

BAC | BEYOND APOLOGY COMMISSION

BEYOND APOLOGY 2025 END OF THE YEAR REPORT



Prepared by: Kristi Williams Chair, Beyond Apology Commission

December 2025

PURPOSE

The Beyond Apology Commission is a recommendation of the 2023 Beyond Apology Report which resulted from a community-led process by the same name. The report identified eight community priorities, which include: Education; Systems Change; Financial Compensation; Community & Economic Development; Housing, Land, Health & Wellness; and Cultural Identity.

The purpose of the Beyond Apology Commission is to reconcile, restore, and unite Tulsa in a goal of shared prosperity for all Tulsans by advancing and restoring economic mobility, prosperity, and intergenerational wealth for the 1921 Race Massacre survivors, their descendants, and residents of North Tulsa, particularly those in the historic Greenwood District and surrounding neighborhoods.





OPENING MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

Kristi Williams, Beyond Apology Commission

2025 has been a year of building power, structure, and momentum for the Beyond Apology Commission. Together, we strengthened our foundation, expanded our reach, and advanced the work of repair with clarity and purpose.

This year, we launched seven active committees, engaged descendants and community members across Tulsa, delivered a historic \$25 million housing reparations recommendation, and represented Tulsa at the FirstRepair Symposium in both 2024 and 2025. Our work now appears as a permanent installation at the FirstRepair Resource Center, placing Tulsa among the leading cities in the national reparations movement.

We also **secured a \$50,000 grant** to support our early implementation and capacity-building efforts. The funder will announce this award publicly in their forthcoming press release, but this investment reflects growing national confidence in the importance of Tulsa's reparations work.

A major step forward this year was laying the groundwork for land-based repair.

In partnership with Jessica Shelton (M+P Advocates), Carlos Moreno (Tri City Collective), and technologists from Techlahoma, we began developing a layered digital map of Greenwood in 1910 and 1920. This evidence-based mapping project will strengthen our research on land ownership, property loss, and pathways for restitution.

Looking ahead, 2026 will be a year of visible wins and deeper community involvement. Beginning February 2026, we will hold quarterly community engagement sessions to ensure transparency, descendant leadership, and public accountability as this work continues.

Thank you for standing with Beyond Apology, for believing in this mission, and for choosing justice. Together, we move forward with resolve, integrity, and a commitment to real repair.

With gratitude and resolve,

Kristi Williams

Chair, Beyond Apology Commission



Tulsa Oklahoma



The Beyond Apology Commission after the announcement of Mayor Monroe Nichols for the Road to Repair on June 1, 2025.



Tulsa Race Massacre. Survivors and descendants were demanding more than symbolism, they demand action in the form of reparations. The greater Tulsa African American Affairs Commission proposed a resolution to the City Council to explicitly help Black people harmed from the Massacre, and it passed unanimously.

Inspired by local demands and national reparations models, Tulsa community leaders including Councilor Vanessa Hall-Harper, Greg Robinson II, and Kristi Williams convened community conversations rooted in justice, policy, and repair that evolved into the concept of Beyond Apology in 2022. Dozens of public meetings were held where residents spoke on housing, health, education, and economic development with guidance offered by national partners First Repair, NAARC, and N'COBRA.

In 2023, the Commission finalized its first policy recommendation of \$24 million for housing reparations, modeled after Evanston, Illinois. In early 2024, the *Road to Repair* report was completed and in June, 2025, Mayor Monroe Nichols, Tulsa's first Black mayor, approved report and commits to implementing the \$24 million reparations plan, marking the first official action in Tulsa's modern reparations journey.



STRONG PEOPLE DON'T NEED STRONG LEADERS.

