistrust of the healthcare system. This concern is not just shared by health providers, but also those who work within the County, noting that the County's lack of language diversity in emergency messaging is literally putting the rural, non-English-speaking, BIPOC community's lives at risk.

### *Community-Desired Solutions*
Native and Black participants discussed their desired changes to Clackamas' healthcare systems. The first is that BIPOC patients want to receive unbiased healthcare – in settings designed specifically for them – from BIPOC providers who understand how racism impacts health, recognize patients' whole and complex identities, and know communities' histories. To achieve this, healthcare systems need to recruit and retain BIPOC providers. For providers, this means providing adequate support via mental health resources. Native and Black providers also called for a dignified experience for BIPOC patients throughout their whole healthcare experience. Providers called for more family-focused care rather than individualized care and for more funding for BIPOC-specific resources.

Secondly, BIPOC patients want their healthcare providers to think creatively and coordinate with one another across different types of care. Providers mentioned a need for more community health worker models in Clackamas county. Such models have had great success in serving the culturally specific needs of various BIPOC communities. In Oregon, Next Door, a community-based organization in Hood River that serves Latine and Native communities, has one of the oldest and longest-running Community Health Worker programs in the country. Learning from organizations

doing this work is a first step in providing better coordinated care and working toward building trust with communities of color. Oregon's community health worker population is only 3% of the nation's 61,300 Community Health Workers in total (257). There is more work to be done in Oregon – and Clackamas county – to ensure everyone has access to quality care.

Third, BIPOC patients called for a better healthcare system that supports traditional healing practices and practitioners, offers nonprofit mental health resources, and holds providers accountable. In addition, providers called for more partnerships between healthcare settings and culturally specific organizations.

Lastly, both providers and patients desire greater workforce diversity across demographics (e.g., race and ethnicity, gender identity and sexuality, disability, language). All of these solutions are aimed at creating a healthcare system that can support healing rather than mere survival for BIPOC communities.

# DOMINANT INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY BELONGING

———

In this final section, we present case studies that address the following questions: How should dominant institutions be involved in fostering belonging? When and how should dominant institutions step back and support the community in fostering belonging? We remind readers that these questions, worded slightly differently here, are at the heart of our Dual Belonging Framework, which we introduced in Chapter Two. The two case studies in this section address these questions by drawing on (1) learnings about organizing meaningful community events and (2) the experiences of community-based organizations serving Clackamas county residents and their relationships with the County.

# Meaningful Community Events: Engaging and Centering BIPOC Communities

## Purpose

Events that bring the BIPOC community together are essential for fostering belonging in Clackamas county. We remind readers that one of the most persistent experiences we heard from people of color across the county was how disconnected they felt from each other and from their culturally specific communities. Organized events, therefore, become even more important in this context, as they provide an opportunity to meet and get to know other BIPOC residents in the county, to share resources, and, ultimately, to build a sense of connection and trust between people and organizations.

## Methods

We, CCC researchers, attended and observed 18 community events in the summer and fall of 2021 and 2022 to understand how belonging and connection is cultivated in Clackamas county through community events and engagements. Not only was this an opportunity for us to meet community members and organizers, but also we leaned on our social science training to meticulously record our observations that led us to categorize types of community events. We focused on attending events that were culturally specific or cross-cultural. Some examples of events we attended are:

- Dia de los Muertos in Welches
- CPO Summit
- Summer Connections at Clackamas Community College
- Juneteenth celebrations in Milwaukie, Wilsonville, Lake Oswego, and West Linn (see Figure 6.11)
- Clackamas Together Festival at Clackamas County Circle of Honor

**FIGURE 6.11**
Juneteenth in
West Linn

FIGURE 6.12
2nd Annual
Dia de La
Independencia
Fiesta



- Bridging Culture Park Day in Canby

- Ethiopian New Year in Portland (we were invited by Clackamas county residents)

- 2nd Annual Dia de la Independencia fiesta in Welches (see Figure 6.12)

- Empoderando Familias! in Canby

- Indigenous Peoples Day at Clackamas Community College (see Figure 6.13)

- Diwali celebration at Lakeridge High School in Lake Oswego

### Community Event Categories

We quickly learned the differences between how events are organized and by whom. We present these differences in Table 6.6 on page 150 as a spectrum of events that fall into the following three categories:

- **Dominant-led community invited events**: Planned and hosted by dominant institutions, and the community is invited to participate on the day of the event.

- **Community-led dominant administered events**: Planned by a steering committee or organization of BIPOC community members with the assistance of dominant institutions.

- **Community-led events**: Planned and hosted by the community for the community, with little to no dominant institution interaction.

### Organizing Community Events

Table 6.6 on page 150 can be read as a guide that includes our reflections on how each category of event relates to three elements that we found were important for organizing community events: community vision, resource sharing, and technical

assistance.

Despite their differences, we did notice some similarities across all three categories of events that we would like to share here:

**Welcoming everyone**: There is an assumption that hosting a culturally specific community event will alienate residents outside those communities. We observed the opposite. Even the community events that were community-led and culturally specific were open and welcoming to people outside that community. We saw everyone enjoying the festivities. Learning and participating in another culture is a positive experience for the whole community.

**Supporting local BIPOC businesses**: Most of the events we attended provided free food made by local BIPOC businesses. This encouraged more attendance and provided marketing and financial support to local BIPOC businesses. Many events used the opportunity to promote BIPOC businesses in Clackamas county – an important way to foster connections and relationships that helps businesses stay in the community. Similarly, events also hired BIPOC MCs, DJs, and performers to further invest in BIPOC people in Clackamas and beyond.

**Raising awareness about BIPOC communities**: In nearly all of the events, time was spent either educating the audience on the significance of the event (e.g., the history of Juneteenth) or reflecting on the significance of the community. Providing educational opportunities is important for those who may be less familiar with the community, and also for fostering a sense that the community is connected to and belongs in Clackamas county.



**FIGURE 6.13**
Indigenous People's Day at Clackamas Community College

**Table 6.6 –** Elements of a Community Event

| | DOMINANT-LED COMMUNITY INVITED | COMMUNITY-LED DOMINANT ADMINISTERED | COMMUNITY-LED EVENTS |
|---|---|---|---|
| **COMMUNITY VISION** | Events planned by one person or a few people in the institution, but not exclusively BIPOC.<br><br>Events are not always culturally specific but bring many different people together.<br><br>Many attendees may not know each other, so there needs to be intentional community connection time during programming.<br><br>Having elected officials to speak during programming is great when their speech is informative, brief, and inspiring.<br><br>Events were primarily family-focused, with activities for kids and adults. | Typical for a steering committee of community members to lead event planning.<br><br>Events were more tailored to a specific community, specified by the steering committee.<br><br>Typical for youth participation in planning and programming.<br><br>Events included multiple activities, free food, and informative and brief programming.<br><br>The events were primarily family-focused, with activities for kids and adults. | Events were for a specific community, but others can attend.<br><br>Events were centered around a cultural event.<br><br>Either a CBO was in charge, or community members would all work together to plan the event.<br><br>There were fewer activities and more time for connecting and dancing.<br><br>Most everyone knew each other, and it felt more like a family reunion.<br><br>There were performances by youth and adults. |
| **RESOURCE SHARING** | Resources were free and covered a variety of needs, but often not culturally specific.<br><br>Civic engagement opportunities were present, but not culturally specific.<br><br>The host dominant institution or other institutions mainly provided resources.<br><br>Some events had resources from community-based organizations (CBO) that were present. | Many different institutions and CBOs were able to provide resources.<br><br>The resources were specific to the attendees.<br><br>Civic engagement opportunities were relevant to the community.<br><br>Small businesses were centered in many events.<br><br>Educational opportunities taught attendees new and valuable skills. | Resources were tailored to the community needs (COVID-19 vaccines, free books, food boxes, or CBO programming).<br><br>Local businesses were centered and sold culturally specific materials and goods. |
| **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE** | Sometimes, security or police were present at the event.<br><br>CBOs supported advertising of the event. | The dominant institutions provided and ran technology for the event and handled contracts, permits, and other administrative burdens.<br><br>Events are expected to adhere to the rules and regulations of the dominant institution partner(s). | Community members or a CBO need to cover all the logistics.<br><br>Community members or CBO need to fund the event, which limits budgets and space available.<br><br>Need to build relationships with dominant institutions to feel welcomed. |
| **EXAMPLE** | Juneteenth events hosted by cities in public parks. | Indigenous People's Day organized in collaboration between Indigenous-led steering committee, Clackamas County, and Clackamas Community College. | 2nd Annual Dia de la Independencia fiesta hosted and organized by Mt. Hood Unida at the local Lions Club in Welches. |

# Removing Obstacles for Community-Based Organizations: Supporting Culturally Specific and Responsive Services

### Purpose

Community-based organizations provide essential services and resources to Clackamas county residents. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic and with the rapid rise of climate emergencies – wildfires and extreme heat events being especially concerning to the region – CBOs have been critical to on-the-ground emergency response efforts. Throughout this four-year engagement in Clackamas county, we have gained an in-depth understanding of the landscape of social services in the county, from our analysis of nonprofit organizations and public agencies included in the 2020 Environmental Scan[297] to our three-year collaboration with Unite Oregon and the County's Housing Authority that resulted in several reports.[298] We knew that a research justice study centered on belonging needed to include the perspectives of CBOs specific to how they do their work, the challenges they face, and how they desire to be better supported and resourced, especially with regard to providing culturally specific and responsive services. The purpose of this case study is to share what we learned about the landscape of CBOs in Clackamas county.

### Methods

In addition to the research we conducted for the Environmental Scan and on housing services between 2020 and 2023, we also convened staff working at community-based organizations that served Clackamas county residents. We hosted three convenings where we sought to better understand CBOs' relationships with the County, the challenges they encounter while both working with the County and providing services, often in response to health and climate emergencies, the ways in which they cultivate trust and community-based networks, and how they envision a healthy relationship with dominant institutions, and especially the County. The convenings included large-group discussions, smaller focus group-style discussions, and staff feedback on our share-back of what we learned from those discussions.

### Reality

Community-based organizations that operate in and serve the residents of Clackamas county shared about their relationship with the County – a reminder here that capital-C County refers to the Clackamas County government entity. On the one hand, many staff at CBOs recognized the importance of the County as a well-resourced entity that can coordinate resources, funding, and get services to community members and the organizations that serve them. They also recognized the critical role that the now dismantled Office of Equity and Inclusion played to connect communities with resources, to share community input and experiences throughout the County, and to create an environment and culture of belonging inside the County.

During the convenings we hosted, several CBO staff shared their thoughts about the benefit of having an Office of Equity and Inclusion:

*The Office [of Equity and Inclusion] provided a lot of benefits: supporting County employees, helping us bring our learnings to County partners and championing them, and leveraging these ideas.*

*[The Office of Equity and Inclusion] made sure we are actively signaling a welcoming space for the public, ensured there was a robust language access plan for the whole County, and created trainings that were deeper in concept.*

*It's really important that this Office exists for the lens that they apply in County services. Personally, during ARPA [American Rescue Plan Act] distribution, one of the staff members routinely came to our meetings and listened rather than prescribed. The Office also kept equity at the forefront of our discussions.*

On the other hand, CBO staff shared the many ways that they continue to have a strained relationship with the County. The most pressing concerns expressed by CBO staff were concentration of power at the County, uneven and inequitable decision-making, gatekeeping data, and challenges with County-led funding opportunities. We provide more details about each concern below.

**Concentration of power at the County**: As the second-largest employer in Clackamas county, the County holds tremendous power, particularly when it comes to its capacity to be both a service provider and funder. The County, therefore, has an unfair advantage over CBOs, especially since it has the means and interest to keep a lot of funding in-house. Staff shared that, in their experience, efforts to organize collective action or advocacy from CBOs are seen by the County as a threat. Cooperation is undermined, and competition between organizations for funding – and pitting CBOs against each other – ensures that power remains with the County. Furthermore, and unique to Clackamas County, the Commissioners have a great deal of political influence over what programs and services get funded.

**Uneven and inequitable decision-making**: Not only are programmatic and funding decisions influenced by Commissioners, decisions are often political in nature and, according to some staff, driven by a distrust of regional and state government agencies. Moreover, staff shared that they have experienced the County engage in disingenuous community engagement whereby input from CBOs is dismissed and decisions move ahead without meaningful community or CBO input. We clearly heard the frustration from CBO staff regarding the unwillingness of the County to step back and let CBOs – with proper funding and support – serve their communities in ways they know best.

**Data gatekeeping**: We heard CBO staff share that trying to access data that the County holds is very difficult – some have been trying for years. We heard that even County employees don't have access to essential data, such as how many dollars have been spent on programs and services, and who is being served, to name a few areas of concern. And if data is shared, it is not done so in a consistent or timely manner.

**Funding challenges at the County**: While most of the concerns shared above center on funding challenges, we also heard that an overarching issue is that the County does not have a funding approach or philosophy. From CBOs' perspectives, this means the County does not explicitly have a strategy that guides funding availability and decisions. This leads to CBOs experiencing an inconsistent funding process, a lack of transparency when it comes to understanding funding amounts, and County staff not having sufficient information about funding opportunities. Furthermore, CBO staff shared that Commissioners being involved in contract reviews and funding decisions slows down the funding process, which means funds are not disbursed in a timely way.

### *Community-Desired Solutions*

Although there are significant challenges when it comes to CBO relationships with the County, we made sure to have robust discussions about how these relationships could be improved. And CBOs had a lot of solutions to offer. We have divided these solutions into three broad categories: share power, step into being a CBO partner, and meaningfully engage CBOs. We share examples of solutions that emerged during our discussions with CBO staff below:

**Share power**
- Facilitate and convene collaboration between direct service providers
- Organize regular partner meetings to share resources and updates
- Be a funder

**Step into being a CBO partner**
- Sign on to grant opportunities
- Write letters of support
- Improve contracting process

**Meaningfully engage CBOs**
- Become familiar with local CBOs and the services they offer
- Communicate about what is changing in the County system (e.g., any updates or changes to funding or contract eligibility requirements)
- Circulate newsletters that include CBO partner updates

# CHAPTER SEVEN:
# CALLS TO ACTION

*"Justice is what love looks like in public."*

– Cornel West[299]

———

*"The only way to bring about real change is through the participation of the whole community, and this involves confronting and dismantling the structures of racial injustice."*

– Grace Lee Boggs[300]

# In the final chapter of the report, our focus turns to action and how to support and organize for change.

The primary outcome of a research justice study is to ensure that evidence leads to action. The calls to action in this section were developed through an iterative and rigorous process of engagement and dialogue between steering committee members and CCC researchers. The process included multiple points of participatory data vetting, co-constructed analysis, feedback loops and responsive revisions, and further rounds of analysis.

Ultimately, these calls to action are:

- A synthesis of findings that emerged from deep experiential data gathered in the case studies in Chapter Six and extensive knowledge of disparities experienced by BIPOC communities that show up in population-level quantitative data

- A culmination of what was laid out in the Dual Belonging Framework in Chapter Two

- Pathways for advancing belonging in support of equity and justice, also discussed in Chapter Two

In short, these calls to action are shaped by a diversity of evidence and are essential for fostering belonging in Clackamas county.

In addition to the calls to action, we offer a set of recommendations for how dominant institutions can support these actions and which dominant institutions can play a partnering role. At the end of the chapter, we also offer guidance for how communities can organize to advance any of the calls to action. To present desired actions without clear recommendations and guidance for how to work toward them is insufficient. It is our hope that this chapter serves to mobilize anyone who is committed to racial justice in the county.

# BIPOC Histories and Futures

We begin with the first call to action to honor, teach, share, and collect BIPOC histories and desires for the future. On the surface, this call seems simple enough. But telling the truth about the experiences and desires of any group of people requires that folks from those communities are able to tell their stories on their terms, and that those stories get properly memorialized, are available for the public to learn, are used to make decisions about funding, and are built into our schools' curricula. These calls represent two goals:

1. Restoration of histories so that BIPOC communities that have been erased and harmed see themselves as central to the story of Clackamas county and tenacious in the face of oppressive contexts.