-ELLA BAKER

2025 HIGHLIGHTS

- Delivered \$25 Million Housing Reparations Recommendation
- Secured \$50,000 grant to support our early implementation and capacity-building efforts
- Voted to designate the Black Wall Street Chamber of Commerce as the Commission's fiscal sponsor.
- Community Engagement meeting at Historic Vernon A.M.E. Church
- National recognition and growing partnership with FirstRepair, NAARC, and N'COBRA.
- Operationalized six committees, transforming the Beyond Apology framework into organized community action.
- Permanent display in the First Repair Resource Center
- Beyond Apology became a national model : 23 cities are studying our framework
- Launched a land-mapping collaboration with Jessica Shelton (M+P Advocates) and Carlos Moreno to build evidence-based research for Greenwood land restitution.
- Provided a formal letter of support for Creek Freedmen in their pursuit of citizenship recognition within the Muscogee (Creek) Nation.

"These milestones were not achieved because the way was made clear. They were achieved because we refused to stop walking. "

2025 CHALLENGES & NEEDS

NEED FOR CLEAR ALIGNMENT WITH THE DEVELOPING GREENWOOD TRUST

As the Greenwood Trust establishes its structure, Beyond Apology needs clarity on how our recommendations especially housing, land, and financial compensation will interface with the Trust's implementation strategy.

LIMITED ACCESS TO COMPREHENSIVE DATA

Timely access to accurate data across City departments is essential for research on land ownership, housing inequities, education outcomes, and economic disparities. Delays or gaps in data limit the ability to make fully evidence-based recommendations.

INSUFFICIENT OPERATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Committees require research tools, technical support, administrative coordination, and community engagement resources. Lack of sustained operational support restricted the Commission's capacity.

PUBLIC TRANSPARENCY REQUIREMENTS THAT AFFECT STRATEGIC PLANNING

As a public commission, Beyond Apology is subject to open records laws. While transparency is essential, these requirements make it difficult to conduct early-stage strategy sessions, legal research, and sensitive repair planning that often require private deliberation. This creates challenges in developing proposals that must be vetted before public release.

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2025 CHALLENGES & NEEDS

NEED FOR STRONGER COORDINATION FOR HOUSING REPAIR

The Commission submitted a historic \$25 million housing reparations recommendation, but additional City alignment is needed to establish a clear implementation path, particularly as Tulsa moves forward with new housing initiatives and partnerships.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT CAPACITY

Community interest is strong, but the Commission needs dedicated capacity including paid coordinators and digital tools to reach more descendants and residents. Expanded engagement will begin in February 2026.

NEED FOR ROBUST RESEARCH INFRASTRUCTURE

Land mapping, archival review, and legal analysis require specialized systems and support. The Commission needs access to GIS tools, historical records, and protected data environments to conduct accurate reparations research.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL ALIGNMENT

Beyond Apology's work intersects with housing, education, health, economic development, planning, culture, and public safety. A more formalized cross-departmental structure would help coordinate decision-making and implementation.

EMERGING PARTNERSHIPS REQUIRE GOVERNANCE SUPPORT

The Commission established valuable partnerships with local and national organizations, technologists, and researchers. To maximize their impact, a formal governance model outlining roles, responsibilities, and decision-making processes is needed.

2025 CHALLENGES & NEEDS

POSITIVE CITY LIAISON SUPPORT

Throughout 2025, the Commission has benefited from the support of Lexi Bollis, the City's liaison for commissions. Her responsiveness, professionalism, and consistent communication have strengthened coordination between the City and Beyond Apology. Continued partnership with staff like Ms. Bollis will be essential as the Commission's work expands in 2026.

The 5th National Symposium for State and Local Reparations in Evanston Illinois



Alaina Beverly (Executive Director Greenwood Trust, Lexi Bollis (Resilience and Equity Program Administrator), Commissioner Dr. Corinice Wilson (Vice-Chair BAC Commission), City Councilor Vanessa Hall-Harper (Tulsa District 1 City Councilor), Commissioner Jackie Evans (BAC Commission), Commissioner Rev. Keith R. Mayes, Sr. (BAC Commission, and Commissioner Kristi Williams (Chair, BAC Commission).

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COMMITTEES

BEYOND APOLOGY COMMITTEE MODEL STATEMENT

The Beyond Apology Commission is grounded in a community-centered committee model designed to ensure that those most impacted by historical harm are directly engaged in shaping the solutions. Each committee is **led by a commissioner and co-chaired by a community member**, creating a shared leadership structure that honors lived experience, descendant expertise, and professional knowledge. This model allows the Commission to:

- **Distribute work across six thematic committees** aligned with the core areas of reparations.
- **Ensure shared power**, with commissioners providing structure and community co-chairs providing lived insight and grassroots perspective.
- **Bring community voices into policymaking**, making the process inclusive, transparent, and accountable.
- **Build a collaborative table** where researchers, technologists, educators, descendants, organizers, and professionals work together.
- **Create trust and legitimacy** by centering those who continue to bear the impact of historical harm.
- **Ground every recommendation in community wisdom, historical truth, and rigorous research.**

Our committee model affirms that reparations cannot be designed in isolation. They must be commission-guided, descendant-informed, and community-driven. Through this structure, Beyond Apology ensures that its recommendations reflect collective leadership and honor the legacy, memory, and resilience of Greenwood's families.

This shared leadership model is our strength. It is how we honor our ancestors, empower our community, and build a reparative framework truly worthy of Tulsa.

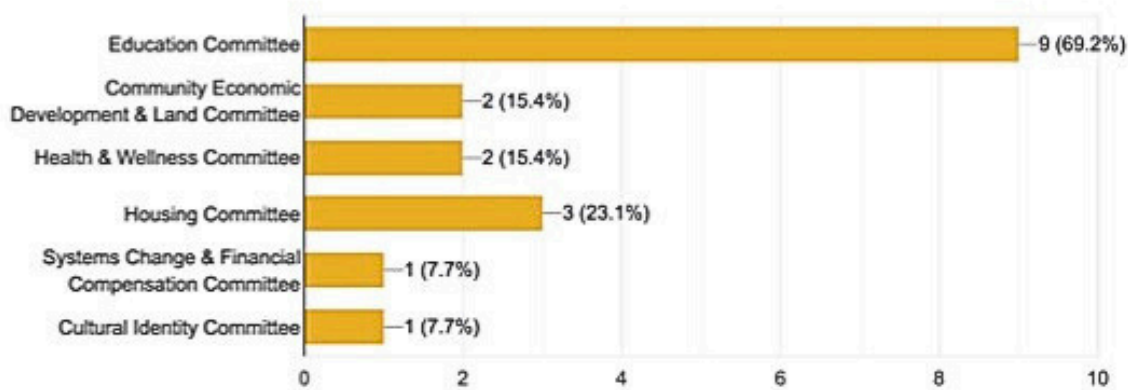
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COMMITTEES

BEYOND APOLOGY COMMITTEE MODEL STATEMENT

Eighteen community members and descendants have formally joined the Commission's committee structure as co-chairs and participants.

Their involvement represents a rising level of community engagement, demonstrating that Tulsa residents are ready to lead, serve, and contribute meaningfully to reparative work.



**Beyond Apology
Commission
Community
Meeting at Historic
Vernon A.M.E.
Church**

Rev. Keith R Mayes, Sr, Commissioner Corinice Wilson, Commissioner Therese Aduni and Commissioner Taylor West

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HOUSING

To identify, quantify, and address historic and ongoing housing inequities affecting Tulsa's Black community, with a focus on land dispossession, discriminatory housing practices, and barriers to homeownership. The committee develops reparative strategies including land return, homeownership pathways, anti-displacement protections, and programs that restore generational wealth lost through state-sanctioned harm.

EDUCATION

To examine the historical and current harms within Tulsa's education system and develop reparative solutions that restore cultural knowledge, expand access, and correct educational inequities. This includes responding to legislation such as HB 1775, supporting accurate Black history instruction, and advocating for the elimination of barriers to quality education. The committee also designs and recommends scholarship programs, tuition support, and educational grants for descendants and impacted community members, recognizing that educational opportunity is a core component of repair and a pathway to restoring what was denied through decades of discrimination and underinvestment.