2. Deferring to communities most harmed, erased, and marginalized to have their strategies, goals, and desires be central to decision-making for the future.

| CALLS TO ACTION | DOMINANT PARTNER(S) | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DOMINANT |
|---|---|---|
| Tell the truth about BIPOC contributions in Clackamas county in schools, museums, and libraries through curricula, programs, and permanent exhibits and collections. | School districts, institutions of higher education, Clackamas County, public libraries, museums, publishers | Funding and resourcing community members and community-based organizations with physical space, creating memorials and artwork, building capacity to gather community stories and histories; funding and resourcing schools to develop curricula and hire and retain a diverse teacher workforce |
| Recognize and address the ongoing legacies of historical injustices and invest in community desires for the future. | School districts, institutions of higher education, Clackamas County, public libraries, museums, regional and state universities and colleges, elected officials, foundations, cities in Clackamas county | Publicly commemorating notable historical events that impacted BIPOC communities (e.g., exclusionary policies, broken treaties, mob violence); funding and compensating culturally specific task forces and advisory groups; learning from and replicating successful reparations and Land Back efforts; taking seriously community safety concerns, supporting organizing efforts to collectively envision how safety can be done differently, and following through with those recommendations; funding and supporting culturally specific and cross-cultural community events; reflecting on how terms situated in oppressive histories (e.g. pioneer) are centered in dominant-led efforts, and disrupting and replacing terms when appropriate; consulting with interested and affected groups on alternative and more representative language |
| Create BIPOC solidarity through cross-cultural sharing of histories, current experiences, and desires for the future. | Clackamas County, school districts, institutions of higher education, cities in Clackamas county | Deferring to and supporting community-based needs and their implementation strategies; funding and supporting cross-cultural storytelling, BIPOC artists and their representations of the significance of places/spaces in the county, and migration stories and the contributions and experiences of immigrants in Clackamas county |

# Peer-to-Peer Support Systems

When communities of color come together to talk about their shared experiences in the dominant system (e.g., businesses, education, workplaces), a common narrative emerges: Our communities can help themselves if some support, funding, and infrastructure exists to create and expand mentoring, networking, and resource sharing with each other. These calls to action require an approach that mirrors the Dual Belonging Framework: BIPOC communities need the space, time, and opportunity that work for them to gather, share, address concerns, and strategize on how to improve their situation in culturally and linguistically appropriate ways; the dominant system (e.g., Clackamas County) needs to take on the labor of assisting with organizing and resourcing peer-to-peer support systems and ensuring a process is in place to address community-proposed strategies. In other words, when properly organized, supported, and relied upon for decision-making, communities of color will always find the right strategies to improve their realities. The calls to action presented below can extend to a host of different contexts, including supporting the development of small business owners, helping immigrants find employment, and sharing publicly available resources and opportunities in meaningful culturally and linguistically specific ways.

| CALLS TO ACTION | DOMINANT PARTNER(S) | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DOMINANT |
|---|---|---|
| Fund mentorship opportunities for BIPOC community members specific to business and education. | Businesses, school districts, institutions of higher education, Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county | Countywide funding and resourcing mentorship programs on starting a business, navigating government regulations and compliance standards, and growing a business; funding and resourcing peer- and adult-led mentorship programs for bicultural and bilingual students |
| Host regular convenings with BIPOC small business owners to share resources, information, and opportunities. | Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county | Providing consistent and up-to-date resources and information about changes to relevant government regulations, laws, compliance standards, training requirements, and funding opportunities; sharing opportunities for business development, financing, and continuing education/training; ensuring County case managers and other channels of referrals are fairly and equitably working with BIPOC small business owners |
| Fund and resource BIPOC-led networking and convening opportunities that promote culturally and linguistically specific sharing of information, services, and events for employment; spaces for community events; and more visibility of BIPOC thriving in the county. | Businesses, Clackamas County, institutions of higher education, foundations, cities in Clackamas county | Funding for capacity-building and events for employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, space to convene, and advertising and outreach; tabling at events with relevant resources and opportunities to connect |

# Diverse Workforce and Leadership

The need to diversify the workforce and leadership is not a novel concept, and many organizations and jurisdictions in the county have implemented strategies to meet these goals. However, what consistently emerged as important for community members included the need for:

1. Demonstrating institutional accountability by addressing bias in dominant systems (e.g., health systems, education, and workplaces)

2. Resources and opportunities in various languages for training, apprenticeships, and applying for jobs

3. Intentional and well-resourced recruitment efforts and pathways for advancement for employees capable of providing culturally and linguistically specific services

The calls to action presented below reiterate and support the desires of BIPOC community members to diversify the workforce, including leadership.

| CALLS TO ACTION | DOMINANT PARTNER(S) | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DOMINANT |
|---|---|---|
| Conduct organizationwide equity audits of hiring, retention, and contracting processes to determine how and where bias operates and implement strategies to reduce bias in these areas. | Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county, school districts, health systems, institutions of higher education, businesses | Reinstating the Equity and Inclusion Office at Clackamas County; understanding and addressing how bias and racism influence job descriptions; relying on staff with lived experiences of marginalization (e.g., people of color, women, queer people, people with disabilities, people experiencing housing instability) to inform and address organizational inequities; translating job application materials to multiple, relevant languages; creating publicly accessible data about employee and contractor demographics |
| Provide people seeking jobs with resources about careers at all levels using trusted, accessible, and culturally and linguistically specific channels. | Clackamas County, school districts, health systems, institutions of higher education, businesses | Funding and capacity for compensated internships, job shadowing opportunities, and apprenticeships; funding and delivering accessible and no-cost trainings in multiple languages on sector-specific job opportunities, skills needed to enter different sectors, and preparing job application materials |
| Recruit people into staff and leadership positions who reflect the diversity of communities in Clackamas county. | Clackamas County, school districts, health systems, institutions of higher education, businesses | Reinstating the Equity and Inclusion Office at Clackamas County and supporting equity efforts across county jurisdictions; establishing equitable review processes that account for the skills of diverse staff (e.g., language, culture, relationships); establishing and expanding partnerships with public and private sector institutions to provide workforce development resources that are freely available to all Clackamas county residents; taking stock of and supporting the regular collection and reporting of disaggregated data about Clackamas county demographics; establishing pathways for diverse community leaders to serve on school boards; paying bilingual and bicultural staff more; paying more for services conducted by staff suc as translation and interpretation |

# Community Events and Resource Sharing

The jurisdictions and organizations that funded this study repeatedly requested support with how to better engage communities of color in Clackamas county. All of the steering committee-led engagements addressed this question, and we have presented community-centered solutions in Chapter Six. In addition to data gathered by steering committee members, we recognized that community events and resources that are shared at such events are critical to understanding promising pathways for building BIPOC connection and community in Clackamas county. Therefore, instead of organizing our own engagement to discuss how best to address the question of jurisdictions and organizations, RJI researchers attended and observed 18 community events in the summer and fall of 2021 and 2022 throughout Clackamas County. We gained a deeper understanding of how community events are organized and what kinds of resources are shared and valued. These calls to action focus on three areas that were revealed as critical for successful and meaningful community events and resource sharing:

1. Leveraging available space for community building

2. Establishing long-term partnerships

3. Dominant institutions supporting logistical, administrative, and technical assistance, as well as resource sharing

All three of these calls to action require both community leadership and dominant institution support.

| CALLS TO ACTION | DOMINANT PARTNER(S) | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DOMINANT |
|---|---|---|
| Leverage available space for cross-cultural community building and sustaining connections. | Clackamas County, school districts, institutions of higher education, public libraries, museums, foundations, Metro | Providing no- or low-cost spaces to use by community organizers; funding culturally-specific and cross-cultural organizers to purchase space to build community centers; engaging Indigenous leaders and Tribes in Land Back efforts |
| Build long-term partnerships with institutions (e.g., schools, libraries, and parks) to help facilitate cultural events. | Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county, foundations | Providing low-barrier, unrestricted funding to community-based organizations to support relationship building with dominant institutions; increasing institutional staff capacity to build and sustain cross-institutional and community partnerships; reinstating the Office of Equity and Inclusion at Clackamas County |
| Support community organizers with institutional capacity around logistical, administrative, and technical assistance, as well as resource sharing. | Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county | Reinstating the Office of Equity and Inclusion at Clackamas County as a coordinating community-facing entity; investing in training and guidance for staff on promising practices for providing "behind the scenes" support for community organizing (e.g., ensuring the safety, protection, and preservation of cultural spaces and events) |

# Supporting Community-Based Organizations

In Chapter Six, we dedicated a case study to centering the experiences and perspectives of staff working at community-based organizations in Clackamas county. During our engagements with CBOs, it was abundantly clear they not only provide essential services to residents and are often the first responders in times of crisis, but they also provide – or strive to provide – more accessible and culturally and linguistically meaningful services and programs. One of the key findings that came out of our engagements was that, instead of the County being a champion and supporter of CBOs, it is in fact their biggest competition. We learned that the County competes for the same type of contracts and dollars as CBOs, and instead of subcontracting or deferring to CBOs, it takes on the dollars and labor itself. These calls to action are largely directed at Clackamas County and call on the County to be better at funding, convening, and contracting with CBOs. Inherent to these calls is the recognition that CBOs have the relationships, solutions, and track records to serve community members. Furthermore, there are many community-led efforts that, with the proper support and processes in place at the County, could operate as community-based organizations.

| CALLS TO ACTION | DOMINANT PARTNER(S) | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DOMINANT |
|---|---|---|
| Fund new CBOs that provide culturally and linguistically-responsive services. | Clackamas County | Learning about community-led efforts across the county; becoming familiar with local CBOs and the services they offer; organizing regular meetings with CBOs to share funding opportunities, resources, and updates; supporting cooperative funding opportunities for CBOs that wish to collaborate |
| Fund existing CBOs to expand their capacity and build up their culturally and linguistically-specific services and programs. | | |
| Coordinate with other institutional partners to create a county-wide funding strategy for CBOs. | Clackamas County, other jurisdictions | Creating a cross-jurisdiction effort to communicate with CBOs about funding opportunities and system-wide changes (e.g., any updates or changes to funding requirements or contract eligibility); providing training and capacity building support with grant writing and meeting County, state, and federal requirements; creating low-barrier grant applications; supporting cooperative funding opportunities for CBOs that wish to collaborate |
| Convene CBOs to guide jurisdictions on decision-making, particularly regarding funding and contracts. | Clackamas County | Organizing convenings focused on facilitating collaboration between CBOs; engaging CBOs in ways that take stock of and include their feedback into decision-making |
| Streamline contracting in ways that support CBO capacity instead of depleting it. | Clackamas County | Signing-on to grant opportunities; writing letters of support; training internal staff on funding and contracting processes and procedures |

# Institutional Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion: Compliance, Data, and Harm Reduction

While Clackamas County dismantled the Office of Equity and Inclusion in 2024, some equity efforts have continued, albeit under multiple departments dispersed across the agency. However, this institutional divestment from diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) has been seen as a deep betrayal by many community members and County employees, especially people of color. DEI work has been and continues to be vilified as an instrument of "woke radicals" to sow division, confer unfair benefits on certain people and communities (read: nonwhite, noncisgender, nonheterosexual), and undermine already existing anti-discrimination laws. These attacks on DEI are wholly unfounded, as we explain in Chapter Four, and only serve to ensure that the systems and institutions that have harmed and excluded communities of color (as well as other minoritized groups) remain difficult to change. Whether or not it is widely known or explicitly stated, the fundamental purpose of DEI work is to ensure that the resources and opportunities concentrated within institutions like Clackamas County reach more residents, especially those who have not been sufficiently served, so that *all* county residents have access to the services, programs, and opportunities they need to thrive. While our broad call is to **reinstate the Office of Equity and Inclusion at Clackamas County**, we recognize that equity work must continue, even in its – hopefully temporary – absence. These calls to action are critical for the continuation of institutional DEI.

First, it is critical that jurisdictions keep doing what is already legally expected, such as ensuring compliance and support with Titles 2, 9, and 6. While many jurisdictions claim to be in compliance here, we've collected evidence from all across the state that this is not the case. Second, using data more strategically would support challenging inequities and demonstrating government transparency and accountability. Jurisdictions collect a great deal of data from communities (e.g., listening sessions, community engagement, needs assessment, community-filled boards and committees), but rarely are these data captured, shared back, and used for decision-making. Third, communities of color experience a great deal of harm in work environments, and it is the responsibility of organization leaders to address the culture of fear and retaliation (as detailed by various community members in the study), reduce harm, and support employees who have experienced racism and other forms of aggression in the workplace.

| CALLS TO ACTION | DOMINANT PARTNER(S) | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DOMINANT |
|---|---|---|
| Build capacity to maintain compliance with federal funding pathways including Title 2, 6, and 9. | Clackamas County | Hiring and retaining staff who have the skills to create accessible materials in multiple language; communicating with the public about how the County is ensuring compliance with Title 2, 6, and 9; partnering with topic experts and organizations that represent BIPOC, gender, and disability interests to ensure compliance is in tact and identify gaps; training staff and leadership on processes and procedures to ensure compliance |
| Collect, track, and publicly share data about population shifts, communities needs assessments, and implementation of community feedback. | Clackamas County | Building internal capacity to aggregate multiple data sources – quantitative and qualitative – about disparities across the county; investing in public reporting of data sources and findings to demonstrate government transparency and accountability |
| Support and train leaders to coordinate harm reduction efforts in the workplace. | Clackamas County, other jurisdictions | Continuing investment in affinity groups, employee resource groups, and educational opportunities; providing cross-agency training for leadership on strategies and approaches addressing bias, racism, and other aggressions in the workplace |
| Commit to and invest in becoming familiar with the histories of BIPOC communities in Clackamas county. | Clackamas County | Publicly commemorating notable historical events that impacted BIPOC communities (e.g., exclusionary policies, broken treaties, mob violence); collaborating with local BIPOC community members, community-based organizations, and BIPOC employees to host learning opportunities |

# Student Desires for Change

When we began our research in Clackamas County, we continuously heard from leaders of color that we needed to speak with the youth. The amount of equity, anti-hate, anti-racism, and equity and inclusion work led by youth – middle and high schoolers – in the county is at once inspiring and worrisome. Instead of adults leading the work to ensure our youth have safe and productive learning environments, students of color and queer students are leading the charge, calling out racism, homophobia, transphobia, and xenophobia. The youth from our steering committee and those engaged during our Step Up Clackamas event were clear about their demands and heartbroken that the adults in the room acted, at best, as bystanders and, at worst, as perpetrators of harm. Students' desires for change are reflected in calls to action that include training for staff and faculty on racism and equity; more BIPOC teachers; more mental health resources for students and staff; and greater visibility of, access to, and investment in culturally specific spaces, gatherings, resources, and student-led events. If anything in this report should rattle us, it is the plea students of color and queer students have for their safety, education, and ability to be teenagers, not wranglers of adults.

| CALLS TO ACTION | DOMINANT PARTNER(S) | RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DOMINANT |
|---|---|---|
| Training for administrative staff and teachers on racism and equity. | School districts, Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county, elected officials | Collaborating with local anti-racism groups, coalitions, student groups (e.g., Respond to Racism, SURJ, student unions) to create and deliver training curricula; funding trainings on bystander interventions |
| Funds to access and visibilize culturally specific spaces, gatherings, and resources. | School districts, Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county, foundations | Funding for student-led workshops on writing testimonials and sharing their experiences of racism, hate, and equity work with decision-makers; funding BIPOC youth- and student-led organizing of cultural events, conferences, and leadership programs |
| Funds for culturally responsive mental health resources for students and staff. | School districts, Clackamas County, cities in Clackamas county | Funding for culturally-specific and cross-cultural youth affinity spaces; funding to hire and retain bicultural and bilingual counselors; funding to providing mental health resources in multiple languages; investing in whole-family mental health supports |
| Recruitment and retention of BIPOC teacher workforce. | School districts | Funding to hire and retain bicultural and bilingual teachers; funding to create BIPOC teacher support networks across schools and jurisdictions |

# Community Organizing for Change: Advancing Calls to Action

This final section is written for all community members who want to begin organizing to advance any of the calls to action. It is meant to be a guide for how to organize outside of or alongside dominant institutions; our focus here is how to mobilize community members into constituencies that share a common goal, guided by the calls to action.

How do we organize toward making change happen? We recognize that some readers will already have organizing experience and may adopt different strategies than what's presented here. We know that there are many ways to organize; what is presented below is one framework for how to approach organizing. This framework is adapted from and inspired by a handbook called "Organizing: People, Power, Change," which itself is inspired by the work of organizer Dr. Marshall Ganz.[301] We encourage anyone committed to organizing to read the handbook as well. After presenting the framework, we use an example from the calls to action to demonstrate how the framework can be applied.

Let's start by clarifying two key definitions and two key assumptions:

- **Definition 1**: Organizing is a form of leadership that requires enabling "people to turn the resources they have into the power they need to make the change they want."

- **Guiding Assumption 1**: Organizing is a strategy for turning a group of people into a constituency.

- **Definition 2**: A constituency is "a community of people who are standing together to realize a common purpose."

- **Guiding Assumption 2**: To organize for change requires a constituency working toward a shared goal.

Agreeing on these definitions and assumptions, we can now identify four elements of a **community organizing framework**: Goal, people, power, and change. In Table 7.1 on the following page, we provide a few guiding questions that can help build momentum around each element of the framework.

## *Starting to Organize and Applying the Framework*

Unless you are already part of an established group or organization that is actively doing advocacy work, starting to organize can feel daunting. But we want to encourage you to think about organizing not as some formal process that requires years of experience and certain credentials. Instead, organizing is fundamentally about relationships – and we all have them.

**Table 7.1** – Community Organizing Framework

| ELEMENT | GUIDING QUESTION(S) |
|---------|---------------------|
| GOAL | What call to action do I want to organize around? |
| PEOPLE | Who are my people?<br><br>What are my current relationships?<br><br>What relationships do I want to build and foster? |
| POWER | What do we want?<br><br>What resources can we use to achieve what we want (e.g., people, knowledge, skills, relationships, programs, money)? |
| CHANGE | How will we assess our progress in working toward our goal? |

So the first step is gathering with friends, family, neighbors, co-workers – in other words, those with whom relationships exist – to read and discuss this report. Hosting a "book club" type gathering is an excellent place to start. As a group, you may want to think about and discuss the following questions:

· What in the report resonates with your experiences of Clackamas county?

· What in the report makes you feel uncomfortable? Where in your body do you feel this discomfort the most? This is a somatic practice that helps us get out of our head about discomfort – we tend to want to intellectualize discomfort – and instead feel it and better understand how our entire bodies respond to it.

· What in the report excites you?

· What Call(s) to Action speaks to you and your lived experience? In what ways does it resonate with you?

The next step is to agree on which Call to Action(s) you would like to advance as a group. This will be your collective goal.

Now you can work through the community organizing framework to start building a constituency.

In Table 7.2 on the next page, we have filled out the community organizing framework from the hypothetical perspective of a group choosing to organize around a call to action in the BIPOC Histories and Futures section. This is, of course, just an example to help think about how to answer the guiding questions in the framework.

**Table 7.2** – Applying the Community Organizing Framework

| ELEMENT | GUIDING QUESTION(S) |
|---------|---------------------|
| GOAL | **Call to Action** – [BIPOC Histories and Futures] Tell the truth about BIPOC contributions in Clackamas county in schools, museums, and libraries as permanent curricula, collections, and programs. |
| PEOPLE | **My People** – Family, neighbors, friends, co-workers, school board member<br><br>**Current Relationships** – teachers, principal, other parents, local librarians<br><br>**Relationships to Build and Foster** – other Oregon City school board members (esp. X,Y,Z ally), electeds who are values-aligned, Black Pioneers, Oregon Remembrance Project |
| POWER | **We Want** – A monument in Oregon City that memorializes the contributions of Black folks in the region from the 1800 to present-day<br><br>**Our Resources** – Connect with allies at Juneteenth celebrations across the county |
| CHANGE | **Measuring our Progress** – Collect signatures for a petition to build the monument |

Finally, a few parting words as we come to the end of this report.

This four-year research justice process has been a labor of love for us as researchers dedicated to racial justice and liberation for everyone. We have had the privilege of being in relationships with so many incredible people across Clackamas county. It is only because of these relationships, and the care and commitment that community members contributed to envisioning a Clackamas county where everyone belongs, that this report has been possible. If anything, this report demonstrates what can be accomplished when people come together to imagine something different, something better, and something that challenges the status quo.

And the work must continue. There will certainly be challenges, and maybe even setbacks, along the way. But we encourage you, dear reader, to keep recommitting to maintaining relationships and building community. Organizing for a more equitable and just Clackamas county requires nothing less.

# Appendix A

## Supporting Quantitative Data

Below, we have included topic-specific quantitative data in support of the case studies in Chapter Six.

### Criminal and Legal System

- Clackamas County deputies are more likely to stop, search, cite, and arrest Latine (38%) and Black (37%) people compared to white (34.4%) people.[302]

- Black county residents are almost nine times more likely to be indicted for a Measure 11 crime than white residents, and nearly five times more likely than Latine residents.[303]

- The Oregon Criminal Justice Commission report (2021) found that the Clackamas County Sheriff's Office was the only police department to significantly overstop and cite Black and Latine residents and oversearch Latine residents.[304]

- Using the method of "ratio of overrepresentation" regarding incarceration – calculated by dividing the number of incarcerated people from a racial group by the number of nonincarcerated people of the same racial group – in Clackamas county, we find that Black (5.82) and Latine (1.82) incarcerated people are overrepresented, while white incarcerated people are underrepresented (0.92). A ratio of 1 means perfect representativeness while a ratio over 1 means overrepresentation and under 1 means underrepresentation.[305]

### Education

- In Oregon, only 12.9% teachers identify as ethnically or linguistically diverse.[306]

### Health

- American Indian and Alaska Native residents of Clackamas county are more likely to be living with cancer, diabetes, and physical disability than white residents. They are also significantly more likely to be suffering from depression.[307]

- Black residents of Clackamas county are spending significantly more on health insurance as a portion of their total income in comparison to the overall average for residents.[308]

- According to Census data, 7% of people between the ages of 19 and 64 who identified as American Indian or Alaska Native alone lack healthcare insur-

ance.[309] In comparison, nearly 20% of respondents in the same age bracket that identified as Black or African American alone are uninsured.[310]

### *Employment*

- U.S. Census Bureau (2021) data suggests that almost 13% of all adult Native people in Clackamas, including people who self-identified as Native American in addition to one or more other races, are earning below the poverty line. Native women in this category are particularly vulnerable, with over 18% earning below the poverty line.[311]

### *Safety*

- In 2022, there were 24 active white supremacist groups in Oregon.[312]

- According to the Department of Justice (DOJ) in 2022, race, ethnicity, or ancestry (59.9%) was the highest bias motivation for hate crimes in Oregon, followed by sexual orientation (22.7%).[313]

- 2018 National Vital Statistics System (NVSS) data from the Centers for Disease Control shows that homicide was the third leading cause of death for Native American men ages one to 44 in the U.S., as well as the sixth leading cause of death for Native American women in the same age category.[314]

- According to the Centers for Disease Control's 2020 data on "legal intervention deaths."[315] after adjusting for population, American Indian and Alaska Native men were killed by police across the U.S. at the highest rate – six times higher than white men. This has been a persistent trend for over a decade.[316]

- Even more alarming, a meta regression study compiled in 2019 of the available data on U.S. police violence suggests that NVSS did not report over 50% of all deaths attributable to police violence.[317]

### *Small Business*

- In 2018, BIPOC small business owners employed 7,152 Oregonians.[318]

- In Oregon, there are an estimated 31,058 immigrant small business owners.[319]

- The 2023 State of Oregon Disparity Study found that statewide government agencies failed to provide avenues to work with minority-owned and women-owned business owners due to the costly and competitive nature of the procurement process.[320]

# Appendix B

## Case Study Communities and Counts

There were over 346 participants across all case studies.

| CASE STUDY | DEMOGRAPHICS | DATA COLLECTION METHOD | COUNT |
|---|---|---|---|
| Memory and Migration: Voices of Latine Communities from Mt. Hood | Latine Community | Interviews | 7 |
| Immigrants Seeking Employment: Chinese and Latine Communities' Challenges with the Job Search | Immigrant Community (Asian, Latine) | Survey | 142 |
| Ambition and Small Business Ownership: BIPOC Immigrants Doing Business and Building Community | Immigrant Community (African, Asian, Latine) | Focus group | 10 |
| Conditions for Safety: Native Communities Desires for Belonging | Native American | Group activity | 20 |
| Black Histories and Visibility: Strategies of Black Historians and Communities | Black American | Interviews | 12 |
| Teaching and Equity: Supporting ELL, BIPOC, and LGBTQ families | BIPOC and English Language Learner (ELL) Educators | Survey, Focus group | 23 |
| Amplifying Youth Voices: BIPOC Youth Desires for Harm Reduction in Schools | BIPOC Youth | Panel, Follow up interviews, Steering committee | 12 |
| Talking about Health and Wellness: Black and Native Reflections of Health Systems | Black American and Native American | Group activity | 23 |
| Meaningful Community Events: Engaging and Centering BIPOC communities | Multiple communities | Observations | NA[321] |
| Removing Obstacles for CBO Providers: Supporting Culturally Specific and Responsive | Community based organization meeting BIPOC Clackamas employees meeting , and other interested and affected groups meetings (3 meetings) | Focus group with each meeting having 7-20 participants. Post meeting surveys with 40 participants. | 102[322] |

# Appendix C
## Case Study Data Collection Questions

*Memory and Migration: Voices of Latine Communities from Mt. Hood*
Interviews were conducted with Latine community members who live in and around Welches. Participants were asked a series of questions about belonging.

**Interview Questions:**
- When did you arrive to the mountain?

- Who/what brought you to the community?

- Who did you travel / "cross" with (individuals or programs)?

- What did you think when you first arrive to the mountain?

- Did it feel like home?

- What do you like about the (geographic) area?

- What do you like about the community?

- Do you feel connected to the Latino community? If so, in what capacity- work family, neighborhood.

- Do you feel connected to the non-Latino community? If so, where do you connect with non-Latino community members?

- ____ years later, what do you think of the mountain?

- Does it feel like home?

*Immigrants Seeking Employment: Chinese and Latine Communities Challenges with the Job Search*
The survey was translated into three languages: simplified Chinese, Chinese Traditional, and Spanish. The survey used "skip logic" at various points depending on how the respondent answered questions. For the sake of simplicity, we share all questions included in the survey without indicating skip logic points.

**Survey: Experiences of Seeking Employment**
Thank you for taking the Clackamas Employment Seeking survey. The aim of the survey is to better understand BIPOC and immigrant communities working or seeking work in Clackamas county. The questions we will ask are about your experiences in the job seeking and hiring process. We are looking for employed and unemployed individuals to take our survey. Participants will receive a $25 gift card for your time. Your participation in this survey is greatly valued. All information

shared in this survey will be kept confidential and securely stored on the Coalition of Communities of Color servers. Any identifying information will only be seen by researchers at the Coalition of Communities of Color for the purpose of sending gift cards. No identifying information will be included when sharing survey results.

**Section 1: Employment Status**
1. Are you currently employed? [Options: No, Yes]

**Section 2: Job Application**
In this section, we will be asking questions about your job application experience.

2. When was your last employment? [Options: Less than a month ago, Less than 1 year, 1-2 years, 2-5 years, 5-10 years, 10 years or more]

3. In the past 12 months how many jobs have you applied for? [Options: Enter the number of jobs you have applied for here:, I have not applied to any jobs in the last 12 months]

4. Tell us about a time you received an offer and rejected it?

5. What are the reasons you have not applied to any jobs in the last 12 months?

6. In what industry are you seeking employment? (select all that apply) [Options: Accounting/finance, Administrative, Arts/Entertainment/Publishing, Architecture/Design, Construction/facilities, Customer service, Domestic care (family caregiver), Education/training, Engineering/computer, Government, Healthcare, Hospitality/travel, Law enforcement/security, Legal, Manufacturing/labor, Marketing/advertising, Restaurant/food service, Retail/sales, Transportation/logistics, Upper management/consulting, Other: Please specify:]

**Section 3: Employment**
In this section, we will be asking questions about your current job.

7. How did you hear about your current job?

8. What is your job title?

9. How long have you been employed? [Less than one year, One year to less than two years, Two years to less than five years, Five years to less than ten years, Ten years or more]

10. Which of the following best describes your role in the organization? [Entry level, Manager (supervises one or more people), Senior management (Director), Executive Director (executive leader or CEO), Other, please specify:]

11. What is the industry in which you are currently employed? (select all that apply) [Options: Accounting/finance, Administrative, Arts/Entertainment/Publishing, Architecture/Design, Construction/facilities, Customer service, Domestic care (family caregiver), Education/training, Engineering/computer, Government, Healthcare, Hospitality/travel, Law enforcement/security, Legal, Manufacturing/labor, Marketing/advertising, Restaurant/food service, Retail/sales, Transportation/logistics, Upper management/consulting, Other: Please specify:]

**Section 4: Hiring Process Section**
Typically, the hiring process has two stages. First, submit a resume and/or a cover letter. Later, interview with the employers. The next few questions ask about your experience during your current or previous job search, hiring, interview and post-interview processes.

12. Please describe what challenges have you faced during the job search and hiring stages.

13. Job searching process. What challenges have you faced in this stage and what helped or would have helped you through these challenges?

14. Application process (e.g. online portals, cover letters, writing resumes). What challenges have you faced in this stage and what helped or would have helped you through these challenges?

15. Interview process (e.g. getting the initial interview, during the interview). What challenges have you faced in this stage and what helped or would have helped you through these challenges?

16. Post-interview (e.g. getting a call back, moving forward in the job process). What challenges have you faced in this stage and what helped or would have helped you through these challenges?

17. Tell us about any unfairness you perceive in the hiring process?

18. If you know, or suspect, the reasons for not landing a job currently or in the past, please share your thoughts with us?

19. How important is getting a job in Clackamas County for you to stay in Clackamas County?

20. Please share any other experiences about your job search, application or interviews that are important for us to understand.

**Section 5: Demographics**
The next few questions ask about race and ethnicity, language, gender, and sexu-

ality. These questions are asked because often data is not collected with this kind of detail. As we better understand the diversity of how people identify and exist in this world, we can better and more accurately identify the needs and experiences of different people. We also understand that you may not want to answer some of these questions, and that is okay too. You have the option to select "I would prefer not to say" or leave the question blank. This is the last section with questions and the next section includes gift card information.

21. Please, tell us about your education attainment.  What is your highest educational degree? Where did you obtain this degree?

22. Have you been able to use this degree in the United States? Why or why not?

23. How old are you?

24. How do you identify your race, ethnicity, tribal affiliation, country of origin, or ancestry?

25. Which of the following describes your racial or ethnic identity? You can choose more than one. [Options: Central American, Mexican, South American, Other Hispanic or Latino/a/e, CHamoru (Chamorro), Marshallese, Communities of the Micronesian Region, Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Other Pacific Islander, Eastern European, Slavic, Western European, Other White, American Indian, Alaska Native, Canadian Inuit, Metis, or First Nation, Indigenous Mexican, Central American, or South American, African American, Afro-Caribbean, Ethiopian, Somali, Other African (Black), Other Black, Middle Eastern, North African, Asian Indian, Cambodian, Chinese, Communities of Myanmar,  Filipino/a, Hmong, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, South Asian, Vietnamese, Other Asian, Other (please list),  Don't know, I prefer not to say]

26. If you checked more than one category above, is there one you think of as your primary racial or ethnic identity?

27. What language or languages do you use at home?

28. How well do you speak English?

29. How long have you lived in the U.S.?  [Less than one year, One year to less than two years, Two years to less than five years, Five years to less than ten years, Ten years or more, Don't want to answer]

30. Please describe your gender in any way you prefer:

31. Please describe your sexual orientation or sexual identity in any way you want:

### *Ambition and Small Business Ownership: BIPOC Immigrants Doing Business and Building Community*

Participants introduced themselves and told the origin story of their businesses. They were then asked five questions about their experience doing business in Clackamas.

1.  Why do you do business in Clackamas County?

2.  What's working in your business?

3.  In what way does your business support communities of color?

4.  What are some challenges or barriers that are keeping your business from growing?

5.  If you got $100,000 tomorrow, to support your business needs, what would you do? (e.g., tech upgrades for online orders/ e-commerce, low-cost loans, more staff)

### *Conditions for Safety: Native Communities' Desires for Belonging*

Data collection was conducted through a 4-step group activity:

**Step One:** Individually, write down three words that come to mind when you think of feeling safe or the conditions for safety.

**Step Two:** Co-construct categories of safety with everyone's three words; confirm these are the most important and relevant categories.

**Step Three:** Write each category on a piece of paper (in T chart format – +/- ) and give folks time to add details via sticky notes under each category.

**Step Four:** Discuss each category and co-construct support items out of them.

### *Black Histories and Visibility: Strategies of Black Historians and Communities*

Interviews were conducted with Black historians and Black community members. Each group had their own interview questions.

Historians:

1.  How long have you lived in the area?

2.  What brought you to the area?

3.  What keeps you in the area/what do you enjoy about the area?

4.  What got you interested in studying and understanding Black communities in our area?

5. What have you found to be the most interesting stories or histories that you have learned about so far?

6. How easy or difficult has it been for you to gather and understand the information you have uncovered? Where does this information exist and how have you been able to access it?

7. Why did you select this area for the interview? Was there anything that brought you to this particular place? Are there other places in the community that have a similar draw due to their histories?

8. How do you think our understanding of the history of Black communities in this area impacts current Black communities in the area?

9. With your understanding of the history of Black communities in this area, what does a "perfect" Black community look like? What are we missing that would help us create that "perfect" Black community? What would you want to see happen in the next 1-3 years to help create that community?

Community Members:

1. How long have you lived in the area?

2. What brought you to the area?

3. What keeps you in the area/what do you enjoy about the area?

4. Are there any communities that you feel connected to or a part of in your area? These could be neighborhood, religious, or other types of communities. How did you connect to those communities?

5. Do you feel like you belong or are at home in this community? What helps create this feeling for you? What makes it challenging to feel like you belong?

6. Are you able to connect to the Black community in your area? If so, how did you connect and what does that Black community feel like?  If not, are there specific reasons that you can think of for not being able to connect to that community?

7. What does your "perfect" Black community feel like? What are we missing that would help create that perfect "Black" community? What would you want to see happen in the next 1-3 years to help create that community?

### *Teaching and Equity: Supporting ELL, BIPOC, and LGBTQ families*
Educators engaged in discussions prompted by the following questions. Jamboard was used to capture many participants' thoughts.

Discussion Questions:
1. What types of changes are needed for your school/district to be more inclu-

sive to BIPOC, LGBTQ, and immigrant families?  Share your answer through topics.  (e.g., curriculum, engagement with parents, school culture, changing policies, more inclusive school boards, etc.).

2. In what ways is your school/district affirming and supportive of BIPOC teachers/students/ parents?

Survey Questions:
1. To what extent are schools/districts encouraging and motivating BIPOC, LGBTQ, and immigrant teachers, parents, and community members to volunteer and engage with them? What information are you receiving about these resources and opportunities?

2. How well does your school/district provide information and opportunities in languages other than English (e.g., board meetings, announcements, etc.)? Are those whose English is not their first language supported and included in the school/district?

3. To what extent do staff members receive training that allows them to support their students, particularly BIPOC and ELL students? Is this training ongoing?

4. Are the school board members qualified to support the diverse community at your school/district? What do school board members need to better support BIPOC, LGBTQ, and immigrant teachers, students, and parents?

5. In what ways is your school or district practicing anti-racism?

6. Are there any other equity concerns you have about your school/district that you would like to share with us?

### Amplifying Youth Voices: BIPOC Youth Desires for Harm Reduction in Schools

There were three data collection opportunities. The first was from an early planning meeting with the student steering committees. The second was the Step Up Clackamas panel with students from high schools in the county. The third was the post-event interviews with students who attended the Step up Clackamas event.

First Planning Meeting with Student Steering Committee:
1. What are the issues BIPOC students and student organizers are facing?

2. What story do you want to tell about students in Clackamas County?

Student Panel Questions:
1. Please share your personal and family history in Clackamas county.

2. What motivates you to get involved in your community?

3. What do you think will motivate other students to get involved?

4.  What are places that you feel welcomed or not welcomed in Clackamas county.

5.  What is one thing that you love about Clackamas county?

6.  What is one thing that you wish was different about Clackamas county?

7.  How can adults help make Clackamas co, a more safe and welcoming place?

8.  What would you want your school/city/town leadership to know about your experience in Clackamas county?

9.  Audience question: What is it about living in Clackamas County that makes it a privilege to live here?

10. Audience question: How has the redistricting and the split of Nelson and Clackamas high schools affected your experience of marginalized identities?

Post-Event Interviews:
1.  Please share with us your feedback about the Step Up Clackamas event.

2.  What makes you feel welcomed in Clackamas county?

3.  What motivates you to get involved in your community?

4.  What do the adults [school/city/town leadership] need to know about your experience in Clackamas county?

5.  Describe a place (or moment) that you feel welcomed or not welcomed in Clackamas county?

6.  What is one thing that you love about Clackamas county?

7.  We heard from some panelists at Step Up that it can feel like a privilege to live in Clackamas County. What is it about Clackamas county that makes it a privilege to live in?

8.  What is one thing that you wish was different about Clackamas county?

9.  Is there anything else you would like us to know about your experience of Clackamas county?

*Talking about Health and Wellness: Black and Native Reflections of Health Systems*
Participants were divided into two groups:

1.  Providers, or those who work in the medical field

2.  Patients, or those who receive medical care

Each group had their own set of questions that they answered independently in a notebook followed by a group discussion.

Questions for Providers:

1. Share a time when you felt you were discriminated against in the workplace (by a colleague, boss, patient)

2. What does racism in your workplace look and feel like?

3. In what ways can you grow and advance in your organization? What is stopping you from growing/advancing in your organization?

4. How does having a leadership that doesn't look like you affect your experience of being a provider?

5. Can you share a time when you've been directed to make professional decisions based on certain assumptions about patients, such as insurance status, race/ethnicity, etc.?

6. Is there a time when you couldn't provide the type of care you wanted to due policies, rules, regulations, or other institutional/organizational constraints?

7. What would you change about the healthcare system? What would ensure that the healthcare system gives Black and Native people the healthcare they need?