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT & LAND

To analyze economic harm and land extraction impacting Black Tulsans and create strategies that restore economic mobility, rebuild Black business ecosystems, and address wealth deprivation caused by discriminatory policies. The committee advances land research, business development initiatives, entrepreneurship support, and community wealth-building models rooted in restitution and recovery.

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COMMITTEES

SYSTEMS CHANGE & FINANCIAL COMPENSATION

To determine the mechanisms through which Tulsa should provide direct financial redress and long-term systemic reform. This committee evaluates models of monetary compensation, trust funds, guaranteed income, tax relief, debt forgiveness, and other financial reparations. It also addresses policy changes required to dismantle the systems that created and sustained racial harm.

HEALTH & WELLNESS

To investigate historical trauma, healthcare exclusion, environmental racism, and disparities that have disproportionately harmed Black Tulsans. The committee develops reparative solutions focused on mental health, physical health, maternal health, access to care, and community healing, recognizing that health inequities are a direct outcome of historical and structural violence.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

To preserve, honor, and restore the cultural identity, narratives, and historical memory of Tulsa's Black community. The committee safeguards sacred spaces, supports museums and interpretive projects like The Vernon Witness, and develops programs that protect cultural heritage, amplify descendant voices, and ensure that the truth of Greenwood is accurately told and publicly recognized.

**Beyond Apology
Commission
Community Meeting
at Historic Vernon
A.M.E. Church**



Commissioner Taylor West, Commissioner Mattece Mason,
Commissioner Damali Wilson and Commissioner Greg Taylor

DECEMBER 2025

2026 PRIORITIES

LAUNCH OF QUARTERLY COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT SESSIONS (BEGINNING FEBRUARY 2026)

- Establishing a consistent schedule of community meetings to deepen descendant participation, provide transparent updates, and gather public input on implementation.

EXPANDED COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP & ACTIVATION

- Growing committee participation beyond the initial 18 community members, strengthening co-chair leadership, and increasing working group productivity.

IMPLEMENTATION PATHWAY FOR THE \$25 MILLION HOUSING RECOMMENDATIONS

- Advancing discussions with City leadership and the Greenwood Trust to define the operational structure, funding mechanisms, and rollout of housing reparations.

ADVANCED MAPPING & LAND RESEARCH COLLABORATION

- Expanding the digital mapping project with Jessica Shelton (M+P Advocates), Carlos Moreno, and Techlahoma volunteers to include additional land layers, property histories, and restitution-focused datasets.

RELEASE OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ON LAND & PROPERTY LOSS

- Sharing early insights from land mapping and archival research to inform restitution strategies and public understanding of historic harm.

STRENGTHENED ALIGNMENT WITH THE GREENWOOD TRUST

- Establishing a formal communication and coordination structure to ensure Beyond Apology recommendations guide the Trust's implementation priorities.
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2026 PRIORITIES

DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY TOOLKITS TO ADDRESS HISTORICAL HARM

- Creating community-friendly educational resources explaining the core reparations themes—housing, education, health, economic development, systems change, and cultural identity.

LAUNCH OF DESCENDANT SCHOLARSHIP & EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT CONCEPTS

- Working with the Education Committee to outline potential scholarship programs and tuition pathways aligned with reparations principles.

ELEVATED NATIONAL PRESENCE

- Participating in the 2026 FirstRepair Symposium and other national convenings to share Tulsa's model and expand partnerships.

PUBLICATION OF THE 2026 BEYOND APOLOGY MID-YEAR REPORT

- Providing transparent updates on progress, capacity needs, and implementation milestones to the community and City leadership.

STRENGTHENED ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE

- Securing additional staffing, operational resources, and research tools necessary to support sustainable repair work.

EXPANDED STORYTELLING & COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY

- Launching new platforms for public education, including digital storytelling, community newsletters, and interpretive media related to Greenwood and repair.