Questions for Patients:

1. What makes you feel seen and heard by your provider?

2. Share an example of when you felt unseen or unheard by your provider.

3. What challenges have you faced when trying to access healthcare? What challenges have you faced with your providers?

4. What has been the most memorable experience you've had with provider/ healthcare professional?

5. What would make your healthcare experience better?

6. What would you change about the system? What kinds of support would you want to make accessing healthcare easier? What would ensure that the healthcare system gives Black and Native people the healthcare they need?

### *Removing Obstacles for CBO Providers: Supporting Culturally Specific and Responsive Services*

During our engagement with community-based organizations that serve Clackamas county residents, we asked the following questions:

1. Tell us about how you have built trust with the various communities that your CBO serves. What is important to maintain that trust?

2. Tell us more about the community-based networks (e.g., neighborhoods, parents, businesses, formal and informal community groups, etc. ) that you

rely on to do your work. What keeps this relationship strong and functional? What's challenging about them?

3. What is it about the dominant (how it's organized, does business, connects with community, etc.) that is seen as undesirable from the perspective of community members and community-based organizations?

4. When the county declared a state of emergency during wildfires, ice storms, and the pandemic, what expectations were placed on community-based organizations? How did you deal with increased need and limited capacity? What did you learn during this time about the importance and role of community-based organizations?

5. What is your perspective about when the County should step in or step back when providing services?

### *Engagements with Interested and Affected Groups*
We held a series of engagements with funders and other dominant institution partners to better understand their desires for this research justice study and the Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion work they are doing or hope to do.

Survey 1:
1. Please provide your name. (optional)

2. What is your primary area of work? (optional)

3. What do you hope to see as the final product of this research justice study?

4. What would you like to know about this research process?

5. What DEI (diversity, equity, inclusion) efforts are you involved with? Please provide any specific information about collaborators (e.g., people, organizations, jurisdictions), past and future events, and strategies

Survey 2:
1. Please provide your name. (optional)

2. What is your primary area of work? (optional)

3. What do you hope to see as the final product of this research justice study?

4. What would you like to know about this research process?

5. What DEI (diversity, equity, inclusion) efforts are you involved with? Please provide any specific information about collaborators (e.g., people, organizations, jurisdictions), past and future events, and strategies

Focus Group Questions:
1. What would community members say if asked, "how far has this sector (e.g.

education) come along in working toward DEI goals and visions?"

2. How have these DEI actions in your sector (e.g. education) impacted community?

3. What do you hope to see as the final product of this research justice study?

4. What would you like to know about this research process?

5. What DEI (diversity, equity, inclusion) efforts are you involved with? Please provide any specific information about collaborators (e.g., people, organizations, jurisdictions), past and future events, and strategies

### *Engagement with BIPOC Employees*

We hosted a focus group session with BIPOC employees working in dominant institutions to understand their perspectives on how equity is advancing or falling short in their organizations.

Focus Group Questions:

1. How has your organization advanced equity or fallen short of advancing equity internally (e.g., hiring & retention, leadership, policies) and externally (e.g., community engagement practices & approaches)?

2. What are some actions you want to see changed?

3. What is going well around equity work?

# Notes

1. Thompson, Lori L. "I Refuse to Remain in the Lower Case." *My American Meltingpot*. June 2, 2014. https://myamericanmeltingpot.com/2014/06/02/i-refuse-to-remain-in-the-lower-case/

2. Clackamas County. "Land Acknowledgment." n.d., 5 https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/4a8d481f-ada7-4d7a-8a54-15c477a8d8c6.

3. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Environmental Scan: Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) Experiences, Community Organizations, and Government Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Efforts within Clackamas County." November 2020. https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/6c994dd0-9380-444d-8333-0b2d773fc0bb.

4. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Leading with Race: Research Justice in Washington County." 2018. https://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/leadingwithrace.

5. Clackamas County, "The Leaders for Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Council (LEDIC)." https://www.clackamas.us/pga/ledic.

6. DataCenter. "An Introduction to Research Justice." 2015, 1.

7. Tuck, Eve. "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities."*Harvard Educational Review* 79, no.3 (2009).

8. Coalition of Communities of Color. https://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/.

9. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Research Justice Institute." https://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/ccc-researchdatajustice.

10. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Leading with Race."

11. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Environmental Scan."

12. Data Center. "An Introduction to Research Justice."

13. Lanius, Candice. Fact Check: Your Demand for Statistical Proof is Racist." The Society Pages. January 12, 2015. https://thesocietypages.org/cyborgology/2015/01/12/fact-check-your-demand-for-statistical-proof-is-racist/.

14. Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990; Harding, Sandra. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader : Intellectual and Political Controversies*. S.L.: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 2003.

15. Tuck. "Suspending Damage."

16. Smith, Zadie. *Swing Time*. New York: Penguin Press, 2017.

17. Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis, Mn ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.

18. Othering and Belonging Institute. https://belonging.berkeley.edu.

19. Othering and Belonging Institute. "Bridging & Belonging." https://belonging.berkeley.edu/bridging-belonging.

20. Baumeister, Roy F. and Mark R. Leary. "The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation." *Psychological Bulletin* 113, no.3 (1995).

21. May, Vanessa. "Self, Belonging and Social Change." Sociology 45, no.3 (2011).

22. Morieson, Lucy, David Carlin, Bronwyn Clarke, Karli Lukas, and Rachel Wilson. "Belonging in Education: Lessons from the Belonging Project." *The International Journal of the First Year in Higher Education* 4, no. 2 (2013).

23. Riley, Kathryn. *Place, Belonging and School Leadership: Researching to Make the Difference*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

24. Cacioppo, John T., and Louise C. Hawkley. "Social Isolation and Health, with an Emphasis on Underlying Mechanisms." *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 46, no.3 (2003).

25. Stead, Martine, Laura McDermott, Anne Marie MacKintosh, and Ashley Adamson. 2011. "Why Healthy Eating Is Bad for Young People's Health: Identity, Belonging and Food." *Social Science & Medicine* 72, no.7 (2011).

26. Bhalla, Ajit, and Frederic Lapeyre. "Social Exclusion: Towards an Analytical and Operational Framework." Development and Change 28, no.3 (1997).

27. Schein, Richard H. "Belonging through Land/Scape." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 41, no.4 (2009); Trudeau, Daniel. "Politics of Belonging in the Construction of Landscapes: Place-Making, Boundary-Drawing and Exclusion." Cultural Geographies 13, no.3 (2006); Weare, Katherine. "Mental Health and Social and Emotional Learning: Evidence, Principles, Tensions, Balances." Advances in School Mental Health Promotion 3, no.1 (2010).

28. Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging." *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no.3 (2006).

29. Breuning, Loretta Graziano. *Habits of a Happy Brain : Retrain Your Brain to Boost Your Serotonin, Dopamine, Oxytocin, & Endorphin Levels*. Avon, Massachusetts: Adams Media, (2016).

30. Maslow, Abraham H. *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper & Row, 1954.

31. Taormina, Robert J, and Jennifer H Gao. "Maslow and the Motivation Hierarchy: Measuring Satisfaction of the Needs." *The American Journal of Psychology* 126, no.2, (2013).

32. Anderson, Jill. "A Crisis of Belonging: Social psychologist Geoff Cohen Discusses Ways We Can Nurture Belonging as Educators, Parents, and Citizens." March 3, 2023. https://www.gse.harvard.edu/ideas/edcast/23/03/crisis-belonging#:~:text=%E2%80%9CBelonging%20isn't%20just%20a,Stanford's%20Graduate%20School%20of%20Education.; see also Cohen, Geoffrey L. *Belonging: The Science of Creating Connection and Bridging Divides*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company. 2022.

33. Dorsey, Corinne. "Brené Brown Explains the Difference between 'Belonging and Fitting In'." November 29, 2021. https://www.today.com/health/brene-brown-shares-today-her-thoughts-belonging-fitting-t241235.

34. El-Haj, Thea Renda. *Unsettled Belonging: Educating Palestinian American Youth after 9/11*. (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2015).

35. Hurtado, Sylvia, and Deborah Faye Carter. "Effects of College Transition and Perceptions of the Campus Racial Climate on Latino College Students' Sense of Belonging." *Sociology of Education* 70, no.4 (1997); Stephens, Nicole M., MarYam G. Hamedani, and Mesmin Destin. "Closing the Social-Class Achievement Gap." *Psychological Science* 25, no.4 (2014); Lewis, Karyn L., Jane G. Stout, Steven J. Pollock, Noah D. Finkelstein, and Tiffany A. Ito. 2016. "Fitting in or Opting Out: A Review of Key Social-Psychological Factors Influencing a Sense of Belonging for Women in Physics." *Physical Review Physics Education Research* 12, no.2 (2014).

36. Cinelle Barnes. *A Measure of Belonging: Twenty-One Writers of Color on the New American South*. Spartanburg, SC: Hub City Press, 2020; hooks, bell. Belonging: A Culture of Place. (New York: Routledge, 2009).

37. Kennedy, Julia Taylor, and Pooja Jain-Link. 2021. "What Does It Take to Build a Culture of Belonging?" *Harvard Business Review*, June 21, 2021. https://hbr.org/2021/06/what-does-it-take-to-build-a-culture-of-belonging.

38. Coqual, "The Power of Belonging: What it is and Why it Matters in Today's Workplace." https://coqual.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/CoqualPowerOfBelongingKeyFindings090720.pdf.

39. American Immigration Council. https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org.

40. American Immigration Council. "The Belonging Barometer (Revised Edition): The State of Belonging in America." https://www.americanimmigrationcoun-

cil.org/research/the-belonging-barometer

41. Othering and Belonging Institute. "Analyzing Belonging in Our Communities: Racial Inclusion and Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic." https://belonging.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/2022-04/Analyzing%20Belonging%20in%20Our%20Communities.pdf.

42. Ibid.

43. Othering and Belonging Institute. "Inclusiveness Index." https://belonging.berkeley.edu/inclusiveness-index-indicators

44. County of Santa Clara. "The Immigrant Belonging Project." https://desj.santaclaracounty.gov/offices/office-immigrant-relations#:~:text=The%20Office%20of%20Immigrant%20Relations,needs%2C%20and%20uplifting%20immigrant%20contributions.

45. County of Santa Clara. "The Immigrant Belonging Project." https://desj.sccgov.org/immigrant-belonging-project.

46. Ibid.

47. We use IAG instead of the term "stakeholders" as a step towards decolonizing relational practices between people and land/space. We engage with Mark Reed and Hannah Rudman's workings on IAG to distinguish those directly involved in research from those impacted by issues but not directly influencing it. For the purposes of this review, we use the term to encompass the vast groups involved in the following services and research. See Reed, Mark S., and Hannah Rudman. "Re-Thinking Research Impact: Voice, Context and Power at the Interface of Science, Policy and Practice." *Sustainability Science*, 18 (2022).

48. Tuck, "Suspending Damage."

49. Noble, Safiya Umoja. *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*. (New York: New York University Press, 2018).

50. Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

51. Clackamas County. "About Clackamas County." https://www.clackamas.us/pga/about.html.

52. Oregon Secretary of State. https://sos.oregon.gov/Pages/index.aspx.

53. Delaware.gov. https://delaware.gov/guides/facts/.

54. U.S. Census Bureau. "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Clackamas County, Oregon." https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/clackamascountyoregon.

55. Foley, Matt. "Exploring U.S. Census Data in Clackamas County, OR: Defining GeoRegions and BIPOC Communities in Clackamas County, Oregon." https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/91b34848e1c4401ab9c49dedbbd8447f

56. U.S. Census Bureau. "Nativity and Citizenship Status in the United States." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table B05001*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT1Y2022.B05001?t=Citizenship&g=050XX00US41005.

57. U.S. Census Bureau. "Selected Housing Characteristics." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Data Profiles, Table DP04*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDP1Y2022.DP04?t=Owner/Renter.

58. Washington County. "Tri-county region shares 2023 Point in Time Count." 2023. https://www.washingtoncountyor.gov/housing/news/2023/05/10/tri-county-region-shares-2023-point-time-count; see also Clackamas County. "2022 Homeless Point-In-Time Count." *Health, Housing, & Human Services*. June 2022. https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/73cf58fd-53ec-4b9f-9348-288e3c8f8008.

59. Clackamas County. "2022 Homeless Point-In-Time Count." 2022. https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/73cf58fd-53ec-4b9f-9348-288e3c8f8008.

60. Ibid.

61. Also see Lee, Leconte. "The Pitfalls of HUD's Point-in-Time Count for Children, Youth, and Families." *SchoolHouse Connection*. January 1, 2020. https://schoolhouseconnection.org/the-pitfalls-of-huds-point-in-time-count/.

62. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Community Engagement Report - Phase 1." 2020.

63. Ibid.

64. Metro. "Supportive Housing Services: Addressing Homelessness in Greater Portland." https://www.oregonmetro.gov/public-projects/supportive-housing-services/racial-equity.

65. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Equity Analysis of Clackamas County's Coordinated Housing Access (CHA)." 2021.

66. Oregon Worker Relief. "2023 Impact Report." 2023. https://workerrelief.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/OWR-2023-Impact-Report.pdf.

67. Ibid.

68. Coalition of Communities of Color. "Community Engagement Report - Phase 1." 2020.

69. Milwaukie Review. "Milwaukie Unveils Mural Honoring City's Historic People of Color." October 8, 2020. https://www.milwaukiereview.com/news/milwaukie-unveils-mural-honoring-citys-historic-people-of-color/article_6b093a4f-dd1b-542a-b404-6bca262b43d9.html.

70. U.S. Department of Agriculture. "Interactive Charts and Highlights." https://

www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-u-s/interactive-charts-and-highlights/.

71. Ibid.

72. U.S. Census Bureau. (2022). "Receipt of Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Cash Public Assistance Income, or Food Stamps/SNAP in the Past 12 Months by Household Type for Children Under 18 Years in Households." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table B09010*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT1Y2022.B09010?q=Clackamas.

73. U.S. Census Bureau. "Food Stamps/Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S2201*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S2201?q=Clackamas.

74. Samuel, Laura, Deidra C Crews, Bonnielin K Swenor, Jiafeng Zhu, Elizabeth A Stuart, Sarah L Szanton, Boeun Kim, et al. "Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Access and Racial Disparities in Food Insecurity." *JAMA Network* Open 6, no.6 (2023).

75. Partners for a Hunger-Free Oregon. "Immigration Status and SNAP." 2022. https://oregonhunger.org/snap-immigration/.

76. Gold, Amanda, Wenson Fung, Susan Gabbard, Daniel Carroll. "Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) 2019-2022." *JBS International*, 2022. https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ETA/publications/ETAOP2022-16_NAWS_Research_Report_16_508c.pdf.

77. Oregon Food Bank Network. "Community Food Assessments." https://ofbportals.oregonfoodbank.org/home/partner_support/partner_support/partner_resources_space_file_repo/community_food_assessments/clackamas_county_cfa_2015pdf.

78. Rahe, Mallory. "Estimates of Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in Agriculture, 2018 Update." *Oregon Health Authority*, 2018. https://www.oregon.gov/oha/HPA/HP-PCO/Documents/2018%20Updates%20to%20MSFW%20Enumberation%20Studies%20Report.pdf.

79. Rosebach, Molly. "Oregon Report Details Dehumanizing Experience of Farmworkers during COVID Pandemic." *Oregon State University*, 2022. https://today.oregonstate.edu/news/oregon-report-details-dehumanizing-experience-farmworkers-during-covid-pandemic.

80. Oregon Food Bank Network. "Community Food Assessments."

81. U.S. Department of Agriculture. "Census of Agriculture: Oregon." *National Agricultural Statistics Service*. 2022. https://www.nass.usda.gov/Publications/AgCensus/2022/Full_Report/Volume_1,_Chapter_2_County_Level/Oregon/.

82. Oregon Food Bank Network. "Community Food Assessments."

83. 1000 Friends of Oregon. "Death by 1000 Cuts: A 10-Point Plan to Protect Oregon's Farmland." https://friends.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/Death%20By%201000%20Cuts_2020.pdf.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Mulkey, Andrew. "Court of Appeals Rules Against Short-Term Rentals on Clackamas County Farm and Forest Land." *1000 Friends of Oregon*, 2022. https://friends.org/news/2022/8/court-appeals-rules-against-short-term-rentals-clackamas-county-farmforest-land.

87. U.S. Census Bureau. "Means of Transportation to Work by Selected Characteristics." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S0802*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S0802?g=050XX00US41005.

88. Ibid.

89. Oregon Department of Transportation. "I-205 Toll Project." https://www.oregon.gov/odot/tolling/Pages/I-205-Tolling.aspx.

90. Oregon Department of Transportation. "I-205 Toll Project: Engagement Summary Summer-Fall 2020." 2020. https://www.oregon.gov/odot/tolling/Documents/I-205_Engagement%20Summary_Final_508.pdf.

91. Ibid.

92. Kotek, Tina. "Regional Mobility Pricing Project." March 11, 2024. https://www.oregon.gov/odot/tolling/Documents/03.11.24_Regional%20Mobility%20Pricing%20Project%20Governor%20Kotek%20Letter%20(1).pdf.

93. U.S. Census Bureau, "Means of Transportation to Work by Selected Characteristics."

94. Clackamas County. "Explore Clackamas County's Transit Development Plan: Executive Summary." August 17, 2021. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/f2a1e44b3ca744d8b457c52d36238de5.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Merriam-Webster Dictionary. "Disparity." https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/disparity#:~:text=%3A%20a%20noticeable%20and%20usually%20significant,economic%2Fincome%20disparities.

99. hooks, bell. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. (New York: Routledge, 1981).

100.	Kendi, Ibram X. *How to Be an Antiracist*. (New York: One World, 2019).

101.	Cruz, Araceli. "Mexican Repatriation During the Great Depression, Explained." August 30, 2017. https://www.teenvogue.com/story/mexican-repatriation-during-the-great-depression-explained.

102.	National Archives. "Executive Order 9066: Resulting in Japanese-American Incarceration (1942)." https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9066.

103.	New America. "Anti-Muslim Activities in the United States 2012-2018." https://www.newamerica.org/in-depth/anti-muslim-activity/.

104.	Pew Research Center. "How the U.S. General Public Views Muslims and Islam." 2017. https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/07/26/how-the-u-s-general-public-views-muslims-and-islam/.

105.	Fox, Cybelle, and Irene Bloemraad. 2015. "Beyond 'White by Law': Explaining the Gulf in Citizenship Acquisition between Mexican and European Immigrants, 1930." Social Forces 94, no.1 (2015).