ENHANCED INTERDEPARTMENTAL COORDINATION WITH THE CITY OF TULSA

- Formalizing collaboration across housing, planning, education, and cultural departments to support implementation of reparations recommendations.

THE OPPORTUNITY AHEAD

The work completed in 2025 has positioned Tulsa at a critical turning point. Beyond Apology has built the structure, community trust, national partnerships, and research foundation necessary to move from planning to implementation. The opportunity ahead is to transform this groundwork into measurable action that strengthens families, restores community well-being, and addresses long-standing inequities that continue to impact descendants and Black residents today.

In 2026, Tulsa has the opportunity to:

- Align City leadership, the Greenwood Trust, and community stakeholders around a shared vision for repair and restoration.
- Advance the \$25 million housing recommendation with clear implementation pathways that honor the report's intent.
- Use historical land mapping and evidence-based research to guide decisions related to land, housing, and community development.
- Expand community participation through quarterly engagement sessions beginning in February, ensuring transparency and shared leadership.
- Strengthen the committee structure, co-chaired by commissioners and community members, to drive progress in each thematic area.
- Build new educational, economic, cultural, and health initiatives that improve quality of life and close longstanding gaps.
- Demonstrate national leadership by aligning Tulsa's work with emerging models across the country.

The opportunity ahead is not simply to continue the work — it is to take bold, coordinated steps that reflect Tulsa's commitment to truth, equity, and community healing. With the foundation now in place, 2026 presents a unique moment to turn vision into action, and action into long-term impact.

Together, we can make Tulsa a national example of what genuine repair looks like.

CLOSING REFLECTION

This work is not easy, but it is necessary. Every step we take honors the ancestors who carried the truth before us and clears a path for the generations who will follow. What we build today is not for ourselves alone, it is a gift to the future, a declaration that we will not let the story of Greenwood be defined by loss, but by our determination to repair what was taken and restore what still lives.

2025 taught us that progress is possible even without perfect conditions. 2026 invites us to go further, together. With open hearts, courageous leadership, and a commitment to justice, Tulsa can choose a new story, one built on truth, dignity, and the promise of repair.

We honor the memory of Mother Viola Fletcher, one of the last known survivors, whose life embodied resilience, dignity, and an unwavering commitment to the truth. Her presence reminded us that history is not distant — it breathes through the people who lived it, and through those who refuse to let it be forgotten.

Mother Fletcher's voice challenged Tulsa and the nation to confront the full weight of its history. Her passing calls us to continue the work with even greater conviction. We move forward in her honor, carrying her light, her testimony, and her belief that justice is not only possible, it is required.

To every survivor and descendant:

We see you.

We honor you.

We carry this work forward because of you.

BEYOND APOLOGY COMMISSION



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OUR COMMISSION

- TheRese Anderson Aduni, Elder (60 Years and Older)
- Taylor-Rae West, Youth
- Jacqueline Evans, 1921 Race Massacre Descendant
- Corinice Wilson, North Tulsa Community Leader
- Kristi Williams, Policy and Legislative Expert
- Greg Taylor, Housing Equity Expert
- D'Marria Monday, Health Equity Expert
- Phil Armstrong, Mattece Mason, Keith Mayes, and Damali Wilson (At Large Members)
- Deputy Mayor Krystal Reyes, Mayor's Designee
- Greg Robinson, Designee of City Councilor representing the historic Greenwood District



THANK YOU

We extend our deep gratitude to the survivors, descendants, community members, and partners who have supported and strengthened this work throughout 2025. Your courage, participation, and commitment are the foundation of everything we do.

To our national partners FirstRepair, NAARC, N'COBRA, M+P Advocates, Techlahoma, and Tri City Collective thank you for your collaboration and expertise.

To the City of Tulsa, and especially our liaison Lexi Bollis, thank you for your consistent support and communication.

We also acknowledge Mayor Monroe Nichols for his engagement with this process and look forward to continued alignment as Tulsa advances this important work.

Together, we honor the past, serve the present, and move toward a future rooted in truth, healing, and repair.