106.	Roediger, David. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. (New York: Verso Book, 1991).

107.	Examples include: Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. (New York: Routledge, 1995); Guglielmo, Thomas A. *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color and Power in Chicago*, 1890-1945. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Sacks, Karen Brodkin. *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010).

108.	Loewen, James W. *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White*. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1987).

109.	Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*.

110.	American Anthropological Association. "AAA Statement on Race." https://americananthro.org/about/policies/statement-on-race/.

111.	Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. (New York: Routledge, 1986).

112.	Examples include: Hochschild, Jennifer L., and Vesla Weaver. "The Skin Color Paradox and the American Racial Order." *Social Forces* 86, no.2, 2007; Hunter, Margaret. 2007. "The Persistent Problem of Colorism: Skin Tone, Status, and Inequality." *Sociology Compass* 1, no.1 (2007); Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. *Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

113.	Pew Trusts. "Racial Disparities Persist in Many U.S. Jails." May 16, 2023. https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/issue-briefs/2023/05/racial-disparities-persist-in-many-us-jails.; Alexander, Michelle. The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.

(New York: The New Press, 2010).

114. See Public Broadcasting Service. "Race: The Power of an Illusion." *California Newsreel*. https://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm.; McGee, Heather. *The Sum of Us: What Racism Costs Everyone and How We Can Prosper Together*. (New York: New World, 2021).; Meyer, Stephen Grant. *As Long as They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods*. (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).; Brown, Dorothy A. *The Whiteness of Wealth: How the Tax System Impoverishes Black Americans--and How We Can Fix It*. (New York City:Crown Publishing Group, 2021).

115. Kendi, Ibram X. "The Civil Rights Act Was a Victory against Racism. But Racists Also Won." *The Washington Post*, July 2, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/07/02/the-civil-rights-act-was-a-victory-against-racism-but-racists-also-won/.

116. Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010).

117. Taylor, Paul. *Affirmative Action at a Crossroads: The Future of Race-Conscious Policies in America*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).; Mills, Charles W. *The Racial Contract*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).; Katznelson, Ira. *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005).

118. Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging."

119. Khalidi, Rashid. The Hundred Years War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917-2017. (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2017).

120. Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

121. Clackamas County. "Clackamas County 101." YouTube. January 24, 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ohwh60joZNY.

122. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, xxiii.

123. Robbins, Williams G. "Oregon Donation Land Act." *The Oregon Encyclopedia*. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregon_donation_land_act/.

124. Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2015), 12.

125. Willamette Falls Trust. "2023 Feasibility & Cooperation Agreement Port-

land General Electric & Willamette Falls Trust." 2023. https://www.willamette-fallstrust.org/agreement-summary.

126. Oregon Public Broadcasting, "BrokenTreaties." *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iHq6ncJJ35w.

127. Willamette Falls Trust. "Site History: An Essential Piece of Oregon." https://www.willamettefallslegacy.org/site-history/.

128. University of Oregon. "Donation Land Act of 1850." https://pages.uoregon.edu/mjdennis/courses/hst469_donation.htm.

129. Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive*, 16: "The legal regime of the nation-state places Indigenous people in a state of homelessness because our ontological relationship to the land, which is the way we hold title, is incommensurable with its own [the nation-states] exclusive claims of sovereignty. The legal regime has reproduced the doctrine of terra nullius in order to give place and a sense of belonging to itself and its citizens. According to this regime, it is Indigenous people who belong nowhere unless they can prove their title according to the criteria established by the state."

130. The doctrine of discovery was instrumental in making claims to Indigenous land and lives. Rather than being a formal statute, the doctrine of discovery was a series of "papal bulls" – edicts, letters, or documents – from various popes to different monarchs. Papal bulls were designed to "enhance the prestige and authority of both the monarch and the popes" (McMahon, Thomas. "The Great Commission, Papal Bulls and the Doctrine of Discovery: From the 4th Century to Current Law." *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2021), 5). The papal bulls that constituted the doctrine of discovery authoritatively claimed that whenever Europeans "discovered" land then they had rights to all contiguous land. For example, "This discovery of contiguous lands and watersheds also explains how Portugal eventually gained most of the watershed of the Amazon River. The Virginia colonies' claims for England were from sea to sea, the entire mainland US" (Ibid, 6).

131. Manifest Destiny appears as a slogan and rallying cry to mobilize greater white settlement of the Americas. In the United States, for instance, in the nineteenth century, President Monroe declared: "The western frontier, all of North American and the lands of Mexico – yes, this is God's will – is ours for the taking" (Desmond, Matthew, and Emir Emirbayer. *Race in America*. (New York: W.W. Norton: New York, 2016), 70).

132. Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission. "Member Tribes Overview." https://critfc.org/member-tribes-overview/#:~:text=The%20Columbia%20Plateau%20is%20home,Bands%20of%20the%20Yakama%20Nation..

133. Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde. "Trail of Tears." https://www.grandronde.org/history-culture/history/trail-of-tears/.

134. Hendrix, Levanne. "1953 to 1969: Policy of Termination and Relocation." *Stanford University*. https://geriatrics.stanford.edu/ethnomed/american_indian/learning_activities/learning_1/termination_relocation.html.

135. Oregon Public Broadcasting, "BrokenTreaties."

136. Ibid, Donald Ivy, Chief, Coquille Indian Tribe.

137. Brown, Nika Bartoo-Smith, Karina. "The Long Road to Access at Willamette Falls." *High Country News*. June 29, 2023. https://www.hcn.org/articles/indigenous-affairs-the-long-road-to-access-at-willamette-falls/.

138. Willamette Falls Legacy Trust. "Master Plan: Willamette Falls Riverwalk." January 2018. https://www.willamettefallslegacy.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Riverwalk-Master-Plan-FINAL-2-07-18-2.pdf.

139. Ibid.

140. Willamette Falls Trust. "Collaboration." https://www.willamettefallstrust.org/collaboration.

141. Engum, Jennifer Karson. "Traditional Use Study of Willamette Falls and the Lower Columbia River by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation." November 16, 2020. https://ctuir.org/media/55mobq1j/ctuir-traditional-use-study-of-willamette-falls-and-lower-willamette-river_nov-2020.pdf.

142. Backham, Stephan. Rewriting History: An Analysis of 'Traditional Use Study of Willamette Falls and the Lower Columbia River by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation'." March 2021. https://www.wflha.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Rewriting-History-Willamette-Falls-Stephen-Beckham-Report-March-2021.pdf

143. Columbia Basin Bulletin. "Disagreement over Willamette Falls: Grand Ronde Tribes' Agreement with Oregon Could Launch Litigation." August 23, 2023. https://columbiabasinbulletin.org/disagreement-over-willamette-falls-grand-ronde-tribes-agreement-with-oregon-could-launch-litigation/.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

146. Oregon Public Broadcasting, "BrokenTreaties."

147. Brown, Nika Bartoo-Smith, Karina. "The Long Road to Access at Willamette Falls."

148. Stewart, Taylor. *Personal Communication*, 2024.

149. Desmond, Matthew, and Mustafa Emirbayer. "What is Racial Domination?" *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race 6, no.2* (2009).

150. Gibson, Karen J, Darrell Millner, Carmen Thompson, Adrienne Nelson. "Reflection Roundtable: White Supremacy in Oregon History." *Oregon Historical Society Panel Discussion*. October 29, 2020. https://pdxscholar.library.

pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1304&context=usp_fac

151.    Sanderson, Sarah L. *The Place We Make: Breaking the Legacy of Legalized Hate*. (Colorado Springs: WaterBook, 2023), 24

152.    Stewart, *Personal Communication*.

153.    Imarisha, Walidah. "A Hidden History: The Stories and Struggles of Oregon's African American Communities." *Oregon Humanities Magazine* (Summer 2013), 12.

154.    Ibid.

155.    Oregon Black Pioneers. https://oregonblackpioneers.org/

156.    Oregon Remembrance Project. https://oregonremembrance.org/

157.    Clackamas County Historical Society. "Black Americans in Early Oregon City (1841 - 1864)." https://clackamashistory.org/from-the-pages-of-history-cchs-blog/2021/3/27/black-americans-in-early-oregon-city-1840-1900

158.    Sanderson, *The Place We Make*, 12.

159.    Wikipedia. "The Age of Sail." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age_of_Sail#:~:text=The%20Age%20of%20Sail%20is,at%20the%20advent%20of%20the.

160.    Coleman, Kenneth. *Dangerous Subjects: James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017), 23.

161.    Ibid.

162.    Ibid.

163.    Coleman, Kenneth. *Dangerous Subjects*, 20.

164.    Coleman, Kenneth. *Dangerous Subjects*, 47.

165.    Coleman, Kenneth. *Dangerous Subjects*.

166.    Clackamas Historical Society. "Black Americans in Early Oregon City (1841 - 1864)."

167.    Facing History. "Inventing Black and White." https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/inventing-black-white.

168.    Dubois, W.E.B. *Black Reconstruction in American, 1869-1880*. New York: The Free Press, 1935.

169.    Gómez, Rachel F., Mignonne C. Guy, and Julio Cammarota. "The Psychological Rages of Whiteness: Acceptable Casualties and the White American Identity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 45, no.12 (2022).

170.    Clackamas Historical Society. "Black Americans in Early Oregon City (1841 - 1864)."

171.    Sanderson 2023, 13.

172.    Coleman 2017.

173.    Sanderson, *The Place We Make*, 12.

174.    Imarisha, Walidah. "Why Aren't There More Black People in Oregon? A Hidden History." YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWC-8hvP7aY.

175.    Sanderson, Sarah L. "Jacob Vanderpool (1820-18??)." *Black Past*. January 22, 2022. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/jacob-vanderpool-1820-188/.

176.    Sanderson, *The Place We Make*, 34.

177.    Sanderson, "Jacob Vanderpool (1820-18??)."

178.    Oregon Remembrance Project. "The Vanderpool Project: Jacob Vanderpool's Story." https://oregonremembrance.org/vanderpool-project/jacobs-story/.

179.    Ibid.

180.    Harriot, Michael. "The Other Black Wall Streets." *The Root*. February 15, 2018. https://www.theroot.com/the-other-black-wall-streets-1823010812.

181.    Oregon Remembrance Project. "About the Project." https://oregonremembrance.org/about/.

182.    Stewart, Taylor. "Opinion: Remembrance as a Step Toward Reconciliation of an Oregon Lynching." *The Oregonian*. June 9, 2021. https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/2021/06/opinion-remembrance-as-a-step-toward-reconciliation-of-an-oregon-lynching.html.

183.    Ibid.

184.    Stewart, *Personal Communication*.

185.    Riley, Taylor, Julia P. Schleimer, and Jaquelyn L. Jahn. 2024. "Organized Abandonment under Racial Capitalism: Measuring Accountable Actors of Structural Racism for Public Health Research and Action." *Social Science & Medicine* 343 (2024); Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2007. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

186.    Public Broadcasting Service. "Chinese Immigrants and the Gold Rush." https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/goldrush-chinese-immigrants/.

187.    Ibid.

188.    Oregon State University. "A Brief History of the Chinese in Oregon, 1850-1950." https://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/

oregondisintermentdocuments/history/discrimination#:~:text=Local%20 and%20National%20Anti%2DChinese%20Laws&text=In%201859%20 the%20Oregon%20Constitution,mining%20claims%20and%20real%2- 0estate.

189.    Ibid.

190.    Ogden, Johanna. "Ghadar, Historical Silences, and Notions of Belonging: Early 1900s Punjabis of the Columbia River." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 113, no.2 (2012).

191.    Museum of Chinese in America. "Ah Bing." August 20, 2019. https://www. mocanyc.org/collections/stories/ah-bing/.

192.    Eastman, Janet. "'Bing in the New Year' Cherry Drop Will Celebrate Cultivator Ah Bing's Sweet Creation in Oregon." *Here is Oregon*. December 24, 2023.  https://www.hereisoregon.com/people/2023/12/bing-in-the-new-year-cherry-drop-will-celebrate-cultivator-ah-bings-sweet-creation-in-oregon.html.

193.    Milwaukie Review, "Milwaukie Unveils Mural Honoring City's Historic People of Color."

194.    Bowling Green State University. "Asian Immigration: The 'Yellow Peril'." https://digitalgallery.bgsu.edu/student/exhibits/show/race-in-us/ asian-americans/asian-immigration-and-the--yel.

195.    Robbins, William. "Railroads, Race, and the Transformation of Oregon." *Oregon History Project*.  https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narra-tives/this-land-oregon/political-and-economic-culture-1870-1920/rail-roads-race-and-the-transformation-of-oregon/.

196.    National Archives. "Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)." https://www.archives. gov/milestone-documents/chinese-exclusion-act.

197.    Office of the Historian. "Chinese Immigration and the Chinese Exclusion Acts."  https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigra-tion.

198.    National Archives, "Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)."

199.    Oregon Historical Society. "Oregon's Early Chinese American History and Portland's Louie Chung." *YouTube*. June 6, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=1ko1_hbnWjs.

200.    The Tacoma Method. "Expulsion." https://www.tacomamethod.com/ expulsion.

201.    Grantham, Anjuli. "Expulsion of Chinese from Oregon City, 1886." https:// www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/expulsion_of_chinese_from_oregon_ city_1886/#:~:text=On%20the%20night%20of%20the,participants%20 resolved%20that%20all%20the.

202.    KGW News. "Community Voices: The Chinese Experience in Oregon from Past to Present." *YouTube*. December 9, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BkDh3qU4KKQ.

203.    Ibid.

204.    Gonzales-Berry, Erlinda. *Mexicanos in Oregon: Their Stories, Their Lives*. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2010), 26.

205.    Garcia, Jerry. "Latinos in Oregon." https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/hispanics_in_oregon/.

206.    Gamboa, Erasmo. "Mexican Mule Packers and Oregon's Second Regiment Mounted Volunteers, 1855-1856." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 92, no.1 (1991), 41-59.

207.    Edwards, Melodie. "How the Spanish Vaquero Gave Way to the American Cowboy." WBUR. November 16, 2021. https://www.wbur.org/hereand-now/2021/11/16/vaquero-american-cowboy.

208.    Boyd, Bill. "Buckaroos.". https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/buckaroos/.

209.    Gonzales-Berry, *Mexicanos in Oregon*, 26-27.

210.    Garcia, "Latinos in Oregon." https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/hispanics_in_oregon/

211.    Gonzales-Berry, *Mexicanos in Oregon*, p.22.

212.    McCaughan, Edward J. "'We Didn't Cross the Border, the Border Crossed Us': Artists' Images of the US-Mexico Border and Immigration." *Latin American & Latinx Visual Culture* 2, no.1 (2020), 6. https://online.ucpress.edu/lalvc/article/2/1/6/109378/We-Didn-t-Cross-the-Border-the-Border-Crossed-Us.

213.    Clay, Karen B. "Property Rights and Institutions: Congress and the California Land Act of 1851." *The Journal of Economic History* 51, no.1 (1999).

214.    Online Archive of California. "California Private Land Claims Collection." https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8df6z7q/#:~:text=The%20California%20Land%20Act%20of,Spanish%20and%20Mexican%20land%20grants.; see also Luna, Guadalupe T. 1999. "On Complexities of Race: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Dred Scott v. Sanford." *University of Miami Law Review* 53, no.4 (1999).

215.    Ibid.

216.    McCaughan, "'We Didn't Cross the Border, the Border Crossed Us'."

217.    Ibid.

218.    Ibid.

219.  Ibid.

220.  Ibid.

221.  Stephen, Lynn. "Guatemalan Immigration to Oregon: Indigenous Trans-border Communities." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 118, no.4 (2017).

222.  Balassiano, Katia, and Marta Maria Maldonado. "Placemaking in Rural New Gateway Communities." *Community Development Journal* 50, no.4 (2014).

223.  Ibid.

224.  De Genova, Nicholas P. "Migrant 'Illegality' and Deportability in Everyday Life." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, no.1 (2002).

225.  Ibid, 438.

226.  Ogden, Johanna. *Punjabi Rebels of the Columbia River: The Global Fight for Indian Independence and Citizenship*. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2024).

227.  Ogden, "Ghadar, Historical Silences, and Notions of Belonging."

228.  Abu-Lughod, Lila. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

229.  Martí, José. *Our America: Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence*. London: Penguin Classics, 1979.

230.  U.S. Census Bureau. "Selected Characteristics of the Foreign-Born Population by Region of Birth:  Latin America." *American Community Survey, ACS 5-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S0506.* 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST5Y2022.S0506?g=050XX00US41005.

231.  Ibid.

232.  Castillo, Jason. "Fatal Injuries to Foreign-Born Hispanic or Latino Workers." U.S. Bureau of Statistics. https://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2023/workplace-fatalities-among-foreign-born-hispanic-workers/home.htm.

233.  Coalition of Communities of Color, "Community Engagement Report – Phase 2." 2021.

234.  Ibid.

235.  U.S. Census Bureau. "Language Spoken at Home." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S1601*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S1601?q=Language.

236.  U.S. Census Bureau. "Age by Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over." *American Community Survey, ACS 5-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table B16004*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2022.B16004?q=Language.

237.  Brady, Healther. "This Tiny Town is Embracing Diversity." *National Geographic*. May 2, 2018. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/immigration-america-white-storm-lake-iowa-culture.

238.  Federal Reserve Bank-St. Louis. "Job Openings: Total Nonfarm." https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/JTSJOL.

239.  U.S. Bureau of Statistics. "Job openings reach record highs in 2022 as the labor market recovery continues." May 2023. https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2023/article/job-openings-reach-record-highs-in-2022-as-the-labor-market-recovery-continues.htm.

240.  U.S. Census Bureau. "Types of Internet Subscriptions by Selected Characteristics." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S2802*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S2802?q=internet.

241.  Pliska, Jessica. "How Our White Networks Exclude Young People of Color from Career Access and Opportunity." March 31, 2021. https://www.forbes.com/sites/jessicapliska/2021/03/31/how-our-white-networks-exclude-young-people-of-color-from-career-access-and-opportunity/?sh=-5c00a3672cdd.

242.  Ibid.

243.  Pedulla, David S., and Devah Pager. "Race and Networks in the Job Search Process." *American Sociological Review* 84, no.6 (2019).

244.  U.S. Census Bureau, "Age by Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over."

245.  U.S. Census Bureau. "Limited English Speaking Households." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S1602*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S1602?t=Language.

246.  U.S. Small Business Administration. "2022 Small Business Profile: Oregon." *Office of Advocacy*. 2022. https://advocacy.sba.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Small-Business-Economic-Profile-OR.pdf,

247.  BBC Research & Consulting. "State of Oregon Disparity Study: Final Report." November 2023. https://www.oregon.gov/das/Docs/2023%20State%20of%20Oregon%20Disparity%20Study%20Final%20Report_November%2016%202023.pdf.

248.  American Immigrant Council. "Immigrants in Oregon." https://map.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/locations/oregon/.

249.  National Partnership for Women and Families. "Native American Women and the Wage Gap." November 2023. https://nationalpartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/native-american-women-wage-gap.pdf.

250.	Redfin. "Clackamas, OR Housing Market." https://www.redfin.com/city/21950/OR/Clackamas/housing-market.

251.	U.S. Census Bureau. "Selected Housing Characteristics." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Data Profiles, Table DP04*, 2022, https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDP1Y2022.DP04?t=Owner/Renter.

252.	Clackamas County. "2022 Homeless Point-In-Time Count."

253.	Coalition of Communities of Color, "Equity Analysis of Clackamas County's Coordinated Housing Access (CHA)."

254.	Heron, Melonie. "Deaths: Leading Causes for 2016." *National Vital Statistics Reports*. July 26, 2018.

255.	Oregon State Police. "Oregon State Police Report on Missing and Murdered Native American Women." https://www.oregonlegislature.gov/citizen_engagement/Reports/2020-OSP-Report%20on%20Missing%20and%20Murdered%20Native%20American%20Women.pdf.

256.	U.S. Department of the Interior. "Missing and Murdered Indigenous People Crisis: Violence Against Native Americans and Alaska Natives Far Exceed National Averages." https://www.bia.gov/service/mmu/missing-and-murdered-indigenous-people-crisis.

257.	"Legal intervention deaths", or deaths caused by "law enforcement and other persons" with the authority to use lethal force. In: Nguyen BL, Lyons BH, et al. "Surveillance for Violent Deaths — National Violent Death Reporting System, 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, 2020." *MMWR Surveill Summ* 2023 72, no.SS-5 (2023) https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/73/ss/ss7305a1.htm#:~:text=A%20death%20from%20legal%20intervention,in%20the%20line%20of%20duty.

258.	Ibid.

259.	Lett, Elle, Emmanuella Ngozi Asabor, Theodore Corbin, and Dowin Boatright. "Racial Inequity in Fatal US Police Shootings, 2015–2020." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 75, no.4 (2020).

260.	GBD 2019 Police Violence US Subnational Collaborators. "Fatal Police Violence by Race and State in the USA, 1980–2019: A Network Meta-Regression." *The Lancet* 398 (2021).

261.	Liu et al., "Surveillance for Violent Deaths."

262.	Tapestry Institute. "Relationship and Reciprocity." https://tapestryinstitute.org/ways-of-knowing/key-concepts/relationship-reciprocity/#:~:text=People%20of%20many%20Indigenous%20cultures,or%20at%20least%20very%20private.

263.	Rice, Brian, Jill E Oakes, and Roderick R Riewe. *Seeing the World with*

*Aboriginal Eyes : A Four Directional Perspective on Human and Non-Human Values, Cultures and Relationships on Turtle Island*. (Winnipeg: Aboriginal Issues Press, 2005).

264.    Hart, Anthony Michael. "Indigenous Worldview, Knowledge, and Research: The Development of an Indigenous Research Paradigm." *Journal of Indigenous Voices in Social Work*, 1, no.1 (2010).

265.    Jacob, Michelle M., Kelly L. Gonzales, Deanna Chappell Belcher, Jennifer L. Ruef, and Stephany RunningHawk Johnson. "Indigenous Cultural Values Counter the Damages of White Settler Colonialism." *Environmental Sociology* 7, no.2 (2020).

266.    U.S. Census Bureau. "RACE." *Decennial Census, DEC Redistricting Data (PL 94-171), Table P1*. 2020, https://data.census.gov/table/DECENNI-ALPL2020.P1?g=050XX00US41005.

267.    Levinson, Jonathan. "Clackamas County Sheriff's Office Singled Out for Racial Disparities in Stop Data." *Oregon Public Broadcasting*. December 1, 2020.   https://www.opb.org/article/2020/12/01/clackamas-county-sheriffs-office-racial-disparity-report/.

268.    Ibid.

269.    Gordon, Mya. 2022. "Lake 'No Negro' Documentary ." *YouTube*. January 9, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnBtTL2Fbq4.

270.    Monarrez, Tomas, Brian Kisida, and Matthew Chingos. "When Is a School Segregated? Making Sense of Segregation 65 Years after Brown v. Board of Education." *Urban Institute*. 2019. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/101101/when_is_a_school_segregated_making_sense_of_segregation_65_years_after_brown_v._board_of_education_0.pdf.

271.    American University. "Inequality in Public School Funding: Key Issues & Solutions for Closing the Gap." September 10, 2020. https://soeonline.american.edu/blog/inequality-in-public-school-funding/

272.    Darling-Hammond, Linda. 1998. "Unequal Opportunity: Race and Education." *The Brookings Institution*. March 1, 1998. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/unequal-opportunity-race-and-education/.

273.    Morgan, Ivy and Ary Amerikaner. "Funding Gaps: An Analysis of Schools Funding Equity Across the U.S. and Within Each State." 2018. https://s3-us-east-2.amazonaws.com/edtrustmain/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/20180601/Funding-Gaps-2018-Report-UPDATED.pdf.

274.    National Center for Education Statistics. "English Learners in Public Schools." *U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences*. May 2024. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/cgf.

275.    Quintero, Diana and Michael Hansen. "As We Tackle School Seg-

regation, Don't Forget about English Learner Students." *The Brookings Institution*. January 14, 2021. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/as-we-tackle-school-segregation-dont-forget-about-english-learner-students/#:~:text=Segregation%20and%20EL%20achievement,students%20are%20struggling%20in%20schools.

276.    Oregon Department of Education. "Oregon Statewide Report Card 2021-2022." November 17, 2022. https://www.oregon.gov/odhs/data/cwdata/cw-apsr-2024-att-06.pdf.

277.    Oregon Department of Education. "English Learners in Oregon: Annual Report 2022-23." June 2024. https://www.oregon.gov/ode/students-and-family/equity/EngLearners/Documents/English%20Learners%20in%20Oregon_Final.pdf.

278.    Clackamas Education Services District. "Fact Sheet." January 2024. https://www.clackesd.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/CESD-fact-sheet-January-2024.pdf.

279.    The data reported here does not add up to 100% due to the select all options students had on the survey for sexual orientation and gender identity. The percentages are reported as they are in the data portal, and some basic calculations were made to offer a sense of the percentage differences. These numbers are not 100% accurate, due to various reasons, but they do offer a sense of how many LGBTQIA+ students there are in Oregon and Clackamas County. Source: Oregon Health Authority. "Oregon Student Health Survey (SHS) Data Portal." https://www.bach-harrison.com/SHSDataPortal/.

280.    Sexual Orientation: (total: n=12,685) 4.1% (n=507) were gay or lesbian, 11.6% (n=1,395) bisexual, 4.7% (n= ) pansexual, 3.8% (n=) Asexual or aromantic, 3.6% Queer, something else 2.6%, not sure 3.3%, prefer not to answer 3.9%; state total: 11th graders 12,685; county total: 11th graders 2,461. Source: Oregon Health Authority, "Oregon Student Health Survey (SHS) Data Portal."

281.    Gender Identity: Two Spirit 0.1%, Demi 1.2%, Nonbinary 3.2%, Gender fluid 2.2%, Agender 0.8%, Something else 1.7%, Not sure 1.2%, Prefer not to answer 1.5%. Source: Oregon Health Authority, "Oregon Student Health Survey (SHS) Data Portal." https://www.bach-harrison.com/SHSDataPortal/.

282.    U.S. Department of Justice. "Hate Crimes Fact Sheet." 2022. https://www.justice.gov/d9/2024-01/oregon_hate_crimes_incidents_2022.pdf.

283.    Wilson, Conrad. "Clackamas County Deputies Face Lawsuit After Allegations Of Pressing Knee Into Black 12-Year-Old's Neck." *Oregon Public Broadcasting*. June 18, 2020. https://www.opb.org/news/article/clackamas-lawsuit-knee-neck-black-child-kamar-benbo/.

284. Macuk, Anthony. "Clackamas County to Pay $45K in Settlement with Family that Accused Deputy of Kneeling on Boy's Neck." KGW8. December 15, 2021. https://www.kgw.com/article/news/local/clackamas-county-45000-settlement/283-cc8412bd-7fe7-4824-9a66-3afdceab1432.

285. Gonzales, Kelly L., Anna K. Harding, William E. Lambert, Rongwei Fu, and William G. Henderson. "Perceived Experiences of Discrimination in Health Care: A Barrier for Cancer Screening among American Indian Women with Type 2 Diabetes." *Women's Health Issues* 23, no.1 (2013).

286. Coalition of Communities of Color. Investing in Culturally and Linguistically Responsive Behavioral Health Care in Oregon. 2021, 37.

287. Oregon Center for Children and Youth with Special Health Needs. "Racism in Oregon's Health Care System: Experiences of Families of Black and Immigrant Latino Children and Youth with Special Health Care Needs." 2020. https://www.ohsu.edu/sites/default/files/2021-01/NA%20Brief_Experiences%20of%20Racism_FINAL%2011.18.20.pdf.

288. Trent, Maria, Danielle G. Dooley, and Jacqueline Dougé et al. "The Impact of Racism on Child and Adolescent Health." *American Academy of Pediatrics* 144, no.2 (2019). https://publications.aap.org/pediatrics/article/144/2/e20191765/38466/The-Impact-of-Racism-on-Child-and-Adolescent?autologincheck=redirected.

289. Clackamas County. "Blueprint for a Healthy Clackamas: 2020-2023." Health, Housing, & Human Services. 2023. https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/a6f39b3f-5727-4533-a572-d8d8588e2e7.

290. Ibid.

291. Ibid.

292. U.S. Census Bureau. "Health Insurance Coverage Status by Age (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)." *American Community Survey, ACS 5-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table C27001C*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2022.C27001C?t=Health%20Insurance&g=050XX00US41005.

293. U.S. Census Bureau. "Health Insurance Coverage Status by Age (Black or African American Alone)." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table C27001B*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT1Y2022.C27001B?t=Health%20Insurance&g=050XX00US41005.

294. U.S. Census Bureau. "Occupation by Sex for the Civilian Employed Population 16 Years and Over." *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S2401*. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S2401?t=Occupation&g=050XX00US41005.

295. Ibid.

296. Oregon Health Authority. 2022. "Oregon's Licensed Health Worker Supply: Based on Data Collected through January 2022." *Office of Health Analytics*. 2022. https://www.oregon.gov/oha/HPA/HP-HCW/Meeting%20 Documents/5.-Health-Occupations-Report.pdf.

297. Coalition of Communities of Color, "Environmental Scan."

298. Coalition of Communities of Color, "Community Perspectives Housing in Clackamas County." 2023.; see also Coalition of Communities of Color. "Community Engagement Findings." 2021.; Coalition of Communities of Color. "Community Engagement Report - Phase 1." 2020.

299. West, Cornel. *Race Matters*.( Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

300. Boggs, Grace Lee. *The Next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

301. Sinnott, Shea and Peter Gibbs. "Organizing: People, Power, Change." *The Commons Social Change Library*. 2014. https://commonslibrary.org/ wp-content/uploads/Organizers_Handbook.pdf

302. Officer, Kelly, Siobhan McAlister, Michael Weinerman, Courtney Rau, Katherine Tallan, et al. "Statistical Transparency of Policing Report *Per House Bill 2355 (2017)*." December 1, 2020. https://www.oregon.gov/cjc/CJC%20 Document%20Library/STOP_Report_2020_FINAL.pdf.

303. Officer, Kelly, Siobhan McAlister, and Katherine Tallan. "Updated Measure 11 Indictments, Convictions, and Sentencing Trends: 2013-2018." March 2021. https://www.oregon.gov/cjc/CJC%20Document%20Library/M11%20 Final%20Draft.pdf.

304. Ibid.

305. Prison Policy Initiative. "Appendix A. Counties -- Ratios of Overrepresentation." https://www.prisonpolicy.org/racialgeography/counties.html

306. Educator Advancement Council. "2022 Oregon Educator Equity Report." September 2022. https://www.oregon.gov/tspc/about/Publications_and_ Reports/2022_Oregon_Educator_Equity_Report.pdf.

307. Clackamas County, "Blueprint for a Healthy Clackamas: 2020-2023."

308. Ibid.

309. U.S. Census Bureau. "Health Insurance Coverage Status by Age (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone).

310. U.S. Census Bureau. "Health Insurance Coverage Status by Age (Black or African American Alone).

311. U.S. Census Bureau. "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months by Sex by Age." *American Community Survey, ACS 5-Year Estimates Selected Population Detailed Tables, Table B17001*. 2021. https://data.census.gov/table/

ACSDT5YSPT2021.B17001?t=009:Income.

312. Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). "In 2023, 23 Hate and Antigovernment Groups were Tracked in Oregon." https://www.splcenter.org/states/oregon.

313. Oregon Criminal Justice Commission. "Bias Crimes (2022) Report: Per Senate Bill 577 (2019)." July 1, 2023. https://www.oregon.gov/cjc/CJC%20Document%20Library/SB577ReportJuly2023.pdf

314. Nguyen BL, Lyons BH, et al., "Surveillance for Violent Deaths."

315. "Legal intervention deaths" are deaths caused by "law enforcement and other persons" with the authority to use lethal force. Source: Nguyen BL et al., "Surveillance for Violent Deaths — National Violent Death Reporting System, 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, 2020."

316. Ibid.

317. GBD 2019 Police Violence US Subnational Collaborators, "Fatal Police Violence by Race and State in the USA, 1980–2019: A Network Meta-Regression."

318. U.S. Small Business Administration. "2022 Small Business Profile: Oregon."

319. American Immigrant Council, "Immigrants in Oregon."

320. BBC Research & Consulting, "State of Oregon Disparity Study: Final Report."

321. We attended 18 events throughout Clackamas county.

322. This is an estimate of how many participants were in each meeting.

# Bibliography

1000 Friends of Oregon. n.d. "Death by 1000 Cuts: A 10-Point Plan to Protect Oregon's Farmland." https://friends.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/Death%20By%201000%20Cuts_2020.pdf.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2013. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press.

American Anthropological Association. n.d. "AAA Statement on Race." https://americananthro.org/about/policies/statement-on-race/.

American Immigrant Council. n.d. "Immigrants in Oregon." https://map.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/locations/oregon/.

American Immigration Council. n.d. "The Belonging Barometer (Revised Edition): The State of Belonging in America." https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/the-belonging-barometer.

———. n.d. https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org.

American University. 2020. "Inequality in Public School Funding: Key Issues & Solutions for Closing the Gap." September 10, 2020. https://soeonline.american.edu/blog/inequality-in-public-school-funding/.

Anderson, Jill. 2023. "A Crisis of Belonging | Harvard Graduate School of Education." Www.gse.harvard.edu. March 3, 2023. https://www.gse.harvard.edu/ideas/edcast/23/03/crisis-belonging#:~:text=%E2%80%9CBelonging%20isn.

Backham, Stephan. 2021. "Rewriting History: An Analysis of 'Traditional Use Study of Willamette Falls and the Lower Columbia River by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation.'" March 2021.

Balassiano, Katia, and Marta Maria Maldonado. 2014. "Placemaking in Rural New Gateway Communities." *Community Development Journal* 50 (4): 644–60. https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsu064.

Barnes, Cinelle . 2020. *A Measure of Belonging: Twenty-One Writers of Color on the New American South.* Spartanburg, SC: Hub City Press.

Baumeister, Roy F., and Mark R. Leary. 1995. "The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation." *Psy-*

*chological Bulletin* 117 (3): 497–529.

BBC Research & Consulting. 2023. "State of Oregon Disparity Study: Final Report." November 2023. https://www.oregon.gov/das/Docs/2023%20 State%20of%20Oregon%20Disparity%20Study%20Final%20Report_ November%2016%202023.pdf.

Bhalla, Ajit, and Frederic Lapeyre. 1997. "Social Exclusion: Towards an Analytical and Operational Framework." *Development and Change* 28 (3): 413–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00049.

Boggs, Grace Lee. 2012. *The next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley: University Of California Press.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racism without Racists : Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Bowling Green State University. n.d. "Asian Immigration: The 'Yellow Peril.'" https://digitalgallery.bgsu.edu/student/exhibits/show/race-in-us/ asian-americans/asian-immigration-and-the--yel.

Boyd, Bill. n.d. "Buckaroos." Oregon Encyclopedia. https://www.oregonen- cyclopedia.org/articles/buckaroos/.

Brady, Heather. 2018. "This Tiny Town Is Embracing Diversity." National Geographic. May 2, 2018. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/ article/immigration-america-white-storm-lake-iowa-culture.

Breuning, Loretta Graziano . 2016. *Habits of a Happy Brain : Retrain Your Brain to Boost Your Serotonin, Dopamine, Oxytocin, & Endorphin Levels*. Avon, Massachusetts: Adams Media.

Brown, Dorothy A. 2021. *Whiteness of Wealth : How the Tax System Impoverishes Black Americans and How We Can Fix It*. New York: Crown Publishing Group.

Brown, Nika Bartoo-Smith, Karina. 2023. "The Long Road to Access at Willamette Falls." High Country News. June 29, 2023. https://www.hcn.org/ articles/indigenous-affairs-the-long-road-to-access-at-willamette-falls/.

Cacioppo, John T., and Louise C. Hawkley. 2003. "Social Isolation and Health, with an Emphasis on Underlying Mechanisms." *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 46 (3): S39–52. https://doi.org/10.1353/pbm.2003.0049.

Castillo, Jason. n.d. "Fatal Injuries to Foreign-Born Hispanic or Latino Workers." U.S. Bureau of Statistics. https://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2023/work- place-fatalities-among-foreign-born-hispanic-workers/home.htm.

Clackamas County. 2021. "Explore Clackamas County's Transit Development Plan: Executive Summary." August 17, 2021. https://storymaps.

arcgis.com/stories/f2a1e44b3ca744d8b457c52d36238de5.

———. 2022. "2022 Homeless Point-In-Time Count." Health, Housing, & Human Services. June 2022. https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/73cf58fd-53ec-4b9f-9348-288e3c8f8008.

———. 2023a. "Blueprint for a Healthy Clackamas: 2020-2023." Health, Housing, & Human Services. 2023. https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/a6f39b3f-5727-4533-a572-d8d8588e2e7d.

———. 2023b. "Clackamas County 101." YouTube. January 24, 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ohwh60joZNY.

———. n.d. "About Clackamas County." https://www.clackamas.us/pga/about.html.

———. n.d. "Land Acknowledgement." https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/4a8d481f-ada7-4d7a-8a54-15c477a8d8c6.

———. n.d. "The Leaders for Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Council (LEDIC)." https://www.clackamas.us/pga/ledic.

Clackamas County Historical Society. n.d. "Black Americans in Early Oregon City (1841 - 1864)." https://clackamashistory.org/from-the-pages-of-history-cchs-blog/2021/3/27/black-americans-in-early-oregon-city-1840-1900.

Clackamas Education Services District. 2024. "Fact Sheet." January 2024. https://www.clackesd.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/CESD-fact-sheet-January-2024.pdf.

Clay, Karen B. 1999. "Property Rights and Institutions: Congress and the California Land Act 1851." *The Journal of Economic History* 59 (1): 122–42. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022050700022312.

Coalition of Communities of Color. 2018. "Leading with Race: Research Justice in Washington County." 2018. https://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/leadingwithrace.

———. 2020a. "Community Engagement Findings."

———. 2020b. "Community Engagement Report - Phase 1."

———. 2020c. "Environmental Scan: Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) Experiences, Community Organizations, and Government Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Efforts within Clackamas County." November 2020. https://dochub.clackamas.us/documents/drupal/6c994dd0-9380-444d-8333-0b2d773fc0bb.

———. 2021a. "Community Engagement Report – Phase 2."

———. 2021b. "Equity Analysis of Clackamas County's Coordinated Housing Access (CHA)." 2021.

———. 2021c. "Investing in Culturally and Linguistically Responsive Behavioral Health Care in Oregon." 2021.

———. 2023. "Community Perspectives Housing in Clackamas County."

———. n.d. ""Research Justice Institute." https://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/ccc-researchdatajustice.

———. n.d. https://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/.

Cohen, Geoffrey L. 2022. *Belonging: The Science of Creating Connection and Bridging Divides*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Coleman, Kenneth R. 2017. *Dangerous Subjects : James D. Saules and the Rise of Black Exclusion in Oregon*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought : Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Columbia Basin Bulletin. 2023. "Disagreement over Willamette Falls: Grand Ronde Tribes' Agreement with Oregon Could Launch Litigation." August 23, 2023. https://columbiabasinbulletin.org/disagreement-over-willamette-falls-grand-ronde-tribes-agreement-with-oregon-could-launch-litigation/.

Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission. n.d. "Member Tribes Overview." https://critfc.org/member-tribes-overview/#:~:text=The%20Columbia%20Plateau%20is%20home,Bands%20of%20the%20Yakama%20Nation.

Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde. n.d. "Trail of Tears." https://www.grandronde.org/history-culture/history/trail-of-tears/.

Coqual. n.d. "The Power of Belonging: What It Is and Why It Matters in Today's Workplace." https://coqual.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/CoqualPowerOfBelongingKeyFindings090720.pdf.

County of Santa Clara. n.d. "The Immigrant Belonging Project." https://desj.santaclaracounty.gov/offices/office-immigrant-relations#:~:text=The%20Office%20of%20Immigrant%20Relations,needs%2C%20and%20uplifting%20immigrant%20contributions.

———. n.d. "The Immigrant Belonging Project." https://desj.sccgov.org/immigrant-belonging-project.

Cruz, Araceli. 2017. "Mexican Repatriation during the Great Depression, Explained." August 30, 2017. https://www.teenvogue.com/story/mexican-repatriation-during-the-great-depression-explained.

Darling-Hammond, Linda. 1998. "Unequal Opportunity: Race and Education." The Brookings Institution. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/unequal-opportunity-race-and-education/.

Data Center. 2015. "An Introduction to Research Justice." 2015.

De Genova, Nicholas P. 2002. "Migrant 'Illegality' and Deportability in Everyday Life." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (1): 419–47. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085432.

Delaware.gov. n.d. https://delaware.gov/guides/facts/.

Desmond, Matthew, and Mustafa Emirbayer. 2009. "What Is Racial Domination?" *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 6 (02). https://doi.org/10.1017/s1742058x09990166.

———. 2016. *Race in America*. 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Dorsey, Corinne. 2021. "Brené Brown Explains the Difference between 'Belonging and Fitting In.'" TODAY.com. November 29, 2021. https://www.today.com/health/brene-brown-shares-today-her-thoughts-belonging-fitting-t241235.

Dubois, W.E.B. 1935. *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a History of the Part of Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America*, 1860-1880. New York: The Free Press.

Eastman, Janet. 2023. "Bing in the New Year' Cherry Drop Will Celebrate Cultivator Ah Bing's Sweet Creation in Oregon." Here Is Oregon. December 24, 2023. https://www.hereisoregon.com/people/2023/12/bing-in-the-new-year-cherry-drop-will-celebrate-cultivator-ah-bings-sweet-creation-in-oregon.html.

Educator Advancement Council. 2022. "2022 Oregon Educator Equity Report." September 2022. https://www.oregon.gov/tspc/about/Publications_and_Reports/2022_Oregon_Educator_Equity_Report.pdf.

Edwards, Melodie. 2021. "How the Spanish Vaquero Gave Way to the American Cowboy." WBUR. November 16, 2021. https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2021/11/16/vaquero-american-cowboy.

El-Haj, Thea Renda. 2015. *Unsettled Belonging: Educating Palestinian American Youth after 9/11*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Engum, Jennifer Karson. 2020. "Traditional Use Study of Willamette Falls and the Lower Columbia River by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation." November 6, 2020. https://ctuir.org/media/55mobq1j/ctuir-traditional-use-study-of-willamette-falls-and-lower-willamette-river_nov-2020.pdf.

Facing History. n.d. "Inventing Black and White | Facing History and Ourselves." https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/inventing-black-white.

Federal Reserve Bank-St. Louis. n.d. "Job Openings: Total Nonfarm."

Https://Fred.stlouisfed.org/Series/JTSJOL.

Foley, Matt. n.d. "Exploring U.S. Census Data in Clackamas County, OR: Defining GeoRegions and BIPOC Communities in Clackamas County, Oregon." https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/91b34848e1c4401ab9c-49dedbbd8447f.

Fox, Cybelle, and Irene Bloemraad. 2015. "Beyond 'White by Law': Explaining the Gulf in Citizenship Acquisition between Mexican and European Immigrants, 1930." Social Forces 94 (1): 181–207. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sov009.

Gamboa, Erasmo. 1991. "Mexican Mule Packers and Oregon's Second Regiment Mounted Volunteers, 1855-1856." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 92 (1): 41–59.

Gandhi, Leela. 1998. *Postcolonial Theory : A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Garcia, Jerry. n.d. "Latinos in Oregon." Oregon Encyclopedia. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/hispanics_in_oregon/.

GBD 2019 Police Violence US Subnational Collaborators. 2021. "Fatal Police Violence by Race and State in the USA, 1980–2019: A Network Meta-Regression." *The Lancet* 398 (10307): 1239–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01609-3.

Gibson, Karen, Darrell Millner, Carmen Thompson, and Adrienne Nelson. 2020. "Reflection Roundtable: White Supremacy in Oregon History." Oregon Historical Society Panel Discussion. October 29, 2020. https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1304&context=usp_fac.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano . 2009. *Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gold, Amanda, Wenson Fung, Susan Gabbard, and Daniel Carroll. 2022. "Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) 2019-2022." JBS International. https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ETA/publications/ETAOP2022-16_NAWS_Research_Report_16_508c.pdf.

Gómez, Rachel F., Mignonne C. Guy, and Julio Cammarota. 2022. "The Psychological Rages of Whiteness: Acceptable Casualties and the White American Identity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 45 (12): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.2015418.

Gonzales, Kelly L., Anna K. Harding, William E. Lambert, Rongwei Fu, and William G. Henderson. 2013. "Perceived Experiences of Discrimination in Health Care: A Barrier for Cancer Screening among American Indian Women with Type 2 Diabetes." *Women's Health Issues* 23 (1): e61–67. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.whi.2012.10.004.

Gonzales-Berry, Erlinda. 2010. *Mexicanos in Oregon : Their Stories, Their Lives*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Gordon, Mya. 2022. "Lake 'No Negro' Documentary ." YouTube. January 9, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnBtTL2Fbq4.

Grantham, Anjuli. n.d. "Expulsion of Chinese from Oregon City, 1886." Oregon Encyclopedia. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/expulsion_of_chinese_from_oregon_city_1886/#:~:text=On%20the%20night%20of%20the,participants%20resolved%20that%20all%20the.

Guglielmo, Thomas A. 2004. *White on Arrival : Italians, Race, Color and Power in Chicago*, 1890-1945. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harding, Sandra. 2003. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader : Intellectual and Political Controversies*. S.L.: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Harriot, Michael. 2018. "The Other Black Wall Streets." The Root. February 15, 2018. https://www.theroot.com/the-other-black-wall-streets-1823010812.

Hart, Michael Anthony. 2010. "Indigenous Worldviews, Knowledge, and Research: The Development of an Indigenous Research Paradigm." *Journal of Indigenous Voices in Social Work* 1 (1).

Hendrix, Levanne. n.d. "1953 to 1969: Policy of Termination and Relocation." Stanford University.

Heron, Melonie. 2018. "Deaths: Leading Causes for 2016." National Vital Statistics Reports.

Hochschild, J. L., and V. Weaver. 2007. "The Skin Color Paradox and the American Racial Order." Social Forces 86 (2): 643–70. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/86.2.643.

hooks, bell. 1981. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism. New York: Routledge*.

———. 2009. Belonging: A Culture of Place. New York: Routledge.

Hunter, Margaret. 2007. "The Persistent Problem of Colorism: Skin Tone, Status, and Inequality." *Sociology Compass* 1 (1): 237–54.

Hurtado, Sylvia, and Deborah Faye Carter. 1997. "Effects of College Transition and Perceptions of the Campus Racial Climate on Latino College Students' Sense of Belonging." *Sociology of Education* 70 (4): 324. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673270.

Ignatiev, Noel. 1995. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge.

Imarisha, Walidah. n.d. "Why Aren't There More Black People in Oregon? A Hidden History." YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWC-8hvP7aY.

Jacob, Michelle M., Kelly L. Gonzales, Deanna Chappell Belcher, Jennifer

L. Ruef, and Stephany RunningHawk Johnson. 2020. "Indigenous Cultural Values Counter the Damages of White Settler Colonialism." *Environmental Sociology* 7 (2): 134–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/23251042.2020.1841370.

José Martí. 1979. *Our America : Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence*. London: Penguin Classics.

Katznelson, Ira. 2005. *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Kendi, Ibram X. 2017. "The Civil Rights Act Was a Victory against Racism. But Racists Also Won." *The Washington Post*, July 2, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/07/02/the-civil-rights-act-was-a-victory-against-racism-but-racists-also-won/.

———. 2019. *How to Be an Antiracist*. New York: One World.

Kennedy, Julia Taylor, and Pooja Jain-Link. 2021. "What Does It Take to Build a Culture of Belonging?" *Harvard Business Review*, June 21, 2021. https://hbr.org/2021/06/what-does-it-take-to-build-a-culture-of-belonging.

KGW News. 2020. "Community Voices: The Chinese Experience in Oregon from Past to Present." YouTube. December 9, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BkDh3qU4KKQ.

Khalidi, Rashid. 2020. *Hundred Years' War on Palestine : A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance*, 1917-2017. London: MacMillan Publishers.

Kotek, Tina. 2024. "Regional Mobility Pricing Project." March 11, 2024. https://www.oregon.gov/odot/tolling/Documents/03.11.24_Regional%20Mobility%20Pricing%20Project%20Governor%20Kotek%20Letter%20(1).pdf.

Lanius, Candice. 2015. "Fact Check: Your Demand for Statistical Proof Is Racist - Cyborgology." The Society Pages. January 12, 2015. https://thesocietypages.org/cyborgology/2015/01/12/fact-check-your-demand-for-statistical-proof-is-racist/.

Lee, Leconte. 2020. "The Pitfalls of HUD's Point-In-Time Count." SchoolHouse Connection. January 7, 2020. https://schoolhouseconnection.org/the-pitfalls-of-huds-point-in-time-count/.

Lett, Elle, Emmanuella Ngozi Asabor, Theodore Corbin, and Dowin Boatright. 2020. "Racial Inequity in Fatal US Police Shootings, 2015–2020." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 75 (4): 394–97. https://doi.org/10.1136/jech-2020-215097.

Levinson, Jonathan. 2020. "Clackamas County Sheriff's Office Singled out for Racial Disparities in Stop Data." Oregon Public Broadcasting. December 1, 2020. https://www.opb.org/article/2020/12/01/clackamas-coun-

ty-sheriffs-office-racial-disparity-report/.

Lewis, Karyn L., Jane G. Stout, Steven J. Pollock, Noah D. Finkelstein, and Tiffany A. Ito. 2016. "Fitting in or Opting Out: A Review of Key Social-Psychological Factors Influencing a Sense of Belonging for Women in Physics." *Physical Review Physics Education Research* 12 (2). https://doi.org/10.1103/physrevphyseducres.12.020110.

Loewen, James W. 1987. *The Mississippi Chinese : Between Black and White*. Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press.

Luna, Guadalupe T. 1999. "On the Complexities of Race: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Dred Scott v. Sandford." *University of Miami Law Review* 53 (4): 691.

Macuk, Anthony. 2021. "Clackamas County to Pay $45K in Settlement with Family That Accused Deputy of Kneeling on Boy's Neck." KGW8. December 15, 2021. https://www.kgw.com/article/news/local/clackamas-county-45000-settlement/283-cc8412bd-7fe7-4824-9a66-3afdceab1432.

Maslow, Abraham H. 1954. *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper & Row.

May, Vanessa. 2011. "Self, Belonging and Social Change." Sociology 45 (3): 363–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511399624.

McCaughan, Edward J. 2020. "We Didn't Cross the Border, the Border Crossed Us': Artists' Images of the US-Mexico Border and Immigration." *Latin American & Latinx Visual Culture* 2 (1): 6–31.

McGhee, Heather C. 2021. *The Sum of Us: What Racism Costs Everyone and How We Can Prosper Together*. New York: One World.

McMahon, Thomas. 2021. "The Great Commission, Papal Bulls and the Doctrine of Discovery: From the 4th Century to Current Law." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3911636.

Merriam-Webster Dictionary. n.d. "Disparity." https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/disparity#:~:text=%3A%20a%20noticeable%20and%20usually%20significant,economic%2Fincome%20disparities.

Metro. n.d. "Supportive Housing Services: Addressing Homelessness in Greater Portland." https://www.oregonmetro.gov/public-projects/supportive-housing-services/racial-equity.

Meyer, Grant. 2000. *As Long as They Don't Move next Door : Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods*. Oxford: Rowman And Littlefield.

Mills, Charles W. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Milwaukie Review. 2020. "Milwaukie Unveils Mural Honoring City's Historic People of Color." October 8, 2020. https://www.milwaukiereview.com/news/milwaukie-unveils-mural-honoring-citys-historic-people-of-color/article_6b093a4f-dd1b-542a-b404-6bca262b43d9.html.

Monarrez, Tomas, Brian Kisida, and Matthew Chingos. 2019. "When Is a School Segregated? Making Sense of Segregation 65 Years after Brown v. Board of Education." *Urban Institute*. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/101101/when_is_a_school_segregated_making_sense_of_segregation_65_years_after_brown_v._board_of_education_0.pdf.

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 2015. *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Morgan, Ivy, and Ary Amerikaner. 2018. "Funding Gaps: An Analysis of Schools Funding Equity across the U.S. And within Each State." 2018. https://s3-us-east-2.amazonaws.com/edtrustmain/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/20180601/Funding-Gaps-2018-Report-UPDATED.pdf.

Morieson, Lucy, David Carlin, Bronwyn Clarke, Karli Lukas, and Rachel Wilson. 2013. "Belonging in Education: Lessons from the Belonging Project." *The International Journal of the First Year in Higher Education* 4 (2). https://doi.org/10.5204/intjfyhe.v4i2.173.

Mulkey, Andrew. 2022. "Court of Appeals Rules against Short-Term Rentals on Clackamas County Farm and Forest Land." 1000 Friends of Oregon. 2022. https://friends.org/news/2022/8/court-appeals-rules-against-short-term-rentals-clackamas-county-farmforest-land.

Museum of Chinese in America. 2019. "Ah Bing." August 20, 2019. https://www.mocanyc.org/collections/stories/ah-bing/.

National Archives. n.d. "Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)." https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/chinese-exclusion-act.

———. n.d. "Executive Order 9066: Resulting in Japanese-American Incarceration (1942)." https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9066.

National Center for Education Statistics. 2018. "English Learners in Public Schools." May 2018. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/cgf.

National Partnership for Women and Families. 2023. "Native American Women and the Wage Gap." November 2023. https://nationalpartnership.org/wp-content/uploads/native-american-women-wage-gap.pdf.

New America. n.d. "Anti-Muslim Activities in the United States 2012-2018." https://www.newamerica.org/in-depth/anti-muslim-activity/.

Nguyen, Brenda L., Bridget H. Lyons, and Kaitlin Forsberg, et al. 2023. "Surveillance for Violent Deaths — National Violent Death Reporting System, 48

States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, 2020." *MMWR Surveill Summ* 72 (SS-5). https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/73/ss/ss7305a1.htm#:~:text=A%20death%20from%20legal%20intervention,in%20the%20line%20of%20duty.

Noble, Safiya Umoja. 2018. *Algorithms of Oppression : How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*. New York: New York University Press.

Office of the Historian. n.d. "Chinese Immigration and the Chinese Exclusion Acts." https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration.

Officer, Kelly, Siobhan McAllister, and Katherine Tallan. 2021. "Updated Measure 11 Indictments, Convictions, and Sentencing Trends: 2013-2018." March 2021. https://www.oregon.gov/cjc/CJC%20Document%20Library/M11%20Final%20Draft.pdf.

Officer, Kelly, Siobhan McAllister, Michael Weinman, Courtney Rau, and Katherine Tallan et al. 2020. "Statistical Transparency of Policing Report per House Bill 2355 (2017)." December 1, 2020. https://www.oregon.gov/cjc/CJC%20Document%20Library/STOP_Report_2020_FINAL.pdf.

Ogden, Johanna. 2012. "Ghadar, Historical Silences, and Notions of Belonging: Early 1900s Punjabis of the Columbia River." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 113 (2): 164–97. https://doi.org/10.1353/ohq.2012.0018.

———. 2024. *Punjabi Rebels of the Columbia River*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1986. *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

Online Archive of California. n.d. "California Private Land Claims Collection." https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8df6z7q/#:~:text=The%20California%20Land%20Act%20of,Spanish%20and%20Mexican%20land%20grants.

Oregon Black Pioneers. n.d. https://oregonblackpioneers.org/.

Oregon Center for Children and Youth with Special Health Needs. 2020. "Racism in Oregon's Health Care System: Experiences of Families of Black and Immigrant Latino Children and Youth with Special Health Care Needs." 2020. https://www.ohsu.edu/sites/default/files/2021-01/NA%20Brief_Experiences%20of%20Racism_FINAL%2011.18.20.pdf.

Oregon Criminal Justice Commission. 2023. "Bias Crimes (2022) Report: Per Senate Bill 577 (2019)." July 1, 2023. https://www.oregon.gov/cjc/CJC%20Document%20Library/SB577ReportJuly2023.pdf.

Oregon Department of Education. 2022. "Oregon Statewide Report Card 2021-2022." November 17, 2022. https://www.oregon.gov/odhs/data/

cwdata/cw-apsr-2024-att-06.pdf.

———. 2024. "English Learners in Oregon: Annual Report 2022-23." June 2024. https://www.oregon.gov/ode/students-and-family/equity/Eng-Learners/Documents/English%20Learners%20in%20Oregon_Final.pdf.

Oregon Department of Transportation. 2020. "I-205 Toll Project: Engagement Summary Summer-Fall 2020." 2020. https://www.oregon.gov/odot/tolling/Documents/I-205_Engagement%20Summary_Final_508.pdf.

———. n.d. "I-205 Toll Project." https://www.oregon.gov/odot/tolling/Pages/I-205-Tolling.aspx.

Oregon Food Bank Network. n.d. "Community Food Assessments." https://ofbportals.oregonfoodbank.org/home/partner_support/partner_support/partner_resources_space_file_repo/community_food_assessments/clackamas_county_cfa_2015pdf.

Oregon Health Authority. 2022. "Oregon's Licensed Health Worker Supply: Based on Data Collected through January 2022." Office of Health Analytics. 2022. https://www.oregon.gov/oha/HPA/HP-HCW/Meeting%20Documents/5.-Health-Occupations-Report.pdf.

———. n.d. "Oregon Student Health Survey (SHS) Data Portal." https://www.bach-harrison.com/SHSDataPortal/.

Oregon Historical Society. 2022. "Oregon's Early Chinese American History and Portland's Louie Chung." YouTube. June 6, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ko1_hbnWjs.

Oregon Public Broadcasting. 2020. "Broken Treaties: Full Documentary." YouTube. November 19, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iH-q6ncJJ35w.

Oregon Remembrance Project. n.d. "About the Project." https://oregonremembrance.org/about/.

———. n.d. "The Vanderpool Project: Jacob Vanderpool's Story." https://oregonremembrance.org/vanderpool-project/jacobs-story/.

———. n.d. https://oregonremembrance.org/.

Oregon Secretary of State. n.d. https://sos.oregon.gov/Pages/index.aspx.

Oregon State Police. n.d. "Oregon State Police Report on Missing and Murdered Native American Women." https://www.oregonlegislature.gov/citizen_engagement/Reports/2020-OSP-Report%20on%20Missing%20and%20Murdered%20Native%20American%20Women.pdf.

Oregon State University. n.d. "A Brief History of the Chinese in Oregon, 1850-1950." https://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/oregondisintermentdocuments/history/discrimination#:~:text=Local%20

and%20National%20Anti%2DChinese%20Laws&text=In%201859%20the%20Oregon%20Constitution,mining%20claims%20and%20real%2-0estate.

Oregon Worker Relief. 2023. "2023 Impact Report." 2023. https://worker-relief.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/OWR-2023-Impact-Report.pdf.

Othering and Belonging Institute. n.d. "Analyzing Belonging in Our Communities: Racial Inclusion and Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic." https://belonging.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/2022-04/Analyzing%20Belonging%20in%20Our%20Communities.pdf.

———. n.d. "Bridging & Belonging." https://belonging.berkeley.edu/bridging-belonging.

———. n.d. "Inclusiveness Index." https://belonging.berkeley.edu/inclusiveness-index-indicators.

———. n.d. https://belonging.berkeley.edu.

Partners for a Hunger-Free Oregon. 2022. "Immigration Status and SNAP." 2022. https://oregonhunger.org/snap-immigration/.

Pedulla, David S., and Devah Pager. 2019. "Race and Networks in the Job Search Process." *American Sociological Review* 84 (6): 000312241988325. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122419883255.

Pew Research Center. 2017. "How the U.S. General Public Views Muslims and Islam." 2017. https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/07/26/how-the-u-s-general-public-views-muslims-and-islam/.

Pew Trusts. 2023. "Racial Disparities Persist in Many U.S. Jails." May 16, 2023. https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/issue-briefs/2023/05/racial-disparities-persist-in-many-us-jails.

Pliska, Jessica. 2021. "How Our White Networks Exclude Young People of Color from Career Access and Opportunity." *Forbes*, March 31, 2021. https://www.forbes.com/sites/jessicapliska/2021/03/31/how-our-white-networks-exclude-young-people-of-color-from-career-access-and-opportunity/?sh=5c00a3672cdd.

Prison Policy Initiative. n.d. "Appendix A. Counties -- Ratios of Overrepresentation." https://www.prisonpolicy.org/racialgeography/counties.html.

Public Broadcasting Service. n.d. "Chinese Immigrants and the Gold Rush | American Experience | PBS." https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/goldrush-chinese-immigrants/.

———. n.d. "Race: The Power of an Illusion." *California Newsreel*. https://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm.

Quintero, Diana, and Michael Hansen. 2021. "As We Tackle School Seg-

regation, Don't Forget about English Learner Students." The Brookings Institution. January 14, 2021. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/as-we-tackle-school-segregation-dont-forget-about-english-learner-students/#:~:text=Segregation%20and%20EL%20achievement.

Rahe, Mallory. 2018. "Estimates of Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in Agriculture, 2018 Update." Oregon Health Authority. 2018. https://www.oregon.gov/oha/HPA/HP-PCO/Documents/2018%20Updates%20to%20MSFW%20Enumberation%20Studies%20Report.pdf.

Redfin. n.d. "Clackamas, or Housing Market." https://www.redfin.com/city/21950/OR/Clackamas/housing-market.

Reed, Mark S., and Hannah Rudman. 2022. "Re-Thinking Research Impact: Voice, Context and Power at the Interface of Science, Policy and Practice." *Sustainability Science* 18 (September): 967–81. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-022-01216-w.

Rice, Brian, Jill E Oakes, and Roderick R Riewe. 2005. *Seeing the World with Aboriginal Eyes : A Four Directional Perspective on Human and Non-Human Values, Cultures and Relationships on Turtle Island*. Winnipeg: Aboriginal Issues Press.

Riley, Kathryn A. 2017. *Place, Belonging and School Leadership : Researching to Make the Difference*. London ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Riley, Taylor, Julia P. Schleimer, and Jaquelyn L. Jahn. 2024. "Organized Abandonment under Racial Capitalism: Measuring Accountable Actors of Structural Racism for Public Health Research and Action." *Social Science & Medicine* (1982) 343 (January): 116576. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2024.116576.

Robbins, William. n.d. "Railroads, Race, and the Transformation of Oregon." Oregon History Project. https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/narratives/this-land-oregon/political-and-economic-culture-1870-1920/railroads-race-and-the-transformation-of-oregon/.

Robbins, Williams G. n.d. "Oregon Donation Land Act." The Oregon Encyclopedia. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/oregon_donation_land_act/.

Roediger, David R. 1991. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso.

Rosebach, Molly. 2022. "Oregon Report Details Dehumanizing Experience of Farmworkers during COVID Pandemic." Oregon State University. 2022. https://today.oregonstate.edu/news/oregon-report-details-dehumanizing-experience-farmworkers-during-covid-pandemic.

Sacks, Karen Brodkin . 2010. *How Jews Became White Folks and What That*

*Says about Race in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Samuel, Laura, Deidra C Crews, Bonnielin K Swenor, Jiafeng Zhu, Elizabeth A Stuart, Sarah L Szanton, Boeun Kim, et al. 2023. "Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Access and Racial Disparities in Food Insecurity." *JAMA Network Open* 6 (6): e2320196–96. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2023.20196.

Sanderson, Sarah L. 2023. *The Place We Make*. Colorado Springs: WaterBook.

Sanderson, Sarah L. 2022. "Jacob Vanderpool (1820-18??)." Black Past. January 22, 2022. https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/jacob-vanderpool-1820-188/.

Schein, Richard H. 2009. "Belonging through Land/Scape." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 41 (4): 811–26. https://doi.org/10.1068/a41125.

Simpson, Leanne. 2017. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis, Mn ; London: University of Minnesota Press.

Sinnott, Shea, and Peter Gibbs. 2014. "Organizing: People, Power, Change." The Commons Social Change Library. https://commonslibrary.org/wp-content/uploads/Organizers_Handbook.pdf.

Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). n.d. "In 2023, 23 Hate and Antigovernment Groups Were Tracked in Oregon." https://www.splcenter.org/states/oregon.

Stead, Martine, Laura McDermott, Anne Marie MacKintosh, and Ashley Adamson. 2011. "Why Healthy Eating Is Bad for Young People's Health: Identity, Belonging and Food." *Social Science & Medicine* 72 (7): 1131–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.12.029.

Stephen, Lynn . 2017. "Guatemalan Immigration to Oregon: Indigenous Transborder Communities." Oregon Historical Quarterly 118 (4): 554–83. https://doi.org/10.5403/oregonhistq.118.4.0554.

Stephens, Nicole M., MarYam G. Hamedani, and Mesmin Destin. 2014. "Closing the Social-Class Achievement Gap." *Psychological Science* 25 (4): 943–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797613518349.

Stewart, Taylor. 2021. "Opinion: Remembrance as a Step toward Reconciliation of an Oregon Lynching." The Oregonian. June 9, 2021. https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/2021/06/opinion-remembrance-as-a-step-toward-reconciliation-of-an-oregon-lynching.html.

———. Personal Communication. 2024. "Draft Section on 'Black Histories in Clackamas County: From Exclusion and Reconciliation,'" June 7, 2024.

Taormina, Robert J, and Jennifer H Gao. 2013. "Maslow and the Motivation Hierarchy: Measuring Satisfaction of the Needs." *The American Journal of Psychology* 126 (2): 155–77. https://doi.org/10.5406/amerjpsyc.126.2.0155.

Tapestry Institute. n.d. "Relationship and Reciprocity." https://tapestryinstitute.org/ways-of-knowing/key-concepts/relationship-reciprocity/#:~:-text=People%20of%20many%20Indigenous%20cultures,or%20at%20least%20very%20private.

Taylor, Paul. 2021. *Affirmative Action at a Crossroads: The Future of Race-Conscious Policies in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thompson, Lori L. 2014. "I Refuse to Remain in the Lower Case." My American Meltingpot. June 2, 2014. https://myamericanmeltingpot.com/2014/06/02/i-refuse-to-remain-in-the-lower-case/.

The Tacoma Method. n.d. "Expulsion." https://www.tacomamethod.com/expulsion.

Trent, Maria, Danielle G. Dooley, and Jacqueline Dougé et al. 2019. "The Impact of Racism on Child and Adolescent Health." *American Academy of Pediatrics* 144 (2). https://publications.aap.org/pediatrics/article/144/2/e20191765/38466/The-Impact-of-Racism-on-Child-and-Adolescent?autologincheck=redirected.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Trudeau, Daniel. 2006. "Politics of Belonging in the Construction of Landscapes: Place-Making, Boundary-Drawing and Exclusion." *Cultural Geographies* 13 (3): 421–43. https://doi.org/10.1191/1474474006eu366oa.

Tuck, Eve. 2009. "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities." *Harvard Educational Review* 79 (3): 409–28. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.3.n0016675661t3n15.

U.S. Bureau of Statistics. 2023. "Job Openings Reach Record Highs in 2022 as the Labor Market Recovery Continues." May 2023. https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2023/article/job-openings-reach-record-highs-in-2022-as-the-labor-market-recovery-continues.htm.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2020. "RACE." Decennial Census, DEC Redistricting Data (PL 94-171), Table P1. 2020. https://data.census.gov/table/DECENNIALPL2020.P1?g=050XX00US41005.

———. 2021. "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months by Sex by Age." ACS 5-Year Estimates Selected Population Detailed Tables, Table B17001. 2021. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5YSPT2021.B17001?t=009:Income.

———. 2022a. "Age by Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak

English for the Population 5 Years and Over." American Community Survey, ACS 5-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table B16004. 2022.

———. 2022b. "Food Stamps/Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S2201. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S2201?q=Clackamas.

———. 2022c. "Health Insurance Coverage Status by Age (American Indian and Alaska Native Alone)." American Community Survey, ACS 5-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table C27001C. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2022.C27001C?t=Health%20Insurance&g=050XX00US41005.

———. 2022d. "Health Insurance Coverage Status by Age (Black or African American Alone)." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table C27001B. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT1Y2022.C27001B?t=Health%20Insurance&g=050XX00US41005.

———. 2022e. "Language Spoken at Home." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S1601. 2022.

———. 2022f. "Limited English Speaking Households." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S1602. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S1602?t=Language.

———. 2022g. "Means of Transportation to Work by Selected Characteristics." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S0802. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S0802?g=050XX00US41005.

———. 2022h. "Nativity and Citizenship Status in the United States." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table B05001. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT1Y2022.B05001?t=Citizenship&g=050XX00US41005.

———. 2022i. "Occupation by Sex for the Civilian Employed Population 16 Years and Over." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S2401. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S2401?t=Occupation&g=050XX00US41005.

———. 2022j. "Receipt of Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Cash Public Assistance Income, or Food Stamps/SNAP in the Past 12 Months by Household Type for Children under 18 Years in Households." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Detailed Tables, Table B09010. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT1Y2022.B09010?q=Clackamas.

———. 2022k. "Selected Housing Characteristics." American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Data Profiles, Table DP04. 2022. https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDP1Y2022.DP04?t=Owner/Renter.

———. n.d. "Types of Internet Subscriptions by Selected Characteristics." Https://Data.census.gov/Table/ACSST1Y2022.S2802?Q=Internet. American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S2802.

———. n.d. "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Clackamas County, Oregon." https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/clackamascountyoregon.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2022. "Census of Agriculture: Oregon." National Agricultural Statistics Service. 2022. https://www.nass.usda.gov/Publications/AgCensus/2022/Full_Report/Volume_1,_Chapter_2_County_Level/Oregon/.

———. n.d. "Interactive Charts and Highlights." https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-u-s/interactive-charts-and-highlights/.

U.S. Department of Justice. 2022. "Hate Crimes Fact Sheet." 2022. https://www.justice.gov/d9/2024-01/oregon_hate_crimes_incidents_2022.pdf.

U.S. Department of the Interior. n.d. "Missing and Murdered Indigenous People Crisis: Violence against Native Americans and Alaska Natives Far Exceed National Averages." https://www.bia.gov/service/mmu/missing-and-murdered-indigenous-people-crisis.

U.S. Small Business Administration. 2022. "2022 Small Business Profile: Oregon." Office of Advocacy. 2022. https://advocacy.sba.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Small-Business-Economic-Profile-OR.pdf.

University of Oregon. n.d. "Donation Land Act of 1850." Https://Pages.uoregon.edu/Mjdennis/Courses/Hst469_donation.htm.

Walidah Imarisha. 2013. "A Hidden History: The Stories and Struggles of Oregon's African American Communities." *Oregon Humanities Magazine* Summer.

Washington County. 2023. "Tri-County Region Shares 2023 Point in Time Count." 2023. https://www.washingtoncountyor.gov/housing/news/2023/05/10/tri-county-region-shares-2023-point-time-count.

Weare, Katherine. 2010. "Mental Health and Social and Emotional Learning: Evidence, Principles, Tensions, Balances." *Advances in School Mental Health Promotion* 3 (1): 5–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1754730x.2010.9715670.

West, Cornell. 1993. *Race Matters*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Wikipedia Contributors. 2024. "Age of Sail." Wikipedia. July 11, 2024. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age_of_Sail#:~:text=The%20Age%20of%20Sail%20is.

Willamette Falls Legacy Trust. 2018. "Master Plan: Willamette Falls Riverwalk." January 2018. https://www.willamettefallslegacy.org/wp-content/

uploads/2018/02/Riverwalk-Master-Plan-FINAL-2-07-18-2.pdf.

Willamette Falls Trust. 2023. "2023 Feasibility & Cooperation Agreement Portland General Electric & Willamette Falls Trust." 2023. https://www.willamettefallstrust.org/agreement-summary.

———. n.d. "Collaboration." https://www.willamettefallstrust.org/collaboration.

———. n.d. "Site History: An Essential Piece of Oregon." https://www.willamettefallslegacy.org/site-history/.

Wilson, Conrad. 2020. "Clackamas County Deputies Face Lawsuit after Allegations of Pressing Knee into Black 12-Year-Olds Neck." Oregon Public Broadcasting. June 18, 2020. https://www.opb.org/news/article/clackamas-lawsuit-knee-neck-black-child-kamar-benbo/.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging." *Patterns of Prejudice* 40 (3): 197–214. https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220600769331.

Zadie Smith. 2017. *Swing Time*. New York: Penguin Press.